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ETERNITY BETWEEN SPACE AND TIME: FROM CONSCIOUSNESS TO THE COSMOS edited by Ines Testoni, Fabio Scardigli, Andrea Toniolo (Editor), Gabriele Gionti S.J. [De Gruyter, ISBN 9783111312842]

Philosophers, theologians, physicists, and psychologists join their efforts to reflect on the crucial issues of limit and infinity, time and eternity, empty space and material space. The volume offers an invaluable contribution to some of the most important issues of our times: questions on God and consciousness are discussed in parallel with quantum theory, black holes, the inflationary universe, the Big Bang, and string theory, from different perspectives and angles, ranging from neuroscience to AI.

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Names
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This book is titled Eternity between Space and Time: From Consciousness to the Cosmos. It is the outcome of three days of studies and discussions at an international conference held in May 2022 at the University of Padua during its 800th anniversary celebrations. Then, the title of the book is the same of the conference. Eternity between Space and Time (EST) intends to challenge contemporary thought, untie a knot that bridles the entire history of human reflection and open up a new horizon of discussion

about the relationship between infinite eternity and what appears finite, including consciousness. For over a century now, culture and academic research have established insurmountable boundaries between different fields of knowledge — thanks to and because of an increasingly rigorous and specialised methodology that differentiates the specificity of the objects of study in terms of philosophy and theology on the one hand and the hard sciences and physics, in particular, on the other. Between the aforementioned categories remains a reflection on the human condition, which is pushed in different directions at different times. Although the existence of contamination remains inevitable, such contaminations are not always highlighted. This book seeks to retrain the continuity of the same object of reflection and how it is the continuum within which any reasoning around the relationship between existence, reality and being gains its meaning even when the arguments seem strictly specialised and, therefore, incommensurable with respect to one another.

In fact, the concept of eternity is challenging because it appears to be exactly what it does not appear to be. However, EST intends to highlight how this concept supports the most rigorous investigations. The discussion is divided into the following four parts that include contributions from the keynote speakers in Padua: (1) "What about Eternity?", (2) "The Eternity Concealed in the Cosmos and the Secrets of Consciousness", (3) "Eternity, Time and Faith" and (4) "Existential Corollaries".

The first part gets to the heart of the issue of 'being' and specifically how the whole question of what is and what is not arises in it, i.e. what language endowed with meaning indicates. The question concerns whether being may not be and addresses the issue by referring to two metaphysical philosophers of contemporary thought, Emanuele Severino and Martin Heidegger, who have posed the question in a radical way. The connection between these two giant philosophers, who have reframed the importance of reflection on being by going back to the roots of Greek thought, had already been highlighted by the philosopher Massimo Cacciari on the occasion of the end of Severino's university teaching, who declared that the philosopher's lesson is not only "equal to that of Heidegger" but also that there is an absolute opposition (aut/aut) between the two philosophers. The question was further considered in an international

conference, "Heidegger nel pensiero di Severino" (Heidegger in Severino's Thought), held in Brescia in the year Severino himself passed away. These two thinkers represent a continuity while also maintaining a distance between substantial components of continental thought developing between Germany and Italy. If Heidegger's contribution remains widely disseminated internationally in a vehicular language, Severino's contribution is beginning to be so through the translation of his three very significant works into English: The Essence of Nihilism (2015), Law and Chance (2023) and Beyond Language (2024).

Therefore, the more exquisite philosophical part of EST intentionally comprises its reflection on being and its eternity within this framework. In particular, in the chapter "The Eternity of Every Being and the 'Trace' of the Infinite in the Finite according to Severino", Giulio Goggi lays out the most specific feature of the fundamental ontology developed by Severino: the thesis according to which every being, qua being, is eternal. Then, the chapter will dwell on the topic of the 'trace' of the infinite in the finite as every being is eternal and necessarily stands in relation to every other being; it is necessary for every being to somehow be present in every other being.

In line with Goggi, Damiano Sacco's essay titled "Emanuele Severino. Sózein ta Phainómena" introduces some key elements of Severino's theoretical apparatus through a discussion of one of the key axes of the enquiries related to science and philosophy, which are epitomised by the tenet of saving (the appearing of) the phenomena (sozein ta phainomena). This standpoint affords an assessment of the radical and singular character of Severino's reflection as part of which the truth and eternity of every being appear as the impossibility for the being and appearing of every being to not always be saved.

In his article "The Absolute Appearing of Eternity as the Original Meaning of Time", Leonardo Messinese traces a further continuity between Severinus and Bergson based on the foundation of Greek thought. The author seems to dwell on the trait that unites the Platonic and Aristotelian conception of time and then on the critical analysis done by Henry Bergson. Subsequently, he compares the Bergsonian reflections on time with

those of Emanuele Severino to introduce the thesis that the absolute appearing of eternity is the original meaning of time.

In his article "Note on the Dialogue between Severino and Vitiello", Massimo Cacciari relates Severino with another Italian thinker, Vincenzo Vitiello, who has long dealt with Heidegger's thought and the entire continental tradition. The aforementioned comparison highlights some noteworthy basic ontological nodes.

Finally, the contribution of Roberto Tommasi, "Time, Eternity, Freedom in Kierkegaard, Heidegger and Ricoeur", investigates the relationships between space, time, freedom and eternity in Kierkegaard, Heidegger and Ricoeur. From the perspectives opened in this regard by the three thinkers emerges the aporetic oscillation between cosmological, existential and historical conceptions of space-time.

The second part of EST is titled "The Eternity Concealed in the Cosmos and the Secrets of Consciousness", and contains essays dedicated to the aspects of space and time that are intertwined with Physics and Consciousness. In particular, the essays of 't Hooft, Veneziano, and Penrose, explore the elusive concepts of time and eternity as they are conceived, on the one hand, in modern cosmological theories, and on the other, in those conceptual gymnasiums called black holes. In the latter, perhaps we begin to glimpse a profitable 'mixing', if not a unification, between the two great conceptual structures that still govern 21st-century physics, namely Quantum Theory and General Relativity. Scardigli's essay also follows this path by exploring the mix of concepts between gravitation and quantum indeterminacy. Instead, the contributions of Vitiello, D'Ariano, and Faggin appear almost as a counterpoint to these writings. Using the conceptual tools of today's theoretical physics, namely Quantum Information Theory, and Quantum Field Theory, the authors attempt an amazing exploration of the crucible where the very categories of space, time, reality and eternity are formed and built, i.e. (human) consciousness. These essays collectively provide the reader with 'windows' from which to glimpse unsuspected, perhaps astonishing panoramas that call for further journeys and explorations.

In his essay on the "Basic Ideas of Conformal Cyclic Cosmology" (CCC), Roger Penrose4 illustrates his new vision (2005) of the cosmological theory. The CCC proposes that the universe undergoes repeated cycles of (accelerated) expansion, named 'aeons', where the maximal (or infinite) extension of the previous cycle goes to coincide with the Big Bang stage of the successive cycle. No contraction (big crunch) is required in this model. This is made possible through the conformal structure that dominates space-time at the beginning and at the end of each aeon. The CCC solves the paradox of the super-special initial conditions required by the Second Law at the Big Bang, and among its observational consequences, predicts the presence of 'circular rings' in the temperature fluctuations of the Cosmic Microwave Background spectrum.

In Gerard 't Hooffs contribution titled "How Studying Black Hole Theory May Help Us to Quantize Gravity", black holes, far from appearing cosmic monsters or astrophysical curiosities, are instead described as the appropriate theoretical arena in which the basic principles of General Relativity uniquely intertwine with those of Quantum Theory. Therefore, it becomes possible to have a glimpse into the key roles that quantum effects play in gravitational interactions at ultra-short scales.

In his essay "Uncertainty Principle and Gravity", Fabio Scardigli describes how the uncertainty principle, the cornerstone of quantum mechanics, should be modified when gravity is properly taken into account. Among the many different physical predictions of this 'Generalized Uncertainty Principle', the possibility of considering black hole 'remnants' as sources of the enigmatic dark matter is briefly discussed.

Gabriele Veneziano's chapter "The Big Bang's New Clothes and Eternity" describes how the traditional role of the Big Bang is completely overturned in modern inflationary cosmology: the Big Bang is the instant at which the Universe, after having been cooled down to zero temperature, suddenly 'reheats' through an irreversible quantum process. As a consequence, the Hot Big Bang is associated with neither a singularity nor the beginning of time. It becomes therefore possible to enquire about whether time had a beginning, and how was the Universe before the Big Bang.

In his chapter "For a Science of Consciousness", Giacomo Mauro D'Ariano focuses on the topic of 'consciousness' or 'awareness'. He wants to ground 'consciousness' on either a physics theory or a physics theory-like base in order to bring a certain 'objectivity' to it. He claims that consciousness has a quantum nature and can be explained with quantum (interior) information theory. At the base of consciousness, there are q-bits (quantum bits). However, this interior information is subjective and cannot be transferred because the passage from interior (quantum) information to exterior (classical) information destroys interior information. Interior experiences are processed as quantum information. They are identified by the author with the 'qualia' of the philosophy of mind.

In his essay "Freedom and Artificial Intelligence", Federico Faggin tells that, after a mystical experience, he arrived at the conclusion that our universe is more than a materialistic reality as described by science. There exists the One, the totality of what exists. Consciousness and free will are part of the One and are described by a theory of quantum information. Consciousness is the inner space where signals from the external world are processed and become emotions, feelings and so forth. Free will is strictly connected to consciousness, it is the awareness that the experience I am having is my experience.

In his chapter "Brain, Mind, the Arrow of Time and Consciousness", Giuseppe Vitiello proposes to model the brain as a quantum field theory system. This system continuously interacts with its environment, and its functional activity is described by dissipative dynamics. The environment is described as a time-reversed copy of the brain called the Double. The act of consciousness inhabits the dialogue between the brain and its Double.

The third part, titled "Eternity, Time and Faith", is about theological—religious reflection.6 In particular, it makes the biblical—Christian conception of time interact with the visions of time and reality proper to science and to modern and contemporary philosophy. The classical conception of physical-mechanical time has led to thinking of temporality (the condition of 'being in time') as a limit to be overcome and reach

eternity (a condition in the future). According to this perspective, the meaning of human existence, subjected to time and the limits of transience and finiteness, emerges insufficiently. The understanding of temporality as becoming and limiting, as a lack of consistency and permanence, and therefore non-being, has negatively conditioned the very idea of revelation, or the way in which existence relates to the transcendent or hierophany — the manifestation of the sacred in human experience. The biblical resumption of time as an opening and place of revelation makes it possible to reshape the debate between science and faith (without confusion and separation) and to think of finiteness in close relationship with eternity and otherness as the revelation of the eternal.

Kurt Appel's contribution, "The Eighth Day. Biblical Time as Openness of Chronological Time" begins with the biblical creation story built according to a temporal narration. The seventh, or rather the eighth, day inscribes an openness in time that eludes all functionalisation. The eschaton (the seventh day) is the transition into the radical openness of time.

In his "The Time, Revelation or Negation of the Eternal? The Modern Metaphor of the 'Death of God'", Andrea Toniolo suggests that before the modern physical 'revolution' on the conception of time/space, it was the modern theological (and philosophical) thought that threw the 'classical' view of time and history into crisis. This crisis is emblematically expressed by the metaphor of the death of God' (Nietzsche, Hegel and Jungel).

Piero Benvenuti's chapter "Cosmology and Cosmologhia: A Much Needed Distinction" distinguishes, without separating, between the scientific models of cosmic evolution (cosmology) and the possible global cosmological models (cosmologhia). These models are anchored in scientific models; however, they differ by the choice of solution of the stumbling blocks encountered by scientific methods. They can be represented by the multiverse hypothesis, the cyclical universe or other philosophical or theological hypotheses.

In his "God and the Big Bang: Past and Modern Debates between Science and Theology", Gabriele Gionti introduces the contemporary view on the birth (Big Bang) and evolution of our universe as well as the Hartle-Hawking model of quantum cosmology. He presents two models of the relationship between science and theology (and Church teaching) that occurred in history: (1) the concordist view, since Big Bang theory appeared quite in agreement with Christian doctrine of creation and (2) the 'complementary magisterial' view, in which we distinguish between the scientific and theological planes as two parallel 'lines'. To avoid confusion, it is necessary to regain a good conception of the doctrine of creation.

Alberto Peratoner's contribution titled "`Qu'est-ce qu'un homme, dans l'in-fini?' Eternity and Infinity in Blaise Pascal and in the 17th-Century Geometrizing Ontologies" re-proposes the suggestive anthropological reflection of Pascal, who derives the human consciousness of his own condition from the geometric), i.e. from the concept of infinity as a representation of reality that shows his condition as suspended between infinity and nothingness.

Finally, Leopoldo Sandonà, in his "Eternity and Otherness from the Perspective of Dialogic Thinking. Inspirations and Contaminations in and from Romano Guardini, Franz Rosenzweig and Nishida Kitaro", approaches the relation between time and eternity from the innovative perspective of dialogic thought, crossing contemporary philosophy and theology with Jewish and Christian thinking. The eternity is not a concept but a relation, as Rosenzweig says, "the 'us' are eternal".

The fourth part titled "Existential Corollaries" intends to reach the existential dimension of the human being, who thinks of eternity and totality in its ontological, physical and theological infinity and then finds himself having to come to terms with his own condition of finitude, searching for the arguments that can restore a substantial value and give meaning to life lived in experiencing different forms of pain and fatigue with which madness announces itself.

In her "Eternity, Instant, Duration. Tangere aeternum", Ilaria Malaguti considers how the centre of human existence, the actuality of the ego with itself, is enclosed in the

intertwining of chronos and kairos. In our temporal and chronological experience, can we think of kairos as the instant in which we are offered the possibility of a tangere aeternum? Can we think of the moment starting from an interiority that does not withdraw into itself but becomes attentive and rises in intimate contact with the eternal?

Santo Di Nuovo's chapter titled "Finitude and Project: For Which Space? And for What Time?" reviews the challenges of finitude to philosophies, religions and sciences and reports the transhumanistic claim for artificially simulating an immortal consciousness. Based on some phenomenological suggestions and Edgar Morin's concepts of world citizenship and 'reliance', it presents some hypotheses for implementing a shared project of transcendence to begin in our present world.

Diego De Leo's chapter, titled "The Last Waltz: Finitude, Loneliness and Exiting from Life", discusses how the instrumentalist culture of modern society seems to have difficulty in dealing with the idea of life destined to end. Death seems to be considered for only old people. This chapter describes the problematic confrontation with finitude and unwanted travel companions in the course of life, such as loneliness, depression and suicidal ideation — conditions that make one wish for a different culture of death but, above all, a different preparation for life.

In their chapter "Beyond the Limits of Mental Illness: Dignity and Dignity Therapy in Person-Centred Psychiatry", Luigi Grassi and Harvey M. Chochinov consider how person-centred psychiatry and dignity-conserving care, including dignity therapy, should be practised in all mental health care settings to reduce the alienation, loss of identity, stigma and psychological, interpersonal, spiritual and existential suffering that people with psychiatric disorders have to face.

With her chapter "Beyond Alienation: Severino's Removal of Pathological Contradiction", Ines Testoni concludes the entire volume by bringing the whole discussion back to the opening discourse, that is to the Severinian ontological dimension that indicates the necessity of eternity. The substantial aim of this contribution is to highlight the inability to think of the eternal, i.e. how thought is still

immersed in the radical madness of nihilism that consists precisely in thinking that being as becoming is nothing. <>

ZHIPAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN CHINA

Historiography is one of the fields traditional Chinese culture excelled in. Both the secular historiography and the Buddhist historiography of premodern China are historiographic traditions of abundant wealth. However, while scholars did make substantial efforts investigating and translating major works of Chinese secular historiography, Chinese Buddhist historiography received comparatively little scholarly attention so far. This is unfortunate since a closer investigation of Chinese Buddhist historiography would significantly enhance our general understanding of the development of Buddhism in China. A serious beginning has however been made. A pioneering introductory work on Buddhist historiography of the Song period was presented by Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer. It is entitled Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen und die Kom-pilation buddhistischer Universalgeschichten in China: Ein Beitrag zur Geistes-geschichte der Sung-Zeit (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982). More explicitly focusing on the Buddhist Tiantai school, I myself have presented a study entitled Making and Remaking of History: A Study of Tiantai Sectarian Historiography (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1999). However, in order to gain secure footage in the study of the Buddhist historiographic tradition, translations of the major works will be necessary. Here, too, the achievements regarding Buddhist historiography fall short of those regarding secular historiography.

Against this background, the translation from the Fozu tongji which Thomas Jülch is offering here constitutes an important contribution to the research process. The Fozu tongji by the Southern Song monk Zhipan (1220–1275) is by far the most complex work of premodern Chinese Buddhist historiography. Written within the context of the rivalry between Chan and Tiantai Buddhism, the Fozu tongji represents the Tiantai school and concludes the sequence of Tiantai Buddhist historiographic works that were written in the Song dynasty. The Fozu tongji is divided into a variety of sections each of which has its own theme. The most complex

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of these sections is the "Fayun tongsai zhi" (Monograph on Success and Obstructions in the Spread of the Dharma), an elaborate annalistic history of Buddhism in China, which alone comprises fifteen juan. As the title announces, the section goes through the history of Buddhism in China by referring to both accomplishments and setbacks. The accomplishments are usually miraculous events that occurred in connection with the practice of the dharma. The setbacks are impairments of Buddhism especially through disparagements and persecutions. Most of the historiographic content assembled in the "Fayun tongsai zhi" is adopted from earlier works and presented in abridged and modified form. On the one hand Zhipan impresses the readers by demonstrating a remarkable mastery of a wide variety of sources. On the other hand it also needs to be said that in certain cases Zhipan's reading and reception of the sources is faulty and includes imprecisions.

Jülch's work, which will comprise three volumes in total, is designed to present a complete translation of the "Fayun tongsai zhi." The present first volume translates the materials referring to the period from the times of the birth of the Buddha to the end of the Nanbeichao era. Translating from the "Fayun tongsai zhi" is truly arduous work, since all the sources the text relies on need to be identified. Taking into account that the content of the "Fayun tongsai zhi" almost exclusively constitutes itself out of such receptions, identifying all of the sources poses an enormous challenge. And it is a challenge which Jülch convincingly addresses in his translation. In his annotations he guides the reader to the relevant sources, and reveals the imprecisions in Zhipan's reception of those sources wherever necessary. Beyond the source references the apparatus of annotations which accompanies Jülch's translation includes rich funds of explanations further elucidating particular passages by providing backgrounds and contextualizations as well as references to relevant research. Through the clarity of the translations and the generosity of the annotations Jülch's work sets a new standard for future translation projects in the realm of Chinese Buddhist historiography.

The materials Jülch plans to translate in the second volume of his translation project have already been subject to translation work by Jan Yün-hua in a publication entitled A Chronicle of Buddhism in China, 581–960 A.D.: Translations from Monk Chih-p'an's Fo-tsu T'ung-chi (Santiniketan: Visva-Bharati, 1966). Jan's translation is however cursory rather than complete. Still Jan does not insert omission marks, and he does not explain by which criteria he selects the passages he includes in his translation. Also Jan's translation style is not unproblematic. Frequently his translation is overly free to the point of summarizing the text rather than

translating it. Given that in Jan's times the conditions for research in Chinese studies were different from today, Jan's translation is still a remarkable achievement. But it is good to see that beginning with the present volume Jülch now offers a new approach to the "Fayun tongsai zhi."

Zhipan's Account of the History of Buddhism in China Volume 1: Fozu tongji, juan 34-38: From the Times of the Buddha to the Nanbeichao Era by Thomas Jülch [Zhipan's Account of the History of Buddhism in China, Brill, ISBN: 9789004396203]

The Fozu tongji by Zhipan (ca. 1220-1275) is a key text of Chinese Buddhist historiography. In the present volume Thomas Jülch presents his translation of the first five juan of the massive annalistic part. Rich annotations clarify the backgrounds to the historiographic contents, presented by Zhipan in a highly essentialized style. For the historical traditions the sources Zhipan refers to are meticulously identified. In those cases where the accounts presented are inaccurate or imprecise, Jülch points out how the relevant matter is depicted in the sources Zhipan relies on. With this carefully annotated translation of Fozu tongji, juan 34-38, Thomas Jülch enables an indepth understanding of a key text of Chinese Buddhist historiography.

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The Fozu tongji (T 2035, Comprehensive History of the Buddhist Patriarchs) is a massive work of Buddhist historiography composed by the Southern Song monk Zhipan (ca. 1220-1275). The present translation project, which is intended to have three volumes, refers to a part of the Fozu tongji entitled Fayun tongsai zhi (Monograph on Success and Obstructions in the Spread of the Dharma). The Fayun tongsai zhi, covering Fozu tongji, juan 34 "48, is an annalistic chronicle of Buddhism in China. It goes through Chinese history dynasty by dynasty, ruler by ruler, and year by year, listing events following the chronological order. With the present project I intend to offer a complete translation of the Fayun tongsai zhi. In the present volume, I translate the first five juan (i.e. Fozu tongji, juan 34 "38), which contain the annals referring to the history of Buddhism in China from the time of the birth of the Buddha in the 26th year of King Zhao of Zhou to the end of the Nanbeichao period. In the second volume I will translate the next four juan of the Fayun tongsai zhi (i.e. Fozu tongji, juan 39 "42), which have previously been translated by Jan Yan-hua, and refer to the history of Buddhism from the Sui dynasty to the end of the Wudai period. In the third volume I will translate the remaining six juan of the Fayun tongsai zhi (i.e. Fozu tongji, juan 43-48), which refer to the history of Buddhism in the Song dynasty up to the year 1236, the third year of the duanping era of the Southern Song emperor Lizong.

With regard to the overall textual structure of the Fayun tongsai zhi, it needs to be explained that apart from the main text, the work contains supplements, commentary passages, and annotations. Supplements are enhancements added to the main text in the end of some of the juan: In the end of juan 35 we find the supplements for juan 34

and 35. In the end of juan 36 there are supplements again. In the end of juan 37 there are no supplements. In the end of juan 38 there is a supplement, which is however excluded from the transla-tion, as it repeats things that have previously already been said. Shi Daofa has published a modern edition of the Fozu tongji, which integrates the supplements into the annalistic display fitting them in wherever they chronologically belong. In the present translation project I do, however, not follow this approach. Instead I translate the text of the Fayun tongsai zhi as it appears in the Taishi. Commentary passages are designed to provide further information on a subject of an entry in the main text or also on a subject of an entry in a supplement. They therefore appear after the entry they refer to and are in the present translation project presented as indented to the text of this entry. Annotations appear within the main text, within supplements and within commentary passages. They are of very different content. Those that carry important information are in the present translation project translated in footnotes to the relevant passage. It is however also seen that annotations run to great length pointing out the Chinese equivalents of certain Sanskrit terms and explaining their original meaning. Since today this sort of information is easily accessible, such annotations are excluded from the translation presented in the current translation project.

The main intention of the Fayun tongsai zhi is to present a positive image of Buddhism in China, and to demonstrate that the presence of Buddhism at all times brought blessings, created miracles, and was of advantage to the country. This intention was common to Chinese Buddhist historiography since its beginnings in Nanbeichao times. To the Chinese sangha, Buddhist historiographic writing was a means of making Buddhism prevail in the face of anti-Buddhist agitation. The charges brought up against Buddhism were manifold. Rather than listing them exhaustively, I would like to point to one essential charge, which in particular was predestined for counters from Buddhist historiography. Confucian scholars claimed that in the Chinese antiquity the Confucian sages (shengren) established the ideal state of great peace (taiping, which was regarded as the source of all teachings worth being studied. To Confucian scholars Buddhism, as a teaching from the lands of the barbarians was not based on this ancient Chinese

wisdom treasury and was there-fore seen as an unwelcome defilement of the Chinese high culture. Reacting to this Confucian understanding, Chinese Buddhist historiographic literature seeks to introduce a counter-concept, allowing the presence of Buddhism in China to appear in a more favorable light. Part of the strategy Chinese Buddhist historiography employed in this context was to implant Buddhism into the Chinese antiquity, which made Buddhism appear as part of the wisdom treasury associated with that age. As an expression of this strategy, the history of Buddhism in China presented in the Fayun tongsai zhi begins right with the Buddha. According to a tradition deeply rooted in Chinese Buddhist historiography, birth and parinirvãna of the Buddha caused natural phenomena, which alarmed the contemporary kings of the Chinese antiquity. In this way, the birth of the Buddha alarmed King Zhao of Zhou, while the parinirvãna of the Buddha alarmed King Mu of Zhou. This tradition, which goes back to the Chinese Buddhist apocryphal scripture Zhoushu yiji, allows to integrate birth and parinirvãna of the Buddha into the annalistic display shown in the Fayun tongsai zhi.â€� As far as the case of King Mu is concerned, a reinterpretation of the Mu tianzi zhuan is implied. The Mu tianzi zhuan, a legendary account from ancient China, says that King Mu travelled to the West to see the Xiwangmu. The Buddhist historiographic tradition based on the Zhoushu yiji takes up the tradition of King Mu travelling to the West but depicts the journey as motivated by the natural phenomena pointing to the parinirvãna of the Buddha in India. As the legend of King Mu's journey to the West was publicly perceived as an important event of the Chinese antiquity, being able to ascribe a Buddhist causation to King Mu's journey meant to establish a prominent presence of Buddhism within the golden age of the sages.

The references to the birth and to the parinirvãna of the Buddha are part of a full biography of the Buddha, which is placed in the beginning of the Fayun tongsai zhiâ€� as a means of portraying the superior sanctity of Buddhism. This biography begins with parts referring to matters prior to the birth of the Buddha. They cannot be integrated into the annalistic display, which otherwise characterizes the Fayun tongsai zhi, as they cannot be contextualized with corresponding events in Chinese history (such as natural phenomena). The first chapter of the biography of the Buddha in the beginning

of the Fayun tongsai zhi is entitled Understanding the origin and manifestation [of the Buddha] and explains that on an ultimate level the life of the Buddha is not confined to the Buddha's historical life span as Šãkyamuni, since the Buddha's emanation as Šãkyamuni was merely a worldly semblance of his true super-natural existence. Borrowing a term from Christian theology, Michael Radich has described this understanding as docetistic (derived from Greek dokesis, meaning semblance, appearance). In the second chapter, The descent from the Tusita-heaven, we are told how Šãkyamuni descended from the heavenly realm whereas part of the docetistic display, he was prepared for his manifestation as the Buddha. The third chapter, Entering the mother's womb, reveals how Sakyamuni, having descended from the Tusita-heaven entered the womb of his mother Maya. Only with the third chapter, Manifestation in incarnation which explains how the Buddha was born from Maya's womb, the annals of the Fayun tongsai zhiâ begin.

Apart from demonstrating the sanctity of the Buddha by means of presenting his biography, Buddhist historiography still has further means of opposing the Confucian understanding that the Buddha, as a barbarian deity, had to be inferior to the sages of the Chinese antiquity. One tradition frequently employed in this respect is represented in the Fayun tongsai zhiâ€� rather briefly, but enjoys great popularity throughout Chinese Buddhist historiography. It goes back to Liezi, juan 4. According to Erik Archer, the original text of the Liezi was lost early, while the present text of the Liezi â€œis at least partly a forgery of the third or early fourth century AD, which appears to include com-ponents articulating Buddhist ideological positions. The famous passage seen in Liezi, juan 4, presents a conversation in which Confucius says that he would not know whether the Confucian sages are real sages, while the people of the West (i.e. the people of India) would however have a real sage. Tang Yongtong has argued that, owing to the Daoist background ascribed to the Liezi, this reference to the sage of the West might also be a statement of Daoist religiosity, thinking of the Buddha as Laozi having reincarnated in India as claimed in the huahu legend However Archer does not think so. He argues that, since in the Liezi statements of Buddhist ideology are also seen in other places, we should assume that also this famous passage was meant to be a

statement in favor of Buddhism. Be that as it may, the intention with which the passage is employed in Buddhist historiography and in the Fayun tongsai zhiâ€� is clear. The passage is quoted to demonstrate that Buddhism, not Confucianism, is based on the teachings of a true sage.

Again as part of the attempt to anchor Buddhism in the Chinese antiquity, Chinese Buddhist historiography also depicts the history of the spread of Buddhism in China as reaching back to the earliest times. The general conception of the early history of Buddhism in China follows a key pattern which Chinese Buddhist historiographic sources largely agree upon. I here need to confine myself to introducing this conception in a thoroughly succinct fashion: First Buddhism had been spread in the Chinese antiquity through various incidents, the most famous among which may be the spreading of the relics of the Buddha through messengers sent by the Indian King Ashoka (ayu wang). With the burning of books under Qin Shihuang Buddhism however became extinct in China. Yet, even while Buddhism was extinct, there were certain incidents suggesting that it had not completely slipped into oblivion. E.g. Huo Qubing, a general of Han Wudi on one of his campaigns got hold of a golden mean (i.e. a Buddha statue), which Han Wudi knew to worship as a deity. The period of Buddhism being extinct in China lasted until Han Ming dynasty, the second emperor of the Eastern Han dynasty, under whom Buddhism was officially reintroduced. According to a tradition originating from the Chinese Buddhist apocryphal scripture Han faben neizhuan (Inner Transmission of the Root of the Dharma in the Han Dynasty), Han Mingdi, having had a dream of a golden mean (i.e. of the Buddha), sent messengers to India to find out about this appearance. The messengers came back with the two monk missionaries Kanyapa Mangliga (shemoteng) and Zhu Falan, who on a white horse brought Buddhist sutras, based on which the first Buddhist monastery in China was named White Horse Monastery (baima si). While this is the general pattern which the conception of the early history of Buddhism in China as seen in the Fayun tongsai zhiâ€� and in the diverse other texts of Chinese Buddhist historiography is based upon, traditions which are employed for enhancement and illustration vary from account to account.

In the further course the Fayun tongsai zhiâ continues to depict Buddhism as a teaching bringing blessings and positive influence to China by referring to exemplary monks and nuns. Zhipan widely quotes from biographies in the Gaoseng zhuan (T 2059) by Huijiao (497â€“554), from biographies in the Xu gaoseng zhuan (T 2060) by Daoxuan (596â€“667), and also from biographies in the Biqiuni zhuan (T 2063) by Baochang E.g. seeking to depict Buddhism as a teaching benefitting both the state and the ruler, Zhipan quotes the biographies of Kang Senghui (Gaoseng zhuan, juan 1), Guá¹‡avarman (Gaoseng zhuan, juan 3), and Fotudeng (Gaoseng zhuan, juan 9), all of whom succeeded in changing rulers for the better by converting them to Buddhism. The conversion talks these monk missionaries held with the relevant rulers are reminiscent of the counselling activity of Confucius, who in the Spring-and Autumn-Period moved from court to court hoping to guide rulers to better policies. So the biographies quoted in this context do not only demonstrate that Buddhism helped to ease political turmoil in medieval China, but also imply that this was done in a way consistent with the Chinese tradition. Other monastics are commended for their engagement in translating the Buddhist scriptures into Chinese, or for their outstanding virtue.

Also accounts of Buddhist laypeople are included in the Fayun tongsai zhi. We find a broad coverage of the White Lotus Society (Bailian she), a circle of Buddhist monks and laymen founded by Huiyuan(334-416). Many of the traditions the Fayun tongsai zhiâ quotes in this context can be traced back to Huiyuan's biography in Gaoseng zhuan, juan 6. Other traditions, however, only originate from the Lushanji (T 2095), a late work authored in the Song dynasty by Chen Shunyu (d. 1074). The Fayun tongsai zhiâ€ also includes references to Buddhist laypeople, who through their piety brought about all sorts of miracles. Such miracle accounts are frequently adopted from early medieval zhiguai collections, such as the Youming lu and the Mingxiang ji. Other traditions simply pointing to remarkable acts of Buddhist laypeople are frequently adopted from the official historiography (zhengshi). Based on the official historiography, too, the realm of politics of religion is covered. Rulers supporting the dharma, such as Liang

Wudi, are portrayed as shinging examples. Rulers responsible for persecutions of Buddhism, such as Beiwei Taiwu di, are depicted as tragically misled.

While the tales quoted from the sources named above primarily refer to sacred people, the Fayuan tongsai zhiâ also quotes miracle tales rather associ-ated with sacred places. A rich source for such traditions is the Luoyang qielan ji (Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang) by Yang Xuanzhi.

While Luoyang was capital of the Tuoba-Wei dynasty a multitude of Buddhist monasteries adorned the city. As after the end of the Tuoba-Wei dynasty Luoyang was in ruins, Yang Xuanzhi, a low-ranking official, in 547 sojourned in Luoyang, and on this basis composed the Luoyang qielan ji to remind of the city's former Buddhist culture. Since the Luoyang qielan ji mainly presents historical traditions referring to Tuoba-Wei times, the Fayun tongsai zhiâ preferably makes use of the work in the part concerning the Tuoba-Wei period, which is seen in Fozu tongji,juan 38. Here the Fayun tongsai zhiâ€� quotes the Luoyang qielan ji presenting accounts of miraculous events associated with particular monasteries.

Many of the traditions the â€œFayun tongsai zhiâ€� adopts from the above mentioned sources were widely employed also in the Buddhist apologetic treatises written up to the times of Wu Zetian. In those days a rich production of Buddhist apologetic literature was triggered by the following circumstances: (1) As a teaching coming from abroad, Buddhism had to demonstrate how it was relevant to the China society and how it could harmonize with Confucianism. (2) As a religious system, Buddhism in China stood in fierce rivalry with Daoism, and thus sought to demonstrate that Daoist thought was invalid, subversive, and based on debauchery and plagiarism. The list of Buddhist apologetic treatises arguing along those lines is long. Of particular importance are the Mouzi lihuo lun (Treatise of Master Mou Removing Doubts), which is one of the earliest Chinese Buddhist apologetic treatises, the Erjiao lun (Treatise of the Two Teachings) and the Xiaodao lun (Treatise of Laughing at the Dao) from the Northern Zhou dynasty,the Poxie lun (T 2109, Treatise Destroying Evils) and the Bianzheng lun (T 2110, Treatise Discussing what is Correct) written by Falin (572â€“640) in the early

Tang dynasty, and the Zhenzheng lun (T 2112, Treatise Revealing the Correct) written by Xuanyi under Wu Zetian. On the one hand these apologetic works adopt content from monk biographies, miracle tales and so forth, while on the other hand in the Fayun tongsai zhiâ€ we find content also seen in previous apologetic writing. So it is clear that contents were exchanged between formats of apologetic and historiographic writing and vice versa. The presentation style in apologetic writing and historiographic writing is however different. While in an apologetic context content is employed in argumentative style serving the relevant apologetic objective, in a historiographic context the same content would simply be presented as an account of history, even though apologetic intent may also be involved. To make the difference understandable I will offer an example: The Poxie lun is the earliest known work to present the text of the Han faben neizhuan, the original of which is lost. The text tells a story of Daoist priests seeking to demonstrate the superiority of Daoism to Buddhism, when Buddhism was officially introduced to China under Han Mingdi. As we are told, the Daoist demonstration fails, which in fact demonstrates the inferiority of Daoism to Buddhism. In the Poxie lun this story is quoted as part of an apologetic reply to an anti-Buddhist statement presented by the Daoist priest FuYi (555-639). The Fayun tongsai zhiâ€ quotes the Han faben neizhuan at remarkable length (T 2035, p. 329, b17 p. 330, a9), simply presenting the story as part of the historical events under Han Mingdi. Certainly, if a text as polemic as the Han faben neizhuan is quoted this elaborately, apologetic interest is involved. But the presentation style in apologetic and historiographic treatises can still be differentiated clearly.

To fully understand the intention with which the Fayun tongsai zhi was written, we do however also need to appreciate the particular context of Buddhist historiography in the Song dynasty. While the history of Chinese Buddhist historiographic writing reaches back to Nanbeichao times, the Song dynasty saw an enormous increase in the production of Buddhist historiographic works. This increase is owed to the competition between the two dominant Buddhist schools of the Song dynasty: the Tiantai school and the Chan school. In the context of this competition, historical treatises were written to depict the history of Buddhism either in favor of the Tiantai school or in

favor of the Chan school. In particular, both schools attempted to demonstrate that the own lineage of patriarchs went back right to the Buddha, while the patriarchal lineage of the competing school did not. Already in the Tang dynasty, Shenqing (fl. 779 "806) in his Beishan lu„ (T 2113, North Mountain Record) attacked the Chan genealogy. Later on the Tiantai historiographers praised and employed him, while the Chan scholars, and among them especially Qisong (1007-1072), criticized him severely. As a Tiantai scholar, Zhipan with the Fozu tong/i composed the most complex among the works authored in the context of the competition between the Tiantai and the Chan schools. The Fozu tong/i in no way confines itself to arguing in terms of this controversy only. Rather than that it also refers to controversies within the Tiantai school, and supports the orthodox tradition of the shanjia (mountain house) against the dissenters referred to as shanwai (off the mountain). Further-more the Fozu tong/i also contains accounts of other Buddhist schools, such as especially the Jingtu (Pure Land) school. Matching this wider approach, the Fayun tongsai zhi is, as we have seen, designed to be a general history of Buddhism in China. Yet, despite this broad thematic setting, Zhipanâ's main intention still was to state the case for the Tiantai school in its competition with Chan Buddhism. The Fozu tong/i begins by presenting the Tiantai lineage as going back to the Buddha: juan 1"4 present the biography of the Buddha, juan 5 presents the biographies of the Indian patriarchs, and juan 6 "8 present the biographies of the Chinese patriarchs. In the Fayun tongsai zhi the succession of the patriarchs from the Buddha on is again included into the general annalistic display. Even though the references to the patriarchs are kept brief here, their succession in favor of the Tiantai lineage is again shown.

Yet there are further aspects which give the Fayun tongsai zhiâ a particular Tiantai flavor. Firstly, in the biography of the Buddha, which stands at the beginning of the Fayun tongsai zhi, the sutras preached by the Buddha are classified according to the Tiantai classification system, which depicts the Saddharmapundarika Sutra (Miaofa lianhua jing) and the Mahaparinirvana sutra (Da ban niepan jing) as the highest sÅ«tras. Secondly, the Fayun tongsai zhiâ contains many accounts of miracles resulting from recitations of the Saddharmapundarika Sutra. Thirdly, Zhiyi (538 "597), the

founder of the Tiantai school, is covered particularly extensively. Even though the actual foundation of the Tiantai order in the Sui dynasty does not fall into the scope of what is translated from the Fayun tongsai zhia in the present first volume of the translation project, we observe the eye-catching generosity with which Zhiyi is covered already with regard to his actions in the preceding Chen dynasty. In connection with the broad coverage of Zhiyi, the historiographic works of Zhiyi's main student, Guanding (561 "632), i.e. the Guoqing bailuåœ (T 1934) and the Sui Tiantai Zhizhe dashi biezhuan (T 2050), are employed. Fourthly, the â€œFayun tongsai zhiâ occasionally also includes explicit rejoinders to particular traditions of Chan historiography. In Fozu tongji, juan 37 (T 2035, p. 352, c15"21), we find an attack on a tradition seen in the Jingde chuandeng lu (T 2076), an important historiographic work of the Chan school compiled in 1004. In Fozu tongji, juan 38 (T 2035, p. 356, a22"29), we find a counter to the claim that Bodhidharma, the alleged founder of the Chan school, was after his death seen walking in a realized fashion by the Chinese traveler Song Yun.

It is important to note that, apart from the Buddhist main content, the Fayun tongsai zhiâ also comprises passages referring to non-Buddhist matters. In the main text we observe that space is given to important political developments as well. In particular acts of misled policy, such as the burning of books under Qin Shihuang, attacks on the public order, such as the Yellow Turban uprising, or the persecutions of Buddhism under Beiwei Taiwudi and Zhou Wudi are covered and commented in thoroughly critical style. Apart from that, as the two most important native Chinese traditions of thought, also Confucianism and Daoism are covered. While they already play their role within the coverage of the political situation, Confucianism and Daoism are introduced in their own right in the supplements, which the author designed as the place for matters that do not fit into the main text. Even though, as we have seen, the Fayun tongsai zhiâ in its Buddhist content also opposes Confucian attempts of belittling Buddhism, those passages which introduce Confucianism and Daoism in their own right do so in friendly and respectful style. Written in the age of Neoconfucianism, the Fozu tongji does not have an interest in a confrontation between Buddhism and the native Chinese teachings, but rather seeks to offer a general perspective which does

refute anti-Buddhist polemicism but otherwise seeks to present a view conducive to reconciliation.

The coverage of the political situation and the inclusion of Confucian and Daoist content makes the Fayun tongsai zhiâ precursor to the Buddhist historiography of the Yuan dynasty, in which we find the history of Buddhism embedded in a broad perspective on Chinese history. As far as the competition between the Tiantai and the Chan schools is concerned, the Chan school was able to take the lead, and the dispute between the two schools of Chinese Buddhism gradually dissipated. With the Fozu lidai tongzai T 2036, A Comprehensive Registry of the Successive Ages of the Buddha and the Patriarchs), completed in 1333 or 1334, the Chan monk Nianchangå¸ composed a history of Buddhism which formally still has the character of sectarian historiography, but gives less priority to the sectarian dispute and more priority to the new approach of integrating the history of Buddhism into a more general history of thought in China. <>

ZHIPAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN CHINA VOLUME 2: FOZU TONGJI, JUAN 39-42: FROM THE SUI DYNASTY TO THE WUDAI ERA by Thomas Jülch [Zhipan's Account of the History of Buddhism in China, Brill, ISBN: 9789004445918]

The Fozu tongji by Zhipan (ca. 1220-1275) is a key text of Chinese Buddhist historiography. The core of the work is formed by the "Fayun tongsai zhi," an annalistic history of Buddhism in China, which extends through Fozu tongji, juan 34-48. Thomas Jülch now presents a translation of the "Fayun tongsai zhi" in three volumes. This second volume covers the annalistic display from the Sui dynasty to the end of the Wudai period. Offering elaborate annotations, Jülch succeeds in clarifying the backgrounds to the historiographic contents, which Zhipan presents in highly essentialized style. Jülch identifies the sources for the historical traditions Zhipan refers to, and when accounts presented by Zhipan are inaccurate or imprecise, he points out how the relevant matter is depicted in the sources Zhipan relies

on. Consistently employing these means in reliable style Jülch defines a new standard for translations of medieval Chinese historiographic texts.

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With the present volume I present the second part of my translation from the Fozu tongji (T 2035, Comprehensive History of the Buddhist Patriarchs). The translation project aims at offering a complete translation of the Fayun tongsai zhi (Monograph on Success and Obstructions in the Spread of the Dharma), which covers Fozu tongji, juan 34-48. The Fayun tongsai zhi is an annalistic chronicle of Buddhism in China. In the first volume I presented a translation of Fozu tongji, juan 34-38, which refers to the period from the birth of the Buddha to the Nanbeichao era. With the present vol-ume I add the translation of Fozu tongji, juan 39-42, which refers to the period from the Sui dynasty to the Wudai era. In the third volume a translation of Fozu tongji, juan 43-48, which refers to the Song dynasty, shall follow.

With regard to the overall textual structure of the Fayun tongsai zhi, it needs to be explained that apart from the main text, the work contains supplements, commentary passages, and annotations. Supplements are enhancements that in the materials

translated for the present volume are added to the main text in the end of juan 39, juan 40, and juan 42. Shi Daofa has published a modern edition of the Fozu tongji, which integrates the supplements into the annalistic display fitting them in wherever they chronologically belong. In the present translation project I do however not follow this approach. Instead I translate the text of the Fayun tongsai zhi as it appears in the Taish. Commentary passages are designed to provide further information on a subject of an entry in the main text or also on a subject of an entry in a supplement. They therefore appear subsequent to the entry they refer to and are in the present translation project presented as indicated to the text of this entry. Annotations appear within the main text, within supplements and within commentary passages. They are of very different content. Those that carry important information are in the present translation project translated in footnotes to the relevant passage.

The materials translated for the present volume have partially already been translated by Jan huan-hua. Unfortunately, in Jan huan-hua's translation much of the text is omitted. Supplements, commentary passages, and annotations are generally excluded from the translation. When it comes to the paragraphs of the main text, the translation occasionally stops in the middle of a paragraph, and many of the paragraphs are missing completely. Jan Yün-hua does not include omission signs, and he does not indicate where the textual segments he chooses to translate appear in the text. This makes it rather laborious for the reader to identify which text portions Jan Yün-hua's translation is referring to. One also wonders which criteria Jan Yün-hua's choices of including or excluding textual segments depend on, as he does not offer an explanation concerning this matter. The quality of the translations we are offered seems questionable. Jan Yün-hua's translation style is overly free and sometimes he appears to be retelling rather than translating the text. Jan Yün-hua does offer footnotes in which he critically compares the contents of the text with relevant references in other sources. His appreciation of intertextuality does however have its limitations. It appears to me that more should be done in identifying sources. Also in explaining historical backgrounds and contexts one could be more elaborate. For these reasons I

have decided to include this part, which was previously already subject to the work of Jan Yün-hua, into my translation of the Fayun tongsai zhi again.

Subsequently my introduction to Fozu tongji, juan 39–42, will fall into four parts. Firstly I will look at how the Buddhist-Confucian confrontation and the Buddhist-Daoist confrontation are represented in the text. Secondly I will contrast the representations of Tiantai-Buddhism and Chan-Buddhism against each other. Thirdly I will outline the context of Chinese Buddhist historiography discussing which place the Fozu tongji and the Fayun tongsai zhi occupy in it. Fourthly I will introduce sources of relevance to the translated text that have not yet been covered in the previous parts of the introduction.

The Buddhist-Confucian Confrontation and the Buddhist-Daoist Confrontation in the Fayun tongsai zhi

During its early history in China, Buddhism as a religion coming from abroad needed to justify its emergence in Chinese society, which resulted in a rich production of Buddhist apologetic literature employing different strategies in stating the case for Buddhism both in reaction to Confucianism and in reaction to Daoism. This apologetic endeavor is also reflected in the annalistic records of the Fayun tongsai zhi, where we usually find brief references to the publication of relevant works as well as to other relevant events. The Buddhist-Daoist confrontation and the Buddhist-Confucian confrontation each play their role in both the materials translated for the first volume and in the materials translated for the present second volume of this Fozu tongji translation project. In what follows I will first refer to the representation of the Buddhist-Confucian confrontation, and subsequently to the representation of the Buddhist-Daoist confrontation.

First, with regard to the Buddhist-Confucian confrontation, we should be aware of different aspects. Generally speaking, state and society in medieval China were conditioned by Confucianism. Buddhism as a religion of Indian origin found itself in various conflicts with the Confucian norms. An eminent conflict standing symbolically for the entire struggle between the Buddhist saá¹ƒgha and the Confucian state system was the debate on whether or not Buddhist monks should bow to the emperor. In

ancient India religion enjoyed a superior status, against the background of which it would have been unthink-able for a religious dignitary to bow to any worldly authority. Basing themselves on this tradition, Buddhist apologists in medieval China claimed that Buddhist monks should not be requested to bow to worldly authorities, as such requirements would impair the status of Buddhism as a religion free of control from worldly authorities. In the Confucian state system, the emperor was however seen as the head of all religions practiced in the empire, so that no religion practiced in China could evade imperial control. In early Chinese Bud-dhism the main incident of protest against this Confucian understanding of the status of religion was the composition of the Shamen bujing wangzhe lun by Huiyuan (334-416). Within the material translated in the present volume, further incidents of prominent protest find their representation. In Fozu tongji, juan 39, we find a reference to the controversy that during the Sui dynasty triggered the composition of the Futian lun by Yancong (557-610), which after the shamen bujing wang-zhe lun was the second prominent work in that segment of Buddhist apologetic literature. The debates on whether or not monks should bow to the emperor were closely related to yet another battlefield in the Buddhist-Confucian confrontation. The Confucian concept of filial piety required that anybody in the empire should pay homage to his parents. This, too, provoked the resistance of the Buddhist sangha, as in the Buddhist understanding becoming a monk meant to leave one's family and to become member of the family of the Buddha. The Chinese Buddhist terminology expresses this claim in its very term for becoming a monk, which is chu jia, literally leaving the family, but translated as renouncing secular life in the present translation project. Also the Buddhist resentment against the Confucian commandment of paying homage to one's parents led to several confrontations in medieval China. One particularly important example for such conflicts is rather briefly represented in Fozu tongji, juan 39 (T 2035, p. 367, a27-28). That the Buddhist protest against Confucian claims that monks should bow to the emperor, and the Buddhist protest against Confucian claims that monks should bow to their parents jointly form one important aspect of medieval Chinese Buddhist apologetic thought has its evidence in the fact that during the Tang dynasty, under the title of Ji shamen buying

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bai su deng shi (T 2108), a major collection of texts was compiled in which all the works relevant to this aspect of Buddhist apologetic literature are represented.

Another aspect of the Buddhist-Confucian confrontation in medieval China derives from the fact that in medieval China ordination certificates could be purchased, on the basis of which even people with little interest in Buddhism often became monks, simply in order to evade taxation and coercive labor. Through this phenomenon, the Chinese state was to a significant extent deprived of financial income and work force. The state reacted by introducing examinations in which monks had to demonstrate their understanding of the sutras. Monks who did not pass were returned to laity. Such measures provoked the protest of the Buddhist saá¹ƒgha, as they posed a potential threat to all monks. When we read about plans of introducing monks' examinations in Buddhist historiography the entry usually comes with the proud remark that the plans were dropped. In Fozu tongji, juan 42, we find a record of one prominent case, where the plans were dropped also due to the discredit of the initiator (T 2035, p. 385, b14-17). Since through such measures the state did not achieve to significantly reduce the numbers of monks, the rage in the face of growing losses of financial income and work force was the main cause triggering the third great persecution of the Buddhist samgha in Chinese history, which occurred during the Huichang era of Tang Wuzong. In commenting on Tang Wuzong's persecution policy, the Fayun tongsai zhi seeks to demonstrate that by harming the saá¹ƒgha Tang Wuzong accumulated an enormous amount of negative karma. Hence it is stressed that, as a karmic retribution, abscesses developed on his back, and that after his death his soul was to be arrested with that of the Lord of the Western Sea (T 2035, p. 386, a29-b2).

A third aspect of the Buddhist-Confucian confrontation, which plays a significant role in the materials translated in the present second volume of the translation project, is the assessment of the anti-Buddhist polemicism of the Confucian scholar Han Yu (768-824). As Han Yu lived during the Tang dynasty, the main treatment of his activity is seen in the second volume, but already in the materials translated in the first volume Han Yu is quoted and referred to in several commentary passages. In those commentary passages the image of Han Yu is downrightly negative. Most notably, in

the supplements appearing in the end of Fozu tongji,juan 35, we find a lengthy quotation of a text by Su Dongpo (1037-1101), which harshly opposes Han Yu for his slander of Buddhism (T 2035, p. 334, b3-24). When it comes to the materials of the Fayun tongsai zhi translated in the second volume, the assessment of Han Yu is however not generally negative. In Fozu tongji, juan 41, it is rather attempted to reinterpret the image of Han Yu calling his anti-Buddhist disposition into question. Zhipan goes to great length in presenting anecdotes testifying to the positive relationship between Han Yu and the Buddhist dharma master Dadian (T 2035, p. 382, a10-b12). Subsequently, in a commentary passage, Zhipan quotes yet another text of Su Dongpo regarding Han Yu. It says that in letters to Meng Jian an official in the rank of jianyi dafu (or Grand Master of Remonstrance) responsible for the supplies for state sacrifices Han Yu expressed his affection for Dadian (T 2035, p. 382, b13-14). Subsequent to the quotation of Su Dongpo, Zhipan adds that certain other texts ascribing anti-Buddhist statements to Han Yu were of dubious origin (T 2035, p. 382, b17-20). When it comes to the Buddhist-Daoist confrontation, the conflict basically arises from the fact that both Buddhism and Daoism were in medieval China established as influential religious systems, which therefore found themselves in a state of natural competition and rivalry with each other. Many of the apologetic treatises authored by medieval Chinese Buddhist apologists were directed against Daoism. In early Chinese Buddhism, important apologetic treatises of that kind were the Erjiao lun (Treatise of the Two Teachings) and the Xiaodao lun (Treatise of Laughing at the Dao). When it comes to the materials translated in the present volume, the matter of the Buddhist-Daoist confrontation is strongly represented in connection with the early Tang dynasty.The Tang dynasty based itself on Daoism in legitimizing its claim to power, and Daoist priests took advantage of the situation polemicizing against Buddhism. This triggered the composition of complex apologetic works cul-minating in the treatises of Poxie lun (T 2109) and Bianzheng lun (T 2110) by Falin (572â€“640) and the Zhenzheng lun–(T 2112) by Xuanyi (fl. late 7th century). After Xuanyi, up to the Yuan dynasty no major Buddhist apologetic works directed against Daoism were composed. However, the tradition of Buddhist-Daoist court debates was taken further. When the Buddhist-

Daoist confrontation reached its culmination point in the early Tang dynasty, the Buddhist historiographer Daoxuan (596-667) composed the Ji gujin fodao lunheng(T 2104, hereafter: Fodao lunheng), which sums up the contents of the major Buddhist-Daoist court debates con-ducted up to Daoxuan's life times. With regard to the remaining part of the Tang dynasty,for the Wudai period, and for the Song dynasty, we do not have source material as elaborate as that. However, the annalistic records of the Fayun tongsai zhi allow us to take the list of Buddhist-Daoist court debates further. Unfortunately, the Fozu tongji does not inform us about the content of the court debates, but usually confines itself to mentioning that at a certain date a court debate was conducted and to naming the main participants.

Another prominent representation of the Buddhist-Daoist confrontation within the contents of the Fayun tongsai zhi translated in the present volume is presented in different shape. While all of the above is introduced as part of the annalistic display in connection with a prominent event ascribed to a particular date, in Fozu tongji, juan 40, we find a lengthy commentary passage elaborately detailing on aspects of anti-Daoist propaganda as seen in Buddhist apologetic literature (T 2035, p. 371, p. 372, b16). The commentary passage relates to a main text sequence referring to the historical incident that under Tang Zhongzong paintings of Laozi based on the Huahu jing were banned from Buddhist monasteries (T 2035, p. 371, b2-c1). In the commentary passage relating to this main text sequence the reference to the image of Laozi developed in the Huahu jing is taken as an occasion to go into great detail in presenting much of the Buddhist apologetic argumentation designed to refute the huahu theory. An introduction to the Huahu jing, the huahu theory, and Buddhist counter strategies is seen in Erik Zurcher.

The Representation of Chan-and Tiantai-Buddhism in the Fayun tongsai zhi

While the matter of Buddhist apologetic thought concerns Buddhism as a whole, the Fozu tongji is a historiographic scripture written with one par-ticular sectarian preference. As already pointed out in the introduction to the first volume of the present translation project, the Fayun tongsai zhi is in the first place a general history of Buddhism in China, but since Zhipan, the author of the Fozu tongji, belonged to the

Tiantai school, and since the Fozu tongji was written when during the Song dynasty Chan and Tiantai Bud-dhism stood in fierce competition with each other, the Fayun tongsai zhi in its annalistic display tends to represent the history of Tiantai Buddhism more generously than the history of Chan Buddhism. In the introduction to the previous volume, I gave the example of a comparison of the representations of Bodhidharma (late 4th to early 5th century), the alleged founder of Chan Buddhism, and Zhiyi (538-597), the founder of Tiantai Buddhism. While Bodhidharma is represented in surprisingly scarce style, aspects of the biography of Zhiyi appear in a great multitude of annalistic entries. The representation of Zhiyi began in the treatment of the Chen dynasty, which is part of the material translated in the first volume, but most of the entries detailing on the biography of Zhiyi are seen in the treatment of the Sui dynasty, which is part of the present volume. Concerning the life of Zhiyi the most original sources are the Guoqing bailu (T 1934, Hundred Documents of the Guoqing [Monastery]) and the Sui Tiantai Zhizhe dashi biezhuan (T 2050, Alternative Biography of the Sui Dynasty Great Master Zhiyi from the Tiantai Mountains). The references to the life of Zhiyi seen in the Fayun tongsai zhi go back to these texts. With regard to Zhiyi and his main disciple Guanding, the emphasis on the Tiantai tradtion in the Fayun tongsai zhi can indeed be observed. However subsequent to Zhiyi and Guanding throughout the Tang and Wudai eras we find relatively few references to the Tiantai tradition and broad coverage of Chan Buddhism. The only reference to the legacy of another significant master of Tiantai Buddhism is the mention of Zhanran who is referred to as the Meditation Master of the Jing Brook. Despite Zhipan's inclination to Tiantai Buddhism, the lack of references to the Tiantai tradition should not surprise us. Zhiyi was importantly involved in the religious legitimation of the Sui dynasty,which is why with the rise of the Tang dynasty the Tiantai school largely fell into eclipse. With regard to the Tang dynasty the heavy emphasis on the Chan tradition sim-ply has its explanation in the fact that through much of the Tang dynasty the Chan tradition was the most relevant of the Buddhist schools in China. The Song dynasty saw a great comeback of the Tiantai school, which

is why the materials to be translated in the third volume of the present translation project have more to say about Tiantai Buddhism again.

Within the materials translated for the present volume we are however at least shown how, in the Tiantai Buddhist understanding, the teachings of the Tiantai school were transmitted after Zhiyi. One of the most important works of Zhiyi is the Mohe zhiguan (T 1911, The Great Calming and Contemplation), which is basically Zhiyi's guide to meditation. The term mohe is a transliteration of Skr. mahayana (= great); zhi, translated here as calming, stands for the Indian spiritual technique of amathaguan, translated here as contemplation, stands for the Indian spiritual technique of vipassana Against this background, what is shared in the Mohe zhiguan is often referred to as the zhiguan teachings. According to the Fayun tongsai zhi, the zhiguan teachings were after Zhiyi passed on from master to master. This makes up for a transmission lineage, which allows Tiantai historiography to claim that even though after Zhiyi the Tiantai school was largely in eclipse there was still a functional lineage reaching back to Zhiyi. From Zhiyi the teachings of calming and contemplation were passed on to Guanding. And since Guanding the transmission went on as summed up below. As the Fayun tongsai zhi also tells us, Zhanran composed a commentary on the Mohe zhiguan.

In the materials translated for volume three we continue with the transmission from Xiji to Yitong, which is noted in Fozu tongji,juan 43 (T 2035, p. 395, a26 27).

As the Fayun tongsai zhi also covers the Chan tradition, we find many gongâ€™an (public case) accounts. While gongan is the Chinese pronunciation of the term, the Japanese pronunciation, which is more popular in the West, is koan. The koan tradition emerged in Chan Buddhism during the late Tang dynasty, and remained important also during the Song dynasty. A koan account would present a situation in which a Chan master offers a peculiar and mysterious reaction supposed to inspire deep insight in his disciples. Reflection on koans was a form of meditation, which formed an alternative to the zhiguan tradition of Tiantai Buddhism. Koans are usually preserved in texts known as Yulu (recorded sayings). These are collections, in which notable sayings or reactions of important Chan masters are recorded. In the Fayun tongsai zhi much of the

repertoire of notable Yulu collections is quoted. Collections of relevance include the Pangjushiyulu (Recorded Sayings of Layman Pang, X69 // Z 2:25// R 120), the Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu (T 1992, Recorded Sayings of the Meditation Master Wude from Fenyang), the Mingjue chanshiyulu (T 1996, Recorded Sayings of the Meditation Master Mingjue), the Biyan lu (T 2003, Blue Cliff Record),19 and the Congrong an lu (T 2004, Congrong Hermitage Record). Koans are however not only recorded in Yulu collections, but also in works of Chan historiography, the most important of which will be introduced in the subsequent chapter. Generally speaking, it needs to be said that due to the mysterious character of koans the meaning of koans can frequently not be revealed. In the present translation of the Fayun tongsai zhi koans are therefore often presented without a fully enlightening explanation, or also completely without of an explanation. <>

ZHIPAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN CHINA VOLUME 3: FOZU TONGJI, JUAN 43-48: THE SONG DYNASTY by Thomas Jülch [Zhipan's Account of the History of Buddhism in China, Brill, ISBN: 9789004680135]

The Fozu tongji by Zhipan (ca. 1220–1275) is a key text of Chinese Buddhist historiography. The core of the work is formed by the "Fayun tongsai zhi," an annalistic history of Buddhism in China, which extends through Fozu tongji, juan 34–48.

Thomas Jülch now presents a translation of the "Fayun tongsai zhi" in three volumes. This third volume covers the annalistic display concerning the Song dynasty.

Offering elaborate annotations, Jülch succeeds in clarifying the backgrounds to the historiographic contents, which Zhipan presents in highly essentialized style. Regarding the historical matters addressed in the material translated for the present volume, the Fozu tongji is often the earliest source. In several cases, inaccuracies in Zhipan's account can however still be discerned, and Jülch succeeds in employing other sources to reveal and correct those errors.

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Introduction to Fozu tone, juan 43-48

With the present volume I present the third part of my translation from the Fozu tongji (T 2035, Comprehensive History of the Buddhist Patriarchs), authored by Zhipan (ca. 1220-1275). The translation project aims at offering a complete translation of the "Fayun tongsai zhi" (Monograph on Success and Obstructions in the Spread of the Dharma), which covers Fozu tongji, juan 34-48. The "Fayun tongsai zhi" is an annalistic chronicle of Buddhism in China. In the first volume I present a translation of Fozu tongji, juan 34-38 (i.e. "Fayun tongsai zhi," juan 1-5), which refers to the period from the birth of the Buddha to the Nanbeichao era. The second volume contains a translation of Fozu tongji, juan 39-42 (i.e. "Fayun tongsai zhi," juan 6-9), which refers to the period from the

Sui dynasty to the Wudai era. With the present volume I add the translation of Fozu tongji, juan 43-48 (i.e. "Fayun tongsai zhi," juan 10-15), which refers to the Song dynasty.

As also seen in the previous volumes of the present translation project, I use the Taisho edition of the Fozu tongji as the basis of my translations. A modern edition of the Fozu tongji has been published by Shi Daofa. I use the Shi Daofa edition for purposes of text critical comparison. Considering the textual arrangement there are however major differences between the two editions. While the Shi Daofa edition presents the entire content as part of the annalistic display, in the Taisho edition of the "Fayun tongsai zhi" passages mostly referring to Daoism or Confucianism are taken out and they are presented as supplements in the end of the relevant juan. Even though the Shi Daofa approach seems more consistent in that regard, I still follow the textual organization seen in the Taisho edition, since the Taisho is more easily available to scholars and has even been digitized by c BETA (Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association). Basing the translation on the Taisho edition also makes it possible to use the established Taisho referencing system, which makes it easier for readers to follow cross references.

Considering the design of the supplements one critical remark may still be added. While most of the content seen in the supplements exclusively refers to either Daoism or Confucianism, not all of the content seen in the supplements would fit into those categories. For example, much of the text referring to the prophecies ascribed to the legendary monk Baozhi (see below) also appears in the supplements, even though one would rather speak of Buddhist content here. So in conclusion we might criticize that in the supplements we simply see materials that have been singled out from the main display, while it is not always obvious why they have been singled out.

And there is yet another defect in the Taisho edition I need to refer to here. It is an anomaly seen in Fozu tongji, juan 48: In T 2035, p. 431, b17-18 the text critical apparatus of the Taisho presents an annotation indicating that in the rest of the juan the text is corrupted. Comparing the rest of the juan as seen in the Taisho with what we find in the Shi Daofa edition, it becomes clear that the differences we find here do indeed go beyond those resulting from taking passages that refer to Daoism or Confucianism out

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of the annalistic display. This seems to confirm that the corruption of the text in the relevant part of juan 48 is rather serious. For this reason I have decided to exclude that part of juan 48 from the present translation.

Comparing the textual portion translated for the present volume to the previous volumes of the Fozu tongji translation project, we observe an important difference. Compared to either of the previous volumes, the present volume covers a shorter period of time in a greater amount of text. As a result, the material translated for the present volume includes far more lengthy text passages, in which certain matters are covered more elaborately than usual in the annalistic display. The present introduction is designed to contextualize the subject matters being highlighted in this way, so that the reader is prepared.

Tiantai Buddhism, Chan Buddhism, and the Eminent Monks

During the Song dynasty, Chinese Buddhism found itself in a heavily polarized situation. While during the Tang dynasty, Chinese Buddhism knew a variety of important schools, the persecution of Buddhism occurring during the Huichang era (841-846) of the late Tang dynasty seriously decimated Chinese Buddhism, and during the Song dynasty Tiantai and Chan Buddhism were the only schools that could reestablish themselves in meaningful ways. As we have seen in the introduction to the second volume of the present Fozu tongji translation project, in this polarized situation both the Tiantai and the Chan schools developed transmission lineages to demonstrate that their knowledge of the dharma was authentic and was transmitted all the way from the Buddha. In case of the Tiantai school, the histories speak of the transmission of the 'zhiguan' teachings (teachings of calming and contemplation). The zhiguan transmission lineage is largely recorded within the materials translated for the second volume of the present Fozu tongji translation project. The transmission record is taken further in the material translated for the present volume, but we only find one further transmission stage, which is the transmission from Xiji to Yitong. After Yitong, the "Fayun tongsai zhi" makes no further mention of the zhiguan transmission. Apparently the reason is that the record of the transmission lineage was in the first place supposed to show that the zhiguan teachings were transmitted through the Huichang

persecution and successfully reestablished in the early Song dynasty. Later on, there is yet another passage that again takes up the matter of transmission of the Tiantai teachings, without using the term of zhiguan however. This passage goes back to the transmission of the Tiantai teachings in Korea, while in China they were eclipsed as a result of the Huichang persecution. It is pointed out that the Korean monk Chegwan (?-970) reintroduced the teachings to China, and transmitted them to Xiji, after which Xiji transmitted them toYitong, after which Yitong transmitted them to Zhili (see below). So, as we see, here the transmission lineage is actually even taken one stage further.

While with regard to Xiji or Yitong we hardly find any further information, many monks being subject to discussion in the material translated for the present volume are covered in great detail. Lives and accomplishments of the two Tiantai monks who were crucial in reestablishing Tiantai Buddhism in the early Song dynasty would be good examples here. These were the aforementioned Zhili (960-1028), whose honorific title was Fazhi dharma master and Zunshi (964-1032), whose honorific title was Ciyun dharma master. A third Tiantai monk who also deserves to be mentioned in this context would be Ruone (d. 1191), who unfortunately so far attracted less interest of modern scholars. For all of those three monks I will subsequently show which details of their lives have found representation in the annalistic display of the "Fayun tongsai zhi."

In connection with Zhili we learn that he preached the Tiantai teachings on the great market places, in order to reintroduce them to the memory of the people. We are told about Zhili's work Words on Precepts and Vows, which correlates the Buddhist Silas with the Confucian cardinal virtues. We read that Zhili at one point wanted to perform ritual self-immolation, but gave up the plan when important people wrote letters beseeching him not to leave the world.? We are informed that Zhili received his honorific title `Fazhi dharma master' a upon recommendation by Li Zunxu, the son-in-law of Song Zhenzong. It is related that Zhili was asked to conduct a ritual of repentance designed to pray for the good fortune of the state and based on a recitation of the Lotus sutra. Later on we read that Zhili conducted yet another repentance ritual, which was based on a recitation of the Sutra of Golden Light. And we are told that Zhili

subjected his students to an exam, which became known as the Forty-two Paragraphs of Kaiwei, and became the model for exams later on. We read that Zhili followed the practice of releasing fishes to spare their lives, which has a long standing tradition in Tiantai Buddhism, and was subject to description already in the Guoqing. And finally it is stated that, after Zhili had passed away, his relics were buried at the Ancestral Gate of the Chongfa Court.

When it comes to Zunshi, we read that he was asked by the chancellor Wang Qinruo to preach the Lotus sutra. We are also told that Zunshi requested for the texts of Tiantai Buddhism to be included into the Buddhist canon, while the Palace Attendant Yang Huaigu forwarded the request to Song Renzong. Later on it is said that the inclusion was granted, and that Zunshi composed a work entitled Jiaozang suihan mulu to explain the general meaning of all the works.16 In connection with Zunshi also a miraculous event is recorded. As we read, osmanthus flowers rained from the sky above Zunshi's monastery. Finally it is said that, when Zunshi passed away, the omen of a falling star appeared.

Finally turning to Ruone, I could not find a full statement of his life dates, but according to his biography in Fozu tongji, Juan 17, he passed away in the second year of the Shaoxi (i.e. 1191). In the material translated for the present volume, Ruone is introduced as monk with close ties to Song Xiaozong.

We read that once when the emperor visited Ruone's monastery, Ruone advised him on whether he should bow to a statue of Avalokitesvara or not. And, as we are told, the emperor did bow. Ruone is also quoted with a lengthy letter to the imperial government. The letter points out the advantages of the Lotus sutra as a textual basis for imperial exams for those who wanted to become monks. As this is the preferred sutra of the Tiantai school, the matter displays Ruone's sectarian affiliation. Furthermore, the letter suggests that the imperial government should keep being generous in granting special ordinations based on favor, for which applicants would not need to pass imperial exams. As we read, the emperor approved of Ruone's letter, but the secretariat chancellery brought the implementation of Ruone's suggestions to a

halt. Next, we are told that the emperor granted Ruone generous recognition in other ways. Finally we read that when Ruone passed away, he was granted the honorific posthumous name Zongjiao guanci dharma master.

In the material translated for the present volume also many Chan monks are represented. Among the foremost is Qisong (1067-1072), a renowned historiographer of Chan Buddhism. Interestingly we observe that he is covered in respectful style, while his opposition to the historiography of the Tiantai school, which he was mainly known for, remains completely unmentioned. We read how he was introduced to the emperor and received the honorific title Mingjiao Grand Master. We are also told that, during his cremation, his nose, tongue, eyes, hair near the ears, and rosary did not burn.

Another important Chan monk receiving rich coverage is Zonggao (1089-1163), an important representative of the Linji branch of Chan Buddhism. We read that he was part of the faction of the official Zhang Jiucheng. The faction fell into miscredit, after which Zhang Jiucheng was sent into banishment, while Zonggao had fled. Later on, Zonggao was bansished to Meizhou, but before long he was again brought back and reinstated in his monastic status. He was even awarded the honorific title Dahui meditation master. Finally, when he had passed away, Song Xiaozong granted him the posthumous name Pujue, and the records of his sayings were included into the Great Canon.

Apart from the monks that show a clear commitment to either Tiantai or Chan Buddhism, the material translated for the present volume devotes substantial space also to monks that display no specific preference for either of the two sides. Of particular importance among those monks is the highly renowned monk scholar Zanning (920-1001). Even though he received his training in vinaya studies on the Taintai Mountains and stood in contact with the Tiantai patriarch Wenbei (926-985), Zanning is mainly known as a general historiographer of Chinese Buddhism neither leaning to Tiantai Buddhism nor to Chan Buddhism in any obvious way. Zanning's main works are the Song gaoseng zhuan (T 2061), and the much shorter but often cited Da Song Seng shilüe(T 2126). In the material translated for the present volume, he is

first introduced with regard to the honors he received from the emperor and his installment as a Hanlin academician. Next it is briefly mentioned that Zanning was ordered to compose the Song gaoseng zhuan, but we find a more elaborate passage of praise in connection with the completion of the work.38 And in connection with his death, Zanning is again honored with a highly elaborate praiseful passage, which quotes a foreword the scholar Wang Yucheng (954-1001) had written for Zanning's collected works.

Another monk not displaying noticeable preference for either Tiantai or Chan Buddhism is Tianxizai. He was a monk missionary from Kashmir, who came to China as a translator of Buddhist texts. In the material translated for the present volume, we first read that Tianxizai, together with his fellow monk missionary Danapala from Udyana, received honors from the emperor, and that for the translation projects of these two monks the Scripture Translation Court was set up. Later on we find a very long passage explaining how the translation work with Tianxizai as the lead monk progressed. Shortly thereafter, we are told that it was Tianxizai's strategic ambition to establish a Chinese team of translators that could remain operational also when resulting from any sort of turmoil monk missionaries from the Western territories could not come to China any more. As we read, Weijing was installed as the head of the Chinese translation team that resulted from Tianxizai's initiative. As a subsequent passage points out, Tianxizai was again honored by the emperor, as the emperor read the translations that resulted from Tianxizai's work. In this context we also read that Tianxizai asked monks to submit Sanskrit scriptures that were in circulation, so that they could be translated.

Important Monasteries, Sacred Mountains, and Their Geographic Locations

Already in the material translated for the previous volumes we have seen that monasteries located or proceedings taking place in the capital city of any given dynasty were particular often subject to description. The Tang dynasty even had two capitals—with Chang'an (i.e. present-day Xi'an) being the Western (and main) capital, and Luoyang being the Eastern capital. In the material translated for the present volume, the capital cities again enjoy great relevance. Also in the Northern Song dynasty we find

two capitals—with Kaifeng being the Eastern (and main) capital, and Luoyang being the Western capital. In the Southern Song dynasty Lin'an (i.e. present-day Hangzhou) was established as capital. Subsequently I will provide a brief account of the major monasteries mentioned in the material translated for the present volume. As we will see, many of the monasteries are again located in or around the relevant capital cities. There are however also other locations that play a major role.

Among the monasteries in the Northern Song capital of Kaifeng, the Xiangguo Monastery and the Kaibao Monastery are mentioned most frequently. The mentions of those two monasteries in the material translated for the present volume are far too many to be enumerated here. There is however one particular matter that deserves being referred to explicitly. This would be the worship of the relic of the Buddha tooth that, according to legendary accounts, was mysteriously received by Daoxuan (596-667) in the Tang dynasty. The relic was enshrined for worship in the Xiangguo Monastery but once also received in the Kaibao Monastery. One apparently conflicting passage also locates it in the Kaisheng Meditation Monastery, which according to the Fozu tongji, was erected at the place where Song Taizong was born. Three emperors (Song Taizong, Song Zhenzong, and Song Renzong) composed eulogies for the relic.

The Eastern capital of Luoyang becomes relevant to Buddhism especially through the nearby Longmen Grottos, which are an important center of Buddhist piety and devotion housing the finest specimen of medieval Chinese Buddhist cave art. In the material translated for the present volume we read that both Song Taizu and Song Zhenzong visited the Guanghua Monastery on Mount Longmen, where they paid homage to the tomb of the Tang dynasty Indian missionary Subhakarasimha (637-735). In the case of Song Zhenzong we read furthermore that he also visited the Baima Monastery in Luoyang, where he paid homage to the Eastern Han dynasty missionary Indian Kasyapa-Matanga.

Hangzhou is represented even more generously, but not only since the place became capital in the Southern Song dynasty. Rather than that, the location is of great relevance throughout the material translated for the present volume. Within

Hangzhou, the major Buddhist establishments were located in Qiantang. Here one would find the Three Tianzhu Monasteries at the West Lake. They are referred to as Lower Tianzhu Monastery I Middle Tianzhu Monastery, and Upper Tianzhu Monastery

The mentions of the Three Tianzhu Monasteries in the material translated for the present volume are too many to be enumerated here. However it deserves to be said that the Upper Tianzhu Monastery housed a notable statue of Avalokitesvara, which is mentioned repeatedly, and which, as mentioned above, Song Xiaozong once paid homage to. The Three Tianzhu Monasteries can still be seen today, and they are located on the Feilai feng (i.e. 'Peak that has flown over'). The legend says that the Feilai feng had flown over from India, and for this reason the three monasteries located on the mountain are referred to as 'Indian' monasteries. Tianzhu means India.

The reason why these monasteries are covered so generously seems to be that they were of particular importance to Song dynasty Tiantai Buddhism, as Ciyun Zunshi was abbot of the Lower Tianzhu Monastery, while Ruone resided in the Upper Tianzhu Monastery. In referring to the mountain the Three Tianzhu Monasteries are situated on, the Fozu tongji does however not speak of the Feilai feng, but rather of the Lingshan (i.e. 'Numinous Mountain'). Occasionally we also find the term 'Mount Tianzhu.' The term 'Numinous Mountain' may allude to the Lingyin Monastery (Monastery of the Numinous Retreat), which is a major monastery on the foothill of the Feilai feng. In the material translated for the present volume, the Lingyin Monastery is mentioned in connection with Qisong, who temporarily resided and died there.

While the West Lake with the Feilai feng and its monasteries is located in the North of Hangzhou, in the South of Hangzhou we find another monastery of historical importance that is repeatedly referred to in the material translated for the present volume. This would be the Jingci Monastery formerly known as Yongming Monastery, which the famous Yongming Yanshou (904-975) was abbot of. Later on the Jingci Monastery is also mentioned in connection with Zongben (1020-1099).

In the Northwestern environs of Hangzhou we find Mount Jing Mil, which is the location of the Jingshan Monastery. Originally the mountain became famous through

the Chan monk Daoqin (714-792), who resided there. To the material translated for the present volume the Jingshan Monastery is important, as the famous Linji-Chan monk Zonggao was abbot of it.

Apart from the capital cities, present-day Ningbo is of great importance to the material translated for the present volume. In the Fozu tongji, the city is known by its historical name Mingzhou. The district Mingzhou used to be part of was known as Siming since the Siming Mountains belonged to the district's jurisdiction. The Siming Mountains are a mountain ridge south of Ningbo that extends between the Tiantai Mountains and the coastline. So Ningbo is still located within the environs of the Tiantai Mountains, and in connection with the geographic location the city evolved as an important center of Tiantai Buddhism. Ningbo came to play a major role in Tiantai Buddhism mainly because of the Yanqing Monastery, which Siming Zhili (above introduced as the Fazhi dharma master) was abbot of. And in Ningbo we also find the Ayuwang Monastery. Ayuwang is the Chinese name of the ancient Indian emperor Asoka, and the monastery, which was founded during the Western Jin dynasty, was established at one of the places in China where, according to the traditional belief, Buddha relics allegedly disseminated by Asoka were hidden. The monastery is situated at the foothill of a mountain. Because, through the relic cult, the entire mountain was consecrated, the mountain is known as Mount Ayuwang. In the text translated for the present volume, Mount Ayuwang is mentioned in connection with the meditation master Huailian (1009-1090), in connection with the meditation master Deguang in connection with Zonggao, and in connection with a certain miraculous event.

Another sacred mountain of significance in the material translated for the present volume is Mount Putuo. The term `Putuo' is in the text however replaced with 'Butuo', which is simply an alternative transliteration of the Sanskrit term of Potalaka, which according to an account in the Avatamsaka sutra is the name of the mountain Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara resides on. In the Chinese tradition, the name had been granted to a mountain island in front of the Chinese coast, to style it as Avalokitesvara place of residence. During the Song dynasty the establishment of Mount Putuo as the center of the worship of Avalokitesvara had however not reached its apogee yet, as

Avalokitesvara was also worshiped in other places. So in the Fozu tongji the cult of Avalokitesvara on Mount Putuo is not given quite as much space as would have been due later on in the Ming dynasty. However we do find a rather elaborate passage detailing on the famous pilgrimage of the Duke of Wei, Shi Hao (1106-1194), to Mount Putuo.

Also Mount Wutai is covered in the material translated for the present volume. Based on the afore-mentioned account in the Avatamsaka sutra, Mount Wutai is in Chinese Buddhism styled as the residential mountain of Bodhisattva Manjusri. In the material translated for the present volume, the Manjusri cult on Mount Wutai is covered through two accounts. The first refers to the mission of the Palace Attendant Zhang Tingxun, who had been sent to Mount Wutai to restore the traditional monasteries of the mountain.

The second is the better known pilgrimage of the chancellor Zhang Shangying (1045-1124), which has been studied in an article by Robert Gimello.

Buddhist Laymen with Confucian Background

Even though monks and monasteries stand in the foreground of the accounts seen in Buddhist historiography, already the pilgrimage of the chancellor Zhang Shangying to Mount Wutai shows us that there is more. Apart from the monks in the monasteries also certain Confucian scholars showed devotion to Buddhism. The chancellor Zhang Shangying would indeed be a prominent example in that regard. Within the material translated for the present volume, the main reference to Zhang Shangying is an elaborate account which describes how he was converted to Buddhism and finally received instructions in Buddhist spirituality from the dharma master Congyue, which guided him all the way to enlightenment. Within this account we also find a stanza in which Zhang Shangying presents his associations related to a remark made by Congyue. And we find a poem in which Congyue sums up how one could succeed in endeavoring to reach enlightenment. Also among Song dynasty Confucian scholars who excelled as literati we find people who showed devotion to Buddhism. The foremost among those men were Su Shi (1037-1101) and Huang Tingjian (1045-1105).

In particular Su Shi is frequently quoted already in the material translated for the first and second volumes of the present Fozu tongji translation project. He is author of many essays, some of which defend Buddhism in different historical instances. Hence those essays were cited also in parts of the "Fayun tongsai zhi" referring to periods prior to the Song dynasty. In the material translated for the present volume, Su Shi and Huang Tingjian are in one commentary passage mentioned jointly as scholars who stood up against the Confucian concept of the Buddha being a barbarian. We also find several anecdotes that tell us about the Buddhist religiosity of Su Shi and Huang Tingjian. E.g. we learn that Su Shi composed a postscript to the Lankavatara-sutra, which he received from Zhang Fangpinganother layman with Confucian background, who had become enlightened studying it. We also read that Su Shi once even asked the meditation master Foyin Liaoyuan to accept him as a temporary visiting monk at his monastery. The master, however, subjected Su Shi to a reaction test typical of Chan Buddhism. The outcome was that Su Shi could not join the monastery The test is probably more or less to be seen as a playful joke between two men who respected each other. So the relationship between Su Shi and Foyin Liaoyuan does show how intimately Su Shi was related to Buddhism. Apart from those anecdotes, Su Shi is quoted with a petition he issued as Governor of Yingchuan. Here he calls for placing a honorific name plate at the shrine erected in memory of Buddhapala, a Buddhist monk missionary from India who visited China during the Tang dynasty.

When it comes to Huang Tingjian, we read that he studied Buddhism to overcome his desire for wine. And we also find the story of the dharma master Fayun Faxiu who criticized Huang Tingjian for having composed voluptuous songs corrupting the minds of the people. As we are told, Huang Tingjian, devoted to the values of Buddhism, from then on refrained from writing such songs. Confucian scholars with a heart for Buddhism did however not represent the Confucian mainstream. The relationship between the Confucian mainstream and Buddhism was characterized by major clashes. How this matter is dealt with in the material translated for the present volume shall be pointed out below.

The Buddhist Confrontation with Neoconfucianism

In the Song dynasty, Neoconfucianism emerged as the dominant current of thought. Neoconfucianism had its precursors in Tang dynasty Confucian thinkers such as Han Yu (768-824) and Liu Zongyuan (773-819).

In the materials translated for the second volume clashes of those thinkers with Buddhism play a major role. Due to the dominance of Neoconfucianism in the Song dynasty, in the material translated for the present volume the clash between Neoconfucianism and Buddhism is again given much space. The most important Neoconfucian critic of Buddhism during the Song dynasty is the historiographer Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072), who is chiefly known for having directed the composition of the Xin Tangshu. In that regard he is in Buddhist historiography often blamed for having deleted aspects of Buddhist history that had still been included in the Jiu Tangshu. That point has already been made within a commentary passage in the material translated for the second volume. In the material translated for the present volume, the matter is articulated in much more detail. The main rejoinder to the anti-Buddhist thought of Ouyang Xiu is however presented in terms of a dispute between Ouyang Xiu and the Buddhist monk scholar Ju'ne in which Ju'ne disproves all the anti-Buddhist arguments Ouyang Xiu is able to present. Furthermore, the Fozu tongji in dealing with Ouyang Xiu seeks to take away the fierceness from his anti-Buddhist sentiment by arguing that, at the end of the day, he also held Buddhism in esteem. Referring to the fact that Ouyang Xiu was known as Layman Six One, the Fozu tongji points out Ouyang Xiu's interest in the Huayan jing making him appear just as another Buddhist layman with Confucian background. In that regard we are also told that Ouyang Xiu once had a dream in which he found himself in hell where, upon seeing the Ten Kings of Hell, he learned that the Buddhist teachings are true and should better be respected. Finally, to shatter the credibility of Ouyang Xiu's anti-Buddhist assertions, we find a quotation of Zongjian (the author of the Shimen zhengtong, here referred to as [the sramana of] Liangzhu), which generally calls the reliability of Ouyang Xiu's scholarship into question.

Apart from the treatment of the anti-Buddhist disposition of Ouyang Xiu, the material translated for the present volume also presents a rejoinder to Han Yu. Even though Han Yu lived in the Tang dynasty, his anti-Buddhist writings still stirred sentiment in the Song dynasty. This is especially true of his famous essay Yuandao (On the Origins of the Dao), in which Han Yu states that the only true teaching is Confucianism, while Buddhism and Daoism only brought confusion into its doctrines. Song Xiaozong (r. 1162-1189) wrote a rejoinder known as Yuandao lun (A Discussion of the Yuandao), which seeks to demonstrate that Buddhism and Daoism do not stand in any irreconcilable contradiction to Confucianism as Han Yu claims. Among the arguments the emperor presents is the often cited congruence between the five cardinal virtues of Confucianism and the five silas of Buddhism.

The Buddhist Confrontation with Daoism

Apart from Neoconfucianism, the other tradition of thought that challenged Buddhism during the Song dynasty is Daoism. Also in the material translated for the first and the second volumes we have seen that Daoist priests in various cases managed to convince the emperor to base the legitimation of his reign on a Daoist rather than on a Buddhist legitimation strategy If emperors based their reign on Daoist legitimation strategies, the Daoist clergy gained influence at court, which they typically used against Buddhism. In the material translated for the second volume, the most notable case is that of Fu Yi (555-639), who won the favor of the first Tang emperor Tang Gaozu for Daoism, and used his influence at court for a decisive campaign against Buddhism. Similarly, in the material translated for the present volume we find extensive coverage of the case of the Daoist priest Lin Lingsu (1076-1120), who managed to win first the favor of the chancellor Cai Jing (1047-1126), and then via him the favor of Song Huizong. Based on the Daoist ruling ideology formulated by Lin Lingsu, Song Huizong assumed the title Jiaozhu daojun huangdi and Lin Lingsu called for a persecution of the Buddhist samgha. Later on, in connection with the edict with which the emperor proclaimed the persecution, we do however read that Cai Jing attempted to persuade the emperor not to have the persecution carried out.94 Subsequently a commentary passage explains that Cai Jing in hindsight regretted having introduced Lin Lingsu to the emperor.

Furthermore, we find one passage which demonstrates the inferiority of Lin Lingsu to the Buddhist saint Sengqie, both of whom sought to offer protection against an inundation disaster, while Lin Lingsu miserably failed, whereas Sengqie brilliantly accomplished the objective. Within the text moved into the supplements in the Taisho edition we find another relevant passage. It says that, when Lin Lingsu had an audience with the emperor, the Daoist immortal Lu Dongbin appeared, and wrote a poem defaming Lin Lingsu on the wall of the palace hall. The message here is that even the highest worthies of Daoism did not approve of Lin Lingsu. Finally, the Fozu tongji also dedicates space to showing that not only Lin Lingsu but all those who supported his course were subject to serious karmic retribution. This is an instrument usually employed in Buddhist historiography to demonstrate that the Buddha dharma is sacrosanct, and that turning against it is evil.

Buddhist and Daoist Prophecy

During the Song dynasty both the Daoist clergy and the Buddhist samgha presented a variety of prophecies and other narratives in support of the rule of the Song dynasty. This way, both sides sought to establish their own religion as a basis for a ruling ideology designed to substantiate the power of the imperial house. The Song rulers were rather inclined to base themselves on the Daoist prophecies. In the Fozu tongji, both the Daoist and the Buddhist prophecies are recounted. In connection with the Daoist material, Zhipan does however critically raise questions with regard to credibility.

When it comes to the material brought forward by Buddhism, the presentation actually goes beyond prophecy in a narrow sense. Directly in the beginning of juan 43, where the rise of the Song dynasty under Song Taizu is covered, different miracles supposed to demonstrate the legitimacy of the new dynasty are presented.99 More notable are however the prophecies ascribed to the Liang dynasty monk Baozhi, that are referenced repeatedly and in more elaborate style. Baozhi, commonly referred to as Sire Zhi had allegedly left behind inscriptions that were rediscovered in Song times, and were then interpreted as prophecies of the advent and the lasting tenure of the Song dynasty. The first of these inscriptions is presented in context with the miracles at

the beginning of juan 43.101 During the reign of Song Taizong, inscriptions ascribed to Baozhi were found in two different places, namely in Jiazhou and in Shuzhou. In the Taisho edition, the reference to the inscription found in Shuzhou has been moved into the supplements. Also within the supplements, the Shuzhou inscription is again praisefully referred to in juan 44, and a subsequent commentary passage goes to great length seeking to substantiate the value of prophecy on a general level.

The material brought forward by Daoism comprises the message allegedly sent down under Song Taizong by a deity named Perfected Lord Assisting Sanctity as well as the Heavenly Letters allegedly sent down under Song Zhenzong. In connection with the message sent by the Perfected Lord Assisting Sanctity, Zhipan in a commentary passage refers to the Perfected Lord's Biography composed by the later chancellor Wang Qinruo (962-1025), and points out that the anti-Buddhist content Wang Qinruo includes is not to be taken seriously. When it comes to the Heavenly Letters, the situation is that their forecast concerning the long tenure of the Song dynasty differs from what we see in the inscriptions of Baozhi. Within the supplements, we find a neutral introduction of the Heavenly Letters. Afterwards there is however a lengthy commentary passage, in which Zhipan at least calls the forecast of the Heavenly Letters into question."' As Song Zhenzong based the establishment of the Dazhong xiangfu reign title on the Heavenly Letters, Zhipan could not openly contradict them. So he still concludes the commentary passage saying that the forecast of the Heavenly Letters should likely still be achieved.

The Jurchen Invasion of Northern China

Another topic that receives significant attention in the material translated for the present volume is the Jurchen invasion of Northern China that ended the Northern Song dynasty. The Jurchen, who established the Jin dynasty on the territory of Northern China, are usually just referred to as the 'invaders'. Sometimes we find the term of `Jin invaders', which I translate as Jurchen invaders! The references to the Jurchen invasion are far too many to be enumerated here. But it is interesting to see that repeatedly reports of military setbacks in the invasion progress are intertwined with Buddhist miracle accounts. I will here only give two examples. The first account refers to Li Jue, a

local official and Buddhist layman, who was able to flee from an encounter with the invaders. On the road he came across a horse carriage steered by a man he recognized as a supernatural being. The man was in possession of a list of people who were doomed to die in the invasion, and he told Li Jue that he was also on the list. As Li Jue asked how he could avoid this fate, the man replied that Li Jue should recite the name of the "Bodhisattva Heavenly [Mother] Marici" 700 times each day. Li Jue followed the advice and also passed it on to others, all of whom managed to avoid hardships. The second account refers to the famous Avalokitesvara statue of the Upper Tianzhu Monastery, which was temporarily on display in the nearby Fah Monastery. The monk Daoyuan anticipating that the invader might want to steal the precious statue, replaced it with a substitute and the original in a well. When the invaders arrived, they took the substitute unaware that it was not the original. After the invaders had left Hangzhou, the original in the well made itself heard, and it could be safely reinstated in its place.

Intertextuality

Apart from the contents of the translated material that have been subject to description in all of the above, I need to point out how I approach the matter of intertextuality. In the first and second volumes of the present Fozu tongji translation project, I have within the footnotes thoroughly examined matters of intertextuality within the translated material. The main objective was to show how Zhipan instrumentalizes well-known texts of previous Chinese Buddhist historiography as sources for the Fozu tongji. To the present volume this sort of analysis would seem to be less relevant. In the introduction to the second volume, I have given an overview over important works that Zhipan employed as sources. The content of the material translated for the present volume does however refer to a period of time closer to the lifetimes of Zhipan. Most of the period covered by the material translated for the present volume follows upon the publication dates of most of the works employed as sources in the material translated for the previous volumes. So for much of the material translated for the present volume, the Fozu tongji will be the earliest well-known source available today. Sources might possibly still be found in lesser known texts. But in the present translation project it is not my ambition to investigate such details.

While Zhipan's employment of previous important works of Chinese Buddhist historiography is a matter that ought to be studied in an annotated translation project, a full investigation of the underlying sources will be a task left to later scholarship. Several of the source texts introduced in the introduction to the second volume are however still quoted occasionally. E.g. the Da Song seng shilue by Zanning, also referred to above, becomes relevant in several places.

Alternative Names

Reading the material translated for the present volume is in part made more difficult by the fact that Zhipan tends to be inconsistent when it comes to the names he uses in referring to important individuals. As is well-known, alternative names are common in Chinese. A person's ming can be replaced by the. And there are also honorific names. To prepare the reader, I will here go through the most prominent people in connection with whom such inconsistencies occur in each case providing the names in use. When it comes to laypeople, Bai Letianj is Bai Juyi, Han Tuizhi is Han Yu, Huang Luzhi is Huang Tingjian, Liu Zihou is Liu Zongyuan, Ouyang Yongshu is Ouyang Xiu, Su Dongpo respectively Su Zizhan is Su Shi, Sima Junshi is Sima Guang, and Zhang Wuji is Zhang Shangying. In connection with monastics, it should just pointed out again that Zhizhe (a honorific title meaning "the wise one") is Zhiyi. <>

MEMORY IN MEDIEVAL CHINA: TEXT, RITUAL, AND COMMUNITY Editors: Wendy Swartz and Robert Ford Company [Series: Sinica Leidensia, Brill, ISBN: 9789004368620]

Memory is not an inert container but a dynamic process. It can be structured by ritual, constrained by textual genre, and shaped by communities' expectations and reception. Urging a particular view of the past on readers is a complex rhetorical act. The collective reception of portrayals of the past often carries weighty implications for the present and future. The essays collected in this volume investigate various aspects of memory in medieval China (ca. 100-900 CE) as performed in various genres of writing, from poetry to anecdotes, from history to tomb

epitaphs. They illuminate ways in which the memory of individual persons, events, dynasties, and literary styles was constructed and revised through processes of writing and reading.

Contributors include: Sarah M. Allen, Robert Ashmore, Robert Ford Campany, Jack W. Chen, Alexei Ditter, Meow Hui Goh, Christopher M. B. Nugent, Xiaofei Tian, Wendy Swartz, Ping Wang.

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If recent investigations of the phenomenon of memory have emphasized anything, it is that memory—whether that of an individual or of a group—is not adequately imagined as resembling a storage container. It is not a neutral retrieval or passive repetition of an inert past. It is rather a selective process, or a cluster of processes, of

recreating particular bits of the past for some purpose in the present. Memory is "not a passive receptacle, but instead a process of active restructuring, in which elements may be retained, reordered, or suppressed." In a very basic sense "the past cannot be said to be. Instead we should say rather the past is made whenever it is reconstructed."

By shaping accounts of particular aspects or moments of the past, tellers of stories or authors of texts make claims on the present with an eye toward the future. We might say that what they assert or imply about the past, and how they do so, constitutes an argument to a present audience about some matter of importance. Other tellers or authors may construct counter-memories. The resulting body of texts about the past that survive for us to read from a society such as that of medieval China constitutes a rich array of evidence of how assertions about the past were made and for what purposes they were made. We can also ask about the audiences for which such acts of memory were intended. We can inquire into the ways in which readers of those texts received and appropriated them, often in the course of constructing their own, alternative portrayals of past events. Some versions of the past had relative success in winning adoption and replication in successive generations of readers and writers, while others fell by the wayside. Many, of course, were completely lost from the record.

Another way to phrase the same point is to say that memory is performed. We can then sort through the media and genres available in a culture such as that of medieval China for the performance of memory. These included not only several genres of writing—anecdotes, chronicles, biographical sketches, epitaphs, personal memoirs, poems of various sorts, commentaries, critical appreciations and imitations—but also ritual modes such as funerals and mourning practices. We can investigate how such media and genres were used by particular agents on particular occasions. We can appreciate the craft of their performances, how they worked with or against genre conventions to get across to readers or witnesses their versions of the past. We can ask what inter-ests these agents had in their subjects, what their arguments were and what was at stake in their representing elements of the past as they did. And we can consider how these performances were received by audiences of others.

In the case of China in classical and medieval times, recent scholarship has clustered around five aspects of memory. The most fertile topic has been how the dead or departed are remembered. In Ancestral Memory, Ken Brashier shows how, in Western and Eastern Han times, the ancestor cult was not a mechanical offering of food in exchange for prosperity but was rather a system of ideas and practices involving sustained mental effort by participants, sup-ported by a network of rituals. In a companion volume, Brashier shows how the living publicly remembered deceased individuals by in effect stereotyping them, relating them to existing tropes of public memory while downplaying what made each of them distinctive. Along with other funerary and memorial genres of writing, entombed epitaphs (muzhiming), particularly in the Tang period, have meanwhile been investigated recently, thanks in part to a series of conferences dedicated to them. Studies of biographical and hagio-graphical texts have attended to the processes by which transmitted writings about the lives of individuals shaped, and at the same time were also shaped by, the social memory of those persons. Both stereotyping and individuation of the remembrance of individuals have been documented in all these genres.

The historiography of events, dynasties, time periods, customs, regions, and places as both shaping and shaped by social memory, and social memory as shaped by standard narrative tropes and cultural patterns, have drawn increasing scholarly attention. Michael C. Rogers made an early attempt at this type of analysis in a study of documents in the Jin shu¸ (History of the Jin), while more recently two major topological studies of the Zuo zhuan (Zuo tradition) have appeared. But medieval historiographic works including not just the officially sponsored dynastic histories but also other, often privately composed historical works, as well as both Buddhist and Daoist histories of lineages and institutions have yet to be treated in comparably detailed and sophisticated ways. By contrast, one written genre that has enjoyed relatively much attention, especially with regard to its varying accounts of the same events, its grounding in networks of the exchange of narratives, and its positioning close to orality, is the anecdote. Provocative studies have been done on how social memory was spatially articulated by being tied to particular places on the landscape,

places that were the sites of imagined historical events or of ruins or steles places haunted and weighted by memory.

Reception studies have highlighted a third aspect of memory in medieval China. We have seen detailed inquiries into how particular literary works or authors have been read, commented upon, selected, edited, and evaluated by later generations of writers even as they shaped their own readers perceptions of the textual past. In addition, some studies have highlighted the ways in which readers, editors, copyists, collectors, and anthologists have changed texts in the course of attending to them in manifold ways.

In contrast to the attention given to them by historians of Europe, mnemonic techniques used by individuals, and the value placed on memorization of texts, are aspects of memory in medieval China that have received relatively little study to this point. A recent monograph by Christopher Nugent is a welcome exception.

A final aspect of memory to be discussed here concerns the many ways in which the new was justified by grounding it in a purported, remembered old. In antiquity, the Mohists had made this a formal criterion for evaluating claims and proposals; normally it operated less explicitly, but no less powerfully. This phenomenon has received little focused attention, perhaps because it was so diffuse and common in premodern China. Examples are everywhere. Buddhism's apparent relatively recent influx was justified by the claim that the originally foreign religion had actually existed in China much longer, as evidenced by supposed "Ašokan stupas" and icons and by obscure references in old books to a Western sage. Both Buddhist and Daoist scriptures, a great many of which were written or translated in the early medieval period, typically narrated their own origins in a sacred past time when their words were first spoken by a deity or a Buddha, thus arguing their own authority. New or newly burgeoning literary genres were justified by reference to their supposed precedents in exemplary ancient times. Medical innovations were legitimated by tracing them back to purported ancient sages. And so on.

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The study of memory in early and medieval China could be justly said to be flourishing, then. The nine essays collected in this volume constitute additional new case studies in the active construction, reshaping, and uses of the past in several cultural and textual genres in medieval China. Two of these es-says critically examine the careful, elaborate, and even collaborative efforts behind the construction of the memory of a dying or deceased associate and friend. In Robert Ashmore's essay, we see how Linghu Chu (766-837), who exemplifies the ideal of the rhetorician minister, entrusted his protégée Li Shangyin (813 ca. 858) with completing, even crafting sections of, his last utterance, thereby yielding to the latter considerable power to shape his memory. Indeed, Linghu Chu, who himself had articulated the deathbed declaration of his patron Zheng Dan (741-801) to great effectiveness, knew well that it would be through Li Shangyin's proxy text that his voice would be heard and his memory effectively live on. The ways in which the memory of the dead is conditioned by the particular genres used to narrate their lives are the focus of Alexei Ditterâ€™s essay, which compares two funerary compositions offering and an entombed epitaph written by the eminent states-man Quan Deyu (759-818) for his friend and colleague Zhang Jian (744-804). Rather than treating genre as an inert frame in which information is stored, Ditter explores it as a nexus of dynamic processes that mediate literary expression and shape the transmission of memory. Genre plays a crucial role in memory construction, he argues: the choice of a particular genre signifies what kind of memory the writer intends to construct, since different genres entail different ways of emplotting information and of representing both the subject and his relation to the writer.

The (re)shaping of the memory of a larger entity ‘such as a fallen state highlights issues of community and collective loss, as the essays by Xiaofei Tian and Meow Hui Goh demonstrate. Tian examines several pieces from the poetic series Singing My Carese by Yu Xin (513-581) and concludes that the leading poet of the Liang æ¢� court needed to invent a new poetic mode in order to express adequately his experience of trauma following the collapse of the Liang dynasty (502-557) and his dislocation to an alien zone in the north. This new mode, which combined aulic as well as personal expression, involved subverting or twisting established poetic conventions, playing

upon readers expectations in novel and surprising ways. Yu Xinâ's creation of a new type of aulic poetry, which Tian redefines as literature tied to the imperial family (and not necessarily to the physical setting of the court and its formal events), was directed toward a readership of other displaced southern courtiers who would have been familiar with the poet's textual and experiential past. Gohâ's essay similarly investigates how a subject of a fallen state remembers and reshapes that past for future generations. Her linguistic analysis of a key work by Lu Ji I (261-303), a two-part essay titled A Disquisition on the Fall [of Wu], shows the ways in which Lu Ji appropriated and adapted syntactical templates from earlier works to shape the memory of his fallen state of Wu (222-280) and to frame the legacy of his forefathers, two famous Wu generals, within that narrative.

Recalling and reviving a more distant past often ultimately led to a closer scrutiny of the present. Such cases highlight how memory can serve present needs or reflect concerns about the future. Ping Wang's essay, which focuses on a set of eight poems by Xie Lingyun (385-433), On the Wei Crown Prince's Ye Collection, considers how the latter-born poet idealizes the conviviality of Cao Pi¸· (187-226) and his group through liter-ary impersonation or imitation. Wang argues that Xie Lingyun, by speaking in the voices of Cao Pi and his literary friends, closes the temporal gap between them and transports himself to their bygone era or them to his own Liu-Song ıJå®‹ (420-479) court, where conviviality is conspicuously absent. Imitation of past writers is one of the most complex forms of textual recall, as Wendy Swartz discusses in her essay on literary imitation and the questions it poses for cultural memory. Her essay explores the implications of how Jiang Yan Ÿæ· (444-505), a writer who has positioned himself as the guardian and transmitter of the whole of a literary past, survives for us in what would turn out to be lost or nearly lost writers in his imitation series, Thirty Poems in Various Forms–. Swartz addresses such thorny questions as: In the production of limitations, what sorts of negotiations occur between a writer's views of the past and the cultural forces at play in the present? What are the potential gains and risks involved when writers recall and re-present the past through imitation? Two essays in this volume examine the anecdote genre and the issues it raises as a scarcely verifiable

and easily transmissible form of memory. Sarah Allen's close reading of a ninth-century account of events that allegedly took place during the reign of Tang Emperor Xuanzong— (r. 712-756), Xu Yunfeng shows both the appeal and the unreliability of the anecdote for understanding the past. Anecdotes can animate past events and vivify actors in past times. As embodied forms of living social memory they can also supplement the picture of the past, filling in gaps in history. Anecdotes stake a powerful claim to believability by interweaving new details into known historical truths, thereby giving the details a firmer foothold in collective memory. But they are not verifiable and may even contradict other sources. This complicates their reliability as a basis for historical knowledge. Nonetheless, their suspect credibility did not prevent later readers from appropriating and excising aspects useful for representing the past in ways they desired. Jack Chen's essay explores how anecdotes function as an encoded form of memory that reflects a community's values. In an examination of select passages on mourning and sincerity in the Li ji (Record of ritual) and Shishuo xinyu¸ (Talk of the ages and new anecdotes), he observes a similarity between anecdote and ritual, which likewise preserves an institutional memory of normative responses that is transmissible.

Whereas most of the essays in this volume treat the active construction of the past and its implications, Christopher Nugent's essay examines a different kind of mnemonic performance. Nugent demonstrates how a popular primer, the Qianzi wen (Thousand character text), became a mnemonic tool for learning and remembering a surprisingly wide body of literary and historical knowledge. The lines from this primer functioned as compact, easily memorized pegs, which, along with other mnemonic cues provided by paratextual devices such as annotations, enabled students to recall parts of their cultural heritage on demand. <>

THE SONG DYNASTY MAKING OF CHINA'S GREATEST POET

Author: Jue Chen [Series: Studies in the History of Chinese Texts, Brill, ISBN: 9789004532656]

Irreducible to conventional labels usually applied to him, the Tang poet Du Fu (712–770) both defined and was defined by the literary, intellectual, and socio-political cultures of the Song dynasty (960–1279).

Jue Chen not only argues in his work that Du Fu was constructed according to particular literary and intellectual agendas of Song literati but also that conventional labels applied to Du Fu do not accurately represent this construction campaign. He also discusses how Du Fu's image as the greatest poet sheds unique light on issues that can deepen our understanding of the subtleties in the poetic culture of Song China.

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瞻拜荒祠下　I worship outside the wasted shrine,
萍蹤此尚留　Here his wandering traces remain.
心存唐社稷　His mind set on the state of the Tang,
詩續魯春秋　His poetry continues the tradition of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* of the Lu.
竹屋斜通徑　An oblique path leads to his bamboo cottage,
花溪遠抱樓　The Flower-rinsing Creek surrounds his pavilion from afar.
江山真占絕　He indeed captured all wonder of rivers and mountains,
千古獨風流　His panache distinguishes itself through all the ages.

This poem, titled "Shrine of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works" (杜工部祠) and collected in the appendix to Qiu Zhao'ao's 仇兆鰲 (1638–1717) *Dushi xiangzhu* 杜詩詳注 (*Detailed Commentary on Du Fu's Poetry*), is a typical example of how Du Fu and his poetry has been perceived. A shrine is perhaps the place that can most easily bring the poet to mind. Du Fu's loyalty to the Tang 唐 (618–907), as well as the historiographical features of his poetry, appear stressed in the second couplet, which relates an imaginary description of the landscape at his "thatched cottage" (草堂) in Chengdu 成都—arguably the best-known landmark in Du Fu's life. The concluding couplet reaffirms the exceptional particularity of Du Fu's literary talent. Indeed, the forty characters in this poem cover a variety of issues about Du Fu and his poetry: his life, his commitment to the Tang state, his pursuit of "history in poetry," and his unparalleled literary achievements.

A problem emerges, however, when one inquires as to the dated composition of "Shrine of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works." *Dushi xiangzhu* contains a note under the poem's title, which claims that it is "also a poem by Song people" (此亦宋人詩). Yet there is little evidence that this poem was composed in the Song 宋 (960–1279). Given the fact that the Du Fu in this poem fits well into the image of Du Fu that was mainly constructed in the Song dynasty and that had been appreciated from the Song forward, the Qing 清 (1644–1911) dynasty commentator Qiu Zhao'ao felt justified in regarding it as a "Song poem." His opinion is essentially an interpretation of the

poem in question based on the entire reception history of Du Fu up to Qiu's own time. To some extent, modern readers still accept the poem as a plausible summary of Du Fu.

With Ji Hao's recent book providing a comprehensive account of the reception of Du Fu from the Song to the Qing, we now have a better grasp of how literati in the Song commented on Du Fu and his poetry. Yet there is still plenty of room to further examine the construction of Du Fu's image (as relayed by the poem quoted above) in the Song dynasty. In what ways is Du Fu's Song-constructed image distinguished from earlier memory of Du Fu? In what critical discourse did the construction occur? How was this discourse shaped by the sociopolitical circumstances in the Song? Why did Song literati need such an image of Du Fu? From Du Fu's constructed image, what can we know about the intellectual and literary culture in the Song? To what extent does our current understanding of Du Fu and of the reception history of Du Fu distort the actual reception of Du Fu in the Song dynasty?

Our knowledge of the real Du Fu is actually limited. Du Fu's image essentially emerges from his own poetic texts, and what the reader can know from his poetry is mostly his poetic persona. This book investigates how Du Fu was read and constructed in the Song, and, more importantly, why Du Fu was constructed as such. I argue that Song literati constructed Du Fu's image according to their own intellectual, political, and literary agendas. On one hand, the way in which they constructed Du Fu was certainly not the only desirable way to understand Du Fu's poetry or to derive Du Fu's poetic persona; on the other hand, their construction was indeed conditioned by evolving cultural milieus in the Song. By defining Du Fu, Song literati defined themselves. Therefore, Du Fu's constructed image also provides us with a unique lens to understand certain aspects of the intellectual, political, and literary culture in the Song. However, the way in which Du Fu is usually labeled both ossifies Du Fu's image and distorts the Song reception of Du Fu. Instead of labeling Du Fu one way or another, the current book takes a more historical perspective to focus on the particular critical discourse in which Du Fu was constructed and canonized in the first place—the Song dynasty. It is a work on both Du Fu and the Song culture.

Du Fu's Image and Du Fu in Reception History Studies

Du Fu's image was redefined in the twentieth century, but modern scholars have continued to show a strong interest in labeling Du Fu—just like pre-modern critics. Against the backdrop of the May Fourth, the classical label of "Poet Sage" (詩聖) came to be replaced with a "Sage of Affection" (情聖) vis-à-vis Liang Qichao 梁啟超;[4] then Wang Jingzhi 汪靜之 labeled Du Fu as a "commoner poet" (平民詩人).[5] In the Socialist discourse of the People's Republic of China during the second half of the twentieth century, Du Fu became known as "the people's poet" (人民詩人). Both "commoner poet" and "the people's poet" affiliate Du Fu with common people rather than the Tang Empire. Making this association demonstrates the intention to counterbalance the perspective of taking Du Fu as an embodiment of the traditional ideology. Yet, in traditional political discourses common people were already considered the base of society and—at least in theory—both the emperor and the elite literati were supposed to commit themselves to them. As such, associating Du Fu with the common people is essentially still the same as the image that pre-modern critics already highlighted (i.e., Du Fu as a poet who enthusiastically speaks of, and speaks for, the state and the people). In this sense, Liang's stress of "affection" seems more innovative, since it touches more upon the personal voices in Du Fu's writings. These two types of new images represent two different strategies of renewing the traditional image of Du Fu. In the sociopolitical context of modern times, "Sage of Affection" focuses on aspects of Du Fu's image that pre-modern critics did not elaborately discuss; "commoner poet" and "the people's poet" are merely new labels applied to old connotations that were already canonized in pre-modern time.

Meanwhile, both strategies assume that Du Fu's poetry expresses truthful records of his thoughts, emotions, and experiences. Such assumption explains why Du Fu's image as an author of "*shishi*" 詩史 (history in poetry[7]) has been continuously embraced. It is believed that by reading Du Fu's poems, one can know a great deal about Du Fu's biography, including what he witnessed, experienced, felt, and thought in the historical circumstances in which he lived. In fact, from Feng Zhi 馮至 to Mo Lifeng 莫礪鋒, almost all the readable biographies of Du Fu composed in the twentieth century,

including the works of William Hung and Chen Yixin 陳貽焮, apply the basic approach of reading Du Fu's poems as sources of true information of Du Fu's words and deeds. Among these works, Chen Yixin's *Du Fu pingzhuan* 杜甫評傳 (*A Critical Biography of Du Fu*) is especially typical. As the most comprehensive biography of Du Fu, it exhausts almost all of Du Fu's poems as well as historical records related to Du Fu to build up its narrative of Du Fu's life and time. In his book, Chen not only refers to Du Fu's poems as a special source of historical information; he also takes them as the most reliable source, due to the fact that they are Du Fu's own words.

In comparison to discussions of the "Poet Sage" and the "*shishi*," scholars have had more room to explore Du Fu's works for poetic techniques that sustain his image as master of poetic craftsmanship. Scholars have discontinued the use of traditional formats of literary criticism, such as commentary and remarks on poetry (詩話). Instead, they have been applying a new system of critical language to the analysis of Du Fu's poetry. With this transformation of critical formats, many discoveries that one way or another link back to traditional critical theses can be deemed essentially innovative. For example, genres of Du Fu's poetry were frequently discussed by pre-modern critics, but modern scholars have a new set of concepts, terminology, and logic to analyze literary genres; thus, they are able to reconsider almost any generic matters in Du Fu's poetry. Similarly, while rhetorical elements in Du Fu's poetry had been touched upon in many pre-modern critics' discussion, it was not until the twentieth century that the establishment of rhetoric as a new field in Chinese academia enabled scholars to systematically study Du Fu's rhetorical techniques. Du Fu's image as master of poetic craftsmanship has never been doubted or challenged, but the connotation of "craftsmanship" has been constantly re-discussed.

To sum up, the reconsideration of Du Fu's image by modern scholars is not just a simple matter of retaining—or replacing—his traditional image. Rather, the new critical discourse generated by the new sociopolitical, intellectual, and literary contexts in modern times is what drives the reconsideration of Du Fu's image. Such processes actually have repeatedly occurred throughout the history of reading Du Fu. While the text of Du Fu's poetry is generally stable, Du Fu's images that readers derive in their

own sociopolitical and cultural milieus can indeed vary. In this sense, reconsidering Du Fu's image by modern scholars not only concerns the image per se; the reconsideration essentially needs to be based on historical evaluation of the critical discourses from which Du Fu's traditional image has emerged. In other words, the perspective of reception history is desirable for renewing and deepening our understanding of Du Fu.

The recent two decades have witnessed a wave of reception history studies in the field of classical Chinese literature. In Chinese scholarship, Du Fu is just one of the eminent pre-modern writers whose reception history has been researched.[11] These works are usually very informative, but sometimes they do not distinguish reception history studies from the historical account of literary criticism on the writer in question. That is to say, there is a tendency to diligently recount how a writer has been commented on and evaluated throughout history, but there has not been particularly elaborated discussion on why such comments and evaluations emerged in the social and cultural contexts of a particular era. This tendency leaves plenty of room for us to continue studying the reception history of those writers, including Du Fu.

Comparatively, scholarship in English has more self-consciously aimed at methodological innovation by viewing the reception history of writers and literary works as an issue intrinsically interrelated with the history of textual production. As these works exemplify, the history of literature is no longer seen as a linear thread of writers and their works. Rather, the development of literature may be likened to a continual feedback loop in which texts and authors are both constructed retrospectively as works gradually accumulate meaning through asymmetric layering. Thus, literary history must concern itself not merely with the "original work"; it also must take into consideration the way this work attains meaning and is indeed constructed and reconstructed over time. In other words, textual history to a large part becomes reception history.

Not only literary texts attain meaning through the history of being edited, read, and interpreted. Reading and interpreting texts is essentially a historical activity in the sense that the reader is actually never completely free to take his own approach to the

text. Rather, reading activities are conditioned by the historical circumstances in which such activities occur. This idea has also been endorsed by reception history studies of pre-modern Chinese poets. Concerning Du Fu, Ji Hao has shown that for each era the key issues in the reception history of Du Fu varied, although the primary concern of his book seems to focus on the particular content and intrinsic dynamics of these issues rather than on how these issues negotiated with the social and cultural settings in which they emerged.

Particularly concerning the Song period, Eva Shan Chou's insightful reading of Du Fu's poems in *Reconsidering Tu Fu* follows a brief survey of how Du Fu was constructed in the Song. Its implicit logic is that reconsideration of Du Fu is possible and justified only when we realize that traditional readings of Du Fu's poetry are based on the understanding of the constructed Du Fu. This is one of the reasons why we need to study reception history. Ji Hao, in the first two chapters of his aforementioned monograph, provides a more extensive survey of how Du Fu was read in the Song, especially in terms of what Hao defines as the "mode of life reading." The fact that this mode was revisited by critics in the late imperial period shows the specialty of the Song as the first phase of substantial construction of Du Fu: to a remarkable extent it was Song literati who set the tone for the reception of Du Fu in the pre-modern time. Unlike Chou and Hao who primarily focus on Du Fu, Charles Hartman has not only investigated how different discourses of literary criticism in Tang and Song resulted in different receptions of Du Fu's image, but also discussed how the reception of Du Fu's poetry interacted with the political situations in Northern Song.

In his recently published book, Lucas Rambo Bender raises an important point concerning Du Fu's own agency in the reception of his poetry in subsequent eras. He argues that with the cultural crisis caused by the An Lushan Rebellion the transformation of Du Fu's poetry turned out to be a deviation from the traditional poetic tropology, and that Du Fu's poetry—transforming as such—also shaped the way in which later critics would receive it, especially in terms of the relationship between poetry and ethics. The issue here, I think, is not who has agency or whether the agency of the poet and that of the constructors of the poet are mutually exclusive in defining

the poet's historical significance. Standing in the eighth century, Du Fu was not in a position to even predict, not to mention to control, how his poetic legacy would be received by poets in subsequent eras. Yet Du Fu's poetic texts indeed provide forthcoming literary history with particular material that readers in subsequent eras can mine and embellish with their own definitions and interpretations to satisfy contemporary perspectives and demands. While the constructed image of Du Fu shows what an ideal model of poet should be like for Song poets, this image also inevitably suppresses certain ways of understanding Du Fu's poetic texts. Importantly, these suppressed perspectives had the potential to stimulate literary history to develop in different directions. Literary history, thus, should not simply be seen as a coherent evolution from certain origins to certain outcomes. Rather, it is a process featuring continuity made possible by discontinuity. Some special characteristics of Du Fu's poetry were not enthusiastically highlighted by Song critics; some of Du Fu's innovative ways to compose poetry might have been followed by Song poets, but had not been explicitly discussed or summarized from methodological perspectives. To use a metaphor borrowed from geomorphology, Du Fu appeared in literary history like a drainage basin from which a great river starts: some streams in the basin drain into an outlet, form the river, and wait for other streams to join it as the river runs farther; some streams in the basin, however, flow toward other directions, and in the end either become untraceable underground water, or seem to have disappeared.

Elaborately discussing the discontinuity is beyond the task of the current book. I mention it here to emphasize that when Song critics manifested Du Fu's historical significance they had their own agendas that were formed by Song culture. That is to say, this book provides more than just another case study of the comprehensive canonization of prominent authors and works in Chinese literary history. Through the discussion of the Song construction of the Tang poet Du Fu, I also investigate the significance of poetry and its relationship to other key issues in the cultural milieus during the transition from Tang to Song. Indeed, the construction of Du Fu's image was neither independent from Du Fu's poetry nor isolated from issues outside the poetic realm. The way in which his image was derived in the Song was conditioned by the

Song intellectual, sociopolitical, and literary cultures. In this book, these cultural milieus are by no means regarded as inalterable factors that determined the construction of Du Fu; nor should they be assumed as a static "background" for the construction. The dichotomy of background and foreground is of little use here. Instead, I will regard the construction of Du Fu as an organic part of the Song literati culture. This book thus has dual goals. First, it examines how literati in the Song derived Du Fu's image from his poetic texts but according to their own intellectual, political, and literary agendas. Second, it also investigates the Song literati culture through the lens of Du Fu's constructed image—this lens provides insights that are otherwise hard to achieve.

Du Fu and the Song Literati Culture

To investigate how the model of Du Fu's constructed image embodied poetry's engagement with the intellectual, sociopolitical, and literary culture in the Song inevitably requires a critical review of the traditional labels applied to Du Fu and his poetry—"*shishi*," "Poet Sage" (or its variant, "Confucian poet"), and master of poetic craftsmanship. Although these labels have been widely used, uncritical acceptance of them can oversimplify the construction of Du Fu in Song literati culture.

The term *shishi* seems to indicate that Du Fu's poetry represents history. It also seems to justify the reader to probe Du Fu's poetry to enhance his understanding of Tang history. This is not wrong; however, Song critics rarely tried to achieve a unanimously accepted definition of "*shishi*." Instead, in the Song the term was always directly used without being defined. As a result, "Du Fu and his poetry as *shishi*" came to be not a static, self-contained concept, but a set of mutually related, yet still different, theses. In different contexts, these theses echoed Song literati's various perspectives to understand poetry and history—especially in terms of the relationships of poetry and history with other disciplines such as governance, learning of the Classics, and ethics. If we accept "*shishi*" only as a general label that authorizes us to explore Du Fu's poetry to understand Tang history from our own modern perspectives, we miss the point of the Song construction of Du Fu as a writer of "*shishi*."

The traditional label of "Poet Sage" or its seemingly more neutral modern variation, "Confucian poet," can also easily cause misunderstanding of the Song construction of Du Fu. While "*shishi*" was at least frequently used in the Song, "Poet Sage" was not applied to Du Fu until the Ming 明 (1368–1644) dynasty. Ruthlessly stressing the morally compelling aspects of Du Fu's persona, the term in effect ossifies Du Fu's image and inevitably obscures some subtle readings of Du Fu's poems offered by readers in the Song. The "Confucian" label causes another problem: even though some aspects of Du Fu's persona can be said to show "Confucian" features, Song literati rarely labeled Du Fu with this term. Moreover, many issues crucial in Song dynasty Confucian learning were not touched upon in the Song reading of Du Fu's poetry at all. In short, although the "Confucian" label has been widely used to describe Du Fu, applying it to the Song construction of Du Fu's image is misleading.

The general recognition of Du Fu as master of poetic craftsmanship would hardly be doubted. However, the specific connotations of "craftsmanship" indeed vary according to the particular discourses in which Du Fu's poems are evaluated. If we merely focus on specific compositional techniques demonstrated in the poetry of both Du Fu and Song poets, we are left with the impression that Du Fu influenced many Song poets—as these poets themselves claimed. However, this is more or less an oversimplified narrative of literary history: it underestimates the efforts that Song poets took to actively conduct poetic criticism—especially comments on Du Fu—alongside their own compositional practice; meanwhile, it also in effect deemphasizes the fact that Song poets did not exploit all of the innovations in poetic composition that Du Fu pioneered.

When making all these points, I do not mean that these labels do not make any sense. Nevertheless, when we historicize the construction of Du Fu in the Song and probe into the Song culture through the lens of Du Fu's constructed persona, we must either discard these labels or more critically evaluate them. The Song construction of Du Fu was essentially a lively historical event, rather than a rigid ideological issue. This image of Du Fu not only embodies Song consideration of poetry and poetics, but also reflects the roles scholar-officials actively played in building Song culture. In this sense, this "Du

Fu" can indeed be deemed a "Song poet" and needs to be examined in the cultural context of the Song dynasty.

In the Song, poetry was not simply on the "receiving" end of influence that extended from intellectual and sociopolitical spheres. Most eminent poets themselves, exemplified by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽脩 (1007–1072), Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) and Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105), were also major figures in Song intellectual and political history. Given that these figures took on the identities of poet, statesman, thinker, and scholar, it is oversimplified to merely say poetry was influenced by other sociopolitical and intellectual issues. Instead, we should view poetic, intellectual, and sociopolitical issues in the Song as an integrated whole that can be called Song culture. Since poetry was also part of this culture, the examination of Song culture is, for the purpose of this book, not centered on poetry alone, but on the Song literatus as an active agent. I share Stephen J. Greenblatt's view of these matters as an aside:

[I]nterest lies not in the abstract universal but in particular, contingent cases, the selves fashioned and acting according to the generative rules and conflicts of a given culture. And these selves, conditioned by the expectations of their class, gender, religion, race, and national identity, are constantly effecting changes in the course of history. Indeed, if there is any inevitability in new historicism's vision of history, it is this insistence on agency. … Agency is virtually inescapable.

Inescapable but not simple: new historicism, as I understand it, does not posit historical process as unalterable and inexorable, but it does tend to discover limits or constraints upon individual intervention.

While emphasizing the initiative that historical agents are able to take in affecting the course of history, Greenblatt, above, also wisely notices "limits or constraints upon individual intervention," the individual who is "conditioned by the expectations" of the group to which they belong. For Song literati, education and the civil service examination were the most significant factors that united them and enabled them to conduct literary, scholarly, and political activities.

In the face of the collapse of medieval aristocratic clans by the end of the Tang, the Song relied much more than the Tang on civil service examinations to recruit officials in the state's bureaucratic system. The examination became one of the key issues of all educated elites, including poets. This means the identity of poets changed, as well. Most poets no longer belonged to large clans, as did Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433); nor were they "guest-clerks" (幕客) like Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813–ca. 858), who received the patronage of local officials or commanders. Instead, they were educated literati affiliated with the state. To prepare for examinations, poets were usually systematically educated and trained in not only poetic composition but also the Confucian Classics and historiographical canons. As affiliates of the state through the civil service examination system, Song literati had a renewed notion on state and bureaucratic service. The state became more significant for poets in the Song than in earlier periods; moreover, because their daily life was so closely related to civil service, a re-crafting of common poetic topics and themes emerged as a result.

The key role played by civil service examinations and education also had an impact on intellectual trends that advocated restoring the ancient Confucian "Way." These trends traced back to Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) and other mid-Tang literati, but the thought was not widely embraced until it was institutionally sustained in the Northern Song. Generally speaking, Confucian values became dominant throughout all of society. However, disputes also emerged in regard to differences in specific understandings of the Confucian tradition and the particular ways to put it into practice within Northern Song social circumstances. The eleventh century witnessed the rise of contentions between different philosophical ideas. Seen from a broader perspective, these were part of the era's renewal of approaches to understanding the world.

As one of the ways to express human beings' reflections on themselves and their relationship to the world, poetry was also reconsidered. This included a renewal of the understanding of poetry's relations to other fields of human knowledge. Poetry was viewed alongside historical writing as well as other genres of literature, such as prose and song lyrics. While part of poetry's expressional and lyrical functions as well as its

performative features were transferred to song lyrics, Song literati also began to widely recognize poetry as a unique medium enabling them to know about history—from their perspective, poetry engaged human beings with the world by representing the world informed by human responsiveness in both the past and present times. The concept of "*shishi*" provides a ready example of the ways in which Song literati tried to remap the disciplines of human knowledge, although those who actively discussed "*shishi*" never achieved consensus in regard to the connotation of this concept.

Besides poetry's function of presenting history, its compositional mechanism and generic features had also been reconsidered by the eleventh century. Even though the greatest star of the era, Su Shi, professed a philosophy-oriented proposal for spontaneity in poetic composition, more poets believed that good poetry could be written through the effort exerted in compositional craftsmanship. This notion inspired an exploration into standards of poetic techniques on a more subtle and detailed level. Eleventh-century efforts to consciously craft poetic composition was, in effect, another wave of renewing accepted generic features of poetry. For example, discussions on "composing poetry in the way of composing prose" as well as on "composing song lyrics in the way of composing poetry" reflected, to some degree, common anxieties in an era when the boundaries of literary genres were redrawn.

For Song literati, all these trends were reflected in their search of model poets.[29] Du Fu was, among others, built to be such a model. As readers conducted historical, political, and literary readings of Du Fu's poetry, the Du Fu that they constructed came to be perhaps the most comprehensive embodiment of Song poetic thoughts in a single model poet, but such thoughts indeed varied in different phases of the Song history. The concept of "*shishi*" established Du Fu as a model individual encountering and representing history; yet, under this overarching term, readers throughout the Song approached both "history" and "poetry" from different perspectives. Within Song political culture, Du Fu's significance was mainly highlighted on the moral level. However, identifying in what sense Du Fu was morally compelling indeed varied as the political situation in the Song changed. In terms of poetic craftsmanship, Du Fu was credited with exemplifying textual features that Song poets themselves defined as rules

and standards for poetic composition; in this way Du Fu embodied Song poets' evolving interests and pursuits in poetic craftsmanship.

Not only did Du Fu's image constructed by Song readers mirror the agentive roles that educated elites in the Song played in shaping the culture that conditioned their thoughts and actions. The constructing process also sheds light on certain significant issues that are often neglected in our understanding of Song literati culture. Most scholar-officials in the Song frequently wrote poetry; poetry came to be an organic part of their everyday lifestyle and thus engaged with their scholarly and political activities. Meanwhile, both poetry and poetic criticism followed certain generic conventions. Reading and commenting on a given poetic text was usually a process irreducible to merely a summary of ideas, opinions, arguments, or theses. As we conduct close readings not only of Du Fu's poetic texts but also of texts of literary criticism on Du Fu's poetry, the Song construction of Du Fu's image also provides us with a unique lens for looking into the literati culture in the Song. The diverse perspectives of understanding Du Fu's poetry as *shishi* testified to the trend of politicizing and moralizing the explorations of past history. As this trend developed in various forms throughout the Northern Song and the Southern Song, reflections on history hardly came to be a purely academic issue. Further investigation of the political reading of Du Fu's poetry in the Song, on the other hand, shows that scholar-officials' commitment to the state not only centered on their service in office, but also included their willingness to retreat from office. Readings of Du Fu's poems based on such tendency were often forgotten by critics in subsequent eras. In terms of craftsmanship, Song critics' elevation of Du Fu demonstrated their own innovative consideration on poetry and poetics. Their specific comments alert us of certain clichés that underestimate the historical contribution made by Song poets and critics.

In short, the image of "Du Fu" derived from the historical, political, and literary reading of his poetry seems to have done much more than simply writing poetry. By defining Du Fu, Song literati defined themselves. This special means of self-defining, however, was not merely a simple designation. It was essentially a dynamic historical process of addressing diverse aspects of the cultural characters of Song literati.

Overview of the Book

This book consists of five chapters.

As a backdrop for understanding the Song construction of Du Fu, chapter 1 investigates the memory of Du Fu before the mid-eleventh century. My discussion particularly focuses on several key issues that were both frequently touched upon before the eleventh century and repeatedly revisited thereafter, including the juxtaposition of Du Fu and Li Bai 李白 (701–762), the hardship in Du Fu's life, Du Fu's association with Shu 蜀, his relationship with Yan Wu 嚴武 (726–765), and his death. In an effort to make Du Fu's remembered image conform with the perception of his persona derived from his oeuvre that took form in the eleventh century, these issues were reevaluated and re-narrated within the new critical discourse of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

By tracing the process of collecting and compiling Du Fu's poems in the Song, chapter 2 shows that the surviving poems of Du Fu were by no means all those which Du Fu had written, and that the received version of Du Fu's poems was the result of layered editing. Moreover, I analyze the ways in which the *biannian* 編年 (chronological compilation) format of compiling Du Fu's poems implicitly constructed narratives of Du Fu's biography and laid a foundation for certain critical theses. Therefore, Du Fu's image derived from his poetic texts should not simply be taken as the real Du Fu. Rather, it represents a persona emerging from a body of texts that took form over centuries. This emerging process depended on the strategies that Song literati used to compile and read Du Fu's poems.

Chapter 3 reflects on the "*shishi*" label of Du Fu. Instead of simply accepting this label as a reference to Tang history preserved in Du Fu's poetry, I show that in different contexts Song literati used this term in different ways. Therefore "*shishi*" becomes a lens through which we can observe Song literati's consideration of poetry and history's relationship with other disciplines of human knowledge and with other facets of human experiences. In the Northern Song, while critics applied particular reading strategies to establish Du Fu's poetry as reliable historical sources, scholar-officials took poetry not only as a medium loaded with specific historical information but also as a

means of engaging human beings with the world informed by human responsiveness in both the past and the present times. Southern Song readings, however, further stressed the moral dimension of Du Fu's historical poems, reflecting the trend to politicize historical writings and historiographical studies.

Chapter 4 examines the reception of Du Fu in the transforming political culture of the Song. While moral readings of Du Fu's poems essentially reflected the intellectual and literary trends since the ninth century, hermeneutics borrowed from the learning of the Classics particularly allowed Northern Song critics to bridge the reading of Du Fu with their realistic concerns with governance. This enabled Su Shi to define Du Fu's agentive role in embodying loyalty to the state; on the other hand, it is often forgotten that Su Shi and his peers also read Du Fu's poems beyond the perspective of recognizing his loyalist image. When the political situation changed in the twelfth century, however, specific expectations for a loyalist's ethical commitment also changed. Accordingly, Du Fu's political significance was interpreted more in terms of his experiences in the face of the state's crisis.

Chapter 5 investigates the ways in which Song critics constructed Du Fu's image as a master of poetic craftsmanship. In their discussion of word usage, syntax, and prosody in Du Fu's poetry, a circular logic was employed: they summarized standards for poetic composition from Du Fu's poems and, at the same time, also applied these standards to Du Fu and elevated him to a lofty position. Du Fu's image as master of poetic craftsmanship thus reflected Song poets' own pursuits in the new poetic discourse of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the Southern Song, this image was further canonized to become part of a narrative of the poetic past—the transition from the Tang to the Northern Song.

At the end of the book, I provide both the theoretical and the historical conclusions of this study. Instead of taking Song poets' reading of Du Fu as a case exemplifying the "anxiety of influence," this study shows that Song poets needed Du Fu's constructed image due to their desire for influence, because such influence—as they defined it—enabled them to locate themselves in the history of Chinese poetry. From the

perspective of Chinese history, Du Fu's constructed image is in line with the scholar-official identity of educated elites in Northern Song. Despite the localization of elites since the Southern Song, this image of "Du Fu" the great poet has continued to be admired as an iconic cultural model of the "imagined community" of the Chinese nation. <>

READING MEDIEVAL CHINESE POETRY: TEXT, CONTEXT, AND CULTURE Editor: Paul W. Kroll [Series: Sinica Leidensia, Brill, ISBN: 9789004280397]

Nine renowned sinologists present a range of studies that display the riches of medieval Chinese verse in varied guises. All major verse-forms, including shi, fu, and ci, are examined, with a special focus on poetry's negotiation with tradition and historical context. Dozens of previously untranslated works are here rendered in English for the first time, and readers will enter a literary culture that was deeply infused with imperatives of wit, learning, and empathy. Among the diverse topics met with in this volume are metaphysical poetry as a medium of social exchange, the place of ruins in Chinese poetry, the reality and imaginary of frontier borderlands, the enigma of misattribution, and how a 19th-century Frenchwoman discovered Tang poetry for the Western world.

Contributors include Timothy Wai Keung Chan, Robert Joe Cutter, Ronald Egan, David R. Knechtges, Paul W. Kroll, Stephen Owen, Wendy Swartz, Ding Xiang Warner, and Pauline Yu.

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Medieval China, as it has come to be understood by most sinologists, refers to the approximately seven hundred years from the decline of the Han dynasty in the late second and early third centuries CE to the end of the Tang dynasty in the early tenth century. Within this span, the Wei-Jin-Nanbeichao period up to 589, when China was ruled except for a few decades from 280 to 317 by at least two and sometimes three or four competing dynasties, is normally considered the early medieval era, and the epoch of the Sui (589-618) and Tang (618-907) dynasties, when China was reunited in a single polity and reached its second great peak of imperial power, prosperity, and geographical breadth, is normally regarded as the late medieval era. These centuries are the period of highest achievement in poetry, including the work of scores of poets traditionally regarded as the most outstanding of China's long literary history. For the purposes of this book, however, we extend the term medieval into the twelfth century, seeing the Northern Song period and the first generation of the Southern Song as importantly connected to the Tang in matters of poetry and literary heritage (though socially and politically of a vastly different character).

During most of this medieval millennium of Chinese history, poetry was written mainly in two verse-forms, the shi and the fu¦, with a third form, the ci, developing into an important option from the late Tang onward into the Song dynasty. Each of the papers collected in the present volume focuses on one or another of these three forms, the study of which in English has a surprisingly short history.

Fifty years ago, in the early 1960s, the English-language landscape of medieval Chinese poetry was relatively bare and uncultivated. The chief landmarks remained the translations of Arthur Waley from the 1920s and 30s, along with his warmly enthusiastic 1949 book on The Life and Times of Po Cha'i and a smaller, curiously ill-tempered and unsympathetic 1950 volume on The Poetry and Career of Li Po. The Qing-dynasty anthology of 300 Poems of the Tang (Tangshi sanbaishou) was available in the still popular rendering from 1929, called The Jade Mountain, done by the Santa Fe poet Witter Bynner who knew no Chinese but was aided by a Chinese informant. The two slim volumes by Soame Jenyns drawn from this same eighteenth-century anthology (Selections from the Three Hundred Poems of the T'ang Dynasty [1940] and A Further Selection from the Three Hundred Poems of the T'ang Dynasty [1944]) were not widely known. Bynner's working arrangement, knowing no Chinese but "translating" poems from explanations supplied by a native Chinese informant, was adopted by some other English-language poets who could not be bothered actually to learn Chinese but wished nonetheless to try their hand at imitating Chinese poems.

William Hung's magisterial 1952 work, Tu Fu, China's Greatest Poet (2 vols.), was an exception both for the accuracy of its translations (albeit these were in prose) and the immense depth revealed in its historical commentary and notes; but it would stand as a lone pinnacle of scholarly excellence for more than a decade, before comparable books would appear. A few journal articles of similar distinction were published around the same time, such as Achilles Fang's "Rhyme prose on Literature: The Wen-fu of Lu Chi (ad 261–303)" (1951) and James Robert Hightower's "The Fu of T'ao Ch'ien" (1954), both casting rare light on the then little-recognized genre of fu poetry. But healthy sprouts of this kind were scattered and sporadic. For the most part we had the likes of Gary Snyder's renderings (begun under the teaching of Shih-Hsiang Chen during brief postgraduate attendance at Berkeley) of two dozen poems by Han Shan ("Cold Mountain"), published in 1958 in an avant-garde literary magazine, which succeeded in turning Han Shan into an archetypal beatnik. This attained currency in some circles at the time and introduced certain readers to Chinese poetry, if a peculiarly mutated version of it. Throughout the 1950s and into the first half of the next decade

amateurism was mostly the order of the day. Informed professional study in English of medieval Chinese verse was still just beginning.

The effort to impart a truer picture was given a notable boost by James J. Y. Liu in his small but influential 1962 book on The Art of Chinese Poetry. Although some of his observations may seem quaint or cliché-ridden today, this book treated Chinese verse (of all periods) for the first time as a subject of serious academic inquiry. An even more resolutely professional and philologically grounded approach to medieval verse was being taken by Edward H. Schafer in numerous articles in scholarly journals and in his books The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics (1963) and The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South (1967), although Schafer used poetry—often masterfully translated—largely to illuminate aspects of material culture, rarely fore-grounding it for its own sake. Several articles by Richard B. Mather, such as his beautifully translated and densely annotated piece on "The Mystical Ascent of the T'ien-t'ai Mountains: Sun Ch'o's Yu T'ien-t'ai-shan fu" (1961), also showed what benefits could accrue from the most careful scholarship of this kind. The works of J. D. Frodsham, such as his Anthology of Chinese Verse: Han Wei Chin and the Northern and Southern Dynasties (1967, in collaboration with Ch'eng Hsi) and his two-volume The Murmuring Stream: The Life and Works of Hsieh Ling-yün (1967), were unfortunately marred often by a poor ear for English phrasing and by less than reliable scholarship. But by the mid-'60s one could see that a new day was gradually dawning. This was clearly heralded by the 1965 publication of A. C. Graham's Poems of the Late T'ang. A slim Penguin paperback aimed at a broad audience, this volume explicitly condemned amateurism, both in the understanding of classical Chinese and in the handling of the English language itself; it raised the bar for translations of medieval verse, establishing a standard that is still in many ways an ideal goal. This was usefully followed in 1967 by David Hawkes's A Little Primer of Tu Fu. Presenting all thirty-five of the poems by Du Fu that were included in the "300 Poems of the Tang," Hawkes offered word-by-word trots, explanatory comments on selected lines, and prose translations of the poems. Meant for beginning students, this book demonstrated clearly what a

serious approach to medieval poetry required and introduced into elementary training a firmness that had heretofore been lacking.

The next several years witnessed a first outburst of scholarly publications focusing on medieval poetry. The landscape at last began to be extensively and competently cultivated. William Hung's 1952 study of Du Fu acquired worthy successors targeting other medieval poets, in James J. Y. Liu's The Poetry of Li Shang-yin (1969) and James Robert Hightower's The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien (1970). A dozen more monographs, by various scholars on various poets, followed in the next decade. Perhaps best-known among this burgeoning of publications were Burton Watson's two books from 1971, Chinese Lyricism: Shih Poetry from the Second to the Twelfth Century and Chinese Rhyme-prose: Poems in the Fu Form from the Han and Six Dynasties Periods. Although light on scholarship, these books and the translations they offered (modeled on the populist works of Yoshikawa Kõjirõ and others for a Japanese readership much more conversant with traditional Chinese literature) became a ready resource during at least the next decade for the growing number of students who were turning to medieval poetry as a possible academic specialty.

A neglected aspect of medieval verse up to this time was its aural element. The standard practice being to read the poems in modern Mandarin, few scholars of literature bothered to acquire even a rudimentary grasp of Middle Chinese phonology, that is to say, the language in which the poems were actually written. Thus, most studies remained at the level of semantic deciphering only, with scant regard for the crucial interplay of sound and sense. This question was forwardly addressed by Hugh M. Stimson, as in his 1969 article "The Sound of a Tarng Poem: 'Grieving about Greenslope' by Duh Fuu," and to even greater effect by Tsu-lin Mei and Yu-kung Kao in their 1968 article on "Tu Fu's 'Autumn Meditations': An Exercise in Linguistic Criticism." The most impressive application of this appeared in Elling O. Eide's 1973 piece "On Li Po," which marked a new peak in the interpretation and close reading of medieval verse, taking account of all factors contributing to a poem's creation. Unfortunately, even today few scholars expose themselves to the phonological features

of medieval poetry, a problem that often still retards our full understanding and appreciation.

It is from the early 1970s that the study of medieval Chinese poetry, in English, bloomed and bore fruit as a discrete academic subject. Many of those who received their graduate training in the late '60s and first half of the '70s have helped to define the field as it now exists professionally and have trained the rising generation of scholars. To be sure, eager but ill-equipped amateurs are today still in evidence, producing translations of medieval poets that make them sound like time-trapped survivors of the San Francisco Renaissance; but the audience for such fabrications is now largely separate from that which seeks to understand the poetry more authentically and on its own terms.

Nevertheless, the present state of the field is not without worrisome signs. Graduate students specializing in medieval poetry are entering the professoriate in increasing numbers. But multiplicity also risks fragmentation, and it may seem sometimes that a vague malaise is abroad. Despite the conveniences of instant electronic communication, disjunction can trump community. More scholars now than previously approach their texts with limited knowledge of the work of their predecessors or of contemporaries beyond a relatively small circle of colleagues and former classmates. Also worrisome is the frequency with which we see young scholars publish their revised doctoral dissertation as a "tenure book" to gain desired academic security but then not follow this up with significant further research. However, this much is clear from the labors of the past fifty years: medieval poetry is a field of inexhaustible riches and of new treasures awaiting discovery. There is incalculably more to learn, if we apply ourselves to doing so.

The nine authors whose work is presented in the volume at hand span two generations of scholarship, sharing a deep love of medieval Chinese poetry and a parallel passion for well-written English. To indulge these allied commitments, they gathered on February 20–22, 2013, at the University of Colorado in Boulder. The agreed upon task was for each participant to produce a full-length paper for presentation and argument,

dealing with a neglected or problematic subject of their choice. The papers published here are revised versions of those offerings, amended or ed in response to discussion at the conference among the presenters themselves as well as the large audience of students and professorial colleagues from all over the United States that was in attendance.

We have in these nine articles a collective concern to foreground texts, handled with philological respect as well as attention to the various complications and particular imperatives of context. Three of the papers deal with early medieval verse, focusing on poets of the mid-fourth century (Swartz) and the mid-fifth century (Cutter, Knechtges). Four concentrate on late medieval verse of the Tang era, focusing on poets of the mid-seventh century (Warner, Chan) and the mid-eighth century (Kroll, Yu). Two take up verse from the extended medieval period of the Song dynasty, focusing on poets of the eleventh century (Owen) and twelfth century (Egan). Collectively these studies explore questions including contemporary (that is, medieval) expectations and interpretations of verse, the uses and cultural weight of the past, the pressures and distinctions exerted by form and genre, as well as Western responses to and adaptations of Chinese verse. This does not of course comprise a complete picture of medieval poetry, for which a book many times the size of this one would be necessary. The nine views of different historical moments, of different critical approaches, and of different types and vectors of verse presented here may serve as first explorations of some roads not yet taken in the study of medieval Chinese verse. It is hoped that they may also reveal in some measure the richness of our textual resources, while suggesting something of the persistent excitement to be derived from the thoughtful reading of poems with close attention to their various contexts. <>

OVID IN CHINA: RECEPTION, TRANSLATION, AND COMPARISON edited by Thomas J. Sienkewicz and Jinyu Liu [Series: Metaforms, Brill, ISBN: 9789004467279]

OVID IN CHINA offers a fresh look at an ancient Roman author in a Chinese context and often from a Chinese perspective. The seventeen essays in this volume, by a group of international scholars, examine Ovid's interaction with China in a broad historical context, including the arrival of Christian missionaries in 1294, the depiction of Ovidian scenes on 18th-century Chinese porcelain, the growing Chinese interest in Ovid in the early 20th century, a 21st-century collaborative project to translate Ovid's poetry into Chinese with commentary, and comparative studies on such themes as conceptualization of time, consolation, laughter, filicide, and revenge.

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While the study of Greco-Roman culture appears to be waning in many parts of the western world, interest in the works of ancient Greeks and Romans is actually on the rise in China. This volume on the reception of Ovid in China, unquestionably a first of its kind, is a reflection of that phenomenon and is inspired by an ambitious project to translate into Chinese all the works of Ovid and to accompany these translations with commentaries.

Ovid and his works became known in China only gradually, and in very limited ways, over the course of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Translations of individual works of Ovid only began to appear in Chinese in the 20th century. *Ars Amatoria* was the first, in 1929, and has remained the most popular. Portions of *Metamorphoses* appeared in Chinese in the 1950s but a complete (prose) translation of *Metamorphoses* was not published until 1984. The rest of Ovid's works are much less well known in China due to the lack of Chinese translations. For this reason, in 2015 a major grant from *Zhongguo guojia shehuikexue jijin* 中國國家社會科學基金 [National Social Science Fund of China (NSSFC)] spearheaded a project entitled "Translating the Complete Corpus of

Ovid's Poetry into Chinese with Commentaries." This is now an on-going international effort by more than a dozen translators and scholarly consultants.

This translation project will radically change Ovid's reputation in China and the role of this Roman poet in the Chinese literary world. The subtitle for *Ovid in China*, "Reception, Translation, and Comparison," illustrates the broad context in which Chinese engagement with Ovid is viewed by the contributors. The seventeen essays in this volume offer not just a philological focus on Ovid's works in Chinese but also a study of the emerging role Ovid's poetry has played in Chinese culture, including material culture and comparative studies, in a wide international context. Thus, this is not a traditional study of Ovid as a Roman poet. Nor is it only a discussion of the translation project. Rather, the volume aims to focus attention on an examination of Ovid in China in an international and cross-cultural context in order to address key inter-related questions: How and when did/does Ovid interact with China; how and when did/does China interact with Ovid? What are some of the challenges and benefits of translating Ovid into Chinese? What comparative studies can the translation project facilitate?

The answers to these questions require a broad historical context beginning in the thirteenth century, with the arrival of the first Christian missionaries in China, tracing the growth of Chinese interest in Ovid in the early 20th century, and culminating in the current translation project. While the missionaries who introduced Western literature to China were less interested in Ovid than in other Greco-Roman authors, in the eighteenth-century scenes from Ovid made a significant appearance on Chinese porcelain intended for the European trade. These scenes did not reach China directly through Ovid's poetry but indirectly, via illustrations from European translations of Ovid which were used as models for the Chinese porcelain painters. Also, Ovid's place in modern China can only be fully understood by considering the ways that Greco-Roman culture was received and interpreted during the political upheavals and trends in China in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All of this historical background is necessary to place in context the 21st century translations, which promise to bring

Ovid's works more into the mainstream of Chinese intellectual life and to encourage more comparative study of Ovid with Chinese authors.

While most of the contributors to this volume are Chinese scholars who are working on the Ovid Translation Project, the list of contributors also includes scholars from Britain, Germany, the United States, and Singapore. Most of the contributors are not native speakers of English. All of them bring a fresh look to the ancient Roman author in a Chinese context and often from a Chinese perspective.

As part of this translation project, "Globalizing Ovid: An International Conference in Commemoration of the Bimillennium of Ovid's Death" was held at Shanghai Normal University in 2017. This conference was not only an opportunity to commemorate Ovid but also an encouragement for cross-cultural conversations about the globalization of the Greco-Roman Classics. Some of the papers read at this conference have been published in Chinese as journal articles, and the proceedings of the conference, with additional contributions, have been published in Chinese by Peking University Press in a two-volume book entitled *Quanqiu shiye xia de guluoma shiren Aoweide yanjiu qianyan* 全球視野下的古羅馬詩人奧維德研究前沿 [*New Frontiers of Research on the Roman Poet Ovid in a Global Context*], the first scholarly book published in China on Ovidian research.

The momentum generated by the 2017 conference led to multiple international workshops and panels in successive years, including: "Ovid in China" at the annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South (CAMWS) in 2018; the "From Tomis to China" Ovid Workshop organized by Steven Green at Yale-NUS, Singapore in 2019; "Ovid and Latin Classics in Chinese Translation" organized by Gareth Williams, Christopher Francese, Marc Mastrangelo, Jinyu Liu and Chun Liu at the Columbia Global Center in Beijing in 2019; another "Ovid in China" panel at the joint meeting of the Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques (FIEC) and the Classical Association (CA) in London in 2019; and "Translating Latin Verses into Chinese," a virtual conference hosted by the Guangqi International Center for Scholars in 2020. All of these events have aimed to share the results of the Shanghai

conference and the work of the NSSFC translation project to a wider audience and have facilitated intensive discussions concerning both the general strategies of translating Latin literature into Chinese and tactics about translating specific expressions.

This volume expands on the goals of these earlier initiatives. Six of the papers focus on the challenges faced by translators in creating appropriate Chinese versions of Ovid's works: "Translating Ovid into Chinese: Challenges and Strategies" by Jinyu Liu 劉津瑜, "Translating Laughter: Literature, Language, Genre, and Culture" by Caleb M. X. Dance and Kang Zhai 翟康, "Liberal Arts and Face Cosmetics: Ovid's *Medicamina* into Mandarin" by Steven Green and Pei Yun Chia 謝佩芸, "Experimenting with a Poetic Form in Translating *Metamorphoses*" by Kang Zhai 翟康, "Translating *Fasti*: Bringing Ovid's Roman Year to China" by Chen Wang 王晨, and "The Voice of the Exiled Poet: A Translator's Perspective" by Jinyu Liu. Four contributions ("Writing in Misfortune: Ovid's *Heroides* in Light of Chinese Poetic Perspectives" by Chun Liu 劉淳, "Themes of Women's Vengeance and Filicide in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: Reception and Comparison in Modern Chinese Literature" by Ying Xiong 熊瑩, "Translating Time: Writing the Calendar in Early China and Ancient Rome" by Heng Du 杜恆, and "Retelling Two Exiles in Rome and China: Philosophical Comfort, Literary Consolation, and the Impossible Mourning" by Chenye Shi 石晨葉) offer significant comparative studies of Chinese and Roman literature inspired by the translation process.

Some of the papers were originally presented at the Shanghai conference. The first contribution in this volume ("Western Classics / Ovid in China: An Overview" by Fritz-Heiner Mutschler (Mu Qile 穆啟樂)), for example, was a keynote address at this conference. Mutschler also read a version of this paper for the Ovid in China panel at the joint FIEC/CA Conference in 2019 and another version was published in Chinese. "Translating Laughter: Literature, Language, Genre, and Culture" by Caleb M. X. Dance and Kang Zhai results from the authors' collaborative experience in translating into Chinese Dance's English-language paper from the *Globalizing Ovid* Conference for the conference proceedings. Variations of "Scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* on Four 18th-century Chinese Export Porcelain Punchbowls" by

Thomas J. Sienkewicz were given as conference papers in Shanghai, at CAMWS 2018 and at the joint FIEC/CA Conference in 2019. His paper for the *Globalizing Ovid* Conference was also translated into Chinese for the conference proceedings. Early versions of three other papers in this volume were also presented at the FIEC/CA panel: "Ovid on China: on Eighteenth-century Chinese Export Porcelain" by William Motley, "Ovid's Debut in Chinese: Translating *Ars Amatoria* into the Republican Discourse of Love " by Xinyao Xiao 肖馨瑤 and Yumiao Bao 包雨苗, and "Liberal Arts and Face Cosmetics: Ovid's *Medicamina* into Mandarin" by Steven Green and Pei Yun Chia. Two essays, "Late Ming Jesuits and Western Classicism" by Sher-shiueh Li 李奭學 and "An Early Chinese Translation of an Ovidian Quotation" by Chen Wang, were written especially for this volume to address particular issues related to Ovid's early history in China.

Essays by Mutschler and Li appear first in the volume and place the works of Ovid in the wider history of Classical studies in China. Ovid's sporadic appearance in this history serves to illustrate why the current project to translate all the works of Ovid into Chinese is so important.

Mutschler offers a sweeping survey of the reception of Western Classics in China from 1300 to the present. The first part of his essay is a broad historical overview of the ways that western missionaries and merchants referenced and used the classical languages and literature in China. He begins in 1294 with the arrival in China of Giovanni da Montecorvino (Ruowang Menggaoweinuo 若望 孟高維諾, 1247–1328), a Franciscan priest who taught Chinese boys Latin so that they could serve him at Mass; continues with the theological, philosophical, scientific and literary activities of famous Jesuit missionaries like Matteo Ricci (Li Madou 利瑪竇, 1552–1610) and Ferdinand Verbiest (Nan Huairen 南懷仁, 1623–1688); touches upon some 18th-century Chinese porcelain manufacturers on whose ware there appeared Ovidian scenes; and ends with 19th-century Protestant clergymen like Carl Friedrich August Gützlaff (Guo Shila 郭實臘, 1803–1851) and Joseph Edkins (Ai Yuese 艾約瑟, 1823–1905), who, besides pursuing

their proselytizing efforts, also introduced outstanding poets of the Western pagan tradition to their Chinese public.

In the second part of his contribution Mutschler deals with the "Modern Period," which he divides into three stages: the years of the demise of the Empire and of the ensuing period of political turmoil (1900–1950), the early decades of the People's Republic dominated by Mao (1950–1980), and the time since Deng's policy of opening and reform (1980–present). Mutschler focuses here on the indigenous, Chinese, reception of Greco-Roman culture, which from early on was shaped by two related but distinct interests: a "political-patriotic" interest in the Western appreciation of reason and rational argument, of science and democracy, and a "cultural-humanist" interest in the achievements of Greek and Roman literature and art. Having traced the development of these interests in the first half of the 20th century and their restricted but discernible continuation under the very different circumstances of Mao's People's Republic, Mutschler shows how, in the third stage since the 1980's, the study of the Greco-Roman world has begun to be integrated formally into Chinese higher education. In the different approaches taken at various Chinese educational institutions the "political-patriotic" and "cultural-humanist" dichotomy can still be felt, but, according to Mutschler, it is the cultural-humanist interest which has especially whetted interest in the works of Ovid and has led to the Ovid Translation Project.

In the second essay Sher-shiueh Li provides additional historical background regarding the reception of western ideas and culture in China and illustrates in more detail the role of Jesuit missionaries in spreading the knowledge of Classical authors in China in the 16th and 17th centuries. Li begins his essay with a quote from the *Qiuyou pian* 逑友篇 [A Treatise on Making Friends] by the Italian Jesuit Martino Martini (Wei Kuangguo 衛匡國, 1614–1661) in which Martini cites two lines from Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (I.349–350) along with a line from Horace's *Epistles* (I.II.57) as *exempla* on the theme of the danger of jealousy in friendship.

These two quotations, Li notes, probably represent the Chinese debut of both Roman poets and lead Li into a discussion of other *exempla* from Greco-Roman sources quoted

in Chinese by Jesuit authors. As many as sixty *exempla* from Aesop's *Fables*, for example, appear in the *Qiuyou pian* or in other works in Jesuits in China, including *Baike wenda* 拜客問答 (Dialogues for Visitors, 1600?) attributed to Matteo Ricci (Li Madou 利瑪竇, 1552–1610) and *Qike* 七克 (Seven Conquests [of the Seven Deadly Sins], 1614) by Diego de Pontoja (Pang Diwo 龐迪我, 1571–1618). Many more *exempla* referencing famous ancient men (rather than animals) appear not only in Martini's *Qiuyou pian*, but also in works by Jesuits, including *Jiaoyou lun* 交友論 (On Friendship, 1595) by Ricci and *Dadao jiyen* 達道紀言 (Illustrations of the Grand Dao, 1636) by Alfonso Vagnone (Gao Yizhi 高一志, 1566–1640). Many of these *exempla* are *chreiai*, anecdotes or reminiscences about individuals like Alexander the Great and Aristotle. Two of these *chreiai* may also reference Ovid. One, in Vagnone's *Dadao jiyen*, mentions the ancient hunter Actaeon, known especially in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (3.138–164). The second, in Ricci's *Jiaoyou lun*, is a lament about friendship as a commodity for sale, based on Ovid's *Epistulae ex Ponto* 2.3:7–9.

Li concludes this essay with another possible Ovidian reference in the *Qiuyou pian*, this one described by Martini as an Italian proverb about learning from another's misfortune. This Italian proverb, Li notes, is probably ultimately derived from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (4.428). Li rightly demonstrates in his essay that the Roman poet never made a significant appearance in the literature introduced into China by the Jesuits, who, in general, avoided powerful "pagan" poets like Homer and Virgil. Ovid was no exception. Given the important role which Jesuits played in China's early contacts with Western culture and literature, Ovid's absence along with other Greco-Roman authors is noteworthy and helps explain why none of Ovid's works were translated into Chinese until the twentieth century.

The next two essays deal with Ovid's appearances in China on 18th-century Chinese export porcelain. These two essays complement each other. The first, "Ovid on China: Images from Illustrated Suites of Scenes from Ovid on Eighteenth-century Chinese Export Porcelain" by William Motley, is a survey of scenes from Ovid depicted on Chinese Export Porcelain. Motley, an expert on the subject, has, himself, identified

many of the engravings by European artists upon which these porcelain scenes are based and has published extensively on the subject. While such Ovidian themes on Chinese porcelains are well-known among scholars and collectors of Chinese porcelain, they have not been recognized by classicists as important expressions of Ovidian reception. The second essay, “Scenes from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* on Four 18th-century Chinese Export Porcelain Punchbowls” by Thomas J. Sienkewicz, is an examination of a series of four punchbowls showing in more detail how the Chinese porcelain artists meticulously used the black-and-white European engravings as models and only expressed their artistic freedom in occasional details, and, especially, in their choice of colors. These four punchbowls have never before been described and compared in detail.

These porcelains are important examples of Ovidian reception not only in China, but also in an international context, since the Chinese artists who decorated these objects with Ovidian scenes were using, as their models, engravings from European editions of Ovid’s works brought to China by trading companies. These porcelains were intended exclusively for export back to European buyers. Furthermore, as noted in these essays, the depiction of Ovidian scenes on Chinese porcelains reflects the popularity of Ovid’s poetry in 18th-century Europe and was probably inspired by the many Ovidian subjects in European opera of the period.

While these two studies based upon material culture might seem, at first glance, to be out of place in a volume on Ovid, these porcelains are important because they represent, along with the references cited by Sher-shiueh Li, the earliest appearances of Ovid in China. Significantly, however, in all of these cases, the poet was introduced into China by Europeans, not by Chinese. The passages cited by Li were made by European missionaries and the porcelains were based upon European engravings of Ovidian scenes.

Only in the mid-19th century is Ovid finally mentioned by name and a bit of his poetry translated by a native Chinese writer. In “An Early Chinese Translation of an Ovidian Quotation” Chen Wang describes a Chinese translation of *Metamorphoses* 2.63–71

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in *Ao-men Hsin-wen-chih* 澳門新聞紙 [Macao News]. Wang argues persuasively that this translation was done by Yuan Te-hui 袁德輝, who was educated in schools run by Europeans in China, where he learned Latin. While Wang notes several flaws in Yuan's translation, the very fact that a passage from Ovid was translated into Chinese by a Chinese native marks a noteworthy stage in the reception of the poet in China, as Latin education reached Chinese students in missionary schools.

As the title suggests, "Ovid's Debut in Chinese: Translating the *Ars Amatoria* into the Republican Discourse of Love" by Xinyao Xiao and Yumiao Bao focuses on *Aijing* 愛經 by Dai Wangshu 戴望舒, the first Chinese translation of an entire work of Ovid. In this essay the authors discuss how Dai's poem emerges from China's growing interest in Westernization and modernization in the early 20th century and how and why the sexually- and politically-charged *Ars Amatoria* became the first of Ovid's works to appear in Chinese. Xiao and Bao suggest that literature dealing with love was especially popular in China in the 1920's and 1930's and that Dai's *Aijing* was promoted to address that interest and to serve as a self-help book on the subject. The authors also illustrate how other Chinese authors, especially one writing under the penname Hongxiaosheng (紅笑生 "scholar of red laughter") in the popular women's magazine *Ling long* 玲瓏 [*Lin Loon Lady's Magazine*] in 1935, critiqued Ovid's poem in their own writings about love and sexuality. Thanks to Dai's translation Ovid's debut in China was a resounding success.

The remaining eleven papers are written by participants in the current Chinese translation project. Jinyu Liu's "Translating Ovid into Chinese: Challenges and Strategies" provides an overview of the project. The other papers are devoted to individual works of Ovid, beginning with the *Heroides* and the *Amores*, moving through the other "erotica" and the *Medicamina*, to the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*, and ending with the exile poetry. In these essays, the authors discuss the cultural and linguistic challenges they faced in translating into Chinese the sophisticated poetry of Ovid, including technical Latin terms and Roman social concepts. They also provide an important comparative perspective via parallels to classical Chinese authors whose

works deal with themes similar to those favored by Ovid, especially calendar and time, love, and exile.

Jinyu Liu, the lead editor of the Ovid Translation Project, begins her essay by noting two important characteristics of this project. First of all, this project is intended not only to produce Chinese translations of Ovid's poetry but also to encourage Chinese engagement with the Greco-Roman world. Secondly, Liu emphasizes the international nature of the community of translators whose productive cross-cultural conversations have led to shared principles and tactics regarding the process of translation. In particular, Liu addresses the problems of "domesticating translation" (a term borrowed from Lawrence Venuti's study of translation), i.e., employing ethnocentric vocabulary which makes the foreign text more familiar to someone reading the translation. Liu illustrates examples of such translation in the 2017 Chinese version of Virgil's *Eclogues* by Dang Sheng 党晟 and the 1992 translation of the *Heroides* by Nan Xing 南星, as well as efforts by the translators in the Ovid project to transmit the culturally specific concepts in the works of the Roman poet as precisely as possible into Chinese. One particular way that the Ovid Project tries to avoid domesticating translation is by accompanying translations with commentaries which explain the Roman cultural practice to Chinese readers. Even finding effective Chinese translations for the words *Heroides* and *puella*, Liu notes, is difficult.

In "Writing in Misfortune: Ovid's *Heroides* in Light of Chinese Poetic Perspectives," Chun Liu, noting the challenges a Chinese reader encounters in reading *Heroides*, which has no equivalent poetic form in Chinese, suggests that there is some value in comparing Ovid's poem with poetic laments written in the female voice by male Chinese poets (just as Ovid, himself, does in *Heroides*). Liu's essay includes an appendix containing ten examples of such lamentative Chinese poetry. The result is a rich comparative study which sheds new light on Ovid's poetry as much as it helps to explain the *Heroides* to a Chinese reader. Liu notes that both the *Heroides* and the Chinese laments share a compelling interest in female psychology, as well as a similar repertoire of vocabulary and images for describing these women. She also compares the poetics of misfortune in the Chinese tradition with the relationship between poetry

and misfortune in Ovid. In both traditions, the experience of misfortune provides the poet with a powerful opportunity for poetic self-expression.

The following essay, "Translating Laughter: Literature, Language, Genre, and Culture," offers a conversation between an English-speaking author, Caleb Dance, and his Chinese translator, Kang Zhai. Their conversation results from Zhai's translation of Dance's paper, read at the Shanghai conference, for publication in the conference proceedings published by Peking University Press. Particularly challenging were their efforts to find appropriate ways to translate various English and Latin words for "laughter" into Chinese. The authors also reflect on and compare hierarchies of laughter and humor in the context of American English, Latin in ancient Rome, and Chinese in contemporary China and ways that these hierarchies affect efforts to translate the vocabulary of laughter and humor from Dance's English-language article and Ovid's *Amores* into Chinese. This cross-cultural and cross-linguistic conversation demonstrates the rich benefits of reading a Roman poet in a Chinese context.

"*Ego sum praeceptor amoris*: Ovid's Art of Seduction for the Chinese Audience" by Xinyao Xiao, expands on "Ovid's Debut in Chinese: Translating the *Ars Amatoria* into the Republican Discourse of Love" which Xiao co-authored with Yumaio Bao. Here Xiao examines in more detail the reception of Dai Wangshu's Chinese translation of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, and considers how Ovid's poem was received by the socially conservative Chinese public in the 1930s, and how a Chinese reading offers a challenging interpretation of this Roman poem. As an example of the initial critical response to Dai's translation, Xiao and Bao had cited an article entitled "*Nüzi de Aijing* 女子的愛經 [Tenets of Love for Women]" in the *Ling long*. Xiao here looks more closely at this article and its attitude towards women's sexuality, both in contemporary China and in Ovid's poem. Hongziaosheng considered Chinese women (and men) to be more sophisticated and "modern" than their Roman counterparts. Calling himself "China's Ovidius," Hongziaosheng offered in this article his own manual for love and sexuality, modeled closely on Ovid's poem as well as on sexual aesthetics borrowed from the West.

Accepting the conclusions of a recent article by Pui-lam Cheung 章霈琳, Xiao identifies Hongziaosheng as Peng Zhaoliang 彭兆良 (1901–1964), the editor of *Ling long* and the Chinese translator of excerpts from H. Havelock Ellis' *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1905), a popular early 20th-century American sex manual. Xiao suggests that Peng's interest in Ellis and in Ovid reflects a broad interest in sexology in China in the 1920s and 1930s, when many western books on the topic were translated into Chinese. Peng's use of Ovid to support a portrayal of feminine beauty and behavior designed not to liberate Chinese women but to bind them to a code of behavior based upon male sexual fantasy and female domination is compared by Xiao to ways that 21st-century Alt-Right pickup artists have used the Roman poet in online communities.

The authors of "Liberal Arts and Face Cosmetics: Ovid's *Medicamina* into Mandarin" are Pei Yun Chia, a graduate of the Yale-NUS College Singapore undergraduate program and one of the Chinese translators of Ovid's *Medicamina*, and Steven Green, her instructor at Yale-NUS and her Latin consultant for the translation. The article begins with a description by Green of the Yale-NUS Common Curriculum and the role of Classics in that curriculum. This self-referential section is important in that it explains how an undergraduate alumna of the Yale-NUS program became the Chinese translator of Ovid's *Medicamina*. It also illustrates the growing interest in classical studies in Chinese-speaking communities. Because the *Medicamina* is not well-known and did not even receive mention at the *Globalizing Ovid* Conference, Green also provides an introduction to the poem, an outline of its structure and some important scholarly issues.

In her contribution to the article, Chia uses several case studies to illustrate the challenges of translating the *Medicamina* into Mandarin. In particular, she discusses passages of the *Medicamina* which are easily translated into Chinese and other more challenging passages in which the close linguistic relationship between Latin and English makes an English translation much easier than a Chinese one. For example, verse 58 can be translated much more compactly into Chinese than into English while the Latin word *cultus* used dynamically by Ovid in the poem is more readily translated into English because of cognates like "agriculture," "cult," and "cultivation." Translating

forms of the word *cultus* into Chinese, however, requires a more extensive vocabulary which makes it impossible in Chinese to show how Ovid is repeating forms of the same word in different contexts. Chia shows how she translates *cultus* in several different lines and suggests that for the Chinese reader Ovid's repetition will only be clear by juxtaposition of the Latin text with the Chinese translation. The critical commentary which accompanies the Chinese translation is also useful for this purpose. Chia notes that the *Medicamina* contains themes which will be of some interest to Chinese readers, including Roman views on the conceptualization of female beauty and womanhood as well as Ovid's use of the appropriate application of cosmetics which illustrates his "middle way" approach to a variety of issues. Chia's translation was further polished by Wuming Chang 常無名. Their thoughtful translation and the detailed commentary which accompanies it will help spur Chinese interest in this poem and provide a broader cross-cultural context for understanding this less-well-known Ovidian work.

In "Experimenting with a Poetic Form in the Chinese Translation of the *Metamorphoses*," Kang Zhai discusses previous Chinese translations of *Metamorphoses*, various theories about translating foreign poetry into Chinese, and the challenges of rendering Ovid's dactylic hexameters into Chinese. Two of these translators, Yang Zhouhan 楊周翰 and Lü Jianzhong 呂健忠, chose prose over poetry for their Chinese translations of the poem while Miao Langshan 繆朗山 (under the pseudonym of Miao Lingzhu 繆靈珠) and Fei Bai 飛白 chose verse.[34] Zhai maintains that a poetic translation is more faithful to Ovid's original than prose and suggests that the principle of *yi dun dai bu* 以頓代步 ("the replacement of feet with pauses") can create some equivalence in rhythm with the dactylic hexameter of Ovid's poem by employing six *dun* ("pauses") in the Chinese translation of the poem. He illustrates the potential effectiveness of *dun* by examining several passages from the translations by Miao Langshan and Fei Bai.

As noted earlier in this introduction, "Themes of Women's Vengeance and Filicide in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: Reception and Comparison in Modern Chinese Literature" by

Ying Xiong is a comparative study of Roman and Chinese attitudes and literature dealing with the theme of female vengeance, especially through acts of filicide. Xiong begins by tracing the translation of the myths of Procne and Medea into Chinese and shows that Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898–1958),[35] for example, who retold the myths of both women for a Chinese readership, used the English translation of the Loeb edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as one of the sources for his narratives. To justify his offering more of a compilation than a translation of his sources, Xiong notes, Zheng argued that his goal was to introduce these myths to Chinese readers and that mere translation of Ovid's version of the Medea in the *Metamorphoses* would have resulted in an incomplete version of Medea's story, one difficult for Chinese readers to understand and appreciate. Zheng's retellings were followed by translations of classical works, including three Chinese translations of Euripides' *Medea*.[36]

The second part of Xiong's essay is a comparison of the theme of vengeance in traditional Chinese literature with the stories of Procne and Medea, as told by Ovid. While Xiong notes that tales of female vengeance are found in both Greco-Roman and Chinese literature, the theme is treated differently in both cultures. Chinese interest in such tales, however, explains the popularity of Medea's story in China in the 1920s and 1930s and these Chinese versions of her story are another important example of Ovidian reception in China.

Chen Wang begins his contribution, "Translating *Fasti*: Bringing Ovid's Roman Year to China," by suggesting several reasons why Ovid's *Fasti* has long been neglected in China: the incomplete nature of the poem; the discouragement in China of studies of the calendar and of astrology by individuals; the fact that, during the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) and later, such study could lead to exile or a death sentence; reading the *Fasti* required a significant knowledge of Roman history and culture; unlike the *Metamorphoses* with its continuous narrative around the unified theme of change of shape, the *Fasti* is a series of unrelated tales linked only by the calendrical structure of the poem; finally, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, didactic poetry, including not only Ovid's *Fasti* but also Hesiod's *Works and Days* and Virgil's *Georgics*, were considered uninspiring by Chinese translators of western literature.

Wang compares *Fasti* to several Chinese calendar books and notes that the *Fasti* shares with both *Yue Ling* 月令 [Monthly Ordinance] and *Ri Shu* 日書 [Day Book] an organization of the calendar around the rising and setting of the stars. With *Sui Shi Ji* 歲時記 [Record of Festival Customs] (the name Wang himself is using as the title for his translation of the *Fasti*), Ovid's poem shares the use of two temporal patterns, one based upon astronomy and the movement of the sky and another based on human customs and celebrations.

Wang concludes by considering some of the challenges of translating *Fasti* into Chinese. Besides the problem of expressing Latin poetic features like metre, sound effects and syntax in Chinese, Wang cites the difficulty of translating specifically Roman concepts such as the terms Romans used to name the days of the month. He illustrates this challenge by explaining how he has chosen to translate terms like *Kalends* and *Ides* into Chinese.

In "Translating Time: Writing the Calendar in Early China and Ancient Rome," Heng Du, Wang's partner in translating *Fasti*, focuses on a comparison of Ovid's poem with the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 [The Spring and Autumn Annals of Mr. Lü]. After providing some background on the *Lüshi Chunqiu* and comparing the calendars in the two works, Du considers some important differences and similarities between the two. While *Fasti* is the work of a well-known Roman poet and has been studied mostly from a literary point of view, *Lüshi chunqiu* is mostly written in prose by anonymous authors and has usually been considered from a philosophical, not literary point of view. Du notes, however, that both works share an emphasis on time even in their titles. They are narrative collections of disparate types of astronomical, seasonal, cultic, and calendrical information and reflect important transitional stages in their respective empires. In particular, Du demonstrates how both works reflect what she calls both "multilingualism," i.e., the multi-cultural nature of the empires in which each were written, and "an association between astronomy and universalism" which unites the rulers of both empires and their subjects in a single, orderly cosmos. Thus, Du's comparison of the *Fasti* and the *Lüshi chunqiu* once again demonstrates the value of

juxtaposing two culturally disparate works. Such a study reveals valuable new perspectives to both works.

As the Chinese translator of Ovid's *Tristia*, Jinyu Liu reflects in her second essay for the volume, "The Voice of the Exiled Poet: A Translator's Perspective," on ways to express Ovid's lamentative voice in Chinese and on some of the strategies she employed to address the loss in translation of Ovid's poetic structure and the complexities of his meaning. She focuses on the challenge of translating three aspects of the *Tristia*: Ovid's emotions, power relationships and references to life and death. Liu shows how she tried to capture some of the rhythms of the Latin poem by means of long phrases and consecutive level tones in her Chinese translation; how she adjusted to some extent the word order in Chinese to parallel the complex word order Ovid sometimes used to express emotion; and even how she succeeded (or failed) to express in Chinese Ovid's puns and word play. Liu notes how Ovid's references to the Roman power structure and to the anger, divinity and virtues (such as *pietas*) of Augustus as *princeps*, would be understood much differently (perhaps more positively) by modern Chinese readers than the way Ovid's Roman readers would have understood them. In particular, Liu finds passages in which Ovid addresses the emperor directly especially difficult to translate because of the sarcasm Ovid may have implied beneath his expressions of gratitude. This problem is compounded by the many degrees of formality Chinese uses with the second person singular in direct address. Also challenging is the tension in Ovid's poem between the theme of exile as dying and the poet's drive to live (and life as *munus dei/Caesaris*, "gift of god/Augustus"), a tension requiring the translator to avoid excessive reference to death and to translate the Latin word *vivere* ("to live") and its cognates consistently so that Chinese readers do not feel death to be more weighty than life in the poem. Liu concludes with a brief discussion of the significant differences between *Tristia* and Chinese exile poetry, including "forms of addressivity" and the frame of mind of the exiled poet which make it unlikely that Chinese exile poetry can serve as a useful model for translating *Tristia* into Chinese. The inner resolve and constancy of the Chinese exile poet, nurtured by a philosophical reliance on

Confucianism and/or Buddhism, contrasts vividly with the more lamentative tone of Ovid.

In the last essay in this volume, “Retelling Two Exiles in Rome and China: Philosophical Comfort, Literary Consolation, and the Impossible Mourning,” Chenye Shi develops the contrast Liu observed between Ovid and Chinese exile poets and offers a comparison of Ovid with the pre-eminent Chinese exile poet, Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101 CE). While Chenye Shi agrees with Liu that Su Shi’s poetry is founded on the consolation and comfort he gained from philosophic and poetic reflection, he argues that Su Shi, nevertheless, shares with Ovid a tendency to reflect on the fatal, exile-causing error and to linger on the images of absent loved ones leading in both poets to a state of aporia which both reminds the poets of their loved ones and inhibits them from accepting their loss. Neither poet was able to find real comfort in the act of writing poetry. Once again, a comparative study of Ovid’s poetry with the work of a Chinese author has demonstrated new directions which result from the translation of Ovid’s works into Chinese.

This volume is intended for readers in diverse disciplines and language backgrounds. We have tried to avoid using abbreviations for the purpose of enhancing accessibility. While this book is written in English it includes significant vocabulary and quotations in Latin and in Chinese. Such foreign words are always accompanied by English translation. In general, in referencing Chinese names, vocabulary and terms, we have provided Pinyin (the phonetic transliteration), Chinese characters in traditional Chinese, and English translations. We have done the same for Chinese works referenced in the bibliographies. For longer passages quoted in Chinese, however, we provide only Chinese characters (without pinyin) as well as a translation. <>

THE BUDDHA'S SINGLE INTENTION: DRIGUNG KYOBPA JIKTEN SUMGÖN'S VAJRA STATEMENTS OF THE EARLY KAGYÜ TRADITION by Jan-Ulrich Sobisch, Foreword by His Holiness the Drikung Kyabgon Chetsang [Studies in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism, Wisdom Publications, ISBN 9781614296393]

The definitive presentation of one of the most unique and compelling works of classical Tibetan literature.

This book presents an influential and extraordinary teaching of the Kagyü tradition of Tibetan Buddhism known as the *Single Intention* by the master Drigung Jikten Sumgön (1143–1217), along with its chief commentaries, principally the *Light of the Sun* by Rikzin Chökyi Drakpa (1595–1659).

Early in the history of the Kagyü school, the teachings of Jikten Sumgön were condensed into 150 core formulations called *vajra statements*. These pithy, revelatory statements comprise the *Single Intention* (*Dgongs gcig*), which presents the thought of the Buddha and the nature of the ineffable (*brjod du med pa*) in concise and direct expression. The *Single Intention* weaves the thread of ineffable mahamudra through the entire fabric of Buddhism. It presents mahamudra as pervading disciplined conduct, meditative concentration, and discriminative knowledge; ground, path, and result; view, practice, and conduct; and the “three vows” of pratimoksa, of the bodhisattvas, and of mantra. Jikten Sumgön teaches how the fundamental values and insights revealed by the Buddha are woven into reality and therefore accessible to all.

Jan-Ulrich Sobisch manages to convey the unity of the Buddha’s message both in its particulars and in its scope. His deep and authoritative skill makes this the definitive presentation of one of the most unique and compelling works of classical Tibetan literature.

Review

"The teaching of the *Single Intention*, or *Dgongs gcig*, of the renowned founder of the Drigung Kagyü order, Jikten Sumgön, was among the most original and, to some, controversial Tibetan innovations in the history of Buddhist thought. A clear and authoritative presentation of it has long been needed. Jan-Ulrich Sobisch, in *The Buddha's Single Intention*, now admirably presents the key texts in lucid translation with copious annotation and commentary. An essential contribution to Tibetan Buddhist studies and to the history of the Kagyü and Mahamudra traditions in particular." -- Matthew T. Kapstein, professor emeritus, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris

"Tibetan masters excelled at crafting comprehensive visions of the entire Buddhist path. The *Single Intention* tradition is among the most important of these. Sobisch's magisterial work makes this essential teaching available in all its splendor for the first time." -- Kurtis R. Schaeffer, University of Virginia

"The *Single Intention* by Kyobpa Jikten Sumgön not only is the most important work of the Drigung Kagyü school but also plays a central role in Indo-Tibetan hermeneutics. The huge diversity of at times contradictory statements attributed to the Buddha is thus taken to mask an underlying single common intent, namely to further and establish all sentient beings in complete awakening. Jikten Sumgön, in other words, does not accept the common claim that the different cycles of teachings were meant for different types of beings but rather that all disciples need to be guided through them sequentially on a gradual path.

"Jan-Ulrich Sobisch's meticulous and well-annotated translation of the *Single Intention* and the extensive commentary on it by Rikzin Chökyi Drakpa is thus a most welcome contribution. It profits from a rare combination of the translator's privileged access to traditional Tibetan learned masters on the one hand and rigorous academic scholarship on the other. The book is highly readable and can be recommended even to newcomers to the field of Buddhist philosophy and hermeneutics." -- Klaus-Dieter Mathes, professor of Tibetan and Buddhist studies, University of Vienna

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About the Author

This book presents a central teaching of the Kagyü tradition known as the Single Intention (dgongs gcig) as represented in the body of work of the Tibetan Buddhist master Drigung Kyobpa Jik-ten Sumgön (1143–1217) and in its chief commentaries, principally the Light of the Sun composed in 1633 by the twenty-fourth throneholder of Drigung, Rikzin Chökyi Drakpa (1595–1659), which is translated here.

My principal goal is to introduce Jikten Sumgön's Single Intention with its particular Kagyü flavor to a community of scholars of Buddhism and to a wider audience of readers interested in Tibetan Buddhism.

Jikten Sumgön was a heart son of Phakmodrupa Dorjé Gyalpo (1110–70), one of the four chief disciples of Gampopa (1079–1153). Although scholars of Tibetan Buddhism have thus far paid scant attention to his work, during the period of growth and consolidation of the Drigung and other Kagyü traditions in Tibet from the thirteenth century on, his teachings—particularly those on the Single Intention (dgongs gcig)—had a significant impact on the Kagyü and beyond.

The root text of the Single Intention was composed by Jikten Sumgön's nephew Sherab Jung né (1187–1241) based on the teachings received from his uncle. Sherab Jung né was the first to teach the entire text to a wider public, starting in the mid 1220s. Two of his students composed extensive commentaries that stand out to this day: Dorjé Sherab composed the commentary best known as the Dosherma in 1267, and Sherab Jung né's younger brother Rinchen Jangchup composed the Rinjangma during the 1260s.

My decision to make the Light of the Sun (rather than the more ancient commentaries) the basic text of this study was chiefly based on the fact that fifteen years ago, when I still lacked a comprehensive overview of the Single Intention, Chökyi Drakpa's commentary seemed the most accessible. But as, in the course of my studies, the Dosherma and the Rinjangma became more and more comprehensible to me, I have now included many of their comments in the notes to the translation of the Light of the Sun. Importantly, Chökyi Drakpa's commentary responds to some of the most significant criticisms launched by the great paṇḍita of Sakya, Sapaṇ Kunga Gyaltsen (1182–1251) in his seminal work, the Clear Differentiation (composed ca. 1232; see Rhoton 2002, 4). It thereby provides a further level of tradition-building by defending the Kagyü from what sometimes appear to be rather harsh attacks by one of Tibet's greatest scholars.

Introduced to the corpus of the Single Intention by my mentor and friend Ngawang Tsering of Nurla (1950–2015), I first began to investigate its teachings on the three-vow system of Tibetan Buddhism for my dissertation in the 1990s (Sobisch 2002). Over the years and decades, inspired by Ngawang's tireless private studies of the Single Intention, I developed the aspiration to study, translate, and publish one of its central commentaries. My tenure at the University of Copenhagen in 2006 enabled me to focus on this project for several years. A major academic stimulus to this work has been David Jackson's Enlightenment by a Single Means: Tibetan Controversies on the "Self-Sufficient White Remedy" (1994a), a milestone in Tibetological research. With it, he introduced and investigated some of the key issues in a Tibetan controversy of the new translation period. During that era, those who taught in an analytical and discursive style often became involved in heated debates with those who preferred nonanalytical

direct instructions. These two positions are sometimes referred to as the “intellectual,” with Sakya Paṇḍita as the renowned representative of the Sakyapas, and the “anti-intellectual” or “anti-conceptual,” with Gampopa as head of the Kagyü tradition. Jackson’s work, which tackles one of the big issues in Tibetan Buddhism while seeking to do justice to the indigenous presentations of the respective traditions, is one that I could only hope to match. Nevertheless, Jackson himself felt that his study fell short in one respect (pp. 6–7):

> I have not, however, succeeded in presenting the Great Seal masters or their teachings with anything like their original striking power and appeal. The soaring, utterly non-worldly viewpoint from which these masters often spoke is difficult to reduce to a doctrinal system.

To optimally portray these masters and their teachings, I have relied on Jikten Sumgön’s Single Intention, an outstanding Tibetan work that condenses the “ineffable” (brjod du med pa) into 150 core formulations. In this book I have attempted to preserve, to quote David Jackson again, as much of the Single Intention’s “original striking power and appeal” as possible. <>

TSONGKHAPA: THE LEGACY OF TIBET’S GREAT PHILOSOPHER-SAINT edited by David B. Gray [Wisdom Publications, ISBN 9781614297550]

Tsongkhapa’s seminal contributions to Buddhist thought and practice, and to the course of history, are illuminated and celebrated by some of his foremost modern interpreters.

Few figures have impacted the trajectory of Buddhism as much as the great philosopher and meditator, scholar and reformer, Tsongkhapa Losang Drakpa (1357–1419), the founder of the Geluk school of Tibetan Buddhism and teacher of the First Dalai Lama. His Ganden tradition spread throughout Central Asia and Mongolia, and today, through figures such as the Dalai Lama, who calls Tsongkhapa a second

Nagarjuna, his teachings are shaping intellectual conversations and ethical practice globally. To commemorate the 600th anniversary of Tsongkhapa's passing, a special conference was held at Ganden Monastery in India in 2019, featuring some of the best translators and interpreters of his teachings today. Highlights of those incisive summations of Tsongkhapa's special contributions are gathered in this volume. Here we discover Tsongkhapa the philosopher, Tsongkhapa the master of the Buddhist canon, Tsongkhapa the tantric adept, and Tsongkhapa as the visionary who united wisdom to compassion.

Each of the authors featured looks at a distinct facet of Tsongkhapa's legacy. **Donald Lopez** provides a global context, **Guy Newland** distills Tsongkhapa's Middle Way, **Dechen Rochard** uncovers the identity view, **Jay Garfield** examines the conceptualized ultimate, **Thupten Jinpa** highlights the seminal importance Tsongkhapa placed on ascertainment, **David Gray** looks at his approach to Cakrasamvara tantra, **Gavin Kilty** surveys his Guhyasamaja tantra commentary, **Roger Jackson** surmises his views on Zen and mahamudra, **Geshé Ngawang Samten** examines his provisional-definitive distinction, **Gareth Sparham** highlights his scholastic prowess, **Mishig-Ish Bataa** illuminates his impact in Mongolia, and **Bhiksuni Thubten Chodron** presents his instructions on how to cultivate compassion.

Whether you are well acquainted with Tsongkhapa's life and thought or you are encountering him here for the first time, you will find **THE LEGACY OF TSONGKHAPA** an illuminating survey of his unique explorations of the highest aspirations of humanity.

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THIS VOLUME IS the product of an important recent conference

focusing on the intellectual legacy of the Tibetan philosopher,

yogi, and saint Tsongkhapa (1357–1419). Entitled "Jé Tsongkhapa: Life, Thought, and Legacy," the conference commemorated the sixth hundredth anniversary of Tsongkhapa's passing and was held on December 21–23, 2019, at Ganden Monastery in Mundgod, India. The conference was convened by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and as a result was attended by a large and diverse audience of scholars, practitioners, local Indians and Tibetans, and pilgrims from around the world. Conference presentations were made in Tibetan and English as well as Hindi. Collected herein are the English presentations by the authors who were able and willing to revise and expand their

conference presentations. Donald S. Lopez Jr. also revised and contributed his keynote address, “Tsongkhapa in Global Context,” which serves as a very fine introduction to this volume. In his essay, Dr. Lopez reflects upon the global significance of Tsongkhapa’s legacy, both through the lens of his own experience as a scholar studying Buddhism at Ganden Monastery in 1979 and through comparison with major figures in the history of Christian thought.

The essays contributed to this volume fell into three broad areas, which enable the division of the book into three sections. The first, not surprisingly, is Madhyamaka, a natural reflection of the very important and well-known contributions Tsongkhapa made to the study of Indian philosophical thought in Tibet and his advocacy in particular of the Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka school of Nāgārjuna, Buddhapālita, and Chandrakirti. Four chapters focus on Tsongkhapa’s contributions in these areas. The first, Guy Newland’s “Start Making Sense: Finding Tsongkhapa’s Middle Way,” provides a straightforward and clear introduction to Tsongkhapa’s interpretation of Madhyamaka philosophy, showing how Tsongkhapa played an essential role in clarifying Candrakirti’s contributions to Madhyamaka thought. The essay focuses on the two truths, especially Candrakirti’s critique of the concept of the intrinsic nature or reality of persons and things and the implications of this with respect to how conventional reality is properly understood, an epistemological understanding that was central to Tsongkhapa’s unique approach.

A closely related issue, the nature of the self, is explored in the second chapter, “Tsongkhapa and Candrakīrti on Uprooting Saṃsāra: The Twofold Object of the Identity View.” In this essay, Dr. Dechen Rochard explores Tsongkhapa’s understanding of Candrakīrti’s negation of individual identity. After first exploring the issue of the identity view (satkāyadṛṣṭi), a crucial but often poorly understood topic in Buddhist philosophy, the essay presents Candrakīrti’s and Tsongkhapa’s argument, which connects this with a central existential problem, namely self-grasping, which can be alleviated via analytical meditation in which inherent identity is sought and not found. The essay neatly demonstrates the centrality of the practitioner’s view of self to the path to spiritual awakening.

In the third chapter, "Thinking Beyond Thought: Tsongkhapa and Mipham on the Conceptualized Ultimate," Jay L. Garfield explores Tsong-khapa's views on the nature of ultimate reality, specifically Tsongkhapa's argument that this entails a movement from inferential to direct awareness of emptiness. He also discusses later contributions to the debate regarding the nature of ultimate reality and the possibility of its realization made by nineteenth- and twentieth-century Nyingma thinkers Ju Mipham and Bötrul Dongak Tenpai Nyima.

The fourth and final entry in this section is "Tsongkhapa on the Importance of Ascertainment in Meditation on Emptiness" by Thupten Jinpa. In this chapter, Jinpa notes Tsongkhapa's emphasis on the need for ascertainment (nges pa), or the correct apprehension of a given truth—in this case, emptiness—as a necessary consequence of sustained meditation practice. The essay explores the need for accurate philosophical analysis in the context of meditation practice so as to directly realize the truths about the nature of self and reality that are the objects of the practice. It thus nicely points to the integration of Buddhist theory and practice.

While Tsongkhapa is best known in the West as a philosopher, as Donald Lopez points out in his introduction to this volume, about two-thirds of his writings focus on the tantras and their associated practices. The second section of this volume is thus dedicated to his writings on the tantras. In the first chapter in this section, "Tsongkhapa's Masterful Exegesis of Cakrasaṃvara Tantra," I elucidate Tsongkhapa's approach to the study of tantric literature with a focus on his commentary on the Cakrasaṃvara Tantra. I argue that Tsongkhapa's exegetical approach was broadly based, taking into account the available translations, explanatory tantras, and commentaries. He also advocated an ecumenical approach to tantric commentary, since drawing on diverse tantric traditions advances one's understanding.

Chapter 6 is Gavin Kilty's contribution, "A Lamp to Illuminate the Five Stages: Tsongkhapa's Reformatory Work on Guhyasamāja Tantra." Kilty first surveys the Guhyasamāja tradition and its transmission to Tibet and the two main Indian exegetical traditions, the Ārya and Jñānapāda schools. Outlining Tsongkhapa's

approach to the Guhyasamāja Tantra, he then focuses on how the tradition conceptualizes the generation-stage and completion-stage practices.

The final contribution in this section is chapter 7, "The Shadow of Heshang: Tsongkhapa on Chan, Dzokchen, and Mahāmudrā Meditation" by Roger R. Jackson. Jackson explores the claim that Tsongkhapa received and secretly transmitted esoteric instructions on advanced meditation practices to realize the nature of mind and awakening. He explores the evidence for this claim in Tsongkhapa's writing and contemporaneous works. In so doing, he also details Tsongkhapa's positions with respect to the Nyingma dzokchen and Kagyü mahāmudrā traditions, as well as with the Chinese Chan tradition associated with the eighth-century master Heshang Moheyan, with which the former traditions were sometimes linked.

The volume concludes with a section entitled "Moving Minds," which explores Tsongkhapa's legacy and impact both in Tibet and beyond. It opens with "Jé Tsongkhapa's Contribution to Buddhist Hermeneutics" by Geshé Ngawang Samten. Buddhist hermeneutics, as understood here, is a response to the challenge posed by scriptures that appear to contradict one another. Geshé Ngawang Samten first reviews the interpretive strategies employed by Buddhists to get a definitive sense of what the Buddha actually taught. He then turns to Tsongkhapa's groundbreaking contributions to this field of study in Tibet in the Essence of Eloquence.

Chapter 9, "Tsongkhapa's Hermeneutics and the Perfection of Wisdom," contributed by Gareth Sparham, takes a more focused look at the interpretation of the Perfection of Wisdom literature in both India and Tibet. Sparham first introduces the literature and the major Indian commentaries on it, focusing on debates regarding the authorship and validity of two important commentaries that were attributed to Vasubandhu and hence could be linked to the authoritative figure of Maitreya. Sparham then discusses Tsongkhapa's interpretation of this literature, as well as his evaluations of the authorship of the two commentaries, only one of which he attributes to Vasubandhu. Sparham distinguishes Tsongkhapa's views on these issues from other influential Tibetans such as Dölpopa Sherab Gyaltsen.

The tenth chapter is "Jé Tsongkhapa's Teachings and Translations in Mongolian" by Bataa Mishig-Ish, who surveys the dissemination of Tsong-khapa's oeuvre to Mongolia. Dr. Bataa first briefly surveys the introduction of Buddhism to Mongolia, particularly the formal adoption of the Geluk school of Tibetan Buddhism by the Western Oirat Mongols in the seventeenth century. He then turns to the dissemination of Tsongkhapa's works in the Mongolian context, with a focus on Tsongkhapa's famous texts on the stages of the path (lam rim) and their publication as woodblock texts in the eighteenth century. He argues that Tsongkhapa's lam rim teachings were an important spiritual resource that helped preserve the Buddhist teachings in Mongolia during the era of oppressive Communist rule in the twentieth century.

The final chapter is Bhikṣuṇī Thubten Chodron's "Learning, Living, and Teaching Bodhicitta: Jé Tsongkhapa's Contribution to Spreading Compassion in the World." Venerable Chodron argues that Tsong khapa's approach to teaching compassion is particularly suited for the modern Western context. She begins with a discussion of the bodhisattva path and compares Tsongkhapa's spiritual journey with that of Sudhana, the hero of the Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra. She observes that Tsongkhapa emphasizes the exchange of self and other when discussing the "spirit of awakening" (bodhicitta). She argues that the current Dalai Lama, following Tsongkhapa, emphasizes this contemplative exercise. The author then turns to Candrakīrti's discussion of three types of compassion as well as Tsong khapa's commentary on this and its special relevance for modern practitioners.

While this volume does not come close to exhausting the limits of what might be said concerning the impact of Tsongkhapa's work in Tibet and beyond, it does reunite contributions to this study that briefly converged in Mundgod, India, just before the global pandemic ushered in a new awareness of our profound human interdependence. Hopefully these essays will advance the appreciation of Tsongkhapa's intellectual legacy in the wider English-speaking world, where he remains a little understood figure of Asian religious history, unlike in the Tibetan-speaking world, where his impact is justly celebrated.

Tsongkhapa in Global Context by Donald S. Lopez Jr.

Our holiness, venerable members of the sangha, distinguished guests. Please forgive me if I begin with a personal reminiscence. Professor Jeffrey Hopkins, who is here today, founded the Buddhist studies program at the University of Virginia in 1976. In designing the program, he sought to incorporate several elements of the geshé curriculum into the graduate program. To that end, His Holiness kindly selected a series of geshés to teach at the University of Virginia over the next decade. The first of these was Lati Rinpoché (1922–2010), who arrived in 1976. Because his longtime attendant Ngawang Tsultrim could not accompany him, I served as Rinpoché's assistant, bringing him his meals and his tea and asking him each afternoon, "Shall we go for a walk?" (cham cham la 'phebs kyi yin pas).

In October 1978, I came to India on a Fulbright Fellowship to work on my dissertation, a translation and study of the Svātantrika section of Lcang skya grub mtha', or Beautiful Adornment of Mount Meru, the famous work on tenets by Changkya Rölpai Dorjé (1717–86), remembered by history as the preceptor and confidante of the Qianlong emperor. I had my first audience with His Holiness that fall. I remember that I asked him about such topics as "the imaginary lacks the entityness of nature" (kun btags la mtshan nyid ngo bo nyid med) and "being established from the side of the object without being posited by the power of appearing to a nondefective awareness" (blo gnod med la snang ba'i dbang gis bzhag pa ma yin par don gyi sdod lugs kyi ngos nas grub pa). In January 1979, forty years ago, my wife and I made our way south here to Ganden, where my teacher, Lati Rinpo-ché, was then abbot of Ganden Shartsé.

Back then, conditions in Mundgod were difficult, especially for an American visiting India for the first time. But here at Ganden were Lati Rinpoché, Song Rinpoché, and Dzemé Rinpoché, with Kyabjé Trijang Rinpoché visiting during Losar. At Drepung were Khensur Pema Gyal-tsen, Ngawang Nyima, Gen Nyima, and the geshé who became my closest teacher, Loseling Khensur Yeshé Thupten. Tara Rinpoché also visited. After Losar, the monks from the School of Dialectics in Dharmsala came down, and I remember Gen Losang Gyatso debating with Ngawang Nyima one night in the debating courtyard at Gomang. Although the facilities at the monasteries back then were very

primitive, and everything was hot and dusty, I realize in retrospect that these places called Lama Camp #1 (Ganden) and Lama Camp #2 (Drepung) were in fact a pure land and that I was in the presence of buddhas. These were the most important days of my life. Today, I return to Ganden, having just completed a translation of all of Lcang skya grub mtha'. I have brought the first copy with me to present to His Holiness.

These were the days when His Holiness was concerned that the monks were devoting too much of their studies to the monastic textbooks (yig cha) of their colleges and not to the writings of the master himself, and so he had printed hundreds of copies of a two-volume set of Tsongkhapa's writings on emptiness, with the rather understated title, The Master's Statements on the View (Rje gsung lta ba'i skor). I still have those dark-green books on the shelf in my study in America.

One afternoon in the spring of 1979, I was circumambulating a small stupa at Gomang College at Drepung, reciting the famous five-line prayer to Tsongkhapa known simply by its first three syllables: dmigs rtse ma. The Buryat geshé Ngawang Nyima (or Agvan Nyima, 1907–90), then abbot of Gomang, walked over and asked me what I was doing. When I told him, he said, "You're an American, I'm a Mongolian. Here we are in India, speaking Tibetan, talking about someone from Amdo. There must be karma." I think he was right. And now, forty years later, when all of these masters, except one, are gone, I am here at Ganden again, to talk about the "crown ornament of scholars of the Land of Snows."

What can we say about this man? We can say that more than ten thousand people here at Ganden, with tens of thousands more watching around the world, have gathered today, six hundred years after he passed into nirvāṇa, entirely because of him. Because of him, there are the monasteries known simply as "the three foundations" (Ganden, Sera, and Drepung); because of him, there is Tashi Lhunpo, Labrang, and Kumbum. Because of him, there is the Ganden Phodrang. Because of him, there is the Panchen Lama. Because of him, there is the Dalai Lama. Because of him, this man who was not a king, not an emperor, not a warlord, not a politician. Because of him, this man who was an itinerant yogin, traveling from one retreat site to another, accompanied by a few

disciples and four dzo (a cross between a yak and a cow) loaded down with volumes of the Kangyur and Tengyur, a man who had visions of Mañjuśrī, the bodhisattva of wisdom, a man who wrote some of the most sophisticated philosophical works in history.

The title of my comments today is "Tsongkhapa in Global Context." But this is a topic for an entire book. Therefore, let me limit my remarks to the realm of religion. When the term world religion was first coined in German in the nineteenth century, there were only two: Buddhism and Christianity. And indeed, the two religions have a long history of interaction. In early European descriptions, Buddhism is often compared to Roman Catholicism, and not always in a flattering way. Indeed, that comparison is most often made by Protestants, based on the presence of monks, monasteries, rosaries, incense, and chanting, as well as a pope, in the two religions. Today, we dismiss much of this. But perhaps we can return to the comparison in a different light.

In the history of the Roman Catholic Church, there is no thinker more important than St. Thomas Aquinas, who provided the philosophical foundation for Catholicism. Tsongkhapa's Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path (Lam rim chen mo) is sometimes compared to the Summa Theologica of Aquinas, although they are very different works. Still, there is a comparison to be made: Just as Thomas went back to the works of Aristotle to reshape Christian theology, arguing that reason is a path to God, so Tsongkhapa went back to the works of Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti to provide the most influential exposition of Madhyamaka in the history of Buddhism, arguing that reason is essential even at the most exalted stages of the path to buddhahood.

Although Thomas Aquinas wrote five short hymns, including the famous "Adoro Te Devote," he is remembered for his genius as a philosopher. For the devotional side of the religious life, the Catholic Church reveres above all The Imitation of Christ by St. Thomas à Kempis, a contemporary of Tsongkhapa. This work provides detailed instruction for daily practice, intended to return monastic life to its spiritual foundations, foundations from which Thomas à Kempis felt many monks had strayed. The Imitation of Christ was the inspiration for another important work, the Spiritual

Exercises by St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, the Christian order most often compared to the Geluk and the order with the most extensive interaction with Buddhism. In the case of Tibet, we think especially of the Italian Jesuit Ippolito Desideri (1684–1733), who studied at Sera Monastery in Lhasa and wrote lengthy refutations of rebirth and emptiness, in Tibetan. Like Thomas à Kempis and Ignatius Loyola, Tsong-khapa wrote many important devotional works, hymns, and instructions on practice—especially in his many works on tantra, which comprise some two-thirds of his collected works (gsungs 'bum)—but also in works on Madhyamaka, such as his several "instructions on the Madhyamaka view" (dbu ma'i lta khrid).

A final figure to mention is St. Benedict, author of yet another seminal work of the Roman Catholic Church, the Rule of St. Benedict, which provided the foundation for the organization and governance of monastic life. Benedict himself did not seek to establish his own religious order. However, the Benedictine order would develop over the centuries, eventually building thousands of monasteries across Europe. Tsongkhapa has been referred to as a "reformer" in European-language books about Buddhism for more than a century. There are several problems with the use of this term. However, his commitment to monastic discipline is clear throughout his biography, from his Dharma festival on the Vinaya in 1397 at Sengé Dzong to his composition of rule books (bca' yig) that would form the foundation for much of Tibetan monastic life, first at Ganden and later for hundreds of Geluk institutions across Inner Asia and today around the world.

With this brief comparison, I seek to make a simple point. One might argue that the Roman Catholic Church is built on the work of three saints, each towering in his importance: Thomas Aquinas, Thomas à Kempis, and Benedict of Nursia, who, respectively, provided the philosophical, spiritual, and institutional foundations of the church. For the Geluk, we find these three foundations provided by a single monk, Losang Drakpa from Tsongkha. And furthermore, for Tsongkhapa, these three foundations were not separate domains. Indeed, one of the hallmarks of his work is his call for the importance and the synergy of the three spheres, the 'khor lo gsum: lta ba, sgom pa, and spyod pa: philosophy, meditation, and action. To this remarkable achievement, accomplished in a life of only sixty-two years, we should add that these

foundations were expressed in some of the most beautiful poetry and prose in the vast literature of the Tibetan language.

I mentioned at the outset that my translation of Lcang skya grub mtha' has just been published. Along with Jamyang Shepa's Great Exposition of Tenets (Grub mtha' chen mo), Changkya's is the most famous grub mtha' text and certainly the more widely read. As I was working on the translation, I was continually struck by the presence of Tsongkhapa, or "the foremost great being" (rje bdag nyid chen po), as Changkya usually refers to him. Although there is no grub mtha' text among the eighteen volumes of his collected works, nor in those of his two chief disciples, Gyaltsab and Khedrup, there is hardly a single topic on which Tsongkhapa does not offer essential insight, whether it is the refutation of Sāṃkhya in the chapter on non-Buddhist traditions; the question of whether the Pudgalavāda of the Saṃmitīya sect—the famous (and infamous) proponents of an "inexpressible person"—are really "proponents of Buddhist tenets" (nang pa'i grub mtha' smra ba) in the Vaibhāṣika section; to the extensive discussion of substantial existence (rdzas yod) and exclusion of the other (gzhan sel) in the Sautrāntika chapter. The lengthy Cittamātra chapter, which Chang-kya seems to have written first, is based largely on Tsongkhapa's Essence of Eloquence (Legs bshad snying po), and the two Madhyamaka chapters are based on many of his works, but especially his Great Commentary on the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā (Rtsa shes tiḳ chen) and his Illuminating the Intent (Dgongs pa rab gsal), his commentary on Candrakīrti's Entering the Middle Way (Madhyamakāvatāra).

If one were to characterize the writings of Tsongkhapa with a single term, it might be "integration" (zung 'jug). When we read his works, we notice immediately that he is not only a master of the "five books" (gzhung lnga) that form the basis of the Geluk curriculum—Maitreya's Ornament for Realization (Abhisamayālaṃkāra), Candrakīrti's Entering the Middle Way, Dharmakīrti's Commentary on Reliable Cognition (Pram āṇa-vārttika), Vasubandhu's Treasury of Abhidharma (Abhidharmakośa), and Guṇaprabha's Discourse on Discipline (Vinayasūtra)—and their vast related literature, but that he is able to see deep connections among them. For example, in his Notes on Ornament for the Middle Way (Dbu ma rgyan gyi zin 'bris), he takes up the category of

"reasoning about the unestablished" (gzhi ma grub pa'i gtan tshigs), the question of whether something that does not exist can be the subject of a syllogism. At first sight, this appears to be a technical question deriving from Indian Buddhist logic, and in many ways it is. However, Tsongkhapa understands that in Madhyamaka, it is essential to be able to reason about things that do not exist, most importantly the self of persons and the self of phenomena. This is just one of many examples of the ways in which he integrates Dharmakīrti's logic into Madhyamaka ontology.

Yet another example of integration is Tsongkhapa's weaving of Indian sources into his works. As a young monk, he spent four full years at Tsal Gungthang, essentially in a reading retreat, immersing himself in the Tsalpa edition of the Kangyur and Tengyur. The most immediate result of his study was his first major work, Golden Rosary of Good Explanation (Legs bshad gser phreng), his magnum opus on the Perfection of Wisdom, where he famously cites twenty-one Indian commentaries on Maitreya's Ornament for Realization. As Thupten Jinpa notes in Tsongkhapa: A Buddha in the Land of Snows, from this point on, Tsongkhapa would rely almost exclusively on Indian sources in the many works that would follow; it was Indian works that he loaded on to the backs of the four dzo that accompanied him from one retreat to another. It was from this point that he styled himself "the Well-Read Losang Drakpai Pal from Tsongkha in the East" (mang du thos pa shar tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa'i dpal).

The most famous, and perhaps the most consequential, integration that we find in the collected works of Tsongkhapa is his integration of sūtra and tantra. In some ways, this derives from Atiśa and his Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment (Bodhipathapradīpa). However, Tsongkhapa's engagement with the question is far more extensive and sophisticated, where, for example, in the first chapter of his Great Exposition of Secret Mantra (Sngags rim chen mo) he takes up the crucial question of the distinguishing feature of tantra. He concludes that it is not to be found in the realm of wisdom because there is no wisdom more profound than that set forth by Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti. All those who achieve liberation, whether by the path of the śrāvaka or the path of highest yoga tantra, must realize the subtle selflessness of persons and phenomena as set forth in Prāsaṅgika.

Instead, Tsongkhapa argues, the difference must be found in the realm of method, in the practice of lha'i rnal 'byor, deity yoga. As always, he has an Indian source, the Vajra Canopy Tantra (Vajrapañjara Tantra), to support his argument: "The method is to bear the Teacher's form" (thabs ni ston pa'i gzugs can no).

Each of these examples, however, are instances of the most important form of integration that we find in Tsongkhapa's works: the integration of study and practice, the conviction that what might seem arcane, technical, even pedantic in the vast corpus of the Buddhist canon always offers an occasion for practice—in his words, an opportunity to see all teachings as man ngag, as personal instructions.

At the beginning of his grub mtha', Changkya writes:

> A state of degeneration beyond degeneration has become full blown.
> That the secrets of the teachings of the Sage
> still have not declined is due to his kindness.

Changkya wrote those words almost three hundred years ago. If the degenerate age was full blown then, what is our fate today? There are surely many lessons that the works of Tsongkhapa have to offer to the modern world. But the one that occurs to me today is his commitment to reason, analysis, and evidence in all elements of the Buddhist path, from going for refuge to the most advanced stages of tantric practice, his conviction that it is only through the exercise of the highest powers of the intellect that we can attain direct perception of the real.

In 1979, I finished my study of the Svātantrika chapter of Changkya several weeks before I had to return to America. I asked Loling Khensur Yeshé Thupten what I should study next, and he said, without hesitation, the Essence of Eloquence. And so he began to teach me. We did not finish. On the day of my departure from Mundgod, I came to say goodbye, tears streaming down my face. As I began to do a prostration, he said, "Don't bow down," phyag ma tshal. He explained that if I did not bow down, it meant that the teaching was not concluded and that we would meet again to continue the study of this precious text, the text that was recited by the monks of Ganden six hundred years ago to honor the passing of this great master. And so I end with this prayer, that we will all meet again in the future, where our teacher will appear

before us once again, to teach us how to understand the teachings of the “crown ornament of scholars of the Land of Snows, Tsongkhapa” (gangs can mkhas pa’i gtsug rgyan tsong kha pa).
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