

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Roger Goepper, *The Essence of Chinese Painting*, London, Lund Humphries, 4to., 1963, 244 pp., 96 plates, 15 colour plates.

Though addressed to the general reader with little previous knowledge of the subject, *The Essence of Chinese Painting* is a thoughtful and painstaking study deserving the attention of serious students. Its author, Dr R. Goepper, Director of the Far Eastern Collections of the Berlin Museums, has set himself two tasks: to explore the "spiritual and technical pre-suppositions" that lie behind Chinese painting; and, proceeding from these pre-suppositions but firmly guided by the methods of Western art criticism, to evaluate a limited number of carefully chosen pictures. The author has pondered deeply the problems confronted by the traditional Chinese painter and, in fulfilment of his first task, he has produced an excellent introduction to the subject, worthy of the title of his book. His second task is far more subject to individual bias; but if, as he himself suggests, this part of his work is to be regarded rather as a pre-liminary attempt than final and conclusive, it forms a useful supplement to his theoretical discourse.

The book thus falls into two neat divisions. Of the three chapters that make up its first half, "The Essence of Chinese Painting", "The Creative Forces" and "The Means of Expression", the last is undoubtedly the most valuable. The question he there asks: "What constitutes an adequate description of a Chinese picture?" is indeed a crucial one, and his answer that it must include a detailed analysis of the brush-stroke (pp. 39-40) is a pointer, which if followed, would mark an unprecedented advance in discussions on Chinese painting. And though in fact it is not easily followed, a prerequisite being easy and wide access to pictures and specimens of calligraphy, at present denied to the majority of students, even the recognition of this principle is to be applauded. Another observation which he (in common with others) makes is the feeling of mobility in Chinese pictures, both in the individual line and in the composition, and how the unconcealed traces of the creative process invite the viewer to repeat the act of creation in his own mind (p. 58 ff.). This, too, is a basic principle, but its acceptance does not render the application of Western methods of criticism any easier. A good many of Dr Goepper's pages are concerned with more factual material, but they are nearly always informed with thought.

In the discussion of the brush-stroke (p. 59 ff.), one detects a tendency to interpret it in terms of the object delineated and to identify strength and boldness with the shape of a stroke or its varying thickness. What Dr Goepper discovers of the relation between brush-stroke and subject-matter in his examples is true enough, but there is a danger of missing the main point, the artist's concern with brush-work for its own sake. If certain artists suited their brush-strokes to their subject-matter, others far more discernibly distorted the subject to suit the brush-stroke, e.g. the figure painter Ch'en Hung-shou (plates 14-16). The prominence of the rock as a theme, as the author himself points out in a later section of his book (pp. 143-4), is in part to be accounted for by its suitability for the display of brush-work. It would be almost no exaggeration to say that the whole history of Chinese painting is one of subservience of subject-matter to brush-stroke.

The second half of the book discusses examples of Chinese painting under three headings, "The Human Figure", "Animals, Birds and Plants" and "Landscape", each occupying a chapter. While a formal historical survey is not attempted, the development of certain elements (themes, "ink-play", composition, etc.) in each of the three

kinds is traced, but the discussion really centres on certain pictures which the author has been able to scrutinize with great care. There are some disadvantages in such an approach. About an art so dependent on tradition it is difficult to conduct a discussion without reference to a number of great masters. For example, the sudden allusion to "Wang Meng's prototype" on p. 218 (Wang Meng is previously only briefly mentioned on p. 74) or to Li Kung-lin on p. 100 (previously briefly mentioned on p. 13) must prove bewildering to the uninitiated reader. But the approach does offer the advantages of an intimate knowledge on the author's part of all the pictures and of a certain freshness of interpretation, which are to be commended.

Among these chapters, the most interesting and valuable is that on "Landscape", in which the parallel drawn between geomancy and landscape painting brings out a further facet of the subject (p. 147 ff.), though the discussion is marred by some errors in the translation from Tang Tai's *Hui-shih fa-wei* (pp. 173-4) caused by uncertain punctuation of the text. The passage in question is correctly punctuated in Yü Chien-hua, *Chung-kuo hua-lun lei-pien*, Vol. II, pp. 845-6. After this exposition of the view of the terrain as a manifestation of the vital forces, the discussion of the representation of space in Chinese painting (p. 175 ff.), though often perceptive, seems really a step backwards.

The author also briefly touches upon the relation between Chinese poetry and painting in their expression of the feeling for nature (p. 143). Some further exploration of this topic would find a fitting place in the first half of the book. The world of the Chinese painter was very much the world of the Chinese poet, and their common aesthetic ideals had bearings on theme, use of colour, and general matters of taste. For example, gaudiness and vulgarity, which the poet detested, were also rejected by the painter.

In his discussion of compositional elements (p. 217 ff.), the author seems to be more at home among "sectional landscapes" consisting chiefly of album leaves and isolated portions of handscrolls, examples of which he analyses sensitively (pp. 222-5), than among the vertical compositions of the hanging scroll. There is no doubt that the album leaf or an isolated section of a handscroll possesses the more immediate pictorial effect. But if landscape is thought of as mobile in composition (p. 58) and as a progression both spatial and temporal (p. 180), then the album leaf, with its relatively stationary viewpoint and its direct impact, is not really in the same category as the hanging scroll or the handscroll. It is on these large and long scrolls that the student must concentrate in order to distil the essence of Chinese painting.

In this connexion, I wish to make an earnest appeal for the increased publication by museums and collectors of full-size reproductions of both handscrolls and hanging scrolls in their possession, preferably also in the form of scrolls. Whereas perfectly adequate reproductions of album leaves and small pictures can be included in books, large reproductions have of necessity to be excluded. In a severely reduced reproduction, however, a landscape is shrunk to its bare bones and the "emergent dragon" itself (p. 173) seems lifeless; the rigid conventions and clichés, of which Dr Goepper complains (pp. 15, 18, 176, etc.), remain, but the spirit-resonance has departed. This is to a large extent because brush-work must be seen in full, in the exact size of the original: each brush-stroke must be seen as one physical stroke of the brush. That Dr Goepper is conscious of this need is proved by his devoting a fair number of plates to details of pictures which are also reproduced in their entirety: certainly some artists have greatly gained from this procedure, e.g. Wang Chien (plates 78, 79) and Wang Yüan-ch'i (plates 77, 80), even as the weaknesses of others have correspondingly been exposed, e.g. Chang Hung (plates 74, 75) and Cha Shih-piao (plates 82, 83). It should be noted, too, that the plates in this book, whether in colour or black and white, are extremely fine.

From a critic already so attuned to the Chinese spirit one may expect in due course a yet maturer synthesis. Recognition of the extraordinary complexity of the task of applying Western methods to Chinese values has prompted these criticisms, but they are offered in the hope that one who carries it out so well will do even better.

H. C. CHANG

The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa, translated and annotated by Garma C. C. Chang. 2 vols., 730 pp. University books, New Hyde Park, New York, \$20.

This work represents the first published translation of the whole of Milarepa's "Collected Songs" (*mGur-'bum*), which up till now has been known to those who do not read Tibetan from only a few published extracts.

In his appendix (p. 687) Mr. Chang refers to the special difficulty of translating such indigenous Tibetan texts, where no parallel Sanskrit or Chinese text is available. I must, however, disagree with him, when he informs us that the *mGur-'bum* of Milarepa "was written not only in colloquial Tibetan, but in a form of ancient colloquialism strongly tinged with a flavour of the dialect of south-western Tibet". In fact the whole work differs not at all in style and language from other Tibetan "biographies" and "collected songs", for they are all written in literary Tibetan with due scholarly regard to the rules of Tibetan classical grammar. Such works have seemed difficult in the past simply because of our lack of reading experience in indigenous Tibetan literature. Now, however, that there are so many refugee Tibetan monks and lamas easily available in India, Europe, the U.S.A. and Japan, many of them of profound reading experience, the process of reading indigenous Tibetan has become very much surer.

Mr. Chang refers to the need to pool our talents in translating such works as this, but I see no indication of his seeking the assistance or advice of any other Tibetan scholar. It seems, therefore, that he has undertaken this arduous work of translation quite alone. He must have worked with great determination over several years, and now his work has been published in a most beautiful edition. Yet his translation is all too often evasive and sometimes quite incorrect. He makes no false claims for his work, for he hopes "not to make a perfect translation, but rather to see that this important work of Tibetan Buddhism is soon made available to the world". But surely it would have been worth the extra time and trouble to perfect his work as much as possible.

For instance, it is unnecessary to translate *phag-po bzi skyor gyi mal-sa* as "Your bed so rough it tears the skin", (p. 138) and to explain in a note that this is a free translation. It means "A bed like a sty for four pigs".

Similarly on p. 291 a note informs us that one whole passage is obscure: "Re-chungpa then told the bandits that it was just for the sake of finding the Jetsun that they had come to this place. The bandits then directed them to Milarepa's abode." The Tibetan which this represents is: *rhan-pa byin nas stan byas pas bstan-te*, meaning: "Having given them a fee, they said 'Show us', so they showed them (the way)." But such warnings in notes are very rare indeed, and one assumes that the translator is unaware of his mistranslations. "Great compassion arose within him" (p. 275) translates the Tibetan *de rjes thugs-sgra chen-po zig byun*, which in fact means: "afterwards there arose a great noise". Kazi Dawasamdub (whose translated extracts are listed below) translated this correctly 59 years ago.

It may seem tedious to list a vast number of such mistranslations, so I am appending to this review nine extracts selected more or less at random, together with the Tibetan text and corrected translations. Those who do not know Tibetan of course can do little other than accept the translation as they find it, although they can compare this latest translation, or at least several chapters of it, with the already existing translations, which are all listed below. Mr. Chang's version of the prose often makes good sense and sometimes good reading. The mistakes in the verse (see for example my extract V) are more serious in their effects. But unless one is very well versed in the subject matter, an inaccurate translation may often make easier reading than an accurate one, simply because it avoids the difficulties. In the case of my extract VIII Chang's translation is probably easier reading than mine, but his is not what the text says. One may ask what value then has Mr. Peter Gruber's enthusiastic foreword.

This foreword deserves some special comment, for one may well find oneself in sympathy with much of what Mr. Gruber writes. He asks the question: "What contribution has this book to make to a modern man, with no time to read, who has already been swamped in a flood of books?" The frank answer is surely that it will hardly make

any direct contribution at all. Three recent selections from the *mGur-'bum*, translated and published separately, are probably quite enough to satisfy the interest of "a modern man with no time to read". These are:

The Message of Milarepa, a selection of poems translated from the Tibetan by Sir Humphrey Clarke. John Murray, London, 1958.

The Hundred Thousand Songs, selections from Milarepa, translated by Antoinette K. Gordon. Charles E. Tuttle Company, Tokyo, 1961.

Mi-la Ras-pa Sieben Legenden, by Helmut Hoffmann. Munich, 1950.

The only readers who are likely to be directly interested in a complete translation of the *mGur-'bum* are serious scholars of Buddhism and of Tibetan, for only they will be prepared to accept the difficulties inherent in reading a text, of which so much is technical religious and philosophical language of a most complex kind. Perhaps the defects of this present publication stem from just this misconception about potential readers. Mr. Chang bravely embarked upon a long and difficult work, which requires a great deal of careful scholarship, and now this present translation, with which the translator himself is not satisfied, is prematurely presented to a large reading public, who, as Mr. Gruber rightly says, will not have time to read it. Thus Mr. Chang's own commentary, which he commends to serious students and scholars, is relegated to an appendix. Yet this very commentary would seem to be the very minimum, which even the general interested reader might require, before embarking on the translation itself. There is certainly little in it which serious students and scholars would not know already.

The best book of this kind for the general reader, at least to begin with, remains Sir Humphrey Clarke's selections, which are satisfactory translations of readily comprehensible passages presented in excellent English. One may compare his extract 4 with Chang's p. 26, or his extract 6 with Chang's p. 62. A verse from p. 62 will also be seen below in my extract II.

A complete translation can (or should) omit nothing, and one wonders what general reader, however interested in Buddhism, will make his way through such a passage as I have quoted below in my extract V. This set of verses continues through thirteen pages of Chang's translation. We will simply note a few typical obscurities.

On p. 244 we must read "four hundred and four kinds of disease" instead of "four hundred and four Inner Families". The Tibetan is *nad-rigs* and not *nañ-rigs*, which would mean nothing in this context.

On p. 245 we read "Skran-blindness afflicts their middle parts" and a note informs us that "skran-blindness" is the name of a disease. One wonders how blindness of any kind afflicts the middle parts. Tibetan *skran* refers to a disease of the intestines. Tibetan *gti-mug*, here unsuitably translated "blindness", corresponds in philosophical and medical language to Sanskrit *tamas*, and here might be better translated "turgidity".

In the same verse we read of "sub-Prāṇa sickness" and there is no note. The Tibetan for this line is *yan-lag rañ-gi nad-kyis zin*, which seemingly means: "the members are seized by inherent disease". Thus bogus technical terms may appear, where in fact none exists.

On p. 325 we read: "Sentient beings in the Three Kingdoms possess different Passion-Bodhis", and quite a long note informs us that Passion-Bodhi (*Tibetan 'dod-pa'i byañ-chub*) "is a very rare term seldom seen in the general Buddhist scriptures". We are told to treat this "rare term" as "an exceptional term reflecting a certain special Tantric thought outside the general framework of Buddhist orthodoxy". The Tibetan in this case reads: *spyir kham ssum 'khor-ba'i sems-can la 'dod-pa'i byañ-chub sna-tshogs yod*, and may be translated as: "The beings of the threefold world generally

have various wishful ideas of enlightenment". An important and well established meaning of *dod-pa* "to wish" is "assert" or "suppose", viz. "to wish something to be what it may or may not be". There is no special term here, and "*Passion-Bodhi*" is a bogus creation of Mr. Chang.

On p. 63 the words "I have thrice animated the Bodhi-Mind" have a note telling us that "the meaning of this sentence is not very clear". But the Tibetan: *byañ-chub-semi-kyi rtsal gsum rdzogs* is quite clear, and has already been correctly translated by Sir Humphrey Clarke on p. 11 of his book, together with a valid explanatory note. The term *rtsal gsum*, "three accomplishments" occurs again on p. 656, translated this time as "three aspects" and with an erroneous note.

There is a reference to the Nine Vehicles on p. 246, and after listing in a note the Nine Vehicles of the Nying-ma-pa Order, Mr. Chang observes: "It is interesting to note that Milarepa, a founder and follower of the Ghagyuba tradition, used the Ningmaba terminology on this occasion". But this reference occurs in the song which Milarepa makes up for fun in *Bon* style, and here he is referring manifestly to the Nine Vehicles of *Bon*. (I draw the reader's attention in passing to Mr. Chang's unusual phonetic renderings, e.g. Ghagyuba instead of Ka-gyü-pa [in Sir Charles Bell's transcription], etc. They are clumsy and inconsistent, but as he has provided quite a long list of accurate transliterations [pp. 694-701], it may be unfair to object to them.)

Lha-dbañ-phyug (p. 302 with a note on p. 311) is translated as "Heaven of Conjuraction", as though *dbañ-phyug* (= Sanskrit *īvara* "Lord") actually meant "conjuration". Mr. Chang seems to have worked with no background knowledge of Sanskrit. Thus the term *dri-sa* "eater of fragrance" (p. 349) he explains in a note as referring to all gods, non-gods and ghosts. It refers specifically of course to one class of divinities, the heavenly musicians, in Sanskrit *gandharva*.

Nothing helpful is done about place-names, which usually appear in barely recognizable phonetic transcription. Paugba Wadi (p. 265) is *phags-pa wa-ti*, whose shrine was in Kyirong. This much venerated sandal-wood image, which used to be there, has been brought to Tsum ("Chum" on Survey of India maps) in northern Nepal since the recent Chinese occupation.

On p. 291 we read of a band of brigands from Nyi Shang and Nepal. *sNi-taḥ* is now part of Manangbhot in western Nepal. As is well known, *Bal-po* refers to the Nepal Valley, and not to Nepal as we know it today.

The short title of story No. 27 would be more accurately: "The Invitation from the King of Bhatgaon" (and not "of Nepal"). The name in the text is *Kho-khom* (= Newāri *Khvopa*).

Mr. Gruber informs us in the foreword that "because of his long years of study and practice in Tibet, his personal devotion and commitment to Buddhism, and his first-hand experience of the lives of the Tibetan people, Mr. Chang is best qualified to translate this great Tibetan classic". All this is true, but Mr. Chang should have allowed himself time to consult works already published, which might have helped him with his task. There is no bibliography, and the only previous work referred to seems to be Evans-Wentz's edition of Kazi Dawasamdub's translation of Milarepa's biography ("Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa", O.U.P., 1928). Not even are earlier translations from the *mGur-bum* itself listed or even referred to specifically, although the translator mentions the existence of earlier "translations of several sections" (p. 687).

They are as follow:

1. "Zwei Legenden des Milaraspa", edited and translated by Berthold Laufer in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, IV Band, 1 Heft, 1901. These are chapters 1 and 2.

2. "Aus den Geschichten und Liedern des Milaraspa", by Berthold Laufer, *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil.-hist. Kl 48 (1902), Abh. II. Tibetan text and German translation of chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, 33.
3. *Milaraspa*, Tibetische Texte in Auswahl übertragen von Berthold Laufer, Folkwang-Verlag G.M.B.H., Hagen i. W. und Darmstadt, 1922. This work contains the German translation of chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, 33, 1, 2 in this order.
4. *mGur-'bum* (The Song Book). Two stories (Nos. 26 and 27), edited by S. C. Vidyabhusana and translated by Kazi Dawasamdub, Bengal Secretariat Book Dept., Darjeeling Branch Press, texts 1912/1913, translation 1914.
5. *Milaraspa* by Helmut Hoffmann (already referred to above). This contains chapters 3, 5, 8, 22, 24, 26, 27.
6. *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion*, by Helmut Hoffmann, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, 1930, pp. 266-92 and pp. 361-96, containing chapters 22 and 24, German translation, Tibetan text and Mongolian translation.
7. *The Hundred Thousand Songs* by Antoinette K. Gordon (already referred to above). This contains chapters 1, 2, 3, and some selected poems.
8. *The Message of Milarepa* by Sir Humphrey Clarke (already referred to above). This contains just selected poems.
9. In *Buddhist Texts*, Cassirer, Oxford, 1954, pp. 257-68, the present reviewer has translated chapter 7.

The one great undeniable merit of Mr. Chang's book is that it is complete, and he will certainly succeed in his hope of arousing a greater interest in this work. While expressing my gratitude for this, I regret only that he should not have worked more carefully on his translation and notes before allowing this book to be published.

SOME RANDOM EXTRACTS

- (I) p. 24 Chang: "The Disciples were overjoyed, and cried and danced happily. Swiftly they rushed up to the Jetsun, bowing down before him."

11b6: *der khoh rñams dga' ches nas hu bro ste | kun rje btsun gyi phyag zabs kun nas rub rub 'jus te ñus pas |*

better translated: At that they wept in their great joy, and all of them seized together from all sides at Jetsun's hands and feet, and they wept.

[There is a word *bro* meaning to dance, but here this other word *bro* forms a compound with *hu*. It appears in Jäschke under the phonetic spelling of *ṅu dhó-wa* (p. 127) and again under *bro-ba* (p. 382).]

- (II) p. 62 Chang: "Sometimes I have illusory feelings of hunger, Therefore I prepare my food and dinner. Sometimes I exert myself to build a house; At others I endure the hardship of eating stones, Sometimes I eat the food of Śūnyatā (Voidness); Or I change my ways and do not eat at all."

26b1: *res 'ga' ltogs pa'i 'khrul snañ byuñ | |
ro sñoms ldum bu zas su zos | |
res ni dka' thub rde 'cha' byas | |
res 'ga' stoh ñid zas su zos | |
res 'ga' thabs chag dbug bsrān bskyed | |*

better translated: Sometimes I have illusory feelings of hunger.
I eat as food a fragment of the Universal Flavour.
Sometimes I carry out the hardship of eating gravel.
Sometimes I eat Voidness as my food.
Sometimes, means failing, I practise endurance.

[*ro sñoms* (Skr. *samarasa*) "same flavour" is an established epithet of the Absolute.
One wonders if the idea of building a house represents an earlier attempt at translating *rde 'cha' byas*, which has been accidentally left in the finished translation.
The next verse (each of which is of five lines only) begins:

"Sometimes I have illusory feelings of thirst;
I drink the pure azure water of the crags, etc."

This separation into verses is missed in Chang's translation.]

(III) p. 241 Chang: "Oh, silent yogi with great power of will
Who practises austerity,
The sole lion in the midst of all this snow,
Who sees, alone, Saṃsāra in Nirvāṇa,
Listen to us—the four Dākini sisters
Who come to prophesy.
Tomorrow in the early morning etc."

96b4: *e ma guñ bcad rnal 'byor pa ||*
dha' ba spyad pa'i snñh rus can ||
'khor 'das gzigs pa'i mkhyen rgya can ||
gañs can khrod kyi seh gcig po ||
dpal rtsal can de tshur ñon dañ ||
hed 'dir byon gyi mkha' 'gro spun bñi pa ||
seh phrug khyod kyi grogs lags kyis ||
nañ par sha ba'i cha ñid la || etc.

better translated: O yogi under vow of silence,
Zealous in the practice of austerities,
Greatly wise with your insight into both phenomenal
existence and its transcendence,
Lone lion of this snowy waste,
O noble expert, listen here!
We four sister goddesses (dākini) who have come to this place
Are your friends, O lion-cub,
So tomorrow in the early morning, etc.

(IV) p. 242 Chang: "the remedy was to kill one hundred yaks, one hundred goats,
and one hundred sheep, and with the meat to hold a great
festival and sacrifice for the Bon monks."

97a3: *khō'i glu du g.yag rgya ra brgya lug brgya rñams bsad nar ston mo*
dañ bon chog byas sa rñams rim gro la bkya na brag

better translated: As his ransom it would be expedient to slay one hundred yaks,
one hundred goats and one hundred sheep, to make a festival
and a Bon ceremony, and to distribute the meat during the ritual.

(V) p. 244 Chang: Sou, yon yon, yon, yon yon ngo . . .
In the beginning of time, arose a manifestation.
At the moment, as the beginning of all happenings,
The outer objects appeared as something with attributes.
The assembling of elements, the Aggregations,
(Formed) the great city, the Three Realms of Saṃsāra
The inner mind, which discerns, was comprehended as one
with qualities;

In the Illuminating-Void Awareness,
Thereby sprang up a myriad ideas and perceptions.
This is the source of all Karma and Kleśas!
All dwellings in this distressed world are illusory,
For they are built upon forms of delusion.
Because of clinging to the god and father image,
One fashions his active mind as the ego.
Because of clinging to the mother and goddess image,
One's mind pursues a myriad things.
When the mother and father united
Then were born the twelve Nidāna sons
And the eight Consciousness daughters.
These brothers and sisters, with their parents,
Totalled twenty-two.

98a2: *gso yañ yañ yañ yañ yañ ño ||*
snah tñam dus kyi dañ po la ||
ji tñam srid pa'i thog ma la ||
phyi gzuñ ba'i yul la mtshan gsol ba ||
'byuñ ba 'dus pa'i phuñ po la ||
kham s gum 'khor ba'i groñ po che ||
nañ 'dzin pa'i sems la mtshan gsol ba ||
ston gsal rig pa sna tshogs 'char ||
las dañ ñon moñs kun gyi gñi ||
btsgs pa'i mkhar la mtshan gsol ba ||
zag bcas 'jig rten bsu ba'i mkhar ||
pha dañ yab la mtshan gsol ba ||
yid byed pa bdag tu bzuh ba'i yab ||
ma dañ yum la mtshan gsol ba ||
sams bya ba mos pa sna tshogs yum ||
de gñis srid ciñ sprul pa las ||
bu phrug rten 'brel bcu gñis byuñ ||
bu mo rñams ses tshogs brgyad byuñ ||
lcam sriñ ñi su tham pa byuñ ||
bza' tsho ñi su rtsa gñis byuñ ||

better translated: So yang-yang-yang-yang-yang-yang-ngo!
At the first mere appearance of things,
At the start of existence such as it was,
In giving a name to the external world which is apprehended,
(we call it) the threefold material world of phenomenal existence,
where basic elements unite as aggregates.
In giving a name to the inner mind which apprehends,
(we call it) the basis of all action (*karma*) and afflictions (*kleśa*),
where various experiences of Pure Void may be manifest.
In giving a name to the house they built,
(we call it) the deceiving house of the impure world.
In giving a name to the father and sire,
(we call him) the sire who thinks and conceives of a self.
In giving a name to the mother and lady,
we call her the mind with its various fancies.
As these two existed and produced derived forms,
There appeared the twelve sons, those concepts of interrelated
causation,
There appeared the eight daughters who are the bases of
consciousness.
In all there appeared twenty sons and daughters.
There (thus) appeared a family of twenty-two members.

[Since Chang has missed on every occasion the important phrase "in giving a name", the whole order of these definitions is quite obscured in his translation. We may legitimately insert "we call it" etc. throughout, for after the last definition, namely mind, the Tibetan text inserts *bya ba* "so called".

How dangerously misleading translations may be to anyone who cannot refer to the original is certainly illustrated by Chang's "god and father image" with its obvious Freudian echo.

In a note Chang tells us that "Sou, yon yon etc." is the first line of a chant in which the Bon monks intone their hymns. In fact only the first syllable, correctly written *bsuo* བློ་ལྷ་ is used by Bon-pos. The rest is just Milarepa's fun.

There is nothing *Bon-po* in the contents of this whole song, as the sick man, to whom it is addressed, fully realizes. Unfortunately Chang introduces it with these words: "Thereupon, Milarepa, chanting a *Bon melody* after the *Bon manner*, sang for the sick man etc."

The Tibetan text actually says: *chos glu bon dbyahs su sgyer ba viz*. "chanting a Buddhist song to a Bon melody".]

(VI) p. 397 Chang: "I might ask the Jetsun to teach me black magic, but it is not likely that he would. Oh, confound it! These damned scholars who belittle genuine miracles as sorceries! They certainly deserve to be dealt with! But the Jetsun will never do it. Well, it is true that my Guru is well-versed in the Pith-Instructions for attaining Buddhahood in one life, but in order to beat these scholars I shall go to India to learn logic and science."

168b4: *mthu rje btsun la zhus ruñ rje btsun gyi mthu 'di rañ gsuñ ba tsam yin pa 'dra min na rdzu 'phrul la mig 'phrul yin zer ba 'di rnams tshar bcaad na ruñ ba 'dug ste | mi mdzad par 'dug tshé gcig la sañs rgya ba bla ma'i gdams nag zab ste | ston pa 'di rnams tshar gcod pa la rgya gar la phyin nas rig pa cig bslab dgos par 'dug.*

better translated: I might request witchcraft of Jetsun, but is not this very witchcraft of Jetsun like mere words as it were. It would be quite proper to make an end of these fellows who call miracles hallucinations, but he would not do it. My lama's teaching is profound in the matter of gaining buddhahood in a single life-time, but in order to make an end of these teachers, I must go to India, it seems, and gain some learning.

(VII) p. 480 Chang: Oh wondrous Jetsun Yogi,

The Cotton-Clad, practising ascetic deeds!

To all beings you, the famous Mila,
Are the glory, veneration, and adornment.

The first time I heard your name
I was filled with joy and inspiration.
With great earnestness, and disregarding

Hardships, I set out to seek you—
As did the Ever-Crying Bodhisattva.

p. 209a5: *rje brtul zugs spyod pa'i rnal 'byor pa ||
ho mtshar ras kyi na bza' can ||
yid bzin nor bu gtsug gi rgyan ||
kun gyis thod bzin bkur ba'i gnas ||
mtshan mi la zes byar yohs su grags ||
mtshan de yi stān pas phyogs kun khyab ||
de thos kho bo spro ba skyes ||
sar skar ma smin drug 'og nas sñogs ||
lus tsha grañ yid la ma bgyis te ||
rtag tu ñu ba'i rnam thar bzin ||*

better translated: O lordly yogin who practises ascetic vows,
Wonderful, with just a cotton garment.

He is the wish-granting gem which adorns the crest, that
object, which like the cranium, is honoured by all!

He is known everywhere by the name of Mila,
And the fame of that name fills all directions.

Hearing it, I had feelings of joy,

And I followed the Pleiades, those stars of the east.

I gave no thought to heat and cold of my body,
As in the story of the Ever Crying One.

(VIII) p. 493 Chang: If you talk to them, they will ask who your teacher is and what kind of Dharma you practise. But your answers will eventually lead them to anger. Because of their narrow-mindedness, good advice will never do them any good, but only incur their vituperation. As a result they will lose their refuges and be damned. In other words, one's good advice causes other people to sin. This is why you should not associate with men who are dominated by the ever increasing Three Poisonous Desires.

(The Holy Tantra says):

"To stay seven days in a Hinayāna temple

Brings a Tantric yogi harm, not benefit.)

Like a tiny, cautious sparrow, watch

Your conduct with the greatest care!"

My son, do not take pride in your continence and discipline.
Be in harmony with all; be patient, persevering, virtuous and noble; and bridle your wandering thoughts, etc.

216a3: *gtam byas na dah por khyod kyi ston pa su yin chos gañ yin zer | de la brten nas kho ze sdañ lahs |
thos nas blo chuñ de yis 'di ni spoñ byed do ||
spañs nas skyabs med gyur pa de ni mnar med 'gro ||
bya ba de 'byuñ bas bdag la brten nas gñan rgyud la sdig pa gsgog pas dug gsum rgyas pa'i mi dah 'grogs su mi ruñ |
ñan thos nañ du zāg bdun gnas ||
bya ba'i don yañ de yin |
spyir yañ ri dvags rmas ma 'am |
bya bzin bag zon che bar bya |
zi bar dul ba brtse reg chuñ bar bya | bsod bsrān che bar bya |
thams cad dah mthun par bya | gtsañ sbra ñin tu che bar bya | rtag pa ñin tu chuñ bar bya |*

better translated: If you converse with them, they will first ask you, who your teacher is and what your teachings are. One will get angry as a result of this.

"Hearing what is said, the weaker renounces
such or such (belief),

Having renounced this, he loses his religious protection
and goes to the *Avīci* Hell."

Since this has been said, it is better not to associate with those who are confident in themselves and amass evil in the life-stream of others, and so extend the scope of Desire, Hatred and Wrath.

"One may stay seven days among *śrāvakas*!"

¹ Those who have taken vows of the third stage (*gsañ-shags kyi sdom-pa*) may spend seven days but no more in the company of followers of the *hinayāna*. The real meaning of this rule, Milarepa says, is that one should not consort with those who will disturb one's beliefs.

The meaning of this saying is just that.

"In general then one should be heedful

Like a wounded deer or like a bird."

Be quiet and restrained. Let playful contacts be few. Let your endurance be much! Be friendly with all! Be very pure! Your doubts should be very few!

(IX) p. 498 Chang: "Most precious Jetsun, when I first saw you I admired you greatly and I witnessed how my friend (Dhar-Lho) died; yet, I could not then decide whether the Dharma that we practised was right or wrong. Nevertheless, when I left I greatly respected you, I now come to you for instruction. Pray be kind enough to teach me."

The Jetsun replied, "The Dharma practice of a man who indulges in diversions but not in remembering death, will be of little use, because he can neither reduce his wrongdoings nor increase his virtues . . ."

217b4: rje btsun rin po che lags bdag mjal dus na mos pa'i khar | bdag rañ
gis grogs po 'chi tshul mthoh nas kyah hed rañ gi cho'kyi spañ bya
la smon nam 'brir mi ses par 'dug pas | mos su rañ soñ nas ñams len
gyi chos zu ru yohs pa lags pas | gnañ bar zu zus pas | rje btsun gyi
zal nas | khyed du ma zad 'chi ba mi dran pa'i chos byed blo kun
spañ bya la smon | bsgrub bya las phri ba mah bar 'dug—|

"Most precious Jetsun, I felt great devotion for you when I met you, and although I saw the manner of death of my friend, I am not sure whether I should increase or decrease my religious renunciations. As I am so devoted to you, I beg you to give me religious instruction."

Jetsun replied: "It is not only you, for there are many who would rather have a decrease of what ought to be done, than an increase of what ought to be renounced, as in the case of not remembering death."

[Milarepa illustrates the antithesis of decrease and increase by the short song that follows, but Chang's translation of the prose passage above misses this essential point.]

"In principle the Conqueror, the Lord of Men
Taught his doctrines to overcome the eight rules
of ordinary life.

O these men of today who extol themselves as clever!
Are not the eight rules of ordinary life ever getting stronger!

The Conqueror taught monastic discipline

So that we should renounce the world.

O those monks of today who should keep these rules!

Are not their wordly doings ever on the increase?"

etc.

D. L. SNELLGROVE

Sai-iki bunka kenkyūkai 西域文化研究會 *Tonkō Torohan Shakai-keizai shiryō*
敦煌吐蕃社會經濟資料. 2 vols., 463 pp., 27, 55; 488, 26. Kyōto (Hōzō
kan) 1959-1960.

Some quarter of a century ago, after the first decade of Chinese and Japanese studies of the rich material on institutional history revealed in the Tun-huang documents, the publication of Niida Noboru's *Tō-Sō hōritsu bunsho no kenkyū* (仁井田陸: 唐宋法律文書の研究) in 1937 presented a brilliant survey of the current state of knowledge which has remained a standard work. Although Niida and other scholars,

notably Naba Toshisada 那波利貞, who had transcribed many of the important mss. in the Fonds Pelliot of the Bibliothèque Nationale during the early 1930s, continued for some years to publish studies based on Tun-huang material (notably upon the institutional aspects of the Buddhist monasteries), the outbreak of war cut off Japanese scholars from the libraries of Europe, and Tun-huang studies virtually came to a halt.

A new impetus to such work was given in the early 1950's by the microfilming of the Stein collection in the British Museum, the publication of Maspero's posthumous volume on the documents from Stein's third expedition, and above all by the re-discovery in 1949 of the rich haul of manuscript fragments discovered, mostly in the Turfan region, by the various expeditions organized on the eve of the first world war by Count Ōtani. These mss. had lain forgotten for 35 years in a storehouse of the Nishi Honganji temple in Kyōto. In the early 1950's the Buddhist Ryūkoku Daigaku organized a "Research Society of Central Asian Studies" (Sai-iki bunka kenkyūkai), to undertake the study and publication of these documents, and the outcome is the set of sumptuously produced volumes *Sai-iki bunka kenkyū* (Monumenta Serindica) of which the book under review forms volumes 2 and 3.

The first of these two volumes contains a number of general studies of great interest to anyone wishing to make a general survey of this field. Naba Toshisada, who has worked on the Tun-huang mss. for over thirty years, contributes an overall perspective of the Tun-huang collections and of the advances in historical knowledge to which their discovery has led. Another long study by Ogasawara Senshu gives a detailed account of the Ōtani expeditions, and describes the various categories of mss. which they recovered giving details of provenance for many items. Unfortunately with the long lapse of time following their arrival in Japan it is no longer possible to give precise information about many important items. Lastly, volume one gives a very useful 27-page bibliography designed to show the growth of Japanese studies in Central Asia from 1896-1957. This is a very varied list which shows clearly upon how many different aspects of Chinese studies the Tun-huang discoveries have infringed.

The bulk of the volumes, however, are taken up by a series of extremely valuable monographs on specific types of documents. All are illustrated with excellent photographs of the mss., and all have extensive English summaries which (in spite of some singular English usage) will make these volumes widely available. Generally speaking, the Ōtani mss. are very similar (though far more numerous and richer in content) to the documents recovered by Stein in Central Asia and published by Maspero and Chavannes. Almost all are small fragments, presenting extreme difficulty to the editors, and it is doubtful if anyone but the handful of Japanese scholars experienced in work on the Tun-huang materials could have successfully undertaken the task of publishing and identifying them.

Two general articles deal with the form of documents and routine paperwork. Naitō Kenkichi discusses these problems in great detail in a most thoughtful and imaginative article, showing the various stages by which cases were dealt with and directives were implemented. Suddō Yoshiyuki, in a very important study of the *Hu-shui*, details the process by which taxes were collected in the village by the elder (*li-cheng* 里正) or county representative (*hsien-tien* 縣典), and forwarded to the county and prefecture.

Some very interesting new material is brought to light about such subjects as the state postal system, and on the organization of the local monasteries, but the real contribution of these volumes lies in the new light thrown on land tenure and fiscal policy. The most space is taken up by the documents relating to the *chün-t'ien* land allocation system. Little significant has been said in this field since Niida Noboru summed up the state of our knowledge, based on transmitted texts and the *hu-chi* 戶籍 from Tun-huang, in his *Tō sō hōritsu bunsho no kenkyū* in 1937. This study established that the *chün-t'ien* systems remained in force in the north-west at least until the 740s and remained the basis of land and personal registration until the 760s. The question of reallocation of land, however, a crucial question in such a discussion, remained unsolved; Niida cited a handful of fragments in the museum at Ryōjun which

were suggestive, but too fragmentary to provide any conclusive evidence. (These, incidentally, clearly came from the Ōtani expedition and were recovered from the Turfan region although they are now themselves lost).

The new studies by Nishijima Sadao and Nishimura Genyu (in Vol. 1) now prove beyond doubt that the *chün-t'ien* system *did* still function, even if only on a limited scale, in the early eighth century. Land was still carefully registered, reverted to official disposal through a variety of causes, and was reallocated in accordance with carefully drawn up lists of persons entitled to allocations. Every stage of this process is documented among the Ōtani MSS.

Moreover Nishijima's article makes a very important analysis of the special local rules on the enforcement of the *chün-t'ien* allotments in Turfan, where all land seems to have been registered as hereditary "land in perpetuity" (*yung-ye-t'ien*), but nevertheless seems to have been subject to regular readjustment by the state as "personal share land" (*k'ou-fen-t'ien*) as elsewhere. He makes the point that it would thus seem that "land in perpetuity" was thus still recognized as land held from the state, and should not be considered as disguised private property.

A further important refinement is that Nishijima shows that the holdings of individual households were so dispersed that they could hardly have been worked economically, and it is suggested that there was considerable sub-letting and tenancy of lands granted under the *chün-t'ien* allocation.

Tenancy is the subject of two very important studies by Niida Noboru and Sudō Yoshiyuki. Niida Noboru's article is mainly concerned with the status of monastic dependant families (*tsu-hu* 寺戶) and shows an immensely complex and often contradictory pattern of lay-monks, dependants, tenants, sub-tenants and slaves attached to the monastic communities. Sudō's study derives from the lists of cultivated lands drawn up by the officials charged with responsibility for irrigation 堰頭 *yen-t'ou*, and shows clearly that tenancy was already common in the early eighth century both on private lands and on the various lands attached to the public administration. He also quotes very useful new figures on rents, and much material on the various crops cultivated in Turfan at this period.

In the second volume two long studies deal with the very elusive subject of labour service and conscription. Ogasawara Senshu and Nishimura Genyu discuss the Ōtani MSS. on the subject, which shed a few rays of light on the use of hired labour and payment of commutation for various special labour services (*k'o-ch'ien* 課錢). They also collect a good deal of evidence about the "guardsmen" *wei-shih* 衛士. Another long and detailed article by Nishimura analyses the corvée duty lists from Tun-huang in the Bibliothèque Nationale which recently formed the subject of an article by Wang Yung-hsing 王永興 (*Li-shih yen-chiu* 1957, xii). His analysis of the way in which specific duties were allocated according to age status and household assessment throws a great deal of light on the actual operation of the rules, and even more upon the sub-bureaucratic administration of T'ang times. Among his other discoveries he claims to see in the officials called *ch'eng-chu* 城主 or *chih-ch'eng* 知城 headmen in control of the *hsiang* who were the village elders' (*li-cheng* 里正) superior. None of the T'ang sources give any name for the head of the *hsiang*, although the *hsiang* clearly played an important role in the functioning of the local administration. The author also claims that one section of the corvée duty list is in fact derived from a *hsiang* which was a colony of Sogdian traders.

Another important contribution to our knowledge of the fiscal system is Sudō Yoshiyuki's article on the household levy (*hu-shui*). Little is known from printed sources of the operation of this important subsidiary tax. It now seems that the tax was collected by the village elder 里正 or county tax officer 縣典, who gave a certificate of payment called 戶抄. The tax was assessed in cash but was actually collected in some cases in commodities such as brushwood. We find that a new system of *hu-shui* was introduced after 756 and known as *liang shui*. This formed one basis for the later reformed tax system of 780. This new tax was paid twice annually in July and November, and was also often paid in kind.

These volumes represent a most important new stage in our understanding of

local institutions in T'ang times, and in particular help clarify many points in the day-to-day functioning of local government. They should not, however, completely overshadow some other equally important studies in the same field of Tun-huang documents published elsewhere. In the field of fiscal administration Yamamoto Tatsuō has published studies of a number of very important MSS. from the Stein collection while Ikeda On has edited and published a detailed study of the largest and one of the most important of the registration documents, the lengthy *shou-shih* 手實 of 1770. Studies in closely connected fields of social, legal and institutional history have appeared in considerable numbers in recent years, and, with the rediscovery of the large Tun-huang archive in Leningrad, it seems likely that the MSS. from Central Asia will continue to illuminate the social history of medieval China for many years to come.

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