“A missed opportunity”
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A Missed Opportunity


Eugène Burnouf can, with full justification, be deemed the father of modern scientific Buddhist studies.1 It is consequently (or perhaps the logic is the other way around) possible to say, as Donald Lopez does in the first sentence of his twenty-seven-page introduction to this complete English translation of the work, that Burnouf’s Introduction à l’histoire du Buddhisme indien of 1844 “was the most influential work on Buddhism to be written during the nineteenth century.” Lopez makes, briefly but soundly, a case for this claim immediately thereafter. He goes on to note, however, that “This masterpiece . . . is largely neglected today. One might argue that the book has all but disappeared and remains unread and unexamined, not because it is outdated or has been superseded (although it is and has been on a number of individual points), but because it became so fully integrated into the mainstream representation of Buddhism, which it helped to create, that it is no longer visible.” Lopez continues in the following paragraph to offer what comes closest to his case for a translation of the volume:

Burnouf’s massive work . . . is of high historical value, providing a clear window onto how Buddhism was understood in the early decades of the nineteenth century, just when the Buddhist traditions of Asia were beginning to be studied by the philologists of Europe. At the same time, it is not simply a monument of antiquarian scholarship; the work offers a vast fount of still accurate in-

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1 Page references for the French original in the following are to the 1844 edition of Burnouf’s Introduction, on which the translation is based.
formation and insight into Buddhist religion and philosophy, as well as hundreds of pages of transla-
tions from important Buddhist texts. And Burnouf’s theories on the Buddha’s teachings and the
development of his doctrine remain both fascinating and instructive. Indeed, Burnouf’s Introduc-
tion was a seminal text in Europe’s formation of Buddhism as a textual object. (1–2)

While there is little question that the impact of Burnouf’s scholarship on the de-
velopment of modern Buddhist studies is profound, a substantial question may be
raised, namely, whether the best way to begin to appreciate this impact is by means
of an unannotated translation of his Introduction, accompanied by only a brief and
largely nonanalytical introduction. A related question is how representative this
work, standing alone, is of Burnouf’s thought regarding Indian Buddhism, given that
it was understood by its author himself as intimately related to his profusely anno-
tated translation of the Lotus sutra, comprising 283 pages of translation accompanied
by more than double that number (582) of pages of notes (Le Lotus de la bonne loi
[Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1852]). This translation of the Lotus sutra—in contrast
to the Introduction, which was reprinted only once, in 1876—has been reprinted a
number of times (1925 [with a short preface by Sylvain Lévi], 1973, 1989, 2007), a
fact that speaks at least implicitly of its influence and popularity.

Lopez asserts that Burnouf’s work provides a window into an understanding of
Buddhism in the early decades of the nineteenth century. This assertion needs defend-
ing. When Lopez writes that “One might argue that the book has all but disappeared
and remains unread and unexamined . . . because it became so fully integrated into
the mainstream representation of Buddhism . . . that it is no longer visible,” it is not
enough for the abstract “one” to assert this. It is therefore all the more regrettable that
Lopez himself does not take up his own challenge, namely, to attempt to clarify Bur-
nouf’s impact on the creation of Buddhist studies as a discipline, on the one hand, and
on European (or in line with the series title, modern) understandings of Buddhism, on
the other. In fact, it is not too much to say that in this regard the introduction to this
volume hardly moves us past the treatment given Burnouf almost forty years ago by
J. W. de Jong in his Brief History of Buddhist Studies.

Why translate this volume? And if it were to be translated, why do so without
attempting to make plain to readers which of Burnouf’s insights were revolutionary
and formative and, on the other hand, where subsequent scholarship has been able to
correct him? Lopez writes: “Burnouf’s numerous translations from the Sanskrit have
not been checked against the original texts, as important as that task is; the purpose of
this translation is to bring his influential understanding of Buddhism to an Anglo-

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2 Their close relation is also illustrated by their joint index. Lopez writes: “Burnouf’s Le
Lotus de la Bonne Loi contains a combined index for both that text and the Introduction, so the
index to this volume has been extracted from that and provided here” (30). The logic of “so” here
remains unclear to me, but in any event, since this index is quite minimal, it is fair to say that the
present volume lacks a proper index.

3 J. W. de Jong, A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America (Tokyo: Kösei,
1997), 20–26, the portion in question originally published in 1974 in The Eastern Buddhist. As de
Jong notes, Burnouf’s studies were examined in detail already by Ernst Windisch in his Geschichte
der Sanskrit-Philologie und Indischen Altertumskunde, Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und
Altertumskunde 1 (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1917), 129–40, a work Lopez does not mention.
phone audience, even when that understanding may not be that of the modern scholar” (30). This appears to be the rationale for this translation: it is meant for English readers who might be interested in the historical understanding of Buddhism through an early window of Buddhist studies. However, setting the expected number of such readers against the number of readers who will see the imprint of the University of Chicago Press, the name Donald Lopez, and the title “Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism”—readers who will not be adequately prepared to separate Burnouf’s insights from his errors—one can see the potential problem. This translation represents, I fear, more than a lost opportunity to consider in situ, as it were, how far we have come from the starting point Burnouf provided and how much (or how little) we have learned from his guidance. The absence of indications in the body of the translation pointing to errors or insufficiencies in Burnouf’s presentation will leave unprepared readers bound to further perpetuate misunderstandings that should have been (and in many cases certainly were heretofore) buried more than a century ago. To take only one example, in this case indeed noticed explicitly by Lopez (25), Burnouf mistook the Yogâcâra philosopher Asânga’s name to be Saîmgha, referring throughout (even in the index) to “Ârya Saîmgha.” Although Lopez does not attempt to explain the mistake, here Burnouf was evidently influenced by (and apparently miscopied) Csoma de Körös. In this case the error is at least mentioned in Lopez’s introduction, though nowhere else: in almost all other cases of such misunderstandings, there is not a word anywhere.

In some instances, problematic formulations are not only not highlighted, but even uncritically repeated. While Lopez notes that for much of what Burnouf says about “sûtras” he draws instead upon avadânas (16), for example, Lopez does not explain what this means or the difference between the two genres of literature. This issue arises in the context of a contrast between “simple sûtras” and “developed sûtras,” and Lopez freely refers to these as “the two classes of sûtras.” What the relation might be between avadânas and developed Mahâyâna (or Mahâyânistic) sûtras remains subject to investigation; it would have been helpful to hint to general readers that current scholarship in this regard does not frame things as did Burnouf.

Lopez makes repeated claims for the influence of Burnouf upon subsequent studies; yet he also denies it. A case in point is his discussion of Burnouf’s comments on

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4 “Analysis of the Sher-chin—P’hal ch’hen—Dkon-séks—Do-dé—Nyâng-dâs—and Gyut; Being the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Divisions of the Tibetan Work, Entitled the Kah-gyur,” Asiatic Researches 20, no. 2 (1836): 513, repeated in “Notices on the Different Systems of Buddhism, extracted from the Tibetan authorities;” Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 7 (1838): 144. It is to be noted that, while Csoma, ignoring the negation, writes “A’rya Saînga” and quotes the Tibetan ’phags pa thogs med, which rather corresponds to Ârya-Asaînga [Ârya-Asaînga], Burnouf makes this [Â]saînga into Saîmgha.

5 An odd example is found in the index on page 604, where it is hard to account for Saîmghadisesa being called “a philosophical treatise,” especially when the reference to page 300 understands it correctly as a class of vinaya offense. The entry is a correct, but automatic, translation of Burnouf’s index entry.

6 “Burnouf’s book was studied assiduously not only by his illustrious students, but by the next generations of European scholars of Buddhism, such as Sylvain Lévi, Otto Franke, Hermann Oldenberg, Émile Senart, Theodor Stcherbatsky, F. W. Thomas, E. J. Thomas, Louis de la Val-
caste. Lopez remarks: “After making it clear that the Buddha’s attitude toward caste was a good deal more nuanced than it had been portrayed by previous writers (and would be portrayed by subsequent writers),” which certainly seems to suggest that Lopez believes that the subsequent writers in question ignored Burnouf’s lead. In his “Note on the Translation,” he goes so far as to speak of “the work’s oblivion” (29). Lopez’s introduction contains a number of such own goals. One is therefore entitled to ask whether the effort of producing this translation was energy well spent. It is true that a great many of Burnouf’s insights and discoveries deserve to be considered and reconsidered anew, and if the work stands simply as a historical artifact, or as a resource for rediscovering hints and ideas of a great scholar who dove headfirst into materials, some of which even today remain barely explored, then one cannot but be grateful for this English presentation. If, however, the work comes to be seen as an authoritative recent publication of scholarly merit, this in its turn cannot help but have the effect of, in some regards, actually setting the field back significantly. That the manner in which the translation is presented does not preclude the latter scenario is a cause for regret.

It need not have been this way, even on a purely technical level. The translation has renumbered Burnouf’s footnotes, using running numbers for each section as opposed to the page-based numbers in the original. Since this obviates the need to slavishly follow any original numbering, it would have been simple to add notes indicating spots in which a reader must beware of Burnouf’s formulations, something which, as noted, was not done even in the most egregious cases. Another very simple and user-friendly—even essential—feature would have been the addition in brackets of the original page numbers. As it is, there is no such indication anywhere in the translation. Therefore, a reader who wishes to check a citation or reference to Burnouf in any other work produced in the last 150 years is simply out of luck. Absent the need to maintain the integrity of the original pagination, it is likewise difficult to understand why the additions and corrections Burnouf wished to make to his text—collected by him in his appendix 8 “Additions et corrections”—are reproduced here as such, rather than being integrated into the translation at the spots already explicitly indicated by Burnouf himself.

Lopez states: “Burnouf’s often inconsistent and occasionally cryptic abbreviations of his sources in the footnotes have been provided in full” (30). Unfortunately, this is not true. Many of the sources referred to briefly by Burnouf are cited, for instance, with a family name and single word of the title, or a shortened title. It would not have been difficult to track down the full references. As a result, a reader inter-

lée Poussin, and Alfred Foucher. A work of similar scope would not be produced for more than a century, when in 1958 the Belgian scholar Monseigneur Étienne Lamotte . . . published *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*” (3). It is surprising here to see no reference to the name of Hendrik Kern, certainly massively more influential than, at the very least, F. W. or E. J. Thomas, and whose own history of Indian Buddhism (Geschiedenis van het Buddhisisme in Indië [1881–83], almost immediately translated into both French and German) could very well lay claim to being the most immediate and legitimate successor to Burnouf’s work. See further my “Kern and the Study of Indian Buddhism: With a Speculative Note on the Ceylonese Dhammarucikas,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 31 (2012): 125–54.

7 As an example, it took me less than a minute to identify what is given on p. 74 n. 51 merely with “Bazin, *Le Pi pa ki*, p. 118” as Antoine-Pierre-Louis Bazin (1799–1863), *Le Pi-Pa-Ki ou l’histoire du luth, Drame chinois de Kao-Tong-Kai, représenté à Peking, en 1404, avec les chan-
ested in further tracing Burnouf’s intellectual debts, for example, cannot make easy use of the translation for this purpose.

While it is one thing not to provide corrections or context to set Burnouf’s work in its historically significant frame, this translation (and its introduction), while on the whole quite good, readable, and reliable, also introduces errors here and there that could have been avoided. Particular difficulties were evidently caused by the Sanskrit language. Speaking of Burnouf’s contributions to Sanskrit and Hindu studies Lopez mentions his edition and translation of, as Lopez writes it, Le Bhagavata Purāṇa ou histoire poétique de Kṛiṣṇa (6). In the same sentence he prints the title of the text as Bhagavata Purāṇa. The text is rather the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and the book is titled Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa ou histoire poétique de Kṛiṣṇa. The contents of the famous Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts sent from Nepal to Burnouf in Paris also appear, at least initially, to have created confusion, since Lopez states that these included “the Abhidharmakośa, Vasubandhu’s important compendium of doctrine” (11). What Burnouf had, however, was rather the Abhidharmakośaśāyatā of Yaśomitra, a sub-commentary. The first publication of the Sanskrit text of Vasubandhu’s Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, the work which could be justly called a “compendium of doctrine,” appeared in the edition of Prahlad Pradhan in 1967, based on photographs of a Sanskrit manuscript taken by Rahula Sankrityayana in Tibet in the 1930s, almost a century after Burnouf wrote. It is therefore reassuring to find that Lopez later correctly indicates that what Burnouf studied was indeed Yaśomitra’s subcommentary (18). Elsewhere, Lopez spells the name of one of the most famous Buddhist scriptures Aṣṭasāhasrikāpraṇāpāramitā instead of Aṣṭasāhasrikāpraṇāpāramitā (11). Other examples could be cited, but a different problem will be more difficult for general readers than a few careless oversights: in Burnouf’s Introduction, Sanskrit com-

gements de Mao-Tseu, traduit sur le texte original (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1841). Similar examples can be found throughout the book.

8 The name is written not, pace Lopez, Kṛiṣṇa—which would be equivalent to what we would now romanize as the impossible and thus nonexistent Kṛṣṇa—but Kṛiṣṇa, that is Kṛṣṇa. Lopez continues: “He published three large volumes . . . between 1840 and 1847 and planned as many as three more volumes in order to present all twelve cantos of the text.” There is no mention that two subsequent volumes did appear in 1884 and 1898, completing the work.

9 This is clearly noted in de Jong’s Brief History of Buddhist Studies (24), a work to which Lopez refers in a different context in a note on 3.

10 When we read “the Dharmakośavāyākhyā expresses itself in this way: . . . (Dharmakośavāyākhyā, fol. 6b of the MS of the Société Asiatique)” (188 n. 169), the text in question is nothing other than Yaśomitra’s Abhidharmakośavāyākhyā (the passage is found in Wogihara Unrai, Sphujīrtha Abhidharmakośavāyākhyā: The Work of Yaśomitra [1936; repr., Tokyo: Sankibo Buddhist Book Store, 1989], 7.21–23); one would search in vain for a text called Dharmakośavāyākhyā, yet this title appears two more times (421, 512), while elsewhere the title is given correctly. Both “titles,” Dharmakośavāyākhyā and Abhidharmakośavāyākhyā, are listed—separately—in the index.

11 For instance, Lopez refers to the Karāṇḍavīyā (13), rather than Kāraṇḍavīyā. In the translation, however, we find Guṇakarāṇḍavīyā and Kāraṇḍavīyā (234), both forms used by Burnouf (220). In the former title the translation alternates between Guṇakā and Guṇakā. Rather more pedantically, one might note that in his “Note on the Translation,” Lopez remarks that “Burnouf’s spelling has been corrected in two instances. His Sārīputtra and Vāsīṣṭputriya have been changed to Sārīputra and Vāsīṣṭputriya” (30). The latter forms are indeed more common, but Panini 8.4.46–47 indicates that such spellings are to be considered entirely classical.
pounds are written in roman letters with their elements separated. Rosane Roucher suggests to me that this unusual presentation may have been motivated by the fact that the book was intended for a general readership and by Burnouf’s corresponding desire to provide his readers a basic Sanskrit vocabulary. The contemporary convention is to write compounds together, however, and the translation obviously has attempted to do this, though often not successfully. Lopez also does not follow this

12 They were of course also transcribed in a different system from that in use today, which was standardized only at the International Congress of Orientalists at Geneva in 1894. The romanization has been altered to the modern standard in the translation.

13 Errors in need of correction, and other Sanskrit problems in the translation, may be noted as follows: 90: abuddhoktam abhidharma sāstram > abuddhoktam abhidharma sāstram 90 n. 28: dhāraṇānītika iti dharmāḥ > correct in French (p. 42); dhāraṇānītika iti dharmāḥ; 94: sūtram mātrkā ca devamanusyeṣu pratiṣṭhitam, that is to say, “The Śūtra and the Mahākāṣṇa are established among humans.” This is indeed a correct translation of the French (46), but not of the Sanskrit, which refers to gods and humans; 122 n. 23: kāmā vacacā > kāmavaccārā (correct in the text on which the note comments!); 123 n. 25: saraṇa gamana > saraṇa gamana; 125 n. 30: upaśṭhāna sāla > upaśṭhānaśāla; 131 and n43: śāṅkhāśaśa > śāṅkhāśaśa; however, as Edgerton (BHSD s.v. “śāṅkhāśala”) makes clear, the word must be feminine: śāṅkhasā; 184 n. 159, 160: Nāgara avalambika > Nāgara avalambika; 185: śramaṇa brahmaṇa > śramaṇa brahmaṇa; 223 n. 234: Vasiṣṭhides > Vasiṣṭhides (Burnouf 207 indeed wrote Vaciśṭhides, which would be Vasiṣṭhides which the note comments!); 252 n. 12 cites puruṣākasya ca maryāda bandhanam kartum, “et Purāṇa intra limites cohibere.” One must read maryādābandhanam, the passage in Cowell and Neil’s edition (D[eoward] B[yles] Cowell and R[obert] A[lexander] Neil, The Divyāvadāna: A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends [Cambridge, 1886; repr., Amsterdam: Oriental Press/Philo Press, 1970]) coming at 29,26 reading instead maryādābandhanam. Hiraoka Satoshi 平岡聰, Buddha ga nazotoku sanze no monogatari: Diviya avadāna: A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends (Tokyo: Daizo shuppan 大齋出版, 2007): 1.100 n. 58 refers to Tibetan mnr and Chinese 苦自杀, both in the sense of being caused to suffer; 263 n. 23: gośira candana > gośirucandana; 266 n. 28: caitya śālākā > caityasālākā; 270 n. 34: viṁśatī sikhara samudgata satyakārī dēṣṭi śālaṁ jīvanam vai vṛjitaṁ bhūtva > viṁśatīśikhara samudgata satyavāra ṣālaṁ jīvanavajjena bhūtva > viṁśatīśikhara samudgata satyadṛṣṭisālaṁ jīvanavajjena bhūtva; 273 n. 39: śraddhā vimukta > śraddhāvimukta; 278 n. 48: dharma vaityavṛtyam karoti > dharmanvāvṛtyayāvṛtyam karoti; 291: śrotāpattī marga śāhāna and śrotāpattī phala śāhāna > śrotāpattīmargāśāhana and śrotāpattiprālahasāhana; 310 n. 159: paścāti śramaṇa > paścātśramaṇa; 317 n. 167: prathamā kalpika > prathamakalpika; 348 n. 229: Rāja tarangini > Rājatarangini; 367 n. 260: prācīna prabhāra > praccānaprapbhāra; 395 n. 293: dhiū bhajanam and pitu bhajanam > dhiūbhajanam and piṭubhajanam; 418: Avaraśailāḥ, Burnouf (446) has this, but the correct spelling is Āparā (p/v alternation is common); 419: Devasarman, with Burnouf 448, but read Devaśarman; 419: śūtra pitaka, vinaya pitaka, and abhidharma pitaka > śūrapyātika, vinayapitaka, and abhidharmapitaka; 423: aryā mahāsāṃghikānāṁ lokottara vādānāṁ paññāna > ārya mahāsāṃghikānāṁ lokottara-vādaññāna paññāna; 458 n. 86: jāminī niyāya mālā viśṭāra > Jāminiyamānayaravīṣṭāra (the name of a text); 458 n. 86: apravrtya pravrtaṇam and puruṣa visayaḥ śabdā vijāpāḥ > apravrtya pravrtaṇam and puruṣavivayaḥ śabdāvijāpāḥ; 458 n. 86: upādāna skandha > upādānas kandha; 464 n. 115: labha satkāra śloka abhīhitāḥ > labhasatkāraślokaabhīhitāḥ; 475 n. 140: nairātmya ḍvaya avadāḥ > nairātmyadhvaavābāḥ; 512: Spūfarthā > Spūfarthā (the error is Burnouf’s on 563); 519 n. 58: tṛtyaṁ dharmāṃ samāgītin anupravrīṣṭā > tṛtyaṁ dharmasamāgītin anupravrīṣṭā; 536: samyak sanuddhāḥ > samyakasamuddhāḥ; 537: anupādisesa nibhāṇa sampāpakam > anupādisesanibhāṇasampāpakam; 537: nepadhīśeṣam pānīcakṣandhamatā śūnyam > nepadhīśeṣam pānīcakṣandhamatā śūnyam; 556: paranirmita vaśavartin > paranirmita-
principle consistently in his introduction.\textsuperscript{14} As another example, we read: “in Pāli this article is written \textit{abbhokasikagga}” (306). This is not possible because of the Law of Morae (i.e., a long vowel cannot precede a cluster); Burnouf actually wrote \textit{abbhokāsikagga} (309). (The word is misspelled in the English index as well but is spelled correctly in the French.)

This book is the seventh in the University of Chicago Press series “Buddhism and Modernity,” which Lopez edits. Lopez is credited, in the five years since 2005, as author or editor of five out of the series’s seven volumes.\textsuperscript{15} The translation, which must have required a massive effort, is roughly 550 pages long, and though it is ascribed to Katia Buffetrille and Lopez, nothing is said about the division of labor, nor is any other name mentioned, even to give credit, for example, for the work of changing the Chinese romanizations into the Pinyin system. Regarding this translation, Lopez speaks (29) of the difficulty of Burnouf’s French, which “requires painstaking precision on the part of a translator to arrive at a clear and exact rendering into English.” Indeed, the translation is on the whole very good.\textsuperscript{16} However, there do

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\textsuperscript{14} For a critical view of another recent volume in this series, Lopez’s \textit{In the Forest of Faded Wisdom} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), see Heather Stoddard in \textit{The Newsletter of the International Institute for Asian Studies} 56 (Spring 2011): 30–31.

\textsuperscript{15} However, some may not always agree with the translators’ choices. For instance, it is unfortunate that the translation (435–47) follows the example of Conze in using “courses” as a verb, as in “the bodhisattva who courses in the perfection of wisdom.” Here Burnouf has “Le Boddhisattva qui marche dans la Perfection de la sagesse” (467).

There are also a number of cases of misprints: \textit{Rāmāyana} (7) > \textit{Rāmāyana}; \textit{Pancatantra} (7) > \textit{Pancatantra}; \textit{Gandavyūha} (100) > \textit{Gaṅdavyūha}; \textit{adbhuta} (108) > \textit{advbhuta}; \textit{piśācas} (163) > \textit{piśācas}; \textit{Vāraṇṣi} (184 n. 157) > \textit{Vāraṇṣi}; \textit{mātangi} (222) > \textit{mātangi}; \textit{Triśaṅku} (223 and 234n) > \textit{Triśaṅku}; \textit{angas} and \textit{upāngas} (224) > \textit{angas} and \textit{upāngas}; \textit{Pingalavatśajvalī} (346) > \textit{Pingalavatśajvalī}; \textit{ṛṣi} (366) > \textit{ṛṣi}; \textit{anatmaka} (468 n. 124) > \textit{anatmaka}; \textit{Akaniṣṭha} (564) > \textit{Akaniṣṭha}; \textit{Trikāndāśesa} (587 n. 34) > \textit{Trikāndāśesa}. In “A curious fact, although it does not advance our knowledge very much on the question of origin, is that even today, there exists in the district of Gorakhpur, that is to say, in the very country where Śākyamuni was born, a branch of the race of the Rajputs, who takes the name of Gautamides” (182 n. 153), “takes” should be “take.” Sometimes we seem to have to simply edit with errors. Thus we find “A passage... related to the I, which the Buddhists call \textit{padgala}, or the person who transmigrates, and who they distinguish from” (270 n. 34), in which one must read “and whom.” Possibly confusing is frequent alternation (259 n. 19 and elsewhere) between \textit{Mahāvamsa}, \textit{Mahāvamsa}, and \textit{Mahāvamsa}, without explanation. Furthermore, Burnouf also refers to Edward Upham’s translation of \textit{The Mahāvamsi} (which is nowhere further clarified). Other editing errors: “an immense
remain a number of instances in which the result is not properly English.\footnote{Such things occur even in Lopez’s introduction, as when he quotes the expression “that several years of study began to make me familiar” (11), rendering “que plusieurs années d’études ont commencé à me rendre familière” (Akira Yuyuma, Eugène Burnouf: The Background to His Research into the Lotus Sutra, Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica 3 [Tokyo: International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University, 2000], 60).}

Sometimes trouble is caused by an excessive literalness: “In the way, that the religious law (brahmacarya) survives for a long time” (172) renders “De manière que la loi religieuse (Brahma tcharya) subsiste longtemps” (142). “The śramaṇa Gautama does not have the supernatural power to perform miracles superior to what man can do that one of his listeners, a householder who wears white robes, possesses” (202) represents “Le Čramaṇa Gātama n’a pas, pour opérer des miracles supérieurs à ce que l’homme peut faire, la puissance surnaturelle que possède un de ses Auditeurs, un maître de maison, qui porte un vêtement blanc” (180). “This fact indicates another redaction in the most clear manner, and it accords with the development of poetic pieces, where one observes it as testimony that these pieces at least do not derive from the same hand as the simple sūtras” (142) translates “Ce fait indique de la manière la plus claire une autre rédaction, et il s’accorde avec le développement des morceaux poétiques où on le remarque, pour témoin que ces morceaux au moins ne partent pas de la même main que les simples Sūtras” (105). Curiously reflexive is: “I had nonetheless believed it necessary to translate this passage very literally, which is probably truncated here” (356 n. 240). In these and other cases, more attention to the nature of English would have improved the result.

On occasion, the punctuation calques the French far too closely: “I know him, what needs to be done for him?” (248) copies “Je le connais, que faut-il faire pour lui?” (236). “It naturally separates into two portions: one that draws its authority from the still existing tradition in Nepal, it is that whose elements Mr. Hodgson has furnished us; the other that rests on the testimony of the Abhidharmakośa, it is that which I have extracted from this same book” (422) speaks for itself.

On yet other occasions, it is evident that insufficient thought has been given to an automatic translation. Thus: “One understands without difficulty how from the idea of duty or the merit of charity, one passes to the general idea of charity and from there to the particular fact of a special charity; our French word itself has all of this extended acceptation” (90 n. 28). The French word in question (in the note on 42) is charité, but the translation contains no hint of this. (Note also the comma between “charity” and “one.”)

Another example: “Our monk is the same sage that the Chinese call Mujianlian, according to the spelling of Mr. A. Rémusat ("Foe koue ki, p. 32") (203 n. 198). Since the French transcription (182, in French “orthographe,” spelling or orthography) Mou kian lian has not been preserved, the result is an oddity. (Naturally the romanization of the title of Rémusat’s book has not been changed.) The same note mentions “the great dictionary of Râdhâ kant dev,” which would be meaningless to the type of reader for whom this translation is apparently envisaged; this refers to the work of Râdhâkânta-deva, namely, the
renowned Sanskrit-Sanskrit dictionary called Šabdakalpadruma. (In the first volume of his Bhāgavata Purāṇa edition, for example, on xxxvii, a work intended for a more specialist audience, Burnouf wrote the name as “Rādhākānta Dēva.”)

Finally, and surprisingly, several errors concern Tibetan. In particular, we read: “is followed by cing, formative of the gerundive” (578). Burnouf (624) has “est suivi de iching, formative du géondif.” French géondif may indeed refer to what is generally in English called the gerundive, but it also corresponds to what we term the gerund; the latter is correct here. Less importantly, we find De’i phyag dar khrod pa de dag bkhrus nas (304 n. 150). While this reproduces what is found in Burnouf’s note (306), since the spelling bkhrus is impossible (note that Burnouf writes Bkah-hgyur and, as here, khrod, corresponding to modern romanization conventions), one must obviously correct to bkrus. Burnouf wrote of the Tibetan expression blag ba med pa (306), duly given in the English translation. This is, however, an error; the Tibetan letters need to be divided differently, not but; the word is thus bla gab med pa. As with the preceding item regarding bkhrus, it would have been trivial to note the necessary correction, or even simply correct it tacitly.

In conclusion, and as an example of what might be done as a first step toward a revised translation, I offer the list which constitutes Appendix 1. Burnouf translated extensive passages from manuscript since, needless to say, no editions existed in his pioneering day. It will be helpful for readers to be able to find these passages in published editions. For practical purposes, I deal here only with the longer citations, although Burnouf quoted numerous smaller passages as well. The passages are given in the order in which they occur in Burnouf’s work.

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In fact, Jäschke in his Tibetan Grammar (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1929), discussing forms in te and cing, explicitly wrote that “Gerund is . . . to be understood . . . as the Géondif of some French grammarians,” sec. 41.
APPENDIX

Divyāvadāna [henceforth Divy.] 17 Māndhātā: 118–29 = French 74–89 = Cowell and Neil, 200.21–210.12. Note that, on 128 = Burnouf 87, Burnouf recognized two stanzas where Cowell and Neil recognized only one (209.1–2). Hiraoka reads a second verse with the parallel in the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (I.404 n. 69); Rotman translates it as a verse but without noting any emendation (346).


Divy. 12 Prāthihāryasūtra: 188–209 = Burnouf 162–89 = Cowell and Neil 143.10–166.27.


Divy. 345–404 = Burnouf 358–432; for the first part see Divy. 26 Pāṇīśupradāna, partially translated as above: 345–57 = Burnouf 358–74 = Cowell and Neil 369.8–382.2. Then continues:


Divy. 29 Aśoka: 399–404 = Burnouf 426–32 = Cowell and Neil 429.7–434.27.

Avadānasataka 100 Saṅgīti: 405–7 = Burnouf 432–35 = Speyer II.200.7–205.11.
Prasannapadā (wrongly called Vinayasūtra by Burnouf): 496–97 = Burnouf 543–45 = La Vallée Poussin 50.6–53.5.