

he did not join Rudolf Roth in Tübingen, but chose Jena, where his youngest sister lived, thereby prolonging a correspondence with his principal collaborator. It was in Jena that the large dictionary was completed and the shorter dictionary was begun and almost finished. He enjoyed friends among the university's faculty. The numbered subdivision of section 5.6 "Jenaer Freunde" risks flattening major differences: 1. August Schleicher died a few months after Böhrling's arrival; 2. August Leskien came and went within a year; 3. Berthold Delbrück came and stayed, as did 4. the silent Carl Cappeller, his student; 5. Peter von Bradke and 6. Leopold von Schröder might be more aptly characterized as short-term mentees, the latter better appreciated than the former; and 7. the librarian Anton Klette.

In 1885, just short of his seventieth birthday, Böhrling surprised all his friends, except Leskien, by suddenly moving for a last time, to Leipzig. His wife's unwed companion had gone there a year earlier to give birth to, and leave, a son, for whom Leskien and his wife acted as godparents. Böhrling legitimized the child only after his wife's death and his prompt remarriage to the boy's mother, who had continued to live in the Böhrling household in Leipzig as she had done in Jena. Life continued as before—Böhrling's retirement from, and election as honorary member of, the Petersburg Academy making little difference from his repeatedly renewed leave of absence. He continued to be productive, with a new edition and translation of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and books and a stream of articles on a wider range of subjects, including Upaniṣads, poetics, and Vedic texts. Here as well he met with young scholars and with friends among the Leipzig faculty, Leskien, Karl Brugmann, and Ernst Windisch.

After two final chapters devoted to portraits of Böhrling and brief conclusions, the volume features an array of appendices. The first two convey additional information: on Böhrling's ancestors and siblings; and family trees. The others provide useful lists and tables. Appendix III offers a visually explicit chronology in four columns for locations, events, years, and publications. Appendix IV lists Böhrling's correspondents, in separate sections for mail to and mail from. Appendix V gives a chronological list of learned societies which Böhrling joined or of which he was made an honorary member. Appendix VI presents chronological lists of Böhrling's books and of his other publications, a painstaking reconstruction, since Böhrling did not leave a list of his own. The bibliographical appendices VII and VIII present, in a total of sixty-five pages with several subdivisions, sources, published and not, institutional and not, for Böhrling's biography. Appendix IX supplies nutshell biographies of persons named in the book. One might occasionally quibble over what constitute the most important traits to be mentioned in this context, but the ensemble is of undeniable convenience to readers. The last appendix is a general index.

A rare slip may be unavoidable in a book this rich and this complex. I might mention that the quintessentially Philadelphian American Philosophical Society is consistently misidentified as a Boston institution. In the chronological list of events in Appendix III, a mechanical disruption to the columns' alignment places Böhrling's seventieth birthday in 1886 instead of 1885. I might also point to the regrettable omission, in the index, of the learned organizations to which Böhrling belonged, which could have usefully been listed individually or grouped as social clubs are under the entry "Gesellige Vereinigungen." The rationale for this omission is likely to have been that a list of learned organizations can be found in Appendix V. Yet, notwithstanding the merits of that chronological list, it does not include references to pages in the volume, and therefore cannot be used as a searching tool. Such minor flaws in no way detract from the value of a book of thorough scholarship and a paragon of comprehensiveness and organization.

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*On Cold Mountain: A Buddhist Reading of the Hanshan Poems.* By PAUL ROUZER. Seattle: UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS, 2016. Pp. xiv + 266. \$40.

Buddhist literature occupies a paradoxical position in modern understandings of classical Chinese literature. At a popular level in the West, there remains the quasi-orientalist idea of traditional

China being infused with a mystical spirituality, sometimes equated with Chan/Zen, sometimes with Daoism, and sometimes with a proto-environmentalism. In Chinese scholarship, Buddhist didactic texts played a fundamental role in the construction of the history of vernacular literature—a search for precursors to modernism carried out by Hu Shih (1891–1962) and other early twentieth-century reformers. Both of these strands have elevated the idea of Chinese Buddhist literature. However, in Western sinology, Chinese Buddhist literature gets short shrift. An indigenous Chinese tendency to place Buddhism outside of orthodox culture (traceable to at least the eleventh century), combined with the separation of “sinology” from “Buddhology” in the modern academy, has meant few serious treatments of Buddhist literature. In general, such works are dismissed as irrelevant to mainstream literary history or relegated to the ghetto of sub-specialization. This has led to the paradoxical position Buddhist literature now finds itself in: it is simultaneously deemed crucial and irrelevant to the history of Chinese literature.

In this context, Paul Rouzer’s new monograph is a welcome contribution to the field, a shaft of light illuminating the brilliance of one jewel in a vast, neglected mine. Rouzer’s work is the first book-length study in any Western language on the corpus of poems attributed to Hanshan (“Cold Mountain”), a shadowy Buddhist recluse thought to have lived during the first half of the Tang dynasty (618–907). Well known in the West thanks to their influence on the Beat Generation, the Hanshan poems are striking for their wit, unconventionality, and informal diction. The relative ease of their language—vernacularisms, concrete images, minimal allusions—and the challenge they pose to a life of urbane comfort have made them a source of inspiration to many modern Buddhists and spiritualists. Rouzer provides a nuanced look at this unique corpus through a series of close readings, contextualized by a summary of modern scholarship and bookended by interpretations of Hanshan-inspired works of American literature. *On Cold Mountain* is entirely successful in its stated goal of offering an “appreciation” (p. x) of the Hanshan verses and their modern reception, as it employs a kind of New Criticism to expose the hidden dynamics of this multi-layered corpus. Its contribution to the broader understanding of Buddhism and Chinese literature, however, is more measured.

*On Cold Mountain* either emerged from the classroom or is engineered for it. The introduction and concluding section, which analyze works by Jack Kerouac, Jane Hirschfeld, and Gary Snyder, act as hooks to entice students unfamiliar with premodern China. They will be of passing interest to readers of *JAOS* (and have already been treated in Lucas Klein’s review in *Tang Studies* 34 [2016]: 125–28). The heart of *On Cold Mountain* consists of chapters 1–6, divided into two sections: one on the textual and authorial provenance of the Hanshan corpus and how this shapes Rouzer’s method; the other on major themes in the poems. It is with these two sections that Rouzer’s contributions lie. I will begin with the latter and conclude with the former.

Chapters 3–6 are *On Cold Mountain* at its best. They show that the Hanshan poems do not advocate a return to a pure wilderness of quietude and contemplation. Rather, they contain an array of contradictory voices that may be pressed into the service of Buddhist didacticism. Many themes of the Hanshan corpus are drawn from the mainstream tradition—mountain reclusion (pp. 97–104), barren trees (pp. 117–24), fading beauty and the brevity of life (pp. 74–92). Others clearly come from Buddhist sources—the rare *maṇi*-pearl that represents the dharma (pp. 124–31), a search for “original nature” (pp. 105–13). Still others seem to reflect themes of popular satire, such as the many depictions of hapless scholars and hypocritical monks (pp. 146–70). Readers may be surprised to discover that “anger” lies behind many of the Hanshan satires, but Rouzer rightly points out that Tang Buddhism contained strains of “fire-and-brimstone” rhetoric that is at odds with Buddhism in the modern, Western imagination.

Another surprising theme is that of the sensual allure of beautiful courtesans (pp. 138–45). There are at least six “mildly erotic” poems that describe “the activities of attractive women from a voyeuristic male perspective, without the slightest hint of deeper philosophical profundity” (p. 138). While this small group may seem shockingly out of place in a collection of instructional Buddhist verse, Rouzer brings in passages from *jātaka* tales and the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* to suggest that a Buddhist reader may have understood the women depicted in these poems as “unruly” more than seductive, making them “dangerous but also convertible” (p. 145). The central chapters of *On Cold Mountain* are full of moments like this: careful readings of individual poems, highlighted against a backdrop of scriptural

and poetic resonances. When it works (and it very often does), such readings represent literary criticism at its finest—the bud of a poem flowering before one’s very eyes.

A sensitive reader who has literally written the book on classical Chinese (or at least, a textbook), Rouzer rarely makes outright translation errors, but I do have a few quibbles with his readings. One is that he sometimes mischaracterizes the norms of Chinese poetry. So, for example, Hanshan’s use of rhyme in the first line of a poem is not a departure from elite poetry (p. 69), but was a common though optional practice in Tang poems. Another quibble is that Rouzer gives insufficient weight to the textual tradition on which the Hanshan poems draw. This results in readings that are correct as a whole but lacking in detail. For example, the phrase “ten thousand *xiang*” in HS 279 does not itself “emphasize the illusory, projective nature of samsara” (p. 137), as Rouzer states. *Xiang* 象 (“images”) are the fundamental building-blocks of reality, the ultimate essence of the things (*wu* 物) around us. The line under discussion, “the ten thousand images flicker within the light [of the moon]” 萬象影現中, closely resembles a line from the “Song of the Realization of the Way” 證道歌, an instructional Buddhist verse from the late eighth century. That parallel describes the Mind as a mirror which “reflects brightly without impediment, / Clear and lustrous, shining broadly throughout innumerable worlds, / Within which flicker the ten thousand images densely interconnected” 心鏡明鑒無礙，廓然瑩徹周沙界，萬象森羅影現中. What is being contemplated here is not the illusory nature of reality, but emptiness (*śūnyata*) in its more positive sense: the ultimate interpenetration of all phenomena as grounded in the Mind. Rouzer’s interpretation correctly describes the structure of the poem as shifting from mental contemplation to the moon to the Mind, but it fails to get the moon imagery right because it ignores this parallel with the “Song of the Realization of the Way.”

Chapters 1–2, which address the author(s) and compilation of the Hanshan corpus, are the most scholarly in their aims. Reading the preface to the Hanshan collection as it existed in the early Song dynasty, Rouzer demonstrates how the preface writer compares Hanshan and his companion Shide to Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, bodhisattvas of wisdom and meditation, respectively (p. 28). This crucial insight should quash our desire to project modern, Beatnik readings onto these verses. Early readers understood the verses to be instructional in nature, perhaps even tied to the veneration of two very specific supernatural beings. This ought to have enormous consequences for how one approaches the Hanshan verses—one can imagine reading them in light of the practices of Tang-Song Mañjuśrī cults—but Rouzer never quite follows through on this insight. Instead, he seems at pains to demonstrate the verses’ literary merit as judged by modern standards.

In chapter 2, Rouzer dutifully summarizes scholarship on the dates of the author(s) of the Hanshan corpus, but he does not reach a strong conclusion. Edwin Pulleyblank, in 1978, demonstrated that there were at least two layers to the Hanshan corpus: one adhering to early Tang rhymes and one to late Tang rhymes. Rouzer notes that this does not necessarily indicate two different dates of composition (a later author could archaize) and instead follows the majority of Chinese and Japanese scholars, who maintain that “most if not all of the Hanshan corpus was composed in the eighth and ninth centuries” (p. 40). This is about as close to a non-answer as one can give. I personally believe that “Hanshan” was most likely a poetic persona adopted by several, perhaps even dozens of individuals at different times—a character, like Batman, that allowed for great variation with each retelling. But this theory, and other possibilities, Rouzer never entertains.

Instead, Rouzer studiously avoids the question of authorship because to assert an author would be to assert a Self, the very thing that Buddhist practice undermines. And this brings us to the basis of the “Buddhist reading” promised in *On Cold Mountain*’s subtitle. This refers to “a specifically Buddhist poetics, a way of defining ‘Buddhist poetry’ from the perspective of the reader” (p. 57). In opposition to the traditional Chinese method of interpreting poetry through its author’s biography, Rouzer asserts that a Buddhist approach would emphasize “a type of reader-response criticism” (p. 61). Such a Buddhist poetics is guided by five rules, derived from lines in the Hanshan corpus:

- 1) a reader must be in a properly purified state of mind in order to understand the Hanshan poems’ message;
- 2) the poems contain deeper meanings that lie beneath the surface of the text;
- 3) the poems’ “most important audience” consists of a small group of sympathetic readers;

- 4) the poems may act as a guide for Buddhists, just like sūtras;
- 5) the poems participate in both mainstream and Buddhist traditions, using literary language as a kind of skillful means to convey Buddhist meanings (pp. 56–57).

Rouzer's Buddhist poetics is an interesting alternative justification of reader-response criticism, different from either Wolfgang Iser or Stanley Fish in its theoretical basis, but it does not tell us much about what "Buddhist poetry" might have meant in Tang China. It is particular to the Hanshan corpus, which is itself an anomaly in medieval Chinese literary history. This corpus seems to have had almost no impact on mainstream Chinese poetry, in the Tang or after (which Rouzer himself admits on p. 45), and even later Buddhist sources quote it infrequently. That is, in medieval China, Rouzer's Buddhist poetics would not have been applied to mainstream, elite-style verse ("poetry" in the higher sense of the term). It could only have been applied to an instructional text, something that contemporaries would not have dubbed "poetry." A collection of semi-vernacular verses attributed to a legendary Buddhist hero such as Hanshan may or may not have been read in this way: there is simply no evidence from the Tang period. No matter the implications of Buddhist doctrines like "emptiness" and "no-self," poems—even those written by Buddhist monks—were understood to be rooted in the personality, experience, and discursive mastery of an author.

This is why, when Rouzer seeks an earlier Buddhist reader as a model for his own interpretive strategy, he either invents one (a "Ms. Chen" who picks up a printed edition of Hanshan in the twelfth century, p. 21–32) or invokes the sermons of the eighteenth-century Japanese Zen master Hakuin Ekaku (pp. 11–13, 60–61, 81–82, 93–94, 102–4, 106–10, 111–13, 120–21, 123–24, 133–34, 140–41, 151–52, 207–08). Hakuin's understanding of the Hanshan verses are fascinatingly different from modern, Western readings, and we should be grateful to Rouzer for bringing them to light. But unless one asserts an essentialized "Buddhism" that does not change across ten centuries and eleven hundred miles, one cannot assert that Hakuin's readings represent a medieval Chinese Buddhist poetics. Rouzer's "Buddhist poetics" succeeds as an expedient means to provide thoughtful readings of a popular corpus of Tang verse to a Western audience, but it provides little insight into the intersections of religion and poetry as they would have been understood in medieval China.

Nevertheless, as an introduction to and appreciation of the Hanshan corpus, *On Cold Mountain* is a rousing success. It is chock full of readings which broadly illuminate the dazzling array of verses that have made their home on Cold Mountain and in its shadow. It is a pioneering work, an essential guide for anyone who would wish to make the journey across the strange landscape of Hanshan.

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