

## REVIEW ARTICLE

### A Survey of Tibetan Buddhist Studies

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OVER THE PAST twenty-five years, knowledge of Tibetan Buddhism has been greatly expanded through numerous new publications, stimulated in large part by the outflow of scholars and materials from Tibet. Specialists in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism require no introduction to this literature. However, it does seem that readers whose main interest lies in East Asian religious studies might benefit from a short presentation of some of the most significant works in this closely related field. All too often, such persons still have exclusive recourse to old classics, like L. Austine Waddell's *Buddhism of Tibet* (1895), or the writings of Evans-Wentz and David-Neel. The importance of such pioneering works is not to be denied; they are in their own way irreplaceable, but their information and conclusions have in many respects long since been overtaken and surpassed by later research. These still popular books may be out of date, but a far more serious threat to the interests of the non-specialist, in my opinion, emanates from a mass of new writings that ostensibly deal with Tibetan Buddhism or Buddhist Tantra. Though sometimes adorned with hitherto respectable names, many of these books appear in reality to be no more than tracts telling harassed Americans how to relax. In our time this, too, may be a legitimate function of the polyvalent Tantras, but such works are hardly relevant to the study of Buddhism as it existed in Tibet. These gaudy productions should not be allowed to obscure the true progress of Tibetan Buddhist studies as a highly-developed field of scholarly inquiry. Professor Nagao Gadjin has recently published a lucid bibliographical summary of Japanese work in Tibetan studies.<sup>1</sup> His essay has suggested the following notes, intended for the

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<sup>1</sup> 'Reflections on Tibetan Studies in Japan,' *Acta Asiatica* 29 (Tokyo, 1975), pp. 107-128.

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general reader, on the principal Western books that are helping to shape a new understanding of Tibetan religion and culture.

The reader in quest of an overall description and interpretation of Tibetan religion and society cannot do better than consult the masterly work of R. A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, now conveniently available in English translation (Stanford, 1972).<sup>2</sup> In a brief compass, Professor Stein furnishes a comprehensive introduction to the natural habitat, history, and social structure of Tibet, then to the complex religious traditions of native and foreign origin, and to Tibetan literature and art. His work is based directly upon Tibetan and Chinese sources, and contains much information that can be found nowhere else. *Tibetan Civilization* is remarkable in that it not only gives an easily assimilable account of all aspects of its subject, but also presents a skilfully-drawn groundplan for continuing research.

Other, more conventional introductions have also been published, which devote a greater proportion of space both to political and anecdotal history. Giuseppe Tucci's *Tibet, Land of Snows* (London, 1967) is a lavishly illustrated description by the only living Western scholar to know Central Tibet at first hand. Modern Tibetan studies all draw strength from Tucci's masterpiece, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1949). A reasonably-priced reprint of this great work remains an urgent desideratum; meanwhile, readers will find portions of Tucci's wide learning accessible in his more popular books. In *Transhimalaya* (Geneva, 1973), Tucci surveys the archaeological evidence for Tibetan prehistory, the early historical period of the Tibetan kings (seventh-ninth centuries), and the beginnings of a characteristically Tibetan art. In the absence of systematic archaeological excavations, a summary of this kind, based on long personal experience, is all the more precious. *A Cultural History of Tibet* by David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson (London, 1968) offers a chronological presentation of the principal elements of Tibetan culture, with many interesting photographs. Richardson's *Tibet and its History* (London, 1962), W. D. Shakabpa's *Tibet. A Political History* (New Haven, 1967), and Jacques Bacot's *Introduction à l'histoire du Tibet* (Paris, 1962) give concise accounts of Tibetan history. An introduction of a different sort is furnished by Martin Brauen in *Heinrich Harrers Impressionen aus Tibet* (Innsbruck, 1974), deriving

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<sup>2</sup> Originally published as *La civilisation tibétaine* (Paris, 1962), it has also been translated into Japanese by Yamaguchi Zuibō and Sadakata Akira (*Chibetto no bunka* チベット の文化, Tokyo, 1971).

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from the first hand observations of the Austrian traveller who spent seven years there; it is particularly interesting for its information on administration and material culture.

Since traditional Tibet was a profoundly religious society, general descriptions of Tibetan religion may also serve as introductions to the culture as a whole. Such works are Tucci's 'Die Religionen Tibets' in Tucci and Heissig, *Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolen* (Stuttgart, 1970); Helmut Hoffmann, *The Religions of Tibet* (London, 1961); and Marcelle Lalou, *Les religions du Tibet* (Paris, 1957). An important new survey by A. M. Blondeau brings forward much new information ('Les religions du Tibet,' *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire des Religions* III, Paris, 1977, pp. 233-329).

There are a number of specialized works on historical geography and social organization which help visualize Buddhism more clearly in its specifically Tibetan context. Several studies have been devoted to religious geography. R. A. Stein carefully examined a series of legends on the early inhabitants of Tibet that illustrate the mythological background of the Sino-Tibetan borderland (*Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines*, Paris, 1961). A. Ferrari translated a nineteenth-century Tibetan work, *Mk'yen Brtsa's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet* (edited by L. Petech, Rome, 1958), which furnishes information on the major monasteries and places of pilgrimage. Turrell V. Wylie translated a geography of all of Tibet, completed in 1820 by a lama in Peking as part of a survey of world geography (*The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad*, Rome, 1962). Professor Wylie's notes and Tibetan-Chinese indexes to this work are particularly valuable. He later published the section on Nepal from the same book (*A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal*, Rome, 1970).

The most satisfactory descriptive historical studies could naturally be accomplished in the field, and outstanding work was done before the last war and its protracted aftermath, when conditions for direct investigation, always difficult, were nonetheless far better than at present. Tucci's *Indo-Tibetica*, 4 vols. in 7 parts (Rome, 1932-41), combining the results of direct observation in Western and Central Tibet with full use of textual and epigraphic sources, set the highest standard; a new edition should be published in English. It was only after the war that J. F. Rock began to publish the voluminous results of studies he had carried out in the Sino-Tibetan borderland since ca. 1922. In his major works of geographical and ethnological exploration, *The Ancient Na-Khi Kingdom of Southwest China*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1947) and *The Amnye Ma-chhen Range and Adjacent Regions; A Monographic Study* (Rome, 1956),

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Rock also made good use of historical materials in Chinese and Tibetan. The Na-khi populations that were the subject of most of his research had been converted to the Bon religion by Tibetan missionaries. It would be a mistake to limit the study of Tibetan culture to Central Tibet or to speakers of Tibetan—its influence can be traced over a far wider area, and Tibetan religion was an important "civilizing" factor in the history of many border peoples.

On Eastern Tibet in recent times, there are also the writings of Matthias Hermanns, that include *Die Amdoer Grosstibets: Die Sozial-wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen der Hirtenkulturen Innerasiens* (Freiburg, 1948); *Die Nomaden von Tibet* (Vienna, 1949); and *Die Familie der Amdo-Tibeter* (Freiburg, 1959); Dr. Hermanns's works contain a number of rash generalizations however, and must therefore be used with a certain amount of caution.

The one area to be more accessible now than before the war is Nepal. Tucci's *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal* (Rome, 1956) is of fundamental importance, and illustrates the historical penetration of Tibetan Buddhism into that region. Corneille Jest has written a detailed ethnological study of a group of Tibetan villages in northwestern Nepal (*Dolpo, communauté de langue tibétaine du Népal*, Paris, 1974), as well as a popular illustrated account of life in one such community (*Tarap, une vallée dans l'Himalaya*, Paris, 1974). Valuable studies of Buddhism in the same area will be found in David L. Snellgrove's *Buddhist Himalaya* (Oxford, 1957), *Himalayan Pilgrimage* (Oxford, 1961), and *Four Lamas of Dolpo*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1967).

C. von Furer-Haimendorf has studied *The Sherpas of Nepal; Buddhist Highlanders* (London, 1964), as has F. W. Funke (*Religiöses Leben der Sherpa*, Innsbruck, 1969). There is now an all but exhaustive account of Sherpa material culture and art: Marlis Schmidt-Thomé and Tsering Tashi Thingo, *Materielle Kultur und Kunst der Sherpa* (Innsbruck, 1975). There is also an important study of the Gurungs, another Himalayan people on whom Tibetan Buddhism has made a strong imprint, by Bernard Pignède (*Les Gurungs, une population himalayenne du Népal*, Paris/The Hague, 1966). A. W. Macdonald's *Essays on the Ethnology of Nepal and South Asia* (New Delhi, 1975) contains much interesting information on other Himalayan ethnic groups within the sphere of Tibetan cultural influence, as do C. von Furer-Haimendorf, *Himalayan Traders: Life in Highland Nepal* (London, 1975) and John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones, eds., *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas* (Warminster, 1976). Now that the Indian government is once more permitting access to Ladakh, in Western Tibet, we may expect renewed interest in that ancient centre of Buddhism. Already *The*

*Cultural Heritage of Ladakh* by D. L. Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski, vol. 1 (Warminster, 1976) augurs well for future studies of the region.

Monasteries were the principal landholders in traditional Tibet, and Buddhist foundations consequently played an important part in local and regional administration. Systems of land-tenure have been described by P. Carrasco (*Land and Polity in Tibet*, Seattle, 1959). G. W. Cassinelli and R. B. Ekvall published a detailed study of the administrative organisation of the monastic headquarters of the Sa-skye order, which achieved primacy under the thirteenth-century Mongol rulers of China and remained very important until recent times (*A Tibetan Principality. The Political System of Sa sKya*, Ithaca, 1969). This book amply shows the way in which these feudal princes of religion ordered their temporal dominions. A number of social and administrative topics have been investigated by M. C. Goldstein: 'A Study of the Ldab-Ldob' [monastic police] (*Central Asian Journal* 11, 1964, pp. 123-141); 'Serfdom and Nobility: An Examination of the Institution of "Human Lease" in Traditional Tibetan Society' (*Journal of Asian Studies* 30, 1970-71, pp. 521-534); 'Taxation and the Structure of a Tibetan Village' (*Central Asian Journal* 15, 1971, pp. 1-27); 'The Balance between Centralization and Decentralization in the Traditional Tibetan Political System' (*Central Asian Journal* 15, 1970-71, pp. 170-182).

Valuable information on the administrative system of Central Tibet under the Dalai Lamas is found in two books by Luciano Petech. *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century* (Leiden, 1950; second, revised edition, 1972) is the best account of the establishment of Manchu power at Lhasa. In his *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet, 1728-1959* (Rome, 1973), Petech collected a mass of information on the major clans of the high Lhasa aristocracy, demonstrating their activity both in the government of the country and in its uneasy relations with its neighbours. Zahiruddin Ahmad has complemented these studies in his *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Rome, 1970). Relevant epigraphic material has been gathered by H. E. Richardson (*Ch'ing Dynasty Inscriptions at Lhasa*, Rome, 1974).

There are still only a few extended historical studies bearing on earlier periods. Erik Haarh has written a voluminous and rather controversial account of the age of the kings, drawing extensively on Tun-huang texts (*The Yar-lun Dynasty*, Copenhagen, 1969). Tun-huang materials also served as the basis for the first rigorously Marxist analysis of the formation of Tibetan society, by V. A. Bogoslovskij (*Essai sur l'histoire du peuple tibétain, ou la naissance d'une société de classes*, Paris, 1972; originally published in Russian, 1964). The Tun-huang manuscript

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finds have been invaluable for Tibetan studies as well as for sinology; they furnish the earliest surviving specimens of the Tibetan language, and include important original sources for the study of early Tibetan history and religion.<sup>3</sup> The most penetrating approach to these materials by an historian is A. D. Macdonald's long article, 'Une lecture des P. T. 1286, 1287, 1038, 1047, et 1290. Essai sur la formation et l'emploi des mythes politiques dans la religion royale de Sron-bcan sgam-po' (*Etudes tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Paris, 1971, pp. 190-391). The complex question of eighth-ninth century Sino-Tibetan political, military, and religious relations has been brilliantly studied by Paul Demiéville in his *Concile de Lhasa* (Paris, 1952). The official Chinese accounts of Tibet at that time were translated by Paul Pelliot (*Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, Paris, 1961). H. E. Richardson has published and translated contemporary epigraphic evidence (*Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa*, London, 1952; 'A New Inscription of Khri Srong Lde Brtsan,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1964), and Tucci visited and described the tombs of the kings (*The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, Rome, 1950).

For the later period (post-tenth century) that saw the full development of Tibetan Buddhism, Tucci's *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* contains more information than any other single source. Jean Naudou's compilation, *Les bouddhistes kasmiriens au moyen âge* (Paris, 1968) includes material on the role of Indian scholars in the restoration and expansion of Buddhism in Tibet during the eleventh century.

Tibet's original historical literature is both abundant and of great importance for the student of Buddhism, being entirely conceived as religious history. The best survey of Tibetan historiography is by A. Vostrikov (1904-1937), first published in Russian long after its author's premature death (*Tibetskaja istoričeskaja literatura*, Moscow, 1962), and later in English translation (*Tibetan Historical Literature*, Calcutta, 1970). Two Tibetan histories of Buddhism have long been justly famous. One, by Bu-ston (1290-1364), was translated by E. Obermiller (*History of Buddhism by Bu-ston*, Heidelberg, 1931-32) and has been reprinted in Japan (Tokyo, 1964). The other, completed by Taranātha in 1608, has recently been translated anew, for the first time into English, by Lama

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<sup>3</sup> Much of the basic historical material was published by Jacques Bacot and F. W. Thomas in *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* (Paris, 1940-46) and F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, 4 vols. (London, 1935-63). For religious texts from Tun-huang, see below.

Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya (Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, ed., *History of Buddhism in India*, Simla, 1970). This new rendering is well-annotated, and should replace the hitherto standard, century-old German version by A. Schiefner.

Other Tibetan histories of Buddhism in Tibet have also been translated. The first great monastery in Central Tibet was bSam-yas, south of Lhasa (traditionally dating from 775). Its chronicle was reportedly composed by a member of the ministerial sBa family. A manuscript of this work has been published by R. A. Stein, together with a valuable French résumé of its contents (sBa-b'ked; *une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas*, Paris, 1962). A much more voluminous history was translated in its entirety by George N. Roerich—the fourteenth century *Blue Annals* (*Deb-ter sngon-po*) by Gzhon-nu-dpal, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1949–53; reprinted Kōyasan, 1973, and Delhi, 1976). This work is a mine of information on Buddhism in medieval Tibet, particularly concerning the introduction and development of the various Tantric lineages. *A Place Name Index to George N. Roerich's Translation of the Blue Annals* was compiled by T. V. Wylie (Rome, 1957). Tucci has recently published and translated the *Red Annals*, a terse chronicle history by bSod-nams grags-pa (1478–1554)—(*Deb T'er Dmar po gSar ma*, Rome, 1971).<sup>4</sup> A second volume of explanatory notes to the translation is due to follow.

A quantity of documentation on the relations of Mongol princes and Tibetan ecclesiastics has been published. There is a translation by Klaus Sagaster of a major Mongol source, the *Cayan Teuke* (*Die weisse Geschichte. Das Regierungshandbuch des Grosskhans Qubilai. Eine mongolische Quelle zur Lehre von der beiden Ordnungen Religion und Staat in Tibet und in der Mongolei*, Wiesbaden, 1975). Dieter Schuh has published and studied relevant official documents preserved in the works of Tibetan historians (*Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche, dargestellt anhand ihrer Überlieferung in der tibetischen Geschichtsschreibung*, St. Augustin, 1977). The same author is also responsible for a detailed examination of Tibetan chronological calculation (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrrechnung*, Wiesbaden, 1973).

Tibetan historiography is still flourishing; an outstanding modern example, bDud-'joms Rinpoche's history of the rNying-ma-pa order (*rNying-ma chas-*

<sup>4</sup> Not to be confused with the older 'Red Annals,' *Hu-lan deb-ther*, by Kun-dga' rdo-rje, that has been translated into Japanese by Inaba Shōju and Satō Hisashi (Kyoto, 1964).

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'byung, Kalimpong, 1964), has been translated into Chinese (*Hsi-tsang ku-tai fo-chiao shih* 西藏古代仏教史, Hong Kong, 1973). The Bon religion also has its historians, who work along parallel lines to their Buddhist colleagues. Samten G. Karmay has translated large portions of a comprehensive history of Bon written in the 1920's (*The Treasury of Good Sayings: A Tibetan History of Bon*, London, 1972). This important book provides access to a Tibetan scholarly view of Tibetan history that is entirely different from the more familiar Buddhist accounts.

In addition to general "histories of the Doctrine" (*chos-'byung*), Tibetan literature includes a rich stock of saints' lives (*man-thar*) which share many qualities of the histories, including both their religious emphasis and their concern with the marvellous. The most famous of these biographies is that of Milarepa (1040–1123), of which there are two older translations (Evans-Wentz, *Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1951; Jacques Bacot, *Le poète tibétain Milarepa*, Paris, 1925, reprinted 1971). Bacot's abridged translation of the life of Milarepa's teacher, Marpa (1012–1096), is also a standard work (*La vie de Marpa le 'traducteur'*, Paris, 1937). Such biographies are an important source of information on many aspects of Tibetan life and thought, and scholars continue to study and translate writings in this genre. The oldest extant life of Marpa's Indian teacher, Nāropa (1016–1100), has been translated by Herbert Guenther (*The Life and Teachings of Nāropa*, Oxford, 1963). This biography is a notable account of individual progress towards Tāntric enlightenment, and Professor Guenther has appended a provocative analysis of many of the terms and practices found in the text.

Another early biography is that of the Indian master Atīśa (Dīpamkara, 982–1054), who arrived in Tibet in 1042 and founded the bKa'-gdams-pa order, out of which the dGe-lugs-pa later developed. Alaka Chattopadhyaya has published a detailed study of his life and times, that also covers much of the earlier history of Tibet and discusses Atīśa's numerous works (*Atīśa and Tibet*, Calcutta, 1967). The same subject has also evoked a critical examination of relevant sources by Helmut Eimer (*Berichte über das Leben des Dīpamkarasrījñāna. Eine Untersuchung der Quellen*, Bonn, 1974). Special interest attaches to the short *Biography of Dharmasāmin*, edited and translated by George Roerich (Patna, 1959; reprinted in his *Izbrannye Trudy*, Moscow, 1967). Its subject, the Sa-skyapa translator-monk Chag lo-tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpal, travelled to India ca. 1234–36, and in dictating his life story to disciples he described the destruction of the great Buddhist monasteries and universities by the Muslim invaders.



David Seyfort Ruegg published a carefully-annotated translation of the biography of Bu-ston (1290–1364), editor of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon (*The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che*, Rome, 1966). We have already mentioned Bu-ston's masterly history of Buddhism; this translation allows us to follow the spiritual development of one of Tibet's most learned and productive scholars. The next great name in Tibetan scholastic history is that of Tsong-kha-pa (1357–1419), founder of the reformed Yellow-hat order (*dGe-lugs*). His massive biography has been edited and translated by Rudolf Kaschewsky (*Das Leben des lamaistischen heiligen Tsong-kha-pa*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1971). A succession of very influential *dGe-lugs-pa* incarnate lamas was established in Peking under the Manchus. The Mongol biography of the first of the line has been translated by Klaus Sagaster (*Subud Erike, "Ein Rosenkranz aus Perlen"*, Wiesbaden, 1967). Hans-Rainer Kämpfe has published and summarized the life of his successor (*Die Biographie des 2. Pekinger lCan-skye Qutuqtu*, St. Augustin, 1976).

A very different figure from these learned lamas, pillars of the *dGe-lugs-pa* establishment, was 'Brug-pa kun-legs (fifteenth or early sixteenth century)—an ecstatic poet, madman, and saint in the best tradition of the Indian siddhas. R. A. Stein has made a full translation of his spiritual autobiography, a difficult, idiosyncratic text, in which colloquialisms and obscure dialect locutions abound (*Vie et chants de 'Brug-pa kun-legs le yogin*, Paris, 1972). This work gives a wonderfully vivid picture of a personage whose extravagant exploits are known to every Tibetan. Professor Stein has published the Tibetan text separately (*Zentralasiatische Studien* 7, 1973, pp. 9–219), as well as a glossary of unusual words (*Zentralasiatische Studien* 8, 1974, pp. 129–178).

We have already mentioned D. L. Snellgrove's translation of the lives of *Four Lamas of Dolpo*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1967). These four spiritual biographies date from the fifteenth-eighteenth centuries. They were never printed; Dr. Snellgrove discovered the manuscripts during his 1960–61 visit to Dolpo, in northwest Nepal, and his second volume reproduces the original texts in cursive script. Snellgrove's well-written translations help to clarify much that is obscure in Tibetan religious practice.

We may now consider studies and translations of doctrinal works. Apart from a few important Tāntras (see below), there is no need to enumerate the many translations and studies of canonical Indian works that have been made on the basis of their Tibetan versions—the list would in any case be a long one. It will be sufficient to mention research directly concerned with developments in Tibet itself. During the T'ang dynasty, Chinese influence on Tibetan culture

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was no less strong than Indian. The Tun-huang manuscripts provide the principal sources for this period, and the major work was accomplished by Paul Demiéville in his *Concile de Lhasa* (Paris, 1952), already mentioned. Professor Demiéville described in detail the historical background of eighth-ninth century Sino-Tibetan relations, and translated a Chinese dossier of the great debate that took place ca. 792-794 at bSam-yas, south of Lhasa, between the Indian master Kamalaśīla and a Chinese Ch'an monk. The subsequent predominance of Indian Buddhism in Tibet has traditionally been attributed to Kamalaśīla's victory over his Chinese opponent. Professor Demiéville's work prompted many further studies, and important contributions are currently being made in Japan.<sup>5</sup> Aspects of the Indian side of the question were examined by Tucci (*Minor Buddhist Texts*, Parts II and III, Rome, 1958-71). It has been assumed that Ch'an influence could be detected in the practices of the older Tibetan orders, notably in the rDzogs-chen tradition of the rNying-ma-pas (and the Bon-pos). Recently, however, Samten G. Karmay has stressed the independent character of rDzogs-chen doctrines and practice ('A Discussion on the Doctrinal Position of rDzogs-chen from the 10th to the 13th Centuries,' *Journal Asiatique*, 1975, pp. 147-156). R. A. Stein's study of *ch'en-wu* 漸悟 (*rim-gyis*) and *tun-wu* 頓悟 (*chig-char*), key terms in the bSam-yas debate, is of fundamental importance for understanding the Ch'an/Zen tradition. Drawing on a wide sampling of Tibetan and Chinese texts, Professor Stein has shown that the latter term, usually translated simply as "sudden" illumination, in fact denotes a "simultaneous" realization, as of *mudra* within *samskra* ('Illumination subite ou saisie simultanée,' *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 179, 1971, pp. 1-30).

In addition to the Tantric forms of Buddhism with which they are usually associated by Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist scholars have perpetuated and developed all other aspects of Indian Buddhism as well. The most penetrating studies of Tibetan Buddhist philosophy have been accomplished by D. Seyfort Ruegg. His massive investigation of the Tathāgatagarbha theory reveals how Tibetan scholars carried philosophical analysis even beyond Indian achievements; similarly, Professor Ruegg has gone beyond the works of any of his predecessors in elucidating the Tibetan contribution to Buddhist philosophy (*La théorie du tathāgatagarbha et du gotra, Etudes sur la soteriologie et la gnoséologie du*

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<sup>5</sup> G. Nagao, *op. cit.*, p. 121, nn. 92-95. See also the important article by Imaeda Yoshirō, 'Documents tibétains de Touen-houang concernant le concile de Tibet,' *Journal Asiatique*, 1975, pp. 125-156.

*Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1969). This book is complemented by Professor Ruegg's translation of a concise treatise on the same subject by Bu-ston (*Le traité du tathāgatagarbha de Bu-ston rin chen grub*, Paris, 1973).

By translating the *Jewel Ornament of Liberation* by sGam-po-pa (1079–1153), a disciple of Milarepa, Herbert Guenther made available a basic handbook that enjoyed great authority in Tibet (London, 1959). It is a clear and systematic guide to the fundamental elements of Buddhism, readily intelligible to the layman as well as the monk. Many other short works of description or edification are now available in translation. Professor Guenther himself has published two collections. His *Tibetan Buddhism without Mystification* (Leiden, 1966; reprinted minus plates, index, and Tibetan texts as *Treasures of the Tibetan Middle Way*, Berkeley/Leiden, 1971) contains four brief treatises by the tutor to the eighth Dalai Lama (eighteenth century), preceded by a long introduction. In his *Buddhist Philosophy: Its Theory and Practice* (Berkeley, 1971; Penguin Books, 1972), Professor Guenther presents the major schools of Indian Buddhist thought as described by two Tibetan scholars—one an eighteenth-century dGe-lugs-pa, the other a nineteenth-twentieth century rNying-ma-pa.<sup>6</sup> Of special interest is the lucid summary of Buddhist doctrine by the present, fourteenth Dalai Lama, *The Opening of the Wisdom Eye* (Bangkok, 1968). In his "Wisdom of Tibet" series, Jeffrey Hopkins has begun to publish short doctrinal texts. The first volumes are *The Buddhism of Tibet and the Key to the Middle Way*, also by the present Dalai Lama (London, 1975), and treatises by Nāgārjuna and the seventh Dalai Lama, *The Precious Garland of Advice for the King and the Song of the Four Mindfulnesses* (London, 1975). A collection of aphorisms by an eighteenth-century dGe-lugs-pa author has been published and translated into German and English by Blanche C. Olshak and Thupten Wangyal (*Spiritual Guide to the Jewel Island*, Zürich, 1973). A larger collection of maxims written by Sa-skya paṇḍita (1182–1251) in ornate literary style had great influence, and was translated into Mongol. James Bosson published the Tibetan and Mongol texts together with his own English translation (*A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels*,

<sup>6</sup> The list of Professor Guenther's translations of Tibetan expository works lengthens annually. Recent titles are: *Kindly Bent to Ease Us* by Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa (1308–1363), 3 vols., Emeryville, 1975–76; *Mind in Buddhist Psychology* (a treatise by Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan [1713–1793] translated in collaboration with Leslie S. Kawamura), Emeryville, 1975; and by Guenther's disciple, Leslie Kawamura, *Golden Zephyr* (Emeryville, 1975), comprising Nāgārjuna's 'Letter to a Friend' and the commentary by Mi-pham (1846–1914).

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Bloomington/ The Hague, 1969). Among expository treatises, we should not forget to mention the charming work translated by Edward Conze as *The Buddha's Law among the Birds* (Oxford, 1955; reprinted Delhi, 1974).

We come at last to Tāntric Buddhism. Besides the wealth of information contained in Tucci's *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, there is a clear survey of Indo-Tibetan Tāntric Buddhism by David Snellgrove, in his *Buddhist Himalaya* (Oxford, 1957). There are still few translations of Tāntras. When he published *The Hevajra Tantra*, 2 vols. (London, 1959), Snellgrove for the first time made available an important Buddhist Tantra in English translation, together with the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts. Recently, C. S. George has added another very important Tantra to the list—*The Candamahāroṣaṇa Tantra* (New Haven, 1974). He simply gives a plain prose rendering of the first eight chapters of this work; unlike Snellgrove, he provides little commentary or explanatory matter. These two Tāntras, now "accessible" in English, well illustrate just how inaccessible Tāntric literature still remains. The translators of the *Hevajra* and *Candamahāroṣaṇa* have done their work with scrupulous philological care, but in spite of their efforts it is still not easy to see how these scriptures, so highly reputed in Tibetan tradition, were really understood and employed in practice. Concrete ritual instructions of a preparatory nature are generally understandable enough; thus there is nothing very obscure about the translations from the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* made by A. D. Macdonald, dealing with the construction of a mandala (*Le mandala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Paris, 1962). This eighth or ninth century Tantra represents an earlier stage of development than either the *Hevajra* or the *Candamahāroṣaṇa*; Mme. Macdonald's book continues work on this text's ritual instructions begun by her teacher, Marcelle Lalou (*Iconographie des étoffes peintes (pata) dans le Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Paris, 1930). Later, more cryptic texts such as the *Hevajra* were in effect skeletal structures over which a vast array of commentaries and ritual elaborations were draped. To make their bare bones live will require a powerful supplement drawn both from Tibetan scholastic and ritual literature and from direct observation (or indeed, participation). Until Tibetan philology has been durably wedded to Mercury in a series of such studies, it would be unwise to imagine that we understand the real import of the later Tāntras.

Tibetan Tāntric expository works represent a literature more vast than the Tāntras themselves. A significant step forward in its exploration was the translation by Ferdinand Lessing and Alex Wayman of mKhas-grub-rje's *Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras* (The Hague, 1968). mKhas-grub-rje (1385-1438) was

a disciple of Tsong-kha-pa, and gives a comprehensive outline of the subject as understood in Tsong-kha-pa's school. This book offers the fullest view of the Buddhist Tāntras available in a Western language. In view of the strict secrecy that hedged round the transmission of many of the texts and rites to which it refers, it is hardly surprising that despite the translators' care in tracing textual references, many matters still remain to be explained.<sup>7</sup>

The writings of Tsong-kha-pa and mKhas-grub-rje provided most of the material around which Professor Wayman wrote the essays published in *The Buddhist Tantras: Light on Indo-Tibetan Esotericism* (New York, 1974). This collection includes stimulating analyses of diverse aspects of symbolism and practice. It must be remembered, however, that it deals primarily with a single, fourteenth-century school of interpretation. Many of the statements of Professor Wayman and others concerning the historical development of Buddhist Tantra call for qualification, particularly when viewed from the East Asian perspective. Studies by Indo-Tibetan specialists that neglect Chinese sources and Japanese scholarship raise fundamental problems of historical interpretation, as well as basic questions of terminology. The true relationship between Tāntric Buddhism as known in Tibet and the "Esoteric Buddhism" (*Mi-tsung* 密宗, *Mikkyō* 密教) of East Asia has still to be worked out in detail.<sup>8</sup> Indo-Tibetologists who see Tāntric Buddhism as beginning with the *Guhyasamājatāntra* (which they often date to the fourth or fifth century) generally make no effort to integrate the contents of the Chinese Tripitaka into their plan. Most modern exegetes are as if bewitched by the late fourfold scholastic classification of Buddhist Tāntra (*kriyā, caryā, yoga, anuttarayoga*). Yet this quadripartite schema has certain inherent ambiguities; in South Indian Śaivāgama tradition, for example, the members of an analogous fourfold plan were interpreted as complementary limbs of a single body of ritual and doctrine.<sup>9</sup> Its most familiar Buddhist form, however, (in the fourteenth-century works of Bu-ston) clearly

<sup>7</sup> A Chinese version of this work, used by Professor Lessing in making his translation, has recently reprinted: *Mi-tsung tao ts'u-ti lun* 密教道次明論 (1997; Taipei, 1974).

<sup>8</sup> See Yūkei Matsunaga, 'Tāntric Buddhism and Shingon Buddhism,' *Eastern Buddhist* 2, 2 (1969), pp. 1-14, and the same author's bibliographic survey, 'Indian Esoteric Buddhism as Studied in Japan,' *Mikkyō-gaku mikkyō-shi renbun shū* 密教学密教史論文集 (Kōkyōsan, 1965), pp. 229-242.

<sup>9</sup> Helène Brunner-Lachaux, *Somasambhūpaddhati*, vol. 1 (Pondichéry, 1969), pp. vi-vii. An analogous system of classification obtains in the *Pāñcarātrā Samhitā* (F. Otto Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātrā and the Akṣubudhya Samhitā*, Madras, 1916, p. 25).

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suggests that the four classes of Tantra represent successive stages in an historical development, with a consequent relegation of earlier works to the lower steps in a hierarchy of spiritual values. Thus if we are to ascend back much beyond the Indian promulgators of Buddhist Tantra in eleventh-century Tibet, the "orthodox" classification will have to be subjected to close critical examination. For a start, the traditions of other, older Tibetan orders should be accorded greater attention. With the publication in India of the *Vairo rGyud-'bum* (Tantras allegedly translated by the eighth-century Indian monk, Vairocana) and the *rNying-ma rGyud-'bum* (archaic translations of Tantras, for the most part excluded from the *bKa'-'gyur* as edited by Bu-ston), a mass of new material has been made available to scholars. It seems likely, too, that the unbroken record of translation and exegesis in China provides complementary data and criteria for the study of Tantric Buddhist developments at least as certain as the post-tenth century traditions of the Tibetan lineages. It should no longer be permissible for Western scholars to write of the history of Buddhist Tantra in India without considering the abundant Chinese sources and the work of Japanese scholars who know them well.

It is significant that the most profound advances on the Buddhist Tantric front are currently being made by R. A. Stein, an accomplished sinologist as well as tibetologist. Since 1971-72, his annual reports of research in progress at the Collège de France have contained detailed analyses of important mythological and ritual themes, traced through Tibetan Tantric literature (*Annuaire du Collège de France, 72<sup>e</sup> Année ff.*). Subjects studied include the origins of certain ritual implements, and accounts of the conversion of Rudra. From 1973-74, this material has been joined by analyses of Sino-Japanese Tantric texts (notably on sexual symbolism in texts and mandalas). Professor Stein is able to adduce a considerable quantity of relevant material for comparison from a wide variety of sources (neither Indian tradition nor Taoism is neglected), and his researches break new ground.

Signs of increasing interest in Buddhist ritual are also reflected in Tibetan studies. The two basic lines of approach in this domain are textual and ethnographic; needless to say, the best results come from a combination of the two. In the study of Buddhist ritual, there can be no excuse for neglecting the abundant textual resources, with their long diachronic span—but direct observation, when possible, is equally desirable. Close attention to iconography is also essential, particularly in the Tantric tradition. Tantric rites centre on a series of visualisations and incorporations by the officiant, and the painted or modelled

forms with which a temple or chapel is filled ultimately derive from the same descriptive sources as the spiritual assembly created mentally by the practitioner who performs his rite among them.

The ideal framework for the elucidation of ritual would thus be a comprehensive description of a single temple or monastic complex, including a complete account of its architecture, iconography, and epigraphy, as well as the social organization of its inhabitants—the whole given unity and coherence through an integrated description of the rituals that draw the various human, structural, and idealized components into a harmoniously functioning whole. Ferdinand Lessing came closest to achieving this ideal in his unfinished study of the great Peking monastery, the Yung-ho kung 雍和宮 (*Yung-Ho-Kung. An Iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral of Peking*, vol. 1, Stockholm, 1942). More recently, Stephan Beyer has published a major study of the rites of the goddess Tāra, in which direct observation and textual scholarship are perfectly blended (*The Cult of Tārā: Magic and Ritual in Tibet*, Berkeley, 1979). In addition to circumstantial descriptions of rites performed in honour or invocation of this most popular figure of the Tibetan pantheon, Professor Beyer provides a mass of information, legends, and tales illustrative of Tāra's efficacy in aiding her worshippers, and of her important role in the lives of Tibetans of every class and calling. Being outside the secret Tantric complex, Tāra's rites are more readily open to observers. Yet they offer a model for the analysis of other ritual ensembles as well.

Further descriptions of ritual are to be found in two works already mentioned—on the basis of direct observation, in D. L. Snellgrove's *Buddhist Himalaya*, and from texts in A. D. Macdonald's *Mandala da Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. R. B. Ekvall has described the most common practices of laymen as well as monks in his *Religious Observances in Tibet: Patterns and Functions* (Chicago, 1964), an interesting book marked, however, by its author's rather obtrusive behaviourist interpretations. Mention should also be made of the clearly-written account of basic ritual procedures in a popular work by John Blofeld, *The Tantric Mysticism of Tibet* (New York, 1970; published in England as *The Way of Power*). The celebrated "Book of the Dead" is of course a ritual manual, and has long been familiar in the classic version by Kazi Dawa-Samdup and Evans-Wentz (*The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, 3rd ed., London, 1957). A careful translation by Professor Tucci has recently been reprinted (*Il libro tibetano dei morti*, Turin, 1972).

The fullest repertory of iconography and rituals concerning the numerous groups of protective deities is René Nebesky-Wojkowitz's magnificent work

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on the *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* (The Hague, 1956; reprinted with an introduction by Per Kvaerne, Innsbruck, 1975). The functions and attributes of the ferocious guardians of Tibetan Buddhism and Buddhists are set forth in great detail, on the basis of over 200 little-known Tibetan texts, many of them extant only in manuscript. Ritual procedures are amply described, and there are chapters devoted to several classes of practitioners, including the famous oracle-priests. A somewhat different approach to the latter was followed by Gunther Schüttler, who studied the last representatives of this tradition in the Tibetan refugee communities of India (*Die letzten tibetischen Orakelpriester; Psychiatrisch-neurologische Aspekte*, Wiesbaden, 1971).

Dances are a striking feature of Tibetan Buddhist ritual, and have attracted much attention. The outstanding study is a posthumous work by Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Tibetan Religious Dances*, ed. C. von Füller-Haimendorf (The Hague, 1976). A long introduction describes dances of the principal monastic orders; it is followed by an edition and full translation of a choreographic manual, the 'Chams-yig, which was written in large part by the great fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682). There is an appendix on Tibetan musical notation by Walter Graf. We may also note two recent works on the music of ritual: Ivan Vandor's *La musique du bouddhisme tibétain* (Paris, 1976), and Walter Kaufmann's *Tibetan Buddhist Chant: Musical Notations and Interpretations of a Song Book by the bKah brgyud pa and Sa skya pa Sects* (Bloomington, 1975).

It would be desirable to look ahead to a time when Buddhist rituals preserved and elaborated in different cultural contexts might be studied comparatively. This is a subject that has barely been touched on; to my knowledge, there is little more than the short but suggestive essay by Paul Lévy, *Buddhism, A 'Mystery Religion'?* (London, 1957). Unfortunately, most of the potential sources for the ethnological observer have either vanished or become inaccessible in the course of the present century. But ocular descriptions of rites as actually practised have been recorded in many Buddhist countries, and Stephan Beyer's work shows that direct observation is still possible among Tibetan refugees in India. The other, textual sources remain virtually unexplored however. As we must go to the Chinese Buddhist Canon for a fuller understanding of the development of Buddhist Tāntra, similarly, Sino-Japanese texts preserve the largest corpus of Buddhist ritual literature. In Japan, direct observation and participation are of course still possible, and it is only surprising that so little has thus far been accomplished in this area, with which the fragmentary descriptions of Tibetan practice might usefully be compared.



Iconography cannot be separated from ritual, but only a small number of the hundreds of forms of deities described in the great canonical collections of *sādhana*s ever became ritually important for any length of time. Yet the voluminous descriptive literature remains and, despite its aridity, has drawn much scholarly attention. The most recent systematic presentation is by Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, who continues the Indian encyclopaedic tradition in the West: *Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme bouddhique* (Paris, 1975).<sup>10</sup> Once again, a vast amount of information is to be found in Tucci's *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. Lokesh Chandra has published important graphic material in *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon*, 17 parts (New Delhi, 1961-67). There is an important study of the goddess Vajravārāhī by R. O. Meisezahl ('Die Göttin Vajravārāhī; Eine ikonographische Studie nach einem Sādhana-Text von Advayavajra,' *Oriens* 18-19, 1967, pp. 228-303). Tucci has written a popular introduction to the study of mandalas that owes much to C. G. Jung (*The Theory and Practice of the Mandala*, London, 1961).

Recent books on Tibetan art are so many as to defy enumeration. Two important works study artistic remains in their cultural and historical contexts: Madanjeet Singh's *Himalayan Art* (London, 1968) is concerned with the Hindu and Buddhist highland kingdoms that either came into close contact with, or derived directly from, Tibetan culture. In her *Early Sino-Tibetan Art* (Warminster, 1975), Heather Karmay has carefully examined a wide selection of evidence for Sino-Tibetan cultural relations down to the early fifteenth century. Among general presentations, *The Art of Tibet* by Pratapaditya Pal (New York, 1969) is one of the most interesting. In addition to paintings and bronzes, museum collections usually contain many implements employed in ritual or in daily life. Useful illustrated inventories are P. H. Pott, *Introduction to the Tibetan Collection of the National Museum of Ethnology, Leyden* (Leiden, 1951), and E. Olson, *Catalogue of the Tibetan Collections and other Lamaist Articles in the Newark Museum*, 5 vols. (Newark, 1950-71); also *Masterpieces of Chinese Tibetan Buddhist Altar Fittings in the National Palace Museum* (Taipei, 1971). J. C. Huntington has written an important monographic study on *The Phur-pa, Tibetan Ritual Daggers* (Ascona,

<sup>10</sup> Other works by the same author, drawing on canonical Sanskrit sources, are also important for the study of Tibetan iconography: *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara* (Paris, 1948); *Les enseignements iconographiques de l'Agni-Purāna* (Paris, 1963); *Étude iconographique sur Mañjuśrī* (Paris, 1964).

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1975), and Philip Denwood has published extensive researches on *The Tibetan Carpet* (Warminster, 1974). Numerous illustrations of Tibetan art-works in European collections, described by D. I. Lauf, have been published by K. Schoettle in his *Tibetica* series (Stuttgart, since 1968).

The Bon religion has traditionally posed a quagmire of definition and interpretation for Western scholars. Some have simply identified this term with the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet—which they have no hesitation in qualifying as “shamanism.” This is the position adopted by Helmut Hoffmann in his *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion* (Mainz, 1950), that draws almost exclusively upon hostile Buddhist accounts dealing with the period of the kings. Hoffmann’s *Religions of Tibet* (London, 1961) and *Symbolik der tibetischen Religionen und des Schamanismus* (Stuttgart, 1967) also embody the same view. Nebesky used the word “Bon” to designate all supposedly indigenous Tibetan religious beliefs and practices, in contrast to those imported from India as “Buddhism”—a makeshift that recalls the common imprecise use of the word “Taoism” in Chinese studies. There is no longer any reason for such ambiguous usage. For the ancient period, ninth–eleventh century Tun-huang manuscripts give some idea of the practices of native Tibetan priests in the mortuary services of the kings. Bon as it presently survives, however, the so-called “transformed Bon” (*bsgyur-bon*), is a variant form of Tantric Buddhism. R. A. Stein has well stated the true nature of the problem; apart from these two distinct forms of Bon, we must also take account of diffuse Tibetan tradition: what he terms “the nameless religion” (*Tibetan Civilization*, pp. 191 ff.).

Difficult Tun-huang texts on the ancient religion have been published and studied by Marcelle Lalou: ‘Les chemins du mort dans les croyances de Haute-Asie’ (*Revue de l’Histoire des Religions*, 1949); ‘Rituel bon-po des funérailles royales’ (*Journal Asiatique*, 1952); ‘Fiefs, poisons et guérisseurs’ (*ibid.*, 1958); ‘Catalogue des principautés du Tibet ancien’ (*ibid.*, 1965). F. W. Thomas attempted the translation of a fragmentary sequence of verses used in divination (*Ancient Folk-literature from northeastern Tibet*, Berlin, 1957). More recently, R. A. Stein published additional material on the mortuary rites (‘Un document ancien relatif aux rites funéraires des Bon-po tibétains,’ *Journal Asiatique*, 1970); the same author has also written a brilliant survey of the ritual literature, ‘Du récit au rituel dans les manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang’ (*Etudes tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Paris, 1971, pp. 479–547).

With the publication of D. L. Snellgrove’s *Nine Ways of Bon* (London, 1967), the beliefs and practices of latter-day “transformed Bon” have become much

better known. By translating long extracts from an important fourteenth century Bon-po doctrinal work and drawing upon the testimony of practising Bon priests, Dr. Snellgrove has been able to give a fascinating picture of the religion, which in many respects seems to represent a variant form of rNying-ma-pa teachings. Despite doctrinal and ritual parallels, however, Bon-po priests cherish a mythology and lineages of their own, as clearly appears from Samten G. Karmay's translation of *The Treasury of Good Sayings: A Tibetan History of Bon* (London, 1972), already mentioned. There is also a valuable series of studies by Per Kvaerne on Bon-po history, literature, and practices: 'Chronological Table of the Bon-po' (*Acta Orientalia* 33, 1971, pp. 205-282); 'Aspects of the Origin of the Buddhist Tradition in Tibet' (*Numeren* 19, 1972, pp. 22-40); 'Bonpo Studies; The A khrid System of Meditation' (*Kailash* 1, 1973, pp. 19-50 and 247-332); 'The Canon of the Tibetan Bonpos' (*Indo-Iranian Journal* 16, 1974, pp. 18-56 and 96-144). Before the work of Snellgrove, Karmay, and Kvaerne, virtually the only available extended corpus of original Bon material was the collection of Na-khi ritual texts translated by J. F. Rock (*The Na-khi Nāga Cult and Related Ceremonies*, 2 vols., Rome, 1952; *The Zhi ma Funeral Ceremonies of the Na-khi of Southwest China*, Mödling, 1955). The tibetanisation of the aboriginal Na-khi peoples by Bon-po missionaries offers a striking parallel to the sinification by conversion to Taoism of the Yao and Miao population of South China.

The principal forms of Tibetan literature were early and decisively determined by Indian models. Beyond canonical scriptural and exegetical works, the voluminous translated literature includes many other Indian genres, among them epic and romance. J. K. Balbir studied fragments of a Tibetan version of the Rāmāyaṇa recovered from Tun-huang (*L'histoire de Rama en tibétain*, Paris, 1963). The tale of King Udrāyaṇa was translated by J. Nobel (*Udrāyaṇa, König von Roruka. Eine buddhistische Erzählung*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden, 1955). S. K. Pathak has studied manuals of statecraft rendered from Sanskrit and their Tibetan imitations (*The Indian Nītiśāstras in Tibet*, Delhi, 1974). Translated Indian works begot a numerous Tibetan progeny. An excellent account of the full range of Tibetan literature was written by Marcelle Lalou: 'Littérature tibétaine,' *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire des littératures*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1956).

Among the materials transmitted by Marpa to his disciple Milarepa were the *dohā*, mystical songs of the Tantrists of Bengal. Since the pioneering study and translation by M. Shahidullah (*Les chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Sarāha*, Paris, 1928) and the detailed researches of S. B. Dasgupta (*Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengali Literature*, Calcutta, 1946), the *dohā* have been trans-

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lated anew by H. V. Guenther (*The Royal Song of Saraha*, Seattle, 1968). Most recently Per Kvaerne has published a fresh study and translation of the corpus, noteworthy for its author's extensive and critical use of modern Indian scholarship and his profound knowledge of Tibetan Tāntric literature (*An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs: A Study of the Caryāgiti and the Commentary of Muṅidatta*, Oslo, 1977). The famous poems of Milarepa may be viewed as a development of the *dohā* tradition. There is a complete translation by C. C. Chang (*The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa*, 2 vols., New York, 1962; abridged edition, 1970).

Milarepa's other principal source of inspiration was the folk poetry of Tibet, on which his songs have in turn left their mark. Tucci has published a valuable collection of texts (*Tibetan Folksongs from Gyantsé and Western Tibet*, Ascona, 1966—a greatly enlarged edition of his *Tibetan Folksongs*, Ascona, 1949). The most impressive examples of Tibetan popular literature are to be found in epic poetry, now well known thanks to the monumental researches of R. A. Stein on the Gesar (=Caesar) cycle. Professor Stein published an edition of large portions of the epic in the dialect of Khams, in Eastern Tibet, together with a partial translation and résumé (*L'épopée tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaïque de Ling*, Paris, 1956). This was followed by a massive study, *Recherches sur l'épopée et la barde au Tibet* (Paris, 1959)—the culmination of twenty years' work on the subject, and a unique treasury of Tibetan cultural history. M. Hermanns later translated an Amdo version of the Gesar epic (*Das Nationalepos der Tibeter*, Regensburg, 1965).

A. W. Macdonald has been proceeding with an important series on the Tibetan versions of the twenty-five *vetāla* tales (*Vetālapāncavimśati*, familiar to English readers from the Sanskrit text translated by Heinrich Zimmer as *The King and the Corpse*). The collection translated by Professor Macdonald has a Buddhist rather than Brahmanical framework, and Tibetan elements have all but entirely supplanted the original Indian subject matter (*Matériaux pour l'étude de la littérature populaire tibétaine*, 2 vols., Paris, 1967-72). Tibetan drama shares a number of features, as well as whole stories, with this cycle; an example is *The Younger Brother Don Yod*, translated by Thubten Jigme Norbu and R. B. Ekvall (Bloomington, 1969)—the same tale is also found in the *Matériaux*, vol. 2, pp. 94-138. Other plays are translated in M. H. Duncan, *Harvest Festival Dramas of Tibet* (Hong Kong, 1955) and *More Harvest Festival Dramas of Tibet* (London, 1967). There have recently been two scholarly presentations of single plays: A. Blondeau, *La vie de Pemaöbar, drame tibétain* (Paris, 1973),

and R. Kaschewsky and Pema Tsering, *Die Himmelsfies 'Gro-ba bzai-mo, ein buddhistisches Theaterstück* (Vienna, 1975). There is also *Zugiñima, drame tibétain*, translated by Jacques Bacot (Paris, 1957), who pioneered the translation of Tibetan plays in his *Trois mystères tibétains* (Paris, 1921).

Helmut Hoffman translated a number of folktales (*Märchen aus Tibet*, Cologne, 1965); M. H. Duncan published *Love Songs and Proverbs of Tibet* (Alexandria, n.d.) and wrote on *Customs and Superstitions of Tibetans* (London, 1964). Further selections from folk literature can be found in manuals for study of the Tibetan language: George N. Roerich and Lobsang Phuntsok, *Textbook of Colloquial Tibetan* (Calcutta, 1957; 2nd revised edition, New Delhi, 1972; pp. 153-158 and 167-172 have been omitted from the re-edition, but new proverbs have been added at the end); and especially, Georges de Roerich, *Le parler de l'Amdo, étude d'un dialecte archaïque du Tibet* (Rome, 1958), which gives epic extracts, songs, and tales from Eastern Tibet. Folk literature testifies to the profound penetration of Buddhism throughout traditional Tibetan society, and in every aspect of life.

Even this incomplete survey should suffice to show how little reason there is for continuing to think of Tibetan religion and culture as especially mysterious or unknown. It should be clear that Tibetan studies have made notable progress during the last twenty-five years, owing to the devoted efforts of what is still a fairly small group of scholars. For direct experience of a broad range of current research, the reader should consult the bulky volume of *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou* (ed. A. D. Macdonald, Paris, 1971), which we have already had occasion to cite. There is no doubt that Tibetan studies are on the threshold of a remarkable expansion. The circle of specialists is constantly widening, and ample publication programs underway in India are making available vast quantities of hitherto unobtainable Tibetan texts.<sup>11</sup> I hope

<sup>11</sup> Many of these photographic re-editions have informative introductions by Gene Smith, whose scattered writings, if gathered into a single volume, would form a very useful manual of Tibetan bio-bibliographical reference.

<sup>12</sup> Recent reprints of important older works: W. W. Rockhill, *Udānavaṅga* (1883; Taipei, 1972); *Land of the Lamas* (1891; Taipei, 1972); *Life of the Buddha from Tibetan Sources* (1907; Benares, 1972). L. A. Waddell, *Lamaism in Sikkim* (1894; Delhi, 1979); *Tibetan Buddhism* (1895; New York, 1972); *Lhasa and its Mysteries* (1906; Taipei, 1972). Sarat Chandra Das, *Contributions on the Religion and History of Tibet* (1881-82; New Delhi, 1970); *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* (1893; Calcutta, 1965); *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet* (1902; New Delhi, 1970). A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet*

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that these notes may be of assistance to readers who wish to familiarize themselves with the scholarly literature on Tibet—a Buddhist culture rich and original in its own right, important as a repository of Indian tradition, and also of considerable interest for the many striking parallels that it offers to the religion and society of medieval Japan.<sup>12</sup>

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*und der Mongolei* (1900; Osnabrück, 1970). A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* (2 vols., 1914–26; New Delhi 1972). Sir Charles Bell, *Tibet, Past and Present* (1924), *The People of Tibet* (1928), *The Religion of Tibet* (1931), all reprinted, Oxford, 1968. F. De Filippi, *An Account of Tibet: The Travels of Ippolito Desideri, 1712–1727* (1939; Taipei, 1971). A. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (1928; Tokyo, 1962). The publication of the collected works of Berthold Laufer, in progress, is making available Laufer's important Tibetological writings (*Kleinere Schriften von Berthold Laufer*, ed. Harmut Walravens, Part One: 2 vols., Wiesbaden, 1976—includes all Laufer's articles down to 1910, as well as the little-known thesis on Tibetan medicine by his brother, Heinrich Laufer). Tucci's *Opera Minora* (2 vols., Rome, 1971), contains updated versions of several important studies on Tibetan themes, among them 'Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley,' 'The Validity of Tibetan Historical Tradition,' and 'The Sacral Character of the Kings of Tibet.' I was unable to obtain copies here in Kyoto of two recent publications: Helmut Hoffmann et al., *Tibet: A Handbook* (Bloomington, 1975), and Eva Dargyay, *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet* (Delhi, 1976). There is also a unique study of the horse in ancient Tibet, based on Tun-huang manuscripts (A. M. Blondeau, *Matériaux pour l'étude de l'hippologie et l'hippiatrie tibétaines*, Geneva, 1972), and Rechung Rinpoche has published a reliable account of *Tibetan Medicine* (Berkeley, 1973). For titles of other books and articles on Tibetan subjects, one may consult F. Chaudhuri, *Tibetan Bibliography* (Calcutta, 1971), and the *Classified Catalogue of Books in the Toyo Bunko, Section 7: Tibet* (Tokyo, 1968).