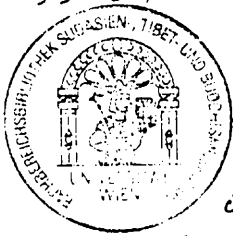


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ANANDA ABEYSEKARA

Politics of Higher Ordination, Buddhist Monastic Identity,
and Leadership at the Dambulla Temple in Sri Lanka 255

ANNE M. BLACKBURN

Looking for the *Vinaya*: Monastic Discipline
in the Practical Canons of the Theravāda 281

RODERICK S. BUCKNELL

Conditioned Arising Evolves: Variation and Change
in Textual Accounts of the *Paṭicca-samuppāda* Doctrine 311

MAHINDA DEEGALLE

A Search for Mahāyāna in Sri Lanka 343

JONATHAN A. SILK

Marginal Notes on a Study of Buddhism,
Economy and Society in China 360

THE BANGKOK CONFERENCE ON BUDDHIST STUDIES:

Introduction

DONALD K. SWEARER 399

Buddhist Studies in Germany and Austria 1971-1996
with a contribution on East Asian Buddhism by Michael Friedrich

ELI FRANCO 403

Coming of age:

Buddhist Studies in the United States from 1972 to 1997

FRANK E. REYNOLDS 459

JONATHAN A. SILK

Marginal Notes on a Study of Buddhism, Economy and Society in China*

Jacques GERNET is well known as one of the leading contemporary scholars of Chinese history, especially religious and social history, and several of his studies have already become classics.¹ The work under consideration here is one such classic, a landmark contribution to the Western study of Buddhism in China and more especially to the study of the place of Buddhism within the broader Chinese social and economic sphere. Originally published in French more than forty years ago,² this

* Remarks on Jacques GERNET: *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*. Translated by Franciscus VERELLEN. New York: Columbia University Press 1995. An English translation of *Les aspects économiques du bouddhisme dans la société chinoise du Ve au Xe siècle*. Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient 39 (Saigon: École Française d'Extrême-Orient 1956).

I am indebted to the comments and corrections of a number of colleagues. I follow their wishes, however, in omitting their names here, but nevertheless express, albeit anonymously, my gratitude for their assistance.

These remarks were written while I was teaching at Western Michigan University, in Kalamazoo, Michigan, which I hope explains my lack of access to a number of relevant materials, as mentioned below. I have been able to add a small number of references subsequently, but I regret I have been unable to revise my comments fully in light of improved library resources.

1. For example, one immediately thinks of *A History of Chinese Civilization*, originally published in French in 1972, translated into English by J.R. FOSTER in 1982, with a second, revised edition in 1996 by J.R. FOSTER and Charles HARTMAN (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press), *Daily Life in China on the Eve of the Mongol invasion, 1250-1276*, originally published in French in 1959, translated into English by H. M. Wright in 1962 (London: George Allen & Unwin/New York: Macmillan), and *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures*, originally published in French in 1982, translated into English by Janet Lloyd in 1985 (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press/Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme).
2. Important and appreciative reviews of the 1956 work include: D. C. TWITCHETT, "The Monasteries and China's Economy in Medieval Times," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 19 (1957): 526-49; Kenneth CH'EN, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20 (1957): 733-40; and Arthur F. WRIGHT,

work has now appeared in English.³ It is to be hoped and expected that this English version will contribute to promoting an awareness among both non-specialists as well as those particularly interested in Chinese history and society of the important role Buddhism played in Chinese economic, social and institutional history. It would also make an important contribution if, as might also be hoped and expected, it were to raise the consciousness of those, again non-specialists and scholars alike, for whom the terms "Buddhism" and "Buddhist history" continue to be a shorthand for "Buddhist doctrine" and "the history of Buddhist doctrine." That Buddhism, broadly understood, means much more than Buddhist philosophy is still, it unfortunately seems, a fact in need of constant reemphasis.

GERNET's work, by spanning the time frame of the fifth to tenth centuries, essentially covers the period of the growth and flowering of a true Chinese Buddhism, from the Northern Wei up through the T'ang dynasty. In surveying this period, GERNET deals primarily with the role that Buddhist institutions played in the development of certain Chinese economic institutions and patterns, such as the use of contracts, the evolution of a cash economy, loans, and banking. For GERNET all of this can be understood as part of the Buddhist contribution to what he calls, perhaps somewhat incautiously, "capitalism." He has, in addition, given particular attention to a number of more specialized problems such as the growth of a "non-productive" class, the Buddhist monks. Several hypotheses are advanced by GERNET;⁴ the following may be an interesting example: The growth of economic power of the Buddhist monasteries was linked to a great complex of factors, among which the ability of the monasteries to exploit

"The Economic Role of Buddhism in China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 16 (1957): 408-14.

Apparently less well known is Alexander W. MACDONALD's "Bouddhisme et Sociologie," *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, Juillet-Décembre 1956, no. 2 (1956): 88-97.

3. I have so far run across the following reviews of the present English translation: Alan COLE, *Journal of Asian Studies* 55/1 (1996): 149-50; Daniel L. OVERMYER, *Pacific Affairs* 68/4 (1995-96): 596-97; T. H. BARRETT, *The China Quarterly* 145 (1996): 225-27; and John KIESCHNICK, *China Review International* 3/2 (1996): 418-22.

Some time after writing these remarks I came across the review of Henrik H. SØRENSEN, *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 8 (1995): 122-26, which briefly offers a number of observations similar to those I have made at some length here.

4. A concise summary of the more important of GERNET's suggestions, laid out in sixteen points, was presented by WRIGHT, "The Economic Role," pp. 409-10.

otherwise poor lands, therefore expanding the available arable territory, is significant. In addition, the gifting of private lands to monasteries effectively removed them from the tax rolls, which encouraged the expansion of Buddhist monastic holdings. The donors of these lands, moreover, in this way also received the guarantee of perpetual care of their deceased ancestors (p. 118 ff.). Arguments such as this effectively emphasize the degree to which Buddhist institutions came to be integrated into the Chinese economy. The book is also filled with interesting and valuable information, such as the following, selected almost at random: "Generally, official ordinations – which rarely benefited laymen – did not increase the actual number of monks and nuns; rather, they allowed certain religious to regularize their status." (p. 10). "The majority of the monks under the T'ang came from the well-to-do peasantry." (p. 58). "The beginnings of Buddhism in China were characterized by a proliferation of small sanctuaries and an extreme dispersion of the monastic community. From the Northern Wei to the T'ang, governments endeavored to put some order into this anarchy by favoring large establishments. Purges were almost invariably accompanied by a consolidation of monks who had not been returned to lay life into larger communities. The economic development was to accord with imperial policy, leading in the long term to the elimination of small communities in favor of large ones that were wealthier and better equipped to survive. Under the Sung and Yüan, large Buddhist communities and large landed estates became the rule." (p. 141).

In addition to strictly Sinological concerns, GERNET has also tried to trace some of the Indian antecedents of Chinese Buddhist ideologies, as well as institutions, especially through an examination of Chinese translations of Indian vinaya literature. In fact, one of the leading contemporary experts on Indian Buddhism, Gregory SCHOPEN, has recently suggested that "though dealing primarily with China, GERNET's study is still probably the best thing we have on the economic structures of Indian Buddhist monasteries as they are described in texts of Indian origin."⁵ This work

5. Gregory SCHOPEN, "On avoiding ghosts and social censure: monastic funerals in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 20 (1992): 25, note 13. SCHOPEN's comment, however, is true only if one leaves out of consideration all of the work available in Japanese. It is unfortunate that Japanese language sources on Indian Buddhism, which are voluminous, are often simply invisible to non-Japanese scholars. GERNET, who of course does cite Japanese scholarship but can obviously not be expected to be familiar with works on Indian Buddhism, carefully added the following note to the bibliography of his 1956 work: "Many Japanese works, which deal with the economic history of

should, therefore, be of interest to a broad range of readers including those who want to approach East Asian or even Indian Buddhism in its social, and not simply its philosophical or doctrinal, aspects.

This is a valuable book, without question, for the questions that it raises and the materials it examines, and its appearance in English is certainly welcome. But for a number of reasons this is not the best book it could have been. Sinology and Buddhist studies have made great strides in the years intervening between the original publication of this book and its translation. Two things can be done in such a case: a work can be left as it is, and presented, as it were, as an artifact, a picture of the author's views at the time the work was written. Another alternative is for the work to be brought up to date, even if this requires some degree of rewriting or new research. In the present case, a version of the first course has been selected. An "Additional bibliography" has been added,⁶ for instance, which attempts to list more recent work, but the publications it lists seem to have been taken into account only rarely in both the main

Buddhism in China but to which I have not had access, are not included in this bibliography." This note has not been repeated in the English translation.

Among the most important works dealing with Indian materials is one which is found in (both versions of) GERNET's bibliography: TOMOMATSU Entai 友松 圓諦, *Bukkyō Keizai Shisō Kenkyū: Indo kodai bukkyō jīin shōyū ni kansuru gakusetsu* 佛教經濟思想研究・印度古代佛教寺院所有に関する學說 [A Study of Buddhist Economic Thought: A Theory Concerning the Possessions of Buddhist Monasteries in Ancient India] (Tokyo: Tōhō shoin 東方書院 1932). Unfortunately, as far as I have noticed, GERNET never actually refers to this work. Perhaps even more apropos would be reference to the two volumes of TOMOMATSU's *Bukkyō ni okeru Bunpai no Riron to Jissai: Bukkyō keizai shisō kenkyū* 佛教に於ける分配の理論と實際・佛教經濟思想研究 [The Theory and Practice of Distribution in Buddhism]. (Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社 1965, 1970). Given the interests of GERNET's investigations, one might also refer to another paper of TOMOMATSU's: "Mujinzai to Buha" 無尽財と部派 [The Inexhaustible Gift and Sectarian Buddhism]. In Satō Mitsuo Hakase Koki Kinen Ronbunshū Kankōkai 佐藤密雄博士古希記念論文集刊行会 ed., *Satō Hakase Koki Kinen: Bukkyō Shisō Ronsō* 佐藤博士古希記念・佛教思想論叢 (Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin 山喜房佛書林 1972): 191-200. Those scholars whose works should certainly be referred to in the context of the study of Chinese materials relevant to Indian Buddhist economic and social history include SHIZUTANI Masao 静谷正雄, HIRAKAWA Akira 平川彰, TSUKAMOTO Keishō 塚本啓祥, and SATŌ Mitsuo 佐藤密雄, to list only a few of those better known.

6. Credited on p. XII to Mme. Kuo Li-ying 郭麗英.

text and the notes.⁷ The translation is a close rendering of the original text, with some small changes and improvements, but a large number of old errors remain, and a substantial number of new ones are introduced. Moreover, the structural revisions have not always been for the better. The French original, for instance, was more conveniently arranged, with footnotes rather than endnotes, a carefully annotated table of contents, and Chinese characters in the text rather than in a character glossary, as they are now.⁸ Despite a few changes, then, this is not a new work.⁹ It

7. In some places, further updating would have been welcome. For example, on p. 136, in discussing the origin of eighth century Japanese *shō* 荘 estates, GERNET refers only to a single publication of 1916. A note on the term *shō* in the French edition on p. 120, n. 3, is missing from the English translation.
8. In many ways, the index of the French edition is also more helpful. Although the English index, prepared by the translator, is fuller, it lacks entries on, for example, “contracts” and “slaves,” to pick at random two items of interest to me, while it has long entries such as “Buddhism, in China,” which one would think should refer to almost every page in the book. A number of important names are also missing. The English volume also lacks any list of Tun-huang manuscripts cited (found in the French index under “manuscrits chinois de Touen-houang”).

On the other hand, it should certainly be easier to find many of the references to Chinese texts in the modern (mostly PRC) editions quoted in the English version. As Denis TWITCHETT pointed out in “The Monasteries and China’s Economy,” p. 549, in the French version “bibliographies are lacking in all indication of the editions employed, so that the reader is unable to follow the author’s page references.” Lacking access to an adequate research library, I have not been able to consult any of these Chinese materials (with the exception of the Taishō Tripiṭaka), including the Dynastic Histories, which are quite helpfully now quoted in the standard Peking editions.

9. For an example of another approach to such a project, one might look at the recent publication in English of Rolf STEIN’s *The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought* (translated by Phyllis BROOKS [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990]), also a classic work, this one originally published in 1943. During the intervening years Prof. STEIN has continued to return to these research interests, and the English version is based on a 1987 revision published in French by STEIN himself. The English version, which also contains much entirely new material, is an important contribution in its own right. GERNET’s classic study would have benefited from receiving a similar careful treatment.

The appearance of GERNET’s work might also serve to stimulate thought on broader issues. Although not necessarily true of Chinese or Tibetan Buddhist studies, it seems that at least in terms of Indian Buddhist Studies some of the more “major” works to appear in English lately are little more than translations of generally rather old works. I think for instance of É. LAMOTTE’s 1958 work,

would be unfair, therefore, to treat it as if it were. On the other hand, in anticipation that the availability and accessibility of this study in English will garner it considerable attention, and in the belief that the questions it raises will and should continue to stimulate the imagination and creativity of scholars, I would like to offer a few notes concerning several aspects of GERNET's work that might be corrected or, in a revised edition, expanded upon. While it would also be possible to deal here with corrections or additions that others have already suggested, but which seem to have been overlooked in the translation process,¹⁰ for the most part I will discuss new issues. I will concentrate my remarks on the following: First, I will try to point out what appear to be errors in the book, those of the original that stand uncorrected in the translation, as well as new errors and oversights of the translation itself. Second, I will point out places in the work where GERNET seems to have rather uncritically adopted the prejudices and biases of his Chinese sources or of mid-twentieth century Europe. While such presentations cannot properly be called errors, they are aspects of the work that require some notice. Third, I will remark on some spots in which relevant materials published in the 40 years intervening between the original study and the English translation, and a few published since, might usefully be taken into account in bringing GERNET's observations up to date. Finally, I will raise some questions concerning the

Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, translated by Sara WEBB-BOIN as *History of Indian Buddhism* (Louvain: Institut Orientaliste de l'Université Catholique 1988), and HIRAKAWA Akira's 1974 *Indo Bukkyōshi* インド仏教史 1, translated in 1990 as *A History of Indian Buddhism* (Hawaii: The University of Hawaii Press). Both of these are, in their own ways, valuable works to be sure, but neither can be called up-to-date or fully in tune with the findings of recent research.

10. For example, in 1970 Paul DEMIÉVILLE (GERNET's teacher) published a survey on "Récents travaux sur Touen-houang" in *T'oung Pao* 56 (1970): 1-95. To mention just one of the many works he discussed (p. 17-18), he briefly summarized CHIKUSA Masaaki's 竺沙雅章 (misprinted by DEMIÉVILLE 竹沙雅草) study on the *she* 社, that is the Buddhist associations ("Tonkō shutsudo 'sha' monjo no kenkyū" 敦煌出土「社」文書の研究, in *Tōhō Gakuhō* 東方學報 35 [1964]: 215-288 [not 228 as DEMIÉVILLE misprinted]). DEMIÉVILLE explicitly pointed out (p. 18, note 1) that some of the sources referred to by CHIKUSA "escaped the attention of Gernet." DEMIÉVILLE's article, to which no reference is made by GERNET, apparently did not bring CHIKUSA's work to his attention. (A reference to CHIKUSA's 1982 *Chūgoku bukkō shakaishi kenkyū* is entered in the "Additional bibliography," and the study of *she* is included in this volume [on pp. 477-557]. However, as far as I have noticed, outside of the bibliography CHIKUSA's book is nowhere referred to in the volume).

care with which the translation was carried out. Throughout, some of my remarks will deal with Indic aspects of the work, others with more purely Sinological concerns.

I would like to emphasize that the following is in no way intended as a review of GERNET's work as a whole; it is, as the title indicates, merely a collection of marginalia. It ignores almost entirely the comprehensive plan of GERNET's work, its many valuable contributions, and in general the tremendous amount this book has taught me personally and that, I believe, it would teach most readers. More balanced appreciations of the study as a whole may be found in the reviews cited in notes 2 and 3, above.

* * *

No author, and most especially one who ranges widely over materials of varying genre, age, and so on, can escape factual mistakes. But it still comes as something of a surprise to encounter, in the very first line of GERNET's Introduction (page XIII), a rather serious error, uncorrected from the French original. The sixth century "Parthian" merchant with whose story GERNET begins his study is no Parthian at all – in fact, the Parthian empire ceased to exist in the first quarter of the third century – , but rather a Sogdian, a man from K'ang-chü kuo 康居國.¹¹ The significance of the merchant's nationality lies in the fact that the Sogdians were the great traders between China and lands west in medieval times. In fact, in a recent study, Nicholas SIMS-WILLIAMS has explored the status of the Sogdians as merchants whose travels linked China not only with Central Asian states but even directly with India itself, concluding that "Sogdians were engaged both in the trade between India and Sogdiana and in that between India and China. ... the Sogdians may have had an effective monopoly of the trade on both routes"¹² For a study such as GERNET's that seeks among other things to clarify the economic influences of Buddhist and Indian ideas and practices on the greater Chinese society, the Sogdians and their connection with India are far from incidental.

11. *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* 續高僧傳 T. 2060 (L) 651a5.

12. Nicholas SIMS-WILLIAMS, "The Sogdian Merchants in China and India," in Alfredo CADONNA and Lionello LANCIOTTI, eds., *Cina e Iran: da Alessandro Magno alla Dinastia Tang*. *Orientalia Venetiana* 5 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore 1996): 45-67. Page 56.

Such a beginning might put us on our guard and indeed, a few spot checks of GERNET's translations of Chinese materials have revealed several other places in which correction is called for.¹³ For instance, on p. 198, at the bottom, the rather short quotation from the *Hsiang-fa chüeh-i ching* 像法決疑經 (T. 2870 [LXXXV] 1337b27-c6) contains a number of problems. In the first sentence, the expression “[at the time of the Counterfeit Law (*pratirūpakadharmā*)]” is placed within brackets, while the Chinese text 未來世 (“in a future age”) is not rendered at all in the translation. It is, by the way, not clear to me what it adds to provide a (totally hypothetical) Sanskrit equivalent here, especially since the text is, as GERNET notes, obviously a Chinese apocrypha.¹⁴ In the sentences “Some will engage in commerce in the marketplace in order to enrich themselves. Others will traffic by the roadside for a living,” the phrases “to enrich themselves” and “for a living” must be reversed. After the sentence “There will be bhikṣu [*sic* for bhikṣu-s; see below] who will preach false teachings to please the people,” an entire sentence is missing, viz.: “Some will use spells to cure diseases of others.” Finally, the following sentence reads “There will be those who shall pretend to be devotees of Dhyāna, even though they are incapable of concentrating their minds.” This renders the Chinese 或復修禪、不能自一心. There is nothing here about pretending; the sentence means “Some shall cultivate *dhyāna*, but be unable to concentrate their minds.”

On p. 215, two quotations are given, one from the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, the other from the *Vimalakīrti*; both are translated as prose. In neither case is it specified that the original passages are in fact in verse (although the French suggested this by its typography). The *Buddhāvataṃsaka* passage is from T. 278 (IX) 437c12-13.¹⁵ GERNET translated the verse as follows in the French original (p. 210):

13 As mentioned above, in most cases I have not had access to the relevant Chinese texts, and have thus been unable to check the translations.

14. Some interesting remarks on this text are given by Mark Edward LEWIS, “The Suppression of the Three Stages Sect: Apocrypha as a Political Issue,” in Robert E. BUSWELL, Jr., ed., *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990): 207-38.

15. The text reads: 又放光名示現寶 令諸貧乏得寶藏 以無盡藏施三寶 因是得成示寶光. This corresponds to T. 279 (X) 77a9-10: 又放光明名大財 令貧乏者獲寶藏 以無盡物施三寶 是故得成此光明. Thomas CLEARY (*The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avataṃsaka Sutra*. Volume I [Boulder & London: Shambala 1984]: 352) rendered the latter: “It also radiates a light called ‘great wealth’ / Which causes the poor to gain treasure. / Giving unlimited things to the Buddha, Teaching, and Community, / Is how this light can be made.”

Les Bodhisattva émettent une radiance qui s'appelle «la révélatrice des Joyaux», qui fait que les pauvres et les gens démunis de tout découvrent des trésors.

C'est par les dons qu'ils font aux Trois Joyaux, grâce à leur Trésor inépuisable (*wou tsin tsang*), qu'ils acquièrent cette radiance révélatrice des joyaux.

The English has this as:

The bodhisattva emit a radiance named "revealer of jewels" that enables the poor and destitute to discover treasures. It is by their gifts to the Three Jewels and thanks to their Inexhaustible Treasury (*Wu-chin tsang*) that they acquire this radiance capable of revealing jewels.

This verse is found in the Tibetan translation of the *Avatamsaka* in the Derge Kanjur (*phal chen, ka*, 230a3-4) as follows: 'od zer nor ston rab tu dgye¹⁶ byas shing // phongs pa rin chen gter rnams thob par 'gyur // gnas dang gter rnams mi zad dkon mchog gsum // gsol bas nor ston 'od zer de thob bo //.

In light of this, I would like to suggest the following as a possible translation of the Chinese text of the verse:

[The samādhi – which is the subject here, not the bodhisattvas –]¹⁷ emits a radiance called "revealer of jewels" that causes the poor to obtain stores of treasure. By giving inexhaustible treasures to the Three Jewels, they obtain that jewel-revealing radiance.

The *Vimalakīrti* passage is found in LAMOTTE's translation at VII §6.34,¹⁸ where he also quotes the extant Sanskrit text. He has moreover given a note there indicating the importance of these two passages for the Three Stages Sect, citing this very discussion of GERNET.

As mentioned above, GERNET's work is valuable not only for what it says about China but also for the suggestions he has made about Indian Buddhism, based usually on Chinese sources or Indian sources in Chinese translation. Some of his statements, however, are in need of modification. In a very interesting discussion concerning how monastic slaves were

16. Note *Mahāvvyūtpatti* 519, in which 'od zer rab tu 'gyed pa = *raśmi-pramukta*, 放光. The Derge spelling *dgye*, which is followed by a space with three *tshegs*, indicating that perhaps the blocks were originally carved with *dgyes*, should probably be considered an error. But I regret I have not been able to check other Kanjurs.

17. If I am not mistaken; see T. 278 (IX) 436a20-21.

18. Étienne LAMOTTE, *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdeśa)*. Bibliothèque du Muséon 51 (Louvain: Université de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste 1962): 298. The English version of this is *The Teaching of Vimalakīrti*, translated by Sara Boin. Sacred Books of the Buddhists 32 (London: The Pali Text Society 1976): 186.

recruited, for instance, GERNET says (p. 127) “The Buddha households were drawn from convicts who had been sentenced to death or forced labor, and from the official slaves.” However, the subsequent suggestion (p. 128), that “The currency of the same practice in India may have served as a model,” is less sure. The only evidence GERNET offers for this suggestion is a reference to the vinaya story of King Bimbisāra presenting the saṅgha with “five hundred brigands who merited capital punishment.” Now, it might be that the precedents of Buddhist *literary* sources served as a model for the Chinese practice, and if so this would be very interesting. But while vinaya texts, which have their own very special agendas and aims, may tell us quite a bit about Buddhist ideology, regrettably they do not provide any evidence at all of actual practices, and thus one cannot turn to them for proof of the currency of any practice in India. GERNET goes on to say that “It is also possible that analogous customs from Central Asia inspired the Wei sovereigns Yang Hsüan-chih reports that the king of Khotan assigned four hundred families to the service of a great Buddhist monastery for ‘sprinkling and sweeping.’” Actually, what the *Lo-yang ch’ieh-lan chi* 洛陽伽藍記 (T. 2092 [LI] 1018c18) of Yang Hsüan-chih says is that the king of Khotan “built a stūpa, for which four hundred households were assigned to take care of sprinkling water and sweeping the grounds.”¹⁹ There is no indication that the people here were under judicial sentence or in any way enslaved. (There is also perhaps an important difference between “a great Buddhist monastery,” which the text does not mention, and a stūpa, which it does.) On the other hand, it was quite common in India and the Indian world for the tax duties of a locality to be assigned to a religious institution, whether Brahmanical or Buddhist. It seems, although this is not quite as clear, that the right (which the government always maintained) to extract forced labor from the populace was transferred along with the right to collect the tax from the land or village. (Some endowments explicitly specify the provision *sotpadyamānaviṣṭika*, “with the right to extract forced labor [corvée] therefrom.”)²⁰ What this suggests is that Buddhist monastic institutions almost certainly did employ forced labor, and very probably

19. Translated in Yi-t’ung WANG, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang, by Yang Hsüan-chih* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1984): 219. The Chinese text reads 即起塔封四百戶供灑掃.

20. I will discuss this issue in a study of slavery in Indian Buddhism, now in progress.

also slave labor. I know of no evidence, however, for the use of convict labor.

On pp. 75-76, GERNET quotes a long passage from I-ching's "Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago" (*Nan-hai chi-kuei nei-fa chuan* 南海寄歸內法傳; literally: Record of Buddhism sent home from the Southern Seas), which he asserts (p. 76) "provides rare evidence of later practices ... among Indian Buddhist communities." What GERNET has not realized is that this passage, as some others in I-ching's work, is not a report of his observations on the ground in India but a direct quotation from the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (which I-ching, of course, translated into Chinese).²¹ Whatever else this and other similar passages in the "Record" provide us, it certainly is not a window into later Indian Buddhist practice. This causes GERNET to make several statements in the following discussion that must now be corrected. His assertion, apparently on the basis of I-ching, that (pp. 76-77) "During the period contemporaneous with the development of Buddhism in China, the wealthy communities in India, Central Asia, and Southeast Asia were no longer faithful to the letter of the interdictions pronounced by the Vinaya" is revealed to be without a substantial basis when one realizes that the evidence used to support this statement is a passage from the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya itself.²²

21. This was pointed out, not for the first time, by G. SCHOPEN in "Monastic law meets the real world: a monk's continuing right to inherit family property in Classical India," *History of Religions* 35,2 (1995): 119, n. 41. The passage in question was translated from the Sanskrit text of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya by SCHOPEN in "Deaths, funerals, and the division of property in a monastic code," in D. S. LOPEZ, ed., *Buddhism in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1995): 498-500.
22. It is another question why GERNET thinks that anyone was ever "faithful to the letter of the interdictions pronounced by the Vinaya," which is itself rather problematic. This is, by the way, a good illustration of the problems (discussed below) caused by the translator's habit of not using English plural -s with Sanskrit words. The French version is quite clear that what is in question here is the Vinaya-s, plural. The clear implication of the English is that Vinaya should be understood as a singular. The translator has created an unnecessary confusion in this way.

On p. 221, l. 12-15, another passage from I-ching within quotation marks is not a quotation but a paraphrase of T. 2125 (LIV) 231a10-11; see TAKAKUSU Junjirō, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in Indian and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695) by I-Tsing* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press 1896): 193.

Some Indian technical terms have meanings in Indian texts in Chinese translation significantly different from those they acquired in China, and in such cases it is important to distinguish these senses. On p. 70 and elsewhere the term *ching-jen* 淨人 is rendered “pure men (or: man).” In an Indian context this is incorrect. As GERNET points out in n. 26 on p. 336, 淨人 renders *kappiyakāraka*²³ or Sanskrit *kalpikāraka*. The Indic term means something like “kasherer,” one who makes something kosher. The point is that *ching* 淨 here is to be understood in its *verbal* sense; the compound means a man²⁴ who makes [something] pure, a “purifying man”; 淨 is not an adjective. However, the Chinese seem to have understood the term as “pure man,” which is interesting and deserves to be further investigated. In the block quotation on the bottom of p. 88, the term *t'u-p'i* 荼毘²⁵ does not mean exactly “funeral,” but refers rather to cremation; see Anna SEIDEL’s detailed study in the *Hōbōgirin*, s.v. *dabi*.

Some references to Indian terms in Indian languages also need to be corrected. On p. 86 the Sanskrit term given as *jñaptidvīṭyam karmavācā* (read: *karmavācanā*) is translated “double solemn declaration.” However, the procedure in question entails a single declaration and a single announcement (or: one motion, and one proclamation), one of two types of legal declaration in Buddhist ecclesiastical business, the other being the *jñapticaturtham karmavācanā*, the triple declaration. Some Sanskrit equivalents may also need reconsideration. On p. 67 the term 四方僧物, “property of the saṅgha of the four directions,” is given the Sanskrit equivalent *caturdiśasamḡhasya* (in which, in any case, the genitive case ending is hard to understand). This is probably wrong. The attested equiv-

23. *kappiyakāraka* is a misprint; the French edition is correct. In the same note, *kṛita* is an error for *krīta*; this has been carried over from the French.
24. I do not recall ever having run across a reference to a female *ching-jen*.
25. The reading *ch'a-p'i* is questionable, and the character 茶 on p. 385 likewise seems to be less preferable. See on this problem SEIDEL p. 574a. (She appears here to have overlooked the remarks on the term by HIKATA Ryūshō 干瀉竜祥, “Bonkan Zasso (2)” 梵漢雜俎 (2) [Miscellaneous Remarks on Sanskrit and Chinese 2], in FUKUI Hakase Shōju Kinen Ronbunshū Kankōkai 福井博士頌壽記念論文集刊行会, ed., *Fukui Hakase Shōju Kinen Tōyō Bunka Ronshū* 福井博士頌壽記念東洋文化論集 [Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu 早稲田大學出版部 1979]: 23-34.) I do not, by the way, know where GERNET’s Sanskrit equivalent *śavya* comes from, nor am I even sure if it is ever used in Buddhist texts; I have been able to find *śavya* only in *Chandogyopaniṣad* 4.15.5, where it is glossed by Śaṅkara with the unhelpful *śavakarma*.

alent (from the *Ratnarāśisūtra* IV.10, quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*)²⁶ is *cāturdiśasāṃghika*. Just below that, in discussing the Mahīśāsaka-Vinaya, GERNET mentions that violation of a quoted provision “constituted a ‘grave transgression’ (*thullaccaya*).” I am not sure why, in discussing this Vinaya, one would quote a Pāli equivalent. The Sanskrit form is *sthūlātīyaya*, although there is no guarantee this would correspond to the language of the original either. While we cannot be certain that the Mahīśāsakas used Sanskrit, we can be certain that they did not use Pāli. On p. 202, in paragraph 2, and elsewhere *yü-lan-p'en* 盂蘭盆 is given the Sanskrit equivalent *avalambana*, but this equivalence is not entirely trouble free.²⁷ It is not pointed out on p. 213, in paragraph 3, or elsewhere, that the point of the reference to bowls 盆 here is the understanding that somehow *yü-lan-p'en* refers to bowls.

On p. 217, l. 5-6 fb,²⁸ the forms *dharmatyāga* and *āmiṣatyāga* are both, as far as I know, unattested. The correct forms are almost certainly *dharmadāna* and *āmiṣadāna*. In n. 135 on p. 332, the term *hsiang-shui* 香水 is given the Sanskrit equivalent *gandhavāri*. No source is provided, and the term seems unattested. At least according to Oda’s dictionary,²⁹ *hsiang-shui* is equivalent to *yen-ch'ieh* 閻伽, which renders *arghya* (better *argha*?), an oblation, often of water. GERNET probably found the form

26. Edited in my doctoral thesis, “The Origins and Early History of the *Mahāramakūṣa* Tradition of Mahāyāna Buddhism, with a Study of the *Ratnarāśisūtra* and Related Materials.” Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan 1994: 445, 597. The Sanskrit is found in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Cecil BENDALL, *Çikṣāsamuccaya: A Compendium of Buddhist Teaching Compiled by Çāntideva, Chiefly from Earlier Mahāyāna-sūtras*. Bibliotheca Buddhica 1 [St. Pétersbourg: Imperial Academy 1897-1902. Reprint: Osnabrück, Biblio Verlag 1970]: 56.7-8; for the Chinese, see T. 1636 (XXXII) 86b9-12, and T. 310 (XI) 643c5).

27. Despite what is sometimes implied, Paul PELLISOT (in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 1 [1901]: 277-78) did not fully commit himself in favor of this form. He was concerned more to reject several clearly impossible suggestions of others. See also his remarks in *T'oung-pao* 28.3-5 (1931): 429-30. On the etymology of *yü-lan-p'en*, see the bibliography in Stephen TEISER, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1988): 21, note 29. GERNET’s discussion in n. 25 on p. 365 on the “development of this festival of the dead and of filial piety in China” might also have mentioned TEISER’s book.

28. Here and below fb means “from the bottom of the page.”

29. ODA Tokunō 織田得能, *Bukkyō Daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (1917; New Corrected Edition: Tokyo: Daizō shuppan 大藏出版 1974): 178b.

gandhavāri in MOCHIZUKI's dictionary,³⁰ a source that is not noted in the bibliography. In n.91 on p.340, *alaka* (so in the French as well) should be *sālāka*. On this topic one may refer to Hubert DURT's excellent article in the *Hōbōgirin*, s.v. *chū*.

In n. 84 on p. 379, *pai-ni* 唄匿 is rendered in Sanskrit as *bhaka*, a printing error for the intended *bhāṇaka* (the diacritical letters have vanished, as happens in a large number of spots in the book). A reference in the French to "Cf. *Hōbōgirin*, s.v. *bhāṇaka*" does not appear in the English. In any case, the correct reference would be s.v. *bombai*, p.93a, where DEMIÉVILLE offers "*bhāṇaka*" as a possible equivalent for *pai-ni*. This appears to be correct.³¹

On p.215, l. 1-2, and elsewhere, the term *ching-t'ien* 敬田, "field of reverence," is given a Sanskrit equivalent *satkārapuṇyakṣetra*, and "field of compassion" *pei-t'ien* 悲田 is rendered *karuṇāpuṇyakṣetra*. As noted in the French version, but not in the English,³² the division into two fields of merit probably goes back to the *Ta Chi-tu lun* 大智度論; the Sanskrit equivalences are evidently based on Lamotte's reconstruction in his translation of that text.³³ However, LAMOTTE gave no evidence for

30. MOCHIZUKI Shinkō 望月信亨, *Bukkyō Daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (Tokyo: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai 世界聖典刊行協会 1932-36): 1063b.
31. WOGIHARA Unrai 荻原雲來, *Kanyaku Taishō Bonwa Daijiten* 漢訳対照梵和大辭典 (Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1964-74), s.v. *bhāṇaka*, gives *pai-ni* as an equivalent, citing Hsüan-ying's 玄應 *I-ch'ieh-ching yin-i* 一切經音義. In the text I have (Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng ch'u-pan-she 新文豐出版社 1980): 450, which cites the term from the third *chüan* of the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya (四分律, T. 1428 [XXII] 582b17), there is no indication of any reading *bhāṇaka*. See also the nearly identical entry in the *I-ch'ieh-ching yin-i* 一切經音義 of Hui-lin 慧琳 T. 2128 (LIV) 699c10. Both texts offer the translation *tsan-t'an* 讚歎. According to the kind information of Karashima Seishi 辛嶋静志, however, the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya passage corresponds to Pāli Vin. iv.67,27, which contains the term *bhāṇaka*. He also informs me that while the character *pai* itself, which seems to be glossed by Hsüan-ying and Hui-lin with *p'o-shih* 婆師, refers to Sanskrit $\sqrt{bhāṣ}$, the compound *pai-ni* refers to *bhāṇaka*. The equivalents suggested for *pai-ni* by NAKAMURA Hajime 中村元 (*Bukkyōgo Daijiten* 仏教語大辭典 [Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki 東京書籍 1981]: 1100b), *bhāṣā*, and ODA (1442b), *pāthaka*, are wrong.
32. In the French on p. 216, n. 1, a note which is missing in the English version but which would have been found corresponding to the text in English on the bottom of p. 220.
33. Étienne LAMOTTE, *Le Traité de la grande Vertu de Sagesse II*. Bibliothèque du Muséon 18 (Reprint: Louvain: Université de Louvain 1981. Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 26): 723.

his reconstructions, which are not, as far as I know, attested in Sanskrit. Even today many scholars persist in offering Sanskrit equivalents for terms that were evidently purely Chinese. While Sanskrit is, perhaps rightly, the *lingua franca* of Buddhist Studies, it seems at the very least misleading to invent hypothetical Sanskrit equivalents for terms that one cannot show to have existed in the Indian world. (These forms are rarely starred to mark them as hypothetical; no forms in GERNET's book are starred, just as LAMOTTE did not star his reconstructions.)

Finally, a few other oversights might be mentioned. On p. 256, l. 15, *fan-pai* 梵唄 is something more than "Indian chants." Paul DEMIÉVILLE rendered the term "psalmodie: récitation psalmodiée ou chantée des textes sacrés" in *Hōbōgirin* s.v. *bombai* (pages 93-113, with pp. 95-97 devoted to the history of the term and idea in China). On p. 291, l. 9 fb, I think it is not accurate to refer to Tantra as a "school" ("esoteric and magical school") in the context of calling Amoghavajra a "great master of Tantra." In n. 10 on p. 335, the statement that Tao-hsüan's Vinaya commentaries comment on the Dharmaguptaka-Vinaya (not Dharmagupta-, as the translator has written everywhere)³⁴ is misleading. These texts quote extensively from all the Vinayas available to Tao-hsüan, as GERNET himself indicated in the following n. 17.³⁵ In n. 45 on p. 373, partly because the only reference

34. I think the form Dharmaguptaka must be correct for the Vinaya text, but actually the correct name of the sect itself has occasioned some confusion in the scholarship, probably because the sources seem to be inconsistent. Both forms, Dharmaguptaka and Dharmagupta, seem to be used as the name of the sect: *Mahāvvyutpatti* 9081 and *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (ed. WOGIHARA, 542.19) give Dharmaguptāḥ, and *Dīpavaṃsa* v.47 Dhammagutta, while *Mahāvamsa* v.8 has Dhammaguttika. Some Chinese sources of Indian origin support Dharmagupta (T. 397 [XIII] 159a16 曇無讖多) and others Dharmaguptaka (T. 1465 [XXIV] 900c4 曇無屈多迦部). Likewise, inscriptions contain both forms. According to Richard SALOMON, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra: The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments* (Seattle: University of Washington Press 1999): 169 and 176, we can find Dharinmagutaka, Dharmagutaka, Dhamaūtea, Dharmāūtea, Dharmāūta, and probably Dharmaguptika – all from the northwest. See also SHIZUTANI Masao 静谷正雄, *Shōjō Bukkyōshi no Kenkyū* 小乗仏教史の研究 (Kyoto: Hyakkaen 百華苑 1978): 44, 173-200. (To my surprise, I cannot find the form Dharmaguptaka in a Buddhist Sanskrit literary source.)
35. In this regard, one may refer to the valuable studies of KAWAGUCHI Kōfū 川口高風, "*Shibunritsu Gyōjishō ni arawareta in'yō tenseki no kenkyū*: Kyōronbu" 四分律行事鈔にあらわれた引用典籍の研究・経論部 [Scripture quotations in the *Ssu-fen-lü shan-fan pu-ch'üeh hsing-shih ch'ao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔: Sūtra and śāstra]. *Sōtōshū Kenkyūin Kenkyūsei Kenkyūkiyō* 曹洞宗研究院研究生研究紀要 6 (1974): 132-114 (sic), and "*Shibunritsu Gyōjishō ni arawareta*

given is not found in the bibliography (“Julien, *Histoire*, p.374.” See below), it is not at all clear that this note is quoting Hsüan-tsang, T. 2087 (LI) 873b19-21.³⁶ On p. 396, s.v. *su* (*koumiss*) 蘇, some of the sources quoted by GERNET, at least, write 酥. Whether this term really means *koumiss* is another question, concerning which one might with profit consult Anna SEIDEL’s entry *daigo*, again in the *Höbögirin*.³⁷ In n. 11 on p. 335, at least in Indian materials the theory of *upāya* does not mean, as GERNET states, that “the end justifies the means,” at least as that expression is understood in American English. And in n. 9 on p. 356, GERNET states that the Pāli Vinaya talks about “a particularly *pure* monk ...” (emphasis in the original). There is no word in the Pali for “pure”; the good qualities of the monk in question are listed, that is all.

* * *

in'yō tenseki no kenkyū: Ritsubu” 四分律行事鈔にあらわれた引用典籍の研究・律部 [Scripture quotations in the *Ssu-fen-lü shan-fan pu-ch'üeh hsing-shih ch'ao*: Vinaya]. *Komazawa Daigaku Daigakuin Bukkyōgaku Kenkyūkai Nenpō* 駒沢大学大学院仏教学研究會年報 9 (1975): 25-59.

36. See Samuel BEAL, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1906. Reprint: New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp. 1968): 1.52.
37. A few more minor points concerning Chinese materials might be mentioned. On p. 197, l. 24, paraphrasing the “Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism” from the *Wei shu*, GERNET writes that “... Shih-hsien transformed himself into a lay physician.” This is not exactly what the passage says: 假爲醫術還俗、而守道不改。HURVITZ translated this “[Shih-hsien] ostensibly practised medicine and returned to the laity, but he kept the Way and did not change.” See Leon HURVITZ, *Wei Shou: Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism: An English translation of the original Chinese text of Wei-shu CXIV and the Japanese annotation of Tsukamoto Zenryū*. In MIZUNO Seiichi 水野清一 and NAGAIHIRO Toshio 長広敏雄 eds., *Yün-kang, The Buddhist Cave-temples of the fifth century A.D. in North China / Unkō sekkutsu: Seireki goseiki ni okeru Chūgoku hokubu Bukkyō Kutsuin no kōkogakuteki chōsa hōkoku* 雲岡石窟・西曆五世紀における中國北部佛教窟院の考古學的調査報告. Volume 16 (Kyoto: Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo 1956): 71. TSUKAMOTO Zenryū 塚本善隆, upon whose Japanese rendering HURVITZ’s English was based, translated the passage as follows: 師賢は仮に医者になって還俗したが、而も仏道を守って改めなかった。See TSUKAMOTO Zenryū, *Gisho Shaku-Rō shi* 魏書釈老志. Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫 515 (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社 1990): 218. In n. 6 on p. 335, the quotation from the *Wei shu* is abridged, without any indication. See HURVITZ, p. 55.

Although this study is filled with a vast amount of data and relies on a large body of evidence, when it comes to interpretation GERNET's approach occasionally reminds one of the age and the culture in which the study was first written. For example, the claim (p.70) that "The reason why fully ordained monks did not work was undoubtedly that they may devote themselves entirely to pious activities" seems to be contradicted by what we know of the lives of Chinese monks,³⁸ and perhaps to reflect a somewhat romanticized view of Buddhist monasticism. Scholars are becoming increasingly aware of the mythological rhetoric of religious propaganda, and of the necessity to confront romantic mythologized images with verifiable social realities. Similar in tone is the statement (p. XV) that "Confucianism is to a much greater extent an attachment to a mode of thinking and traditional rites than a religion." Without a definition of "religion," which is nowhere offered, it is of course not possible to objectively evaluate such a claim, but at least as the term "religion" is often understood these days, many Sinologists do find much religion in the Confucian tradition.³⁹ Perhaps GERNET disagrees with these approaches to the study of religion and the Confucian tradition, but if so only a clear statement of the definition of religion he is adopting here would enable others to properly consider his claims.

A similar kind of difficulty occasionally extends to economic issues as well. On page 178, GERNET says that "Buddhist establishments, whose revenues were essentially assured by placements at interest, by the offerings of the faithful, and by the operation of real estate (shops and mills), made no contribution to production. Theirs was a parasitical economy that nevertheless had its place in this country of agricultural civilization."⁴⁰

38. In this regard, it is odd that there is no reference in this volume to Johannes PRIP-MØLLER's landmark study *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries: their plan and its function as a setting for Buddhist monastic life* (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gads Forlag /London: Oxford University Press 1937; Reprint: Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press 1967), or to Holmes WELCH's *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism: 1900-1950* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1967).

39. In this context one might just mention Rodney L. TAYLOR, *The Religious Dimensions of Confucianism* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press 1990). I ignore here the additional problem that "Confucianism" is likewise not defined, no time or space limitations are placed on the generalization, and so on.

40. It is interesting that the French original contains, between the two sentences here quoted, the additional sentence: "Les terres ne sont pas la source principale de richesses."

At least as I understand these terms, I find GERNET's study as a whole to present very eloquent evidence that the Buddhist monasteries in fact made a quite significant, one might even say key, contribution to production.

At other times, GERNET appears to accept old sets of biases, some of which were biases widely shared a generation ago, others the original biases of his Chinese sources, whether Buddhist or Confucian. As an example of a statement probably influenced by the sociology and anthropology of 40 years ago, on p. 299 GERNET writes (emphases added) "It is self-evident that those raised in the classical tradition could not be fervent Buddhists. Their rationalism restrained them from adopting *common beliefs and superstitions*. Noblewomen, by contrast, female members of the great families, self-made men, and commoners had no such *protection against religious faith*." On p. 250 we find the suggestion (emphases added) that "... it is tempting to see in the peasant or, more generally, popular forms of Buddhism in China by and large a complex of magical practices applied to private, individual, or family ends. On the whole, they represented a *degradation* of the *authentic* Buddhism practiced in the great sanctuaries." On the other hand, on p. 286 we find the following, which probably reflects an uncritical acceptance of the attitudes of the Chinese historians upon whose work GERNET relied. He wrote (emphases added):⁴¹

The *complicity* of the women at court and the emperor's kin in general with the Buddhist clergy explains why so many measures that would have been necessary to deal with the *plethora* of monks and nuns, with *exorbitant* expenditures under the pretext of Buddhist piety, were revoked and why so many reform decrees that are preserved in the official histories were never implemented. It should be noted, moreover, that it was the most *reprehensible* aspects of Buddhism that the women and high personalities at court defended with the greatest passion. For their interests were best served by the religious retainers with whom they were closely involved: monk-magicians, fortune-tellers, and traffickers.

I mentioned above the problem of the status of Indian Buddhist texts, and what sort of evidence they give us about Buddhist practice in India. On p. 96 GERNET writes that "The fact is that Buddhism in China was not the essentially monastic religion represented by the Vinaya." An equally

41. In various places in the book GERNET seems to advocate the idea that, at least as far as the court went, women, who are apparently not critical and rationalist, were patrons of Buddhism, while rational males were sometimes pressured into supporting Buddhism by their wives or consorts. It is certainly possible that, broadly speaking, women offered greater patronage to Buddhism than did men, but whether one can put this down to their uncritical and irrational nature is surely a different matter.

important point to emphasize here is that *Indian Buddhism* was also “not the essentially monastic religion represented by the Vinaya.” The relation between real communities and texts is far from clear, but one thing is quite certain: Indian Buddhist texts are not objective reports of what went on in Indian Buddhist communities. Therefore, when, again on p. 96, after quoting a passage concerning land tenure from a Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya text, GERNET says “This tenure system was in fact applied in the communities that we know from the Vinaya,” his evidence must be carefully considered. Unfortunately, however, the “evidence” for this, which GERNET presents in another quotation, comes from the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya. Such textual parallelism can in no way tell us anything about what “was in fact applied,” nor does it help us understand what sort of communities a Vinaya text might help us to know. What we do learn is that two passages in, respectively, a Mūlasarvāstivāda and a Sarvāstivāda text agree with each other on a certain point. To be sure, given that we are still unsure of the exact relation between these two schools, any observation about their mutual agreement or disagreement puts us one step closer to understanding this relation. But the mutual agreement of texts tells us nothing about what any actual communities actually did, or how (or if) they applied Vinaya rules.

A similar uncritical acceptance of traditional attitudes can be seen on p. 152. “Under the influence of converts from the merchant milieu,” GERNET wrote, “certain sects of the Lesser Vehicle increasingly took recourse to profane practices. As a result, an originally austere attitude gradually softened, and in the end commerce became fully integrated into the devout activities of the saṃgha.” Setting aside the issue of the use of “Lesser Vehicle” (= Hīnayāna) as if it referred to some institutionally identifiable group (it does not; it is a polemical label),⁴² scholars have come to realize the historical indefensibility of the claim that early Buddhism was austere and later gradually came to be “dumbed down.” A related issue might be raised with regard to the following statement on p. 180: “From the beginning of the development of Buddhist communities in China, practices that contravened the teachings of the Vinaya were accepted. These were no doubt encouraged by the example of the religious of Central Asia whose monasteries served as staging posts for caravans and as important banking centers.” And again on p. 196, “Indian Buddhism as we know it from the treatises on discipline, only gradually made room

42. On p. 223, GERNET contrasts practices in China with those in “countries of the Lesser Vehicle.” To what nations this could refer is not clear to me.

for commercial practices, and with much reluctance.” The historical fact is that in India itself monasteries were often located on trade routes and served as banking centers; there is also ample indication that, far from being reluctant, Buddhist monks were often eager to participate in trade.⁴³ The key point here might just be this: “Indian Buddhism as we know it from the treatises on discipline,” to use GERNET’s expression, is not the Indian Buddhism of history, but an Indian Buddhism created to serve an ideology (or ideologies); it is a fiction. This of course does not mean that such texts as the Vinayas are useless as sources – far from it. But we must be careful to understand what they are sources *for*: a history of ideas and perhaps ideals, but not a history of practices.

A related issue might be raised when, in the context of the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya, GERNET writes that (p. 166) “The expansion of financial operations was undoubtedly encouraged by that of cult activities, for if the requirements of the monks needed to remain modest, those of the cult were not subjected to the same constraints.” GERNET is certainly not alone even today in repeating the romantic fiction of the poor and simple monk, but this construction is simply not supported by the evidence.⁴⁴ It is doubly problematic that such a bias should be found in a study of economy, in which one would have hoped such assumptions would be called into question.

There are other times when GERNET seems to be overly dogmatic, or when one simply cannot agree with his historical or logical reasoning. On p. 7 he states (emphases added) that “... the explanation for the considerable fluctuation in the size of the monastic community and the construction of religious houses *must* be political: the favors granted Buddhism by certain emperors are the *only* cause for the increase in monasteries and monks and persecutions *the one and only* reason for their decrease.” While the factors listed are no doubt important, this formulation is surely too emphatic. The reasoning offered on p. 234 is likewise questionable:

43. On this point, see two very interesting studies: Himanshu P. RAY, *Monastery and Guild: Commerce under the Sātavāhanas* (Delhi: Oxford University Press 1986), and Xinru LIU, *Ancient India and Ancient China: Trade and Religious Exchanges AD 1-600* (Delhi: Oxford University Press 1988).

44. Further on the same page 166 GERNET suggests that “All things considered, the institution does not occupy an important place in the treatise on discipline, and that is not surprising: inexhaustible property was sustained by little else than the sale of flowers or the produce from stūpa lands or by precious metals relinquished by monks at fault.” GERNET offers no support for this claim, which seems inherently unlikely.

The Buddhist faithful competed in spending, and ruined themselves in the process. It cannot be said that this claim represents simply a literary formula, for it recurs too frequently, in official memorials, decrees, and even in stele inscriptions. It must therefore be assumed that these competitions in wastefulness reveal a trait that is peculiar to the religious phenomenon itself.

It is hard to accept that something being written in stone, or being repeated frequently, makes it less likely to be false. GERNET's conclusion – that “the Buddhist faithful competed in spending, and ruined themselves in the process” – may well be true, but the reasoning he offers here cannot be convincing to a historian.⁴⁵ As another example, in a discussion of wandering monks who “spread a vast popular religious movement” (p. 248), GERNET says “In reality, it has little to do with Buddhism, yet it embedded itself within the Buddhist movement, which cannot be understood as a whole without taking this particular current into account.” It would probably be helpful in such contexts to distinguish between Chinese Buddhism and Buddhism in China. GERNET seems to assume the existence of a pure Buddhism (in China), and even if one were to grant this (which seems of course to require the reification of an abstract idea), it still seems reasonable to suggest that something “embedded ... within the Buddhist movement” might be a part of *Chinese* Buddhism. Is not this a formulation that would avoid the contradiction GERNET seems to see here?

Some generalizations seem unwarranted. For example, GERNET writes on p. 235, at the top, that “Buddhism is known as a learned religion in which abstract speculation occupies an important place. At least one thinks of it primarily as a doctrine, and it is presumably in that form that it was first introduced into China.” Actually, there is every indication that the initial introduction of Buddhism into China had in fact very little to do with formal doctrine. As one example, recent studies of Buddhist artifacts from southern Chinese tombs from the Han period and slightly later strongly suggest that Buddhism entered China, at least in this area, primarily as a mortuary cult.⁴⁶ The connections between Buddhism and

45. On this and related points, one may consult with great profit and pleasure David Hackett FISCHER, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper and Row 1970).

46. See for example YAMADA Meiji 山田明爾, “Gedatsu to Shōten – Kōnan meiki no shoki Butsuzō ni tsuite” 解脱と生天 – 江南明器の初期仏像について – [Buddhist Liberation and Birth in the Heavens: The significance of the earliest Buddhist icons found among grave objects in China's Yangtze river region], *Nihon bukkyō gakkai nenpō* 日本仏教学会年報 59 (1994): 65-78; and IRISAWA Takashi 入澤崇, “Butsu to rei – Kōnan shutsudo Busshoku konpei kō” 佛と靈

the treatment of the dead are not investigated by GERNET, although it is probably fair to say that the economic and social role of Buddhism as a mortuary cult is prominent in almost every Buddhist land at almost every period of history.

Finally, sometimes one would simply like a claim explained. For instance, in discussing Tun-huang manuscript P. 2187, a slave document from the year 944, GERNET comments (p. 107) "The prohibition to marry externally applied to the households held in perpetuity, the fact that the monasteries claimed the offspring in the event of 'illegitimate' births, and the hereditary nature of the families' dependence on the Buddhist establishments plainly indicate that this was a class of serfs. Despite their strict subjection, however, they were not slaves (*nu-pi*)."⁴⁷ If I properly understand GERNET's suggestion here, the last sentence means that such people were not *legally* slaves. If this is correct, some reference to T'ang laws on slavery would have been welcome, since GERNET may well have in mind aspects of the law that would allow one to say that persons in such circumstances are not legally *nu-pi*.⁴⁷

– 江南出土仏飾魂瓶考 – [Buddha and Spirit: Burial vessels ornamented with Buddha images excavated from sites in the Yangtze river area], *Ryūkoku daigaku ronshū* 龍谷大学論集 444 (1994): 233-71. (An English version of YAMADA's paper is forthcoming in *Wisdom, Compassion and the Search for Understanding: The Buddhist Studies Legacy of Gadjin M. Nagao*, to be published by the University of Hawaii Press.) GERNET does say on p. 283 that "Buddhists were called upon to perform mortuary services from a very early date," but the earliest evidence he cites is from the Northern Wei.

47. The manuscript in question here, P. 2187, has been published in facsimile by Wu Chi-yü in "Les manuscrits de Touen-houang concernant l'esclavage sous les T'ang et au Xe siècle." In Michel SOYMIÉ, ed., *Contributions aux Études sur Touen-houang*. Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IVe Section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études II, Hautes Études orientales 10 (Genève-Paris: Librairie Droz 1979): 161-167, with four plates. In matters of legal definitions, it would have been possible to refer for example to the important publication of Wallace Johnson, *The T'ang Code*. Volume I, General Principles (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979). For a short recent Western language introduction to T'ang slavery, see Thomas THILO, "Sklaverei im China der Tang-Zeit," *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 83.3 (1988): 261-67, a review of LI Chi-p'ing 李季平, *T'ang-tai nu-pi chih-tu* 唐代奴婢制度 (Shang-hai Jen-min Chu-pan-she 上海人民出版社 1986). With special regard to Buddhism and slavery in China, one may see the detailed studies of MICHIHATA Ryūshō, mentioned in GERNET's "Additional bibliography."

(The term *pi* of *nu-pi* is sometimes read *pei* in modern Chinese, partly in order to avoid homophony with a common obscenity.)

* * *

Perhaps nothing shows better how this book could have profited from taking into account more recent studies, including those mentioned in its own "Additional bibliography," than its treatment of the Empress Wu Chao 武曩 (Wu Tse-t'ien 武则天) and her reign, the Chou 周 dynasty (690-705), an interregnum in the T'ang. The empress and her times have been extensively studied by, among others, Richard GUISSO⁴⁸ and, with special attention to Buddhism, Antonino FORTE,⁴⁹ the latter in nuanced, detailed and careful studies dating back to the early 1970s.⁵⁰ In his discussions of the empress, however, GERNET seems to still accept the image of her perpetuated by the official historians of the T'ang. He writes (p. 281; emphases added) "The *usurper* Wu Tse-t'ien is remembered in history for her *cruelty*, her *lack of scruples*, her *megalomaniac tastes*, and the favors she heaped on Buddhism."⁵¹ This is true in so far as "history" means the history written not by modern critical scholars but by

48. Richard W. L. GUISSO, *Wu Tse-t'ien and the Politics of Legitimation in T'ang China*. Western Washington University, Program in East Asian Studies, Occasional Papers 11 (Bellingham, Washington: Western Washington University 1978). This work is nowhere mentioned in GERNET's book.
49. Although GERNET has himself published a review of FORTE's latest book on the Ming-t'ang of the Empress Wu, the only reference to this study in the present work is a few new notes. See GERNET's review of Antonino FORTE, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias in the History of the Astronomical Clock: the tower, statue and armillary sphere constructed by Empress Wu*. Serie Orientale Roma 59 /Publications de l'É.F.E.O 145 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente /Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient 1988) in *T'oung Pao* 76 (1990): 337-40. The main references in GERNET's study to FORTE's book – p. 381, notes 5 and 6 – do not appear to refer to the correct locations in the work. Note 5 refers to FORTE's pages 75-84, which should perhaps be 82-91. I do not know what discussion is intended by the reference in n. 6 to pp. 156-59, which does not, in any case, refer to any natural division in FORTE's discussion.
50. On p. 288, we read the following sentences: "The role of prophecies in the accession of Wu tse-t'ien is amply known. This form of propaganda, practiced by Buddhist monks, was plainly very effective." There is no reference here to FORTE's *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Studi Asiatici 1976), although the entire book is devoted only to this issue, and it is listed in GERNET's "Additional bibliography."
51. On pp. 285 and 297, he again refers to her simply as "the usurper Wu." Further examples of such vocabulary are found in the summation on p. 297.

the traditional Chinese, basically Confucian, elite.⁵² This one-sided view of the empress can be seen in more specific contexts as well. In the next paragraph GERNET refers to a memorial from 707 – after the de facto restoration of the T'ang, and therefore of course rather explicitly “victor’s history” – which asserts that the Empress Wu’s “building projects involved the destruction of entire forests and gigantic terracing works.” It seems unlikely that we should take this claim at face value.⁵³ FORTE’s study on the Ming-t’ang 明堂 offers detailed hypotheses concerning the building projects of the empress, and just what some of them might have entailed in terms of materiel.

In a discussion on pp.286-87 of the T'ai-p'ing Princess, the details of her affair with “a barbarian monk,” the “plot” they “hatched” together, and “imperial authorization to take her own life” are related. It is not until another discussion altogether on p.290 that readers learn that the T'ai-p'ing Princess was in fact the daughter – and indeed close confidant⁵⁴ – of the much-hated and undoubtedly still feared (in memory) Empress Wu, who had succeeded for a time in overthrowing the T'ang Dynasty. What then should we think when, in 713, the Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the restored T'ang makes an effort to rid himself of the child of the woman who very nearly put a final end to his dynasty? In fact, this happened in the seventh month of the second year of Hsien-t'ien 先天, and in the twelfth month of the same year Hsüan-tsung inaugurated the K'ai-yüan 開元 reign period, in part at least signifying the solidification of his assumption of Imperial power.⁵⁵ Mentioning these circumstances would no doubt have clarified for readers the historical and political

52. The story of the historiographical treatment of Wu Tse-t'ien has been treated in detail by GUISSO.

53. In the same context see too the block quotation from Ssu-ma Kuang on p. 296, which GERNET appears to be citing as reporting historical facts.

Let us also remember that modern environmentalist sensibilities were not shared by medieval Chinese, so the impact that such a statement might have on a present day reader is unlikely to resemble the flavor of the original.

54. See GUISSO, p. 218, n. 34.

55. See page 29 of the article by TONAMI Mamoru, “Policy towards the Buddhist Church in the Reign of T'ang Hsüan-tsung,” in *Acta Asiatica* 55 (1988): 27-47. The Japanese original of this article is listed on p. 421 in the “Additional bibliography,” where no mention is made of the English version. The Japanese is also available in TONAMI’s *Tōdai Seiji Shakaishi Kenkyū* 唐代政治社会史研究 (Kyoto: Dōbōsha 同朋社 1986), Part IV, Chapter 1, section iii, from which the English was translated.

context of these actions. Again, on p. 291 GERNET suggests that “The reign of the Empress Wu and the period between the restoration and accession of Hsüan-tsung ... were marked by a corruption of political ethics.” Certainly the T’ang historians and many of their successors saw in the reign of the Empress Wu a challenge to traditional authority and power, and so perhaps a “corruption of political ethics.” But of course this can be true only from the point of view of the orthodox, elite ideologue. Without a clear discussion of what might constitute legitimate political ethics in T’ang China, it is difficult to talk of their corruption. In point of fact, what seems most realistically to have happened – in an over simplified nutshell – is that a clever and resourceful leader who favored certain factions managed to wrest imperial control away from the previously entrenched powers, which naturally were not pleased by this. That the leader was a woman and the factions she favored Buddhist were both weighty reasons for the “orthodox” to vilify her and her reign. And when the previously defeated factions regained power after her brief 15 year reign,⁵⁶ they proceeded, to some degree systematically, to demonize the Empress Wu and her reign, and portray all she did as excessive, zealous and even evil. Whether or not scholars agree with the details of the reconstructions GUISSO and FORTE have offered concerning this crucial period of Chinese and Buddhist history, their opinions and arguments can hardly be ignored by any history of the period that wishes to be considered up-to-date.⁵⁷

56. The empress of course in practice ruled for a much longer time, but her dynasty, the Chou, existed only from 690 until 705.

57. A few other remarks of GERNET might be pointed out in this context. On p. 44 mention is made of the Empress Wu’s order that Ta-yün ssü 大雲寺 (Great Cloud Monasteries) be established in every prefecture. In fact the naming of monasteries is a very important indicator of policy; this issue has recently been studied in some detail by FORTE, “Chinese State Monasteries in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries,” in KUWAYAMA Shōshin 桑山正進, ed., *Echō Ōgoten-jikkoku-den Kenkyū* 慧超往五天竺國傳研究 [Huichao’s *Wang Wu-Tianzhuguo zhuan*: Record of Travels in Five Indic Regions] (Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 京都大學人文科學研究所 1992): 213-58. One example of the corrections that should be made in this context is GERNET’s dating of the naming of Lung-hsing ssü 龍興寺 monasteries to 705. FORTE (p. 231-35) has shown that the correct date is 707. (By the way, one should be careful with the vocabulary of this issue. The “establishment” of a monastery has nothing to do with construction. Existing monasteries were regularly renamed, and thus the expression GERNET used with regard to the Lung-hsing ssü, “naming,” is preferable to that used with respect to the Ta-yün ssü, “establishing.”)

Another area in which updating would have been welcome is the treatment of Tun-huang, given the remarkable advances in this field, and the fact that large parts of GERNET's work deal with manuscript materials from the site and discuss the life and economy of the region itself.⁵⁸ When GERNET first wrote his book he had a privileged access to the Paris Tun-huang collections, the so-called Fonds Pelliot.⁵⁹ Although others had also worked on this material, in many respects GERNET's studies were ground breaking, at least in terms of Western language publications, and they were certainly among the first Western publications to bring the socio-economic questions raised by the documents into wide public view. But today the Paris materials, as well as the London and Peking Tun-huang Chinese manuscript collections, are widely available on microfilm and in published facsimiles,⁶⁰ and there is an entire area of research specialization

58. On p. XIV, we find (identical with the earlier French text): "The documents on paper recovered in Chinese Turkestan and, principally, in Tun-huang constitute, by virtue of their precision and authenticity, a source of exceptional value that has hardly begun to be exploited as a whole." In some sense this is still certainly true; the bulk of these materials has still "hardly begun to be exploited as a whole." Nevertheless, the amount of scholarship to appear in the last 40 years is impressive.

Restricting the references only to Chinese and Japanese studies on Tun-huang and Turfan studies which make direct reference to the manuscript documents, a recent bibliography lists more than 3000 books and articles. I could not speculate on how much more has been published in other languages, or more generally on medieval Chinese Buddhism, but the amount is surely substantial. See Tōdaishi (Tonkō bunken) kenkyū iinkai 唐代史(敦煌文獻)研究委員会, ed., *Toroban-Tonkō shuitsudo kanbun monjo kenkyū bunken mokuroku* 吐魯番·敦煌出土漢文文書研究文獻目錄/*Bibliography of Studies on Turfan and Tun-Huang Documents* (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫 1990). On the documents to which GERNET refers there are literally hundreds of relevant studies listed in this bibliography (which has an index according to manuscript number), most of them published after 1956.

59. He also worked to catalogue the collection, as noted on p. 317, n. 2. I do not know what might have been responsible for the delay, but as GERNET says in the same note, although a catalogue of the first portion of the collection was completed in 1957, it was not published until 1970.
60. This seems to have been tacitly acknowledged by the decision not to include the photographs of twelve Tun-huang manuscripts which were added to the end of the French study, but the republication of which is now clearly unnecessary. Mention might have been made of the massive (140 volume) collection of photographs of Tun-huang manuscripts published by Huang Yung-wu 黃永武, *Tun-huang pao-tsang* 敦煌寶藏 (Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng ch'u-pan-she 新文豐出版社 1981-86), although other useful and sometimes more reliable editions are also being published.

in Tun-huang Studies, with work being carried out all over the world. Turfan studies is another area that has advanced tremendously in recent years, another change that might have been taken into account in an updating of GERNET's book.⁶¹

GERNET's extensive utilization of Tun-huang manuscripts in speaking about "Chinese Buddhism" per se is also problematic. It is generally accepted today that the Tun-huang manuscript sources inform us much more specifically about a regional Tun-huang Buddhism than they do about the Buddhism of the political and cultural center of China. This is an important distinction because Tun-huang Buddhism was in many senses far from typical of the mainstream of Chinese Buddhism. As a heavily Buddhist outpost town, on the one hand it was distanced from the cultural and political capitals of China, and closer to Central Asian influences, while on the other hand the density of the Buddhist presence there was much greater than the average in China as a whole. The regional character of Chinese Buddhisms – plural – is well known, and this factor could have been more clearly taken into account in GERNET's study.

There are also many cases in which one could add additional references to those already supplied by GERNET, including some published after the preparation of the English translation but directly relevant to issues raised there. To the discussion (p. 242, and 373, n. 30) on aut cremation, one might refer to a paper written by Jean Filliozat in response to GERNET's own "Les suicides par le feu": "La mort volontaire par le feu et la tradition bouddhique indienne," *Journal Asiatique* 251 (1963): 21-51, now available in English as "Self-immolation by fire and the Indian Buddhist tradition" in *Religion, Philosophy, Yoga: A Selection of Articles by Jean Filliozat*, trans. Maurice SHUKLA (Delhi: Motilal Barnarsidass, 1991): 91-125. The vinaya text studied in Chinese by GERNET on pp. 160-61 has now been translated from the Indic text and studied by G. SCHOPEN, "Doing Business for the Lord: Lending on Interest and Written Loan Contracts in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114 (1994): 527-54. SCHOPEN's study is of great interest in providing an Indian background for GERNET's discussions of loans and interest-bearing investments in a Buddhist context. In n. 22 on p. 375, GERNET refers to

61. For instance, one might now refer in this context to the accessible study of Valerie HANSEN, *Negotiating Daily Life in Traditional China: How Ordinary People Used Contracts 600-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1995). Many of the more interesting examples of contracts studied by HANSEN come from grave sites in Turfan.

“Indian Buddhist cults ... superimposed upon local cults,” referring to Paul Mus (on which, see below). In fact, there is clear evidence that Buddhist stūpas in India were often built over old, pre-Buddhist burial sites, concerning which one may now consult SCHOPEN’s “Immigrant Monks and the Proto-historical Dead: The Buddhist Occupation of Early Burial Sites in India,” in *Festschrift Dieter Schlingloff, Friedrich Wilhelm*, ed. (Reinbek: Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen, 1996): 215-38. On pp.257ff., with reference to the discussion of the *chai 齋*, one may refer to the long article by A. FORTE and J. MAY in *Hōbōgirin*, s.v. *chōsai*.

* * *

The reviews mentioned above in note 2 pointed out what the reviewers found to be general theoretical and conceptual weaknesses in GERNET’s arguments, or made observations about some general issues that the reviewers wish GERNET had dealt with more fully. That this translation has not addressed those issues is understandable, since no attempt was made to comprehensively rewrite or even re-cast the study. A problem does arise, however, in several cases in which the translator *has* taken special notice of corrections offered by reviews of the French original. While Denis TWITCHETT’s review article, “The Monasteries and China’s Economy,” is mentioned in the “Additional bibliography,” and in several places in the notes, Kenneth CH’EN’s review finds mention nowhere in the volume. Both reviews offered a number of specific corrections, mostly to the translations of Chinese terms or documents, and both have obviously been carefully studied, and their suggestions incorporated. However, the manner in which this has been done is sometimes problematic.

Pages 737-39 of CH’EN’s review contain a number of suggested corrections to readings, dates, references and translations in GERNET’s 1956 French original. Every single one of these corrections relevant to the present volume⁶² has been incorporated, but without any notation of the source of the corrections. In addition, some changes are more radical. Correcting p. 293 of the French edition, CH’EN (p. 739) wrote as follows:

“Enfin, il ne devait pas subsister plus de quatre monastères dans les préfectures administrées par des préfets (*ts’eu-che*).” Chinese text: 其他刺史州不得有寺.

62. In one or two places, quotations in Chinese or references are not included in the English version, and so CH’EN’s corrections were no longer relevant. Approximately fifteen separate corrections appear to have been taken into account.

“As for the rest of the prefectures administered by prefects, they are not permitted to have temples.” Thus there is no mention of four temples being permitted in each. In the following sentence, the character 四 “four” is present, but it refers to the censors sent out to see that the edict was carried out: 出四御史續行天下以督之。

On page 304 of the English, we find “As for the other prefectures under the administration of prefects (*tz'u-shih*), they are not permitted to have temples.”

Again correcting the same page 293 of the French edition, CH'EN (p. 739) wrote as follows:

“Il y a, dans l'empire, des missionnaires imparfaits qui vivent en parasites sur notre pays. Vous, mes ministres, vous le savez de reste. – Depuis Tsou-tsong, répond l'un d'eux, le bouddhisme a pris un immense développement” Chinese text: 天下有無補教化而蠹食於國者、卿等可悉言之。有對者曰、祖宗已來、廣行佛教 “There are (Buddhist) monks who are of no benefit to the religion and who live as parasites on our country. O ministers, you speak about them fully.’ One of them replied, ‘Since the time of our ancestors, Buddhism has flourished’”

On p. 305 of the English, we find:

“There are Buddhist monks who are of no benefit to the religion and who live as parasites on our country. Oh ministers, you speak about them fully.” One of them replied, “Since the time of our ancestors, Buddhism has flourished.”

Again, in a number of places TWITCHETT's suggestions are also incorporated without notation, or with only minimal notation that does not properly indicate the degree of debt. A good example is p. 143, and p. 353, n. 6. The discussion has been revised in light of TWITCHETT's comments, but the note reads only:

Hulling or grinding, depending on the cereals, required different techniques and devices. On methods employed in Ming times, see *T'ien-kung k'ai-wu*, Yabuuchi ed., pp. 258-67. Cf. TWITCHETT, “Monasteries and China's Economy,” p. 534-35.

Strictly speaking “cf.” is an abbreviation of Latin *confer*, which means to compare. It does not mean “consult for further information,” but “for a different point of view, see” But even if we are to understand it to mean “see,” as most writers today seem to do, there is no indication in this note that the discussion has been modified in the light of TWITCHETT's critique.

On p. 36, with p. 325, n. 33, TWITCHETT's comments are incorporated, and several of his remarks are quoted, but again it will not be clear to the reader how much of the current presentation is due to TWITCHETT's research, not the author's own. In the revision of a translation of a memorial

by Li Te-yü on pp. 58-59, in n. 162 on p. 333 again all we have is, after several other references, "Cf. TWITCHETT, 'Monasteries and China's Economy,' p. 546-47." In fact, TWITCHETT suggested that "the translation ... stands in need of extensive corrections." The account on p. 139 has been modified, without any note at all, in light of TWITCHETT's p. 547, which spoke of "the author's careless handling of statistical material." I am afraid, however, that it gets worse.

On p. 186, in translating a contract from Tun-huang (P. 3155),⁶³ an entire passage from TWITCHETT's review has been incorporated verbatim, without acknowledgment. TWITCHETT p. 548 wrote "There are some mistakes in the translation of the document P. 3155 and it seems ... that the author may have missed a line in transcribing the document." He then offered the following translation:

The foregoing land is rented out to Yüan-tzu to work and sow for 22 years. At the end of the period from the present *i-ch'ou* year to the following *ping-hsiu* year (905-26), it shall revert to the original owner. All the taxes and impositions levied on this land with the exception of the *ti-tzu* shall be collected from the owner. The *ti-tzu* shall be paid annually by Yüan-tzu (the occupier). The labour dues for work on the canals and waterways shall be halved between the two families.

TWITCHETT went on to say "M. GERNET has entirely missed the significance of the term *ti-tzu* 地子. This was the tax levied on produce of the land, as opposed to the tax on the value of landed property which was incorporated in the *hu-shui* 戶稅." Below, TWITCHETT wrote "M. GERNET is also incorrect in calling the *tu-yü-hou* Lu a 'witness.' ... The *tu-yü-hou* was in fact the legal representative of the Provincial Governor, at first mainly occupied with military discipline, but, by the tenth century, the most important figure in local legal administration."

The English version on p. 186 has the following, in the block quotation:

He [the monk Ling-hu Fa-hsing - JAS] rents (*tsu*) the aforementioned land to Chia Yüan-tzu to work and sow for twenty-two years. At the end of the period from the present *i-ch'ou* year to the following *ping-hsiu* year (905-926), it shall revert to the original owner. All the taxes and impositions levied on this land with the exception of the land tax (*ti-tzu*) shall be collected from the owner. The *ti-tzu* shall be paid annually by Yüan-tzu (the occupier). The labor dues for work on the canals and waterways shall be halved between the two households.

At the end of the document the last line reads, in the English, "The legal representative of the provincial governor (*tu-yü hou*), Lu." Note 154 on

63. On this document, see now also HANSEN, *Negotiating Daily Life*, pp. 67-68.

p. 363 reads, in its entirety, “The *ti-tzu* is the tax levied on the produce of the land, as opposed to the tax on the value of landed property that was incorporated in the *hu-shui*.” Note 156 on the same page, which refers to the end of the quotation of the contact on p. 186 reads, in its entirety,

P. 3155 V° 2. Edited by NIIDA Noboru, *Tōsō hōritsu*, pp.351-53 and, with some inaccuracies, in NABA Toshisada, “Chūbantō jidai ni okeru giransō, ” pp. 161-63, and “Tō shōhon,” p. 76-78. See also TWITCHETT, “The Monasteries and China’s Economy,” pp. 548-49.

This unfortunate lack of proper acknowledgment of sources is an oversight that must be corrected in future printings of the book.⁶⁴

There is ample additional evidence of the lack of care given to the translation.⁶⁵ On p. 165, in the last paragraph, there are eight types of trees (as in French), not five, in this passage from which the reference has disappeared (found in the French, p. 161, n. 3; T. 1425 [XXII] 498a25-b9). In several places – pp. 184, l. 12, 26, 33; 185 l. 6; 208 l. 26; 315 l. 13; and 367, n. 59 – the same Chinese word (生)絹 is found. TWITCHETT has pointed out (“The Monasteries and China’s Economy,” p.531, paragraph 4) that the rendering “satin” used by GERNET is too specific. Of the seven references just quoted, 1, 3, 4, 5 and 7 are rendered “satin” while 2 and 6 are rendered “raw silk.” On p. 201, at the top, between the last item on p.200 and the first on p. 201, one item found in the French is missing: 諸家念誦, “[Fee for] recitations of sūtras [made at the request of] lay families.”

Some modifications in the translation seem ill-advised. On p. 244, GERNET has quoted a colophon from a Tun-huang Prajñāpāramitā

64. On the issue of responsibility for proper documentation and acknowledgment of sources, see the very interesting work by Marcel CHOTKOWSKI LAFOLLETTE, *Stealing into Print: Fraud, Plagiarism, and Misconduct in Scientific Publishing* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1992).

65. Some examples of the lack of care, of course, are originally GERNET’s. In the note to the chart on p. 6 listing the number of clergy and number of monasteries in China from the Chin through the Yüan, we read that “Figures preceded by an asterisk are estimates.” But all the figures are clearly nothing more than (extremely general) estimates. On p. 136, speaking of Kōyasan, GERNET says “Founded in 816 by the monk Kōbō, the Kōya-ji” When referring to him as monk, his monastic name Kūkai 空海 should be used. Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師 is a posthumous honorific title. The temple which Kūkai founded in 816 is the Kongōbu-ji 金剛峯寺. None of the sources I have been able to consult call it the Kōya-ji. On p. 164, in a quotation from Sylvain LÉVI, the term *kāhāpaṇa* appears. This Middle Indic term for a unit of Indian currency (Sanskrit *kāśāpaṇa*), the value of which is not stable, is nowhere defined by GERNET.

manuscript in the Stein collection in London. In the French version, GERNET evidently had translated the colophon himself, but here in the English Lionel GILES's old translation is followed.⁶⁶ This is unfortunate, since GERNET's French translation is on several points clearly superior. In particular, GILES's rendering of 既居末劫生死是累 with "since he lives in Mo-chieh in danger of his life" is inferior to GERNET's "en cette période cosmique finale, excédé des renaissances et des morts," and 奴婢 is not "male and female servants," but "esclaves."⁶⁷

Sometimes strange things happen in the translation. Sanskrit terms like Vinaya (see p. 69 for some special confusion this can cause), bhikṣu etc., the number of which was clear in French from the pronoun, are now found without the English plural -s, making identification sometimes hard. This is especially important because the arguments GERNET offers take into account the Vinayas from a number of sects. When scholars refer in English to "the Vinaya," they most usually mean the Pāli Vinaya. That GERNET does *not* mean this – and his access to the Vinayas of several traditions is an important strength of his work – is most unfortunately obscured by this practice of the translator.⁶⁸ The translator also appears to have tripped up in n. 8 on p. 384. There a few proverbs are translated, of which one has been made into two. As Kenneth CH'EN pointed out in his review (p. 737-38), in the French version GERNET misunderstood the following proverb: 瞎子見錢眼也開、和尚見錢經也賣.⁶⁹ This is found in C. H. PLOPPER, *Chinese Religion seen through the Proverb* (on which, see below), p. 206, item 1209. (Item 1210 consists of only the second half, 和尚見錢經也賣.) CH'EN pointed out that the proverb should be rendered "When the blind man sees money, he opens his eyes; when the monk sees money, he sells his scriptures." PLOPPER had already offered

66. In addition to the 1935 article by GILES from which the English translation is evidently taken, the Chinese text of the colophon and the same English version are found in Lionel GILES, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum 1957): 33 (serial number 1396 = S. 4528). The latter volume is missing from the English version's "Additional bibliography."

67. To be sure, *nu-pi* 奴婢 is often rendered by historians of China as "bondsmen and bondswomen," but be that as it may, "servant" is entirely inappropriate.

68. On p. 179, 9 fb, the expression "According to the least rigorous of the treatises on discipline" makes it sound as though one particular treatise is being referred to. In fact, the French alerts us to the fact that "least rigorous" is plural.

69. GERNET (p. 297) had rendered "S'ils aperçoivent une sapèque, l'aveugle ouvre l'oeil et le moine psalmodie ses sūtra." GERNET perhaps mistook 賣 for 讀.

“A glimpse of money makes the blind man see; makes the Bonze dispose of his breviary,” or for the second half only (item 1210) “When a priest sees money he will sell his sutras.” The English translation has (punctuation and quotation marks as in the original): “A glimpse of money makes the blind man see”; “When a monk sees money, he will sell his sutra.” These should be rendered, obviously, as one expression.⁷⁰

One may also point to other rough spots in the translation. Some have to do with English vocabulary or not entirely appropriate translation equivalents. Throughout the volume the French term *religieuse* (*religieux*) is rendered “religious.” This term, while strictly speaking not impossible as a noun, is usually found as an adjective in contemporary English. The problem is that at least in contemporary Catholic usage, from which its nominal usage appears to be borrowed, the term refers to those who have taken religious orders, and therefore is not strictly equivalent to either “monk” or “clergy.” On the other hand, given its frequent appearance in the text, the more common English “clergy” might well have been preferable.⁷¹ On p. 15 we find “... the number of those who lived the trade of the religious ...,” where “trade” renders *métier*, here rather “profession”? In n. 151 on p. 333, in the expression “is presented with all reserves,” probably some expression with “reservation” is intended. In n. 158 p. 350, at the end we read “it must be admitted that *en-tzu* is not a current term.” The French “le term ... n’est pas courant” means that the term is not in common use. On p. 200, l. 8, French *thaumaturgie* is not well rendered with English “magic”; “wonder working” would be much better. On p. 292, l. 23, the word “psalmody” is not a verb in English. Other problems with English include the frequent misuse of punctuation with the colon. In addition, more than a few sentences lack a verb, and some are quite incomprehensible. For example, one finds on p. 15: “For an inclination to luxury, artistic pleasure in some, prodigality, and religious needs as such accord with one another and respond to a general tendency that is, in a sense, economic in nature.” On p. 241, 4-5 fb: “In great festivals, one spends and one spends oneself.” This does not seem to make very good sense in English. The French reads “on dépense et on se dépense.” The following sentence also does not make sense, on p. 268 in the block

70. Here again there is no acknowledgment that CH’EN has corrected GERNET’s earlier error, and PLOPPER’s work is referred to only with another “cf.,” which does not properly indicate the source of these proverbs.

71. In the chart on page 6 the term is in fact rendered “clergy,” while in the “note” at the foot of the chart we find again “religious.”

quotation: “Yet suddenly he dares to behold upon their somber path, finally recompensed for their kindness.” I do not have access to the Chinese text (P. 3216), but the same sentence in French (p.260) reads: “Mais soudain, sur cette route de ténèbres [où ils sont], il ose enfin les voir récompensés de leur bienfaits.” Should we read “behold *them*”?

There are also a very large number of misprints, oversights and other assorted errors in the book. Among other things, the printer seems to have had trouble with diacritical marks, and in many cases the Chinese characters for which readings are given in the text are missing in the character glossary. Sometimes Sanskrit or Pāli words are written as two (the French edition is always correct in these cases): p.68: *Samanta pāsādikā* → *Samantapāsādikā*; p.269, 2 fb: *dharma dhātu* → *dharma-dhātu*; p.368, n. 90: *saṃgraha vastu* → *saṃgrahavastu*; Sometimes this extends to other languages: at p.137, l. 4, *nyu dō* is to be written as one word in Japanese. In addition to those mentioned above, I have detected the following errors (plus several others that seemed too obvious to point out):

On p.36, 8 fb: ! → :. On p.39, *seng wei-lan* → *wei-lan seng*. On p.82, in the 2nd paragraph in the block quotation, we find *kya*. This is not a Burmese word, as one might guess, but rather *kāṣāya* minus all of its diacritical letters. On p.90, 13 fb, the form *śikṣkanī*, which is intended for *śikṣanī* which is found in the French, should I suspect be *śikṣamāṇā*. On p.145, l. 16 remove the comma after “installed.” On p.153, last line: *-sparśana*. On p.154, l. 1, *rūpika-vyahāra* → *-vyavahāra* (the error is in the French). On p.157, 3 fb: *rūpika-vikraya* → *kraya-vikraya* (French has *rūpika-vyahāra* [sic]). On p.167, l. 7, remove the comma after “monks.” On p.204, l. 11: *kaṣāya* → *kāṣāya* (correct in the French). On p.205, 3 fb: that → who (French *qui*). On p.206, l. 1: “... were to take place” On p.216, l. 18: *Avatasaka* → *Avataṃsaka*. On p.222, l. 7: *Seryō* → *Seryō-in*. On p.285, l. 17: led → lead. In n. 68 on p.329, the close quotes are missing after “existences.” In n. 16 on p.335: a “j” must be placed after item 4, plantations. In n. 56 on p.338: S. Lévi. In n. 76 on p.339, *Manu Vaan* should be *Manu Vaṇṇanā*. In n. 77 on p.346: *bukky shi* → *bukkyōshi*. In n. 20 on p.357, the cross references are missing. In n. 131 on p.362: *Taklamakā* → *Taklamakān*. In n. 140 on p.363: *Kharakhja* → *Kharakhōja*. In n. 22 on p.365: *Siddhartha* → *Siddhārtha*. In n. 129, l. 2, on p.370: were → was. In n. 49, l. 10, on p.373: toots → roots? (I do not have access to the Chinese text.) In n. 96 on p.380: *Ta tz’u-en ...* → *Ta T’ang tz’u-en ...*. In n. 100 on p.380: *Toshisada* → *Naba*. In n. 10 on p.381: reign → reigns. In n. 6 on p.384: *Michima* → *Mishima*. On p.398, s.v. *tsu-i*: the reference should be to p.60, not p.59. On p.402, s.v. *Cullavagga*, the 1964 date is a reprint. Anyway, no publication data other than “Pali Text Society ed. London: Luzac” is given. The entry on p.404 for *Mahāvagga* lists only “H. Oldenberg ed., *Vinaya Piṭakam*.” Neither of these are complete or correct citations. On p.402, s.v. *Hsü kao-seng chuan*, the author is Tao-hsüan, not Ta-hsüan. On p.405, s.v. *Ssu-fen lü* and elsewhere, this text is called the Dharmaguptavinaya. This is wrong:

the form is Dharmaguptaka (correct in the French edition). On p. 407, s.v. *Yu-p'o-sai chieh ching*: *Upāsakaśīla* → *Upāsakaśīla*. On p. 407, s.v. Aoyama: chinōshi → chihōshi. On p. 408, s.v. CH'EN, the name Yin-k'e is to be read Yin-k'o, as it is in fact elsewhere in this book. On p. 409, s.v. Katō, the author's first name is read Shigeru, not Shigeshi (correct in n. 57 on p. 359.) In the characters for his third article read ... 質に On p. 410, the name read here Michibata is more usually read Michihata (as it was in French). In this author's second article the *ni tsuite* in the title is problematic. I do not have access to the study in question, but those words are not found in the original French citation, and such a title sounds a bit odd. On p. 410, s.v. Mishima, article 3, and elsewhere: probably 一考察 is to be read *ichi kōsatsu*, not *ikkōsatsu*. On p. 410, s.v. Naba, article 2: *bunda-shi* → *bunka-shi*. In the next article, the date 1983 is obviously a misprint for 1938. In the following article read ... 信仰に基きて In the next entry, *hitotsu* should probably be read *ichi*, (as in French). On the top of 411, *nengai* → *tengai*, and the characters 礪石 → 礪礎. On p. 411, s.v. Ogasawara, article 2: ... *bukkyō* to *shakai* On p. 412, s.v. Takeuchi: *kenkyō* → *kenyū*. On p. 415, s.v. Harata Kōdō, the author's name is Harada Hiromichi.⁷² On p. 415, s.v. Hattori, article 4: *kattei* → *katei*. Article 5: *kōzō* → *gyōzō*. On p. 416, s.v. Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai sekichō* The publisher is given as Tōyōbunka kenkyūjo; correctly this is Tōkyō Daigaku Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo. The third item (the full title of which is *Tun-huang and Turfan Documents Concerning Social and Economic History III: Contracts [A]*) is not a publication of Ikeda alone but in collaboration with Yamamoto Tatsurō 山本達郎. In fact, this 1987 publication is only one part of a multi-volume series presented also with Okano Makoto 岡野誠, Dohi Yoshikazu 土肥義和, and Ishida Yūsaku 石田勇作. The publisher of this series is not "Tōyō bunka" but the well-known Tōyō Bunko. On p. 417, s.v. Kamata: *bukkyōdan* → *bukkyō kyōdan*? On p. 417, s.v. Kanei, the author's name is perhaps to be read Kanai? On p. 417, s.v. Katsumata: *Daichō* → *Daijō*. On p. 417, s.v. Kōji, the author's name is read Kōchi. On p. 417, s.v. Kotō, the author's name is read Kondō. On p. 418, s.v. Mizuno Seiichi, there are a number of errors in this bibliographic citation. See note 37 above, for the correct citation. On p. 419, s.v. Ogasawara: *shutsuto* → *shutsudo*. The same is found in item 2 on p. 420. In item 3 on that page, read *arawaretaru*. On p. 420, s.v. Sakurai: The author's first name is read Shūyū. On p. 420, s.v. Seiryō Shūni: The author's name is Seiryū Sōji. On p. 421, s.v. Takeuchi: The author's first name is read Rizō. On p. 422, s.v. Yoshimoto: read ... 唐時代における On p. 422, s.v. Zdun: *Metériaux* → *Matériaux*. There are several places in which the term 文書 appears in citations of Japanese works. While the reading given in this book, *bunsho*, is possible, it is probably to be read *monjo* in all cases here.

72. In this and the following I have relied generally on the membership list of the Indogaku Bukkyō Gakkai, in which members list their own names, indicating thereby their own preferred readings. However, Japanese names are a notoriously tricky business, and in this regard often, unless one personally knows the party in question, it is difficult to be sure.

Finally, there are a large number of works (approximately twenty) referred to in the notes by short references that are absent from the bibliographies. In several of these cases a more complete reference was given in the French volume. The following references are missing:⁷³

In p. 321, n. 63, "Hsü Chung-shu, 'On Some Agricultural Implements,' p. 1159." This refers to the Chinese article "Lei-ssü k'ao" 耒耜考 by HSÜ Chung-shu 徐中舒 in the *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica* 2/1 (May 1930): 11-59, the Chinese title of which is *Kuo-li chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so chi-k'an* 國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊.

In n. 72 on p. 339, and *passim*, *Tun-huang to-so*. This work was published in three parts by Liu Fu 劉復, *Tun-huang to-so* 敦煌掇瑣 (Nanjing: Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 1925, 1934, 1935). It appeared in the series *Kuo-li chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so chuan k'an* 國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所專刊 2, and it was reprinted in Peking in 1957 by the Chung-kuo k'o-hsüeh-yüan k'ao-ku yen-chiu-so 中國科學院考古研究所 as volume 5 of *K'ao-ku-hsüeh t'e-k'an* 考古院特刊, and in volume 15 of Huang Yung-wu 黃永武 ed., *Tun-huang ts'ung-k'an ch'u-chi* 敦煌叢刊初集 (Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng ch'u-pan-she 新文豐出版社 1985).

In n. 4 on p. 353, "See Needham, 'Mechanical Engineering'." The reference is to Joseph NEEDHAM and Wang LING, *Science and Civilization in China*. Volume 4, Physics and Physical Technology, Part II: Mechanical Engineering (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1965).

In n. 6 & 7 on p. 353: In n. 6, Yabuuchi's edition of the "*T'ien-kung k'ai-wu*" is referred to. This is duly found in the bibliography, under this Chinese title. In n. 7, however, the reader is referred for an illustration to "Yabuuchi ed., *Tenkōkaibutsu no kenkyū*, p. 262, 'shui-t'ui.'" How is the reader to know that this is the same work as that referred to in n. 6?

In n. 33 on p. 355, the reference to Naba Toshisada's "article in *Tōa keizai ronsō* 1.3 and 4 (1941) and 2.2 (1942)" is to the article listed in the bibliography at the top of page 411 with the following reference: "*Kyōto teikoku daigaku keizaigakubu, keizai kenkyūjo* 1 (1941): 23-51; 87-114; 2 (1942) 165-86." I do not know if the *Tōa keizai ronsō* 東亞經濟論叢 was published by the Kyōto teikoku daigaku keizaigakubu, keizai kenkyūjo, the Seminar on Economics of the Faculty of Economics of Kyoto Imperial University, but anyway the latter is not the name of any publication. (By the way, the title should read ... *ni tsukite* に就きて, not *ni tsuite*.)

In n. 10 on p. 356, and *passim*: "Mochizuki Shinkō, *Bukkyō daijiten*," refers to the work cited above in note 30.

73. It is also interesting to note that absent from the volume is any reference to the numerous Sinological works of GERNET's teacher Paul DEMIÉVILLE, although several of his works on Chinese translations of Indian works are listed. (GERNET published an appreciation of DEMIÉVILLE in "Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Paul Demiéville," *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* [Juillet 1986]: 595-607.) Likewise there is no reference to the series of volumes on Tun-huang studies published from Paris under the general editorship of Michel SOYMIÉ.

In n. 54 on p. 358, "Smith, *Village Life in China*," refers to an often reprinted work, Arthur Henderson SMITH, *Village Life in China: a Study in Sociology*. I have not been able to determine when it was first published, but a fourth edition was already available in 1899. Most of the editions to which I have seen reference have the same pagination, but not all. It would be nice to know to what edition GERNET was referring.

In n. 2 on p. 364, "Gernet, 'Biographie du maître de *dhyāna* Chen-houei,'" refers to GERNET's own paper in *Journal Asiatique* 259 (1951): 29-68. The title is, however, misquoted. The correct title is "Biographie du Maître Chen-houei de Ho-tsö (668-760): Contribution à l'histoire de l'école du Dhyāna."

In n. 41 on p. 366, and passim: "*Tun-huang shih-shih hsieh-ching t'i-chi yü Tun-huang tsa-lu*" refers to HSÜ Kuo-lin 許國霖, ed., *Tun-huang shih-shih hsieh-ching t'i-chi yü Tun-huang tsa-lu* 敦煌石室寫經題記與敦煌雜錄 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1937). This was reprinted in volume 10 of Huang Yung-wu 黃永武, *Tun-huang ts'ung-k'an ch'u-chi* 敦煌叢刊初集 (Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng ch'u-pan-she 新文豐出版社, 1985).

In n. 162 on p. 371, Swann, *Food and Money in Ancient China*," refers to Nancy Lee SWANN, *Food & money in ancient China: the earliest economic history of China to A.D. 25, Han shu 24, with related texts, Han shu 91 and Shih-chi 129* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950).

In n. 25 on p. 372, "Granet, *Danses et légendes*" refers to Marcel GRANET, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*. This work has gone through a number of editions, the first of which appeared in 1926. GERNET does not tell us to which edition he referred.

In n. 41 on p. 373, "Wieger, *Textes historiques*" is Leon WIEGER, *Textes historiques*. The first edition of this work seems to be that of 1903-05 in three volumes, but it was subsequently reprinted at least twice (1922-23 and 1929). These reeditions were in two volumes. Again, GERNET does not specify to which edition he referred.

In n. 45 on p. 373, "Julien, *Histoire*" refers to Stanislas JULIEN, *Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen-Tsang et de ses voyages dans l'Inde, depuis l'an 629 jusqu'en 645 par Hoëi-li et Yen-tsong* (Paris: Impr. Impérial 1853).

In n. 53 on p. 374, "Wieger, *Folklore chinois moderne*" refers to Leon WIEGER, *Folk-Lore chinois moderne* (Paris: E. Guilmoto / Sienhsien: Impr. de la Mission catholique 1909).

In n. 22 on p. 375, "Mus, *La lumière sur les six voies*" refers to Paul MUS, *La lumière sur les Six Voies: tableau de la transmigration bouddhique*. Université de Paris, Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 35 (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie 1939).

In n. 63 on p. 377, "Kanda Kiichirō, *Tonkō hisekiryushinhen*" (note that the title is misprinted) refers to KANDA Kiichirō 神田喜一郎, *Tun-huang mi-chi liu-chen hsien-pien / Tonkō hiseki ryūshin shinhen* 敦煌秘籍留眞新編, first published in two volumes in 1947 by the Kuo-li Tai-wan Ta-hsüeh 國立台灣大學, and reprinted in volume 13 of Huang Yung-wu 黃永武, *Tun-huang ts'ung-k'an ch'u-chi* 敦煌叢刊初集 (Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng ch'u-pan-she 新文豐出版社, 1985).

In n. 73 on p. 378, "Pelliot, 'Une bibliothèque médiévale,'" refers to Paul PELLIOU, "Une bibliothèque médiévale retrouvée au Kan-sou," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 8 (1908): 501-29.

In n. 83 on p.379, "R. Maunier, *Coutumes algériennes* (Paris 1935)" refers to Rene MAUNIER, *Coutumes algériennes* (Paris: Domant-Montchrestien 1935). In the same note, the full reference for "L. Gernet, 'Droit et prédroit en Grèce ancienne,' *Année sociologique* (1951)" is Louis GERNET, "Droit et prédroit en Grèce ancienne," in *L'Année sociologique*, 3rd series (1948-49): 21-119. It is reprinted in Louis GERNET, *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique* (Paris: François Maspero 1968): 175-260.

In n. 11 on p.381, "Deloustal, 'La justice dans l'ancien Annam'" is Raymond DELOUSTAL, "La justice dans l'ancien Annam," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 11 (1911): 25-66. This is one part of a multi-part translation that began in volume 8 of the same journal.

In n. 50 on p.382, "Granet, *La féodalité chinoise*" refers to Marcel GRANET, *La féodalité chinoise* (Oslo: Aschehoug / Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1952; Paris: Editions Imago 1981).

In n. 8 on p.384, "Plopper, *Chinese Religion*" is Clifford Henry PLOPPER, *Chinese Religion seen through the Proverb* (Shanghai: The China Press 1926), with various reprints.

It would be unfortunate if these remarks were to give the impression that this is not a good book, for overall the work is excellent. As noted at the outset, it is filled with materials and insights readily available in few other places, and it is certainly the type of study that, were it available in paperback, one would want to recommend to many different types of readers, or even assign to students in a number of different courses. The appearance of such a paperback edition would also present an excellent opportunity for the correction of some of the problems noted above.