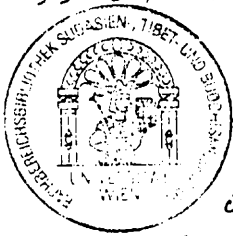


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# Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies

Volume 22 • Number 2 • 1999

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**II. BUDDHIST STUDIES IN AUSTRIA**

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\* I would like to thank my friends Lore Sander, Burkhard Quessel and Helmut Tauscher for reading the chapters on the Turfan discoveries, Tibetan Buddhism and Buddhist studies in Austria respectively, and my wife Karin Preisendanz for reading the entire manuscript with her usual thoroughness. Their helpful comments have significantly improved this survey in various ways. I would also like to express my gratitude to Prof. Ronald Emmerick for some references to works that were not available to me, to Anne MacDonald for additional information on the NGMPP and for improving my English, to Prof. Donald Swearer for making valuable suggestions on different aspects of the paper, and to Prof. Michael Friedrich for taking precious time from his busy schedule to contribute the section on East Asian Buddhism.

## I. BUDDHIST STUDIES IN GERMANY

### 0. Preliminary remarks

Before beginning with the actual survey I would like to make three preliminary remarks. First, in presenting this survey to you I am aware above all of its shortcomings. Due to the enormous number of publications, scholarly and popular, that deal with Buddhism in one way or another, I did not dare even to aspire to completeness, and I had to apply very rigid criteria as to what to include and what to exclude. The most problematic and arbitrary limitation that I imposed upon myself was to confine this survey, by and large, to books and monographs. I would be the last to dispute that certain scholarly articles are far more important than some books, or that certain books advance our knowledge of Buddhism even less than a mediocre article. Nevertheless, I hope that this necessary limitation will not diminish the general value of this survey. Furthermore, the *Verzeichnis lieferbarer Bücher*, the German equivalent of *Books in Print*, lists some 600 books under the topic of Buddhism. Even when one deletes the translations (most of them from English, almost none from other European languages) from this list and disregards publications prior to 1971, one is still confronted with hundreds of books on Buddhism that were published in Germany in the last 25 years. Obviously, I could not include them all in this survey, and I had to limit myself to what I consider to be the most important publications. Consequently, even though I have tried to be impartial in my evaluations, an element of subjectivity in the choice of books included in and excluded from this survey could not be entirely avoided. To compensate for this inevitable state of affairs, I include as an appendix a bibliographical list, imperfect though it is, of current books in print on Buddhism.

Second, a few words are necessary to define of the scope of this survey. Because the title of this representation was given as "Buddhist Studies in Germany" rather than "in the German language" or "by Germans" the work of German citizens who are working in non-German countries has been excluded from this survey; on the other hand studies authored by non-German citizens who conducted their research in Germany, notably Japanese scholars who completed their Dr. phil. dissertations at German universities, have been included. I must add that it was not possible to investigate the citizenship of every author mentioned here, and it is therefore quite possible that some of the authors who are

referred to in the bibliographical lists are in fact Swiss or Austrian, especially in the case of popular and comparative works that are listed below in the appendix.<sup>1</sup> Let me assure you that such an erroneous inclusion has no political ideology of *Anschluss* behind it.

Third, my perspective has been throughout Indo-centric. This is no doubt partly a reflection of my own interests and of my perception of the role of Indian Buddhist texts as most central to the history of Buddhism, but it also reflects the division of labour within German academic structures. Buddhist studies in Germany are mainly conducted in institutes for Indology, unlike, for instance, North American universities where departments of South Asian studies are rare and more oriented towards contemporary studies, and where most scholars of Buddhism are employed by departments of religious studies. This Indo-centrism, however, is balanced by Michael FRIEDRICH's contribution on East Asian Buddhism.

## 1. *Generalia*

### a. *Bibliographies*

It may be useful to begin with general tools of research such as bibliographies, dictionaries and catalogues. To my knowledge there are five German bibliographies concerned with Buddhist studies. The first one was published in 1916 by Hans Ludwig HELD. It contains 2544 entries, and even though it is clearly out of date it is an indispensable source for the history of Buddhist scholarship.<sup>2</sup>

Another more recent bibliography by Roland KRETSCHMER dates from 1988, but unfortunately it has only 400 entries and is of rather poor quality.<sup>3</sup> For instance, prominent scholars like Lambert SCHMITHAUSEN and Heinz BECHERT are not even mentioned in it.

1. [For reasons of space the appendices to this survey are not reprinted below. They will be published in the proceedings of the conference.]
2. Cf. H. L. HELD: *Deutsche Bibliographie des Buddhismus. Eine Übersicht über deutschsprachliche buddhistische und buddhologische Buchwerke, Abhandlungen, Vorträge, Aufsätze, Erwähnungen, Hinweise und Rezensionen mit ausschliesslicher Berücksichtigung des Buddhismus als Religionswissenschaft*. München/Leipzig 1916.
3. Cf. R. KRETSCHMER: *Bibliographischer Führer durch die Buddhismus-Literatur*. 1. Lieferung: Buddhismus als Philosophie und Religion. Wolfenbüttel 1988.

More useful is GRÖNBOLD's bibliography of the Buddhist canon.<sup>4</sup> The bibliography is divided into five sections: 1) editions of Buddhist canons; 2) old catalogues of the canon; 3) modern catalogues of the canon; 4) catalogues of the Tibetan Bon canon; 5) secondary literature. The bibliography is especially good for the Tibetan canons, but somewhat limited for the Chinese canon. Peter PFANDT compiled an extensive bibliography of Mahāyāna texts translated into European languages which is quite thorough and very useful.<sup>5</sup> Of interest is also the bio-bibliography of German Buddhists compiled by Hellmuth HECKER. It contains biographical data of prominent Austrian and German Buddhists such as Georg GRIMM, NYANATILOKA, Lama GOVINDA, Karl NEUMANN, etc., together with lists of their publications and many references to book-reviews of their works.<sup>6</sup>

#### b. Dictionaries

Two dictionaries concerned with Buddhist texts are currently being compiled in Germany and both are based on the Turfan discoveries (cf. below); the one deals with the Sanskrit manuscripts, the other with those in Uigur. The *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden* was conceived by Ernst WALDSCHMIDT and is being edited by Heinz BECHERT. The pace of publication of this dictionary has been considerably accelerated in recent years, and although only nine fascicles covering lemmata beginning with the vowels and *k* have been published, it is planned to be completed by the year 2010.<sup>7</sup> The dictionary contains the complete vocabulary and detailed quotations of all the published Turfan texts with the exception of scientific literature (gram-

4. Cf. G. GRÖNBOLD: *Der buddhistische Kanon. Eine Bibliographie*. Wiesbaden 1984.
5. Cf. P. PFANDT: *Mahāyāna Texts translated into Western Languages*. Köln 21986.
6. Cf. H. HECKER: *Lebensbilder deutscher Buddhisten. Ein bio-bibliographisches Handbuch*. Band I: Die Gründer. Band II: Die Nachfolger. Konstanz 1990 [21996], 1992. [The second volume could not be consulted.] On Buddhism in Germany cf. also K.-J. NOTZ: *Der Buddhismus in Deutschland in seinen Selbstdarstellungen: eine religionswissenschaftliche Untersuchung zur religiösen Akkulturationsproblematik*. Frankfurt am Main/New York 1984.
7. Cf. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*. Begonnen von Ernst Waldschmidt. Herausgegeben von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen unter der Leitung von Heinz Bechert. Göttingen 1973-.

mar, metrics, astronomy, medicine), *Mahāyānasūtras*, *kāvya* and drama. It is thus an extremely important tool for the study of the phraseology of Buddhist Sanskrit as used in the canonical texts of the Sarvāstivāda school.<sup>8</sup> Most of the canonical texts found in Turfan belong to that school. The dictionary is so detailed that, except in the case of extremely common words like *bhagavat* and *bhikṣu* or *atra* and *atha*, it can also be used as a concordance. So far eight fascicles have appeared totaling more than 500 pages.

Klaus Michael RÖHRBORN of the University of Göttingen is engaged in compiling an Uigur-German dictionary of which five fascicles have appeared so far.<sup>9</sup> The dictionary will be a thesaurus of all published Uigur manuscripts and blockprints. In addition, the fragments of Xuanzang's (Hsüan-tsang's) biography and of the *Maitrisimit* are also being taken into account systematically, as are occasionally fragments of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra*. The dictionary contains a very exhaustive bibliography of both primary texts and of secondary literature that deals with Uigur texts. The bibliography is updated in every new fascicle. The importance of Old Turkish literature for the study of Buddhism in Central Asia cannot be overemphasized. Furthermore, the Uigur texts are often unique, that is, they conserve works, or fragments of works, that are not available in other languages of Buddhism, either because they are lost or because Turkish Buddhism went its own way.

In this connection one should also mention the *Critical Pāli Dictionary*. Even though it is published by the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, I feel justified to mention it here because prominent German scholars have worked as editors-in-chief of this invaluable project, namely, Ludwig ALSDORF and Oskar VON HINÜBER, the latter now serving as co-editor-in-chief together with Ole PIND. One may add that the second volume comprises materials collected by Wilhelm GEIGER. The last instalment of this monumental work was published in 1994 and reached compounds starting with *kambu*.

8. The texts of the Sarvāstivāda school were completely ignored by EDGERTON in his Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit dictionary and grammar because morphologically their language does not differ from correct classical Sanskrit. Yet in their syntax and style these texts are very close to and reflect the Middle Indic of the original canonical texts from which they were translated.
9. Cf. K. RÖHRBORN: *Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien*. Fasc. 1-5 [a-ämgäklik]. Wiesbaden 1977-1994.

Of negligible importance is a Sanskrit-German dictionary by Klaus MYLIUS.<sup>10</sup> It is of rather mediocre quality and hardly ever used. No independent lexicographical work seems to have been done by MYLIUS who merely compiled and translated into German selective entries and materials from other Sanskrit dictionaries.

### c. Organs of publication

One of the conspicuous characteristics of scholarly German publications in general and of Buddhological publications in particular is that practically all books are published in series. In some series like "Indica et Tibetica" all publications are relevant to Buddhist studies. In the majority of the series, however, this is not the case.<sup>11</sup> The following are the most important series in which Buddhist studies form an essential part:

10. Cf. K. MYLIUS: *Wörterbuch Sanskrit-Deutsch*. Leipzig 1975. This dictionary was reprinted after the German unification and it is now sold, for an exorbitant price, as a Langenscheidt dictionary.

11. Of varying relevance are the following series:

*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philosophisch-historische Klasse*

*Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien*

*Asiatische Forschungen*

*Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung*

*Berliner Turfantexte*

*Frankfurter Chinastudien*

*Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie*

*Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*

*Indian Philology and South Asian Studies*

*Indica et Tibetica*

*Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde*

*Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*

*Monumenta Serica Monograph Series* (Steyler Verlag)

*Münchener Ostasiatische Studien*

*Opera Sinologica*

*Religionswissenschaft* (Peter Lang)

*Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beihefte*

*Schriften des Instituts für Asienkunde Hamburg*

*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Neue Folge*

*Studia Tibetica*

*Studien zur Japanologie*

*Studies in Oriental Religions*

*Studia Tibetica, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften*

- 1) "Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien" (Steiner, 47 volumes): This is one of the oldest Indological series, published by the Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets, Universität Hamburg. The Buddhist studies published in this series over the last 25 years are all outstanding dissertations prepared under the guidance of Lambert SCHMITHAUSEN; they deal with Yogācāra, Abhidharma and *pramāna* texts.
- 2) "Asiatische Forschungen" (Harrassowitz, 130 volumes): This is a monograph series on the history, culture and languages of the people of East and Central Asia published by the University of Bonn. It contains important studies on Mongolian and Turkic Buddhism and occasionally on Tibetan Buddhism as well.
- 3) "Indica et Tibetica" (30 volumes): This series is published privately by Michael HAHN; it contains much of his own work and that of his students as well as important contributions by scholars such as Johannes SCHNEIDER, Adelheid METTE, J.W. DE JONG, etc.
- 4) "Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie" (Harrassowitz, 27 volumes): The Buddhist studies in this series deal with Aśoka's rock-edicts, the *Śrāmaṇyaphalasūtra*, *śikṣāsamuccaya*, and the so-called Tibetan book of the dead.
- 5) "Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie" (published by the Stiftung Ernst Waldschmidt; volumes 1-6 by Steiner, later volumes by Dietrich REIMER, Berlin): This series was established in 1979; it contains some reprint volumes of papers by Heinrich LÜDERS, Ernst WALDSCHMIDT and Helmut HOFFMANN as well as the more recent work by Petra KIEFFER-PÜLZ on *sīmā*, Leo BOTH's translation and study of the *Kapīśāvadāna*, and Ute HÜSKEN's study of the monastic rules of the Theravāda nuns.
- 6) "Münchener Ostasiatische Studien" (Steiner, 73 volumes): The Buddhist studies in this series deal with Chinese and Japanese Buddhism.

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*Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde der Universität Göttingen*  
*Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica*  
*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*  
*Vinaya Forschungen / Vinaya research* (hrsg.: Studienstiftung für Tibetischen Buddhismus)



- 7) "Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen" (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 13 volumes): As its name indicates, the series contains editions, translations and studies of Sanskrit texts discovered at Turfan.
- 8) "Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients, Berliner Turfantexte" (Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 19 volumes): This series contains important results of the Turfan-research conducted in the D.D.R. ("East Germany"), notably, several monographs by Peter ZIEME on Uigur Buddhist texts.
- 9) "Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan Studies" (Steiner, 5 volumes): This is a relatively new series published by the Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets, Universität Hamburg; it was established in 1989 by David SEYFORT RUEGG.
- 10) "Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica" (Harrassowitz, 45 volumes; edited by Wolfgang VEENKER and Klaus RÖHRBORN): Some volumes in this series, mostly by RÖHRBORN himself or edited by him, deal with Turkic Buddhism. Of special interest is a five-volume study of the life and work of Xuanzang in which the Old Turkic translation of his biography is used.
- 11) "Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementbände" (Steiner, 35 volumes): This series consists of supplementary volumes to the Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in Germany. (On the Catalogue itself, cf. below.) Among the volumes published in this important and prestigious series quite a few are relevant to Buddhist studies, notably Lore Sander's work on palæography, Klaus JANERT's study of Aśoka's inscriptions,<sup>12</sup> and Ronald EMMERICK's edition and translation of the medical text *Siddhasāra* by Ravigupta.<sup>13</sup> Klaus WILLE has studied the manuscript tradition of the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda (cf. below).

12. K.L. JANERT: *Abstände und Schlussvokalverzeichnungen in Aśoka-Inschriften*. 1972 (= vol. 10 in the series).

13. Ronald E. EMMERICK: *The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta*. Vol. 1: The Sanskrit text. Vol. 2: The Tibetan version with facing English translation. 1980-1982 (= vols 23.1-2 in the series).

#### d. Periodicals

There is no scholarly journal in Germany that is devoted exclusively to Buddhist studies, and there are only two Indological journals in which articles on Buddhism appear frequently: *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, edited by Albrecht WEZLER *et al.*, and *Berliner Indologische Studien*, published by the Institute for Indian Philology and Art History of the Free University, Berlin (both published by the Dr. Inge Wezler Verlag). To these one should add the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* that is well-known mainly for its book reviews. Important papers on Buddhism appear regularly in the Austrian journal *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* (formerly *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*) established by Erich FRAUWALLNER and later on edited by Gerhard OBERHAMMER.

#### e. Catalogues

Under the auspices of the German Oriental Society (Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft) Wolfgang VOIGT established the renowned series of catalogues under the title *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* (Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts in Germany). The current general editor is Hartmut-Ortwin FEISTEL from the State Library in Berlin; the series is commissioned by the Academy of Sciences in Göttingen. To date oriental manuscripts in more than 30 languages have been catalogued or are in the process of being catalogued. Among the materials that are relevant to Buddhist studies one may mention Indian manuscripts in 12 volumes (though only few Buddhists texts are catalogued in them) (vol. 2.1-12), Thai manuscripts (9.1-2), Sanskrit texts from the Turfan discoveries (10.1-7), Tibetan manuscripts (vol. 11.1-11), Old Turkic (vol. 13.9-10), Singhalese (vol. 22.1-3), Burmese (vol. 23.1-3), Laotian (vol. 32), and Nepalese manuscripts (vol. 33.1).

The Sanskrit dictionary of the Sanskrit texts discovered at Turfan also has supplementary volumes (Beihefte) which contain the series "New Discoveries and New Editions" with contributions by Jens-Uwe HARTMANN, Claus VOGEL, Klaus WILLE, Bhikkhu PĀSĀDIKA, and others. Beiheft 5 contains a catalogue of the Göttingen collection of prints of the Sanskrit manuscripts photographed by Rāhula SĀṆKṚTYĀYANA during his 1934-1938 Tibet expeditions, compiled by Frank BANDURSKI.<sup>14</sup>

14. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 5, *Untersuchungen zur buddhistischen Literatur*. Göttingen 1994.

David JACKSON's handlist of the Tibetan texts in the collection of the Bihar Research Society, Patna, appeared as volume 2 of "Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan Studies."

Two important catalogues were reprinted as part of the "Nepal Research Centre Publications": Hari Prasād Śāstri's catalogue of the Durbar Library, supplemented by a concordance to the microfilms of the NGMPP, and the Bendall catalogue of the Buddhist manuscripts at Cambridge.

*f. The Nepal Research Centre and The Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project*<sup>15</sup>

The Nepal Research Centre, established in 1959, is the oldest German cooperative project on Nepalese soil. A large number of projects were undertaken under the auspices of the NRC in the last 25 years; perhaps the most important of these is the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP). This is a joint venture of the Nepalese government and the German Oriental Society and it is designed to preserve on microfilm Nepal's extraordinary wealth of manuscripts and historical documents. To date, about 170,000 manuscripts comprising nearly 5,000,000 folios have been microfilmed throughout Nepal. Of each original negative film two positive copies are made, the one kept in the National Archives, Kathmandu, the other in the State Library at Berlin. Thus, many texts have become available for the first time outside a rather limited area of dissemination. In the Sanskrit section 113,000 manuscripts were microfilmed and are now in the process of being catalogued in Hamburg. Nearly all genres of Hindu and Buddhist literature are represented in these manuscripts. Among the important Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts that have been identified so far one can mention several manuscripts of the *Mahāvastu* and the *Prasannapadā* of Candrakīrti as well as many manuscripts of narrative and poetical works by Āryasūra, Gopadatta, Haribhaṭṭa, Ratnākaraśānti and Harṣadeva; the latter have been studied and some of them published by Michael HAHN at the University of Marburg. Christoph CÜPPERS has prepared an exemplary edition of the ninth chapter of the *Samādhirājasūtra* on the

15. The following information is taken, sometimes verbatim, from: K.-D. MATHES, *Nepal Research Centre, An Updated Report on its Activities (1960-1997)*, Kathmandu 1997, and A. Wezler, "Geisteswissenschaftliche Forschung in Nepal," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 136.1 (1986): \*2\*-14\*.

basis of twelve Nepalese manuscripts. In the area of Buddhist medical texts, five of the six manuscripts used by EMMERICK for the edition of the *Siddhasāra* by Ravigupta were microfilmed by the NGMPP. A considerable number of Buddhist tantric texts have also been microfilmed, but I am not aware of any publications on them. The manuscripts in Tibetan language constitute the second major focus of the NGMPP. Thousands of manuscripts from all over Nepal, sometimes from most inaccessible regions, are being microfilmed and are also in the process of being catalogued.

The NRC is responsible for several series of publications: 1) "Nepal Research Centre Publications" (NRCP), edited by Albrecht WEZLER. 2) *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* (JNRC), also edited by WEZLER; various volumes of this journal include the *Nepalese National Bibliography* of 1980-89. 3) "Publications of the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project," in cooperation with the National Archives, Kathmandu, edited by WEZLER. 4) "Nepalica," edited by Bernhard KÖLVER and Siegfried LIENHARD.

## 2. Pāli and canonical Buddhism

Pāli language studies in Germany are associated above all with the name Oskar VON HINÜBER of the University of Freiburg. In the last ten years alone he has published, in addition to a considerable number of scholarly papers, no less than seven monographs. In his magisterial survey of older Middle Indic languages (Pāli and Prakṛt) he succeeds, on some 200 dense pages, not only to summarize the new results of research in this area in the 70-80 years since PISCHEL and GEIGER wrote their grammars, but also to provide an introduction to the questions and problems of the historical grammar of these languages.<sup>16</sup> Next VON HINÜBER published in quick succession five monographs in the transactions of the Academy of Sciences and Literature [Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur] at Mainz, three of which form the series "Investigations towards the Linguistic History and Palæography of Pāli" [Untersuchungen zur Sprachgeschichte und Handschriftenkunde des Pāli]. In the *Linguistic History of Pāli as Mirrored in the Tradition of South-East Asian Manuscripts*,<sup>17</sup> VON HINÜBER shows that in some cases the Thai

16. Cf. O. VON HINÜBER: *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick*. Wien 1986.

17. Cf. O. VON HINÜBER: *Die Sprachgeschichte des Pāli im Spiegel der südostasiatischen Handschriftenüberlieferung*. Untersuchungen zur Sprachgeschichte und Handschriftenkunde des Pāli I. Mainz / Stuttgart 1988.

manuscripts preserve better readings than the Śrī Laṅkan and Burmese manuscripts. Since Pāli as we know it today is a rather late product of the 12th century, it is of crucial importance to obtain the earliest possible manuscripts, especially those that were not “modernized,” in order to grasp the historical development of the language and to gain a better understanding of the texts. In *The Oldest Pāli Manuscript*<sup>18</sup> VON HINÜBER makes available a facsimile and a transliteration of, accompanied by a long introduction to, four folios of the *Vinayapiṭaka* discovered by Cecil BENDALL which comprise and remain the only Indian Pāli manuscript. In his investigation into the orality of Middle Indic texts, VON HINÜBER identifies colloquial remnants in the Pāli canon and draws conclusions from them about the early language of the Buddhists. Of special interest is his suggestion that *māyā* is not the personal name of the Buddha’s mother, but a colloquial form of “mother” (i.e., *māyā* derived from *mātā*). Thus, the personal name of the Buddha’s mother, just as that of his stepmother, has not been transmitted to us.<sup>19</sup>

In *The Beginning of Writing and Early Literacy in India*, VON HINÜBER also examines the implications of these two factors for the transmission of the Buddhist canon. For instance, he affirms that with the exception of the long forgotten Indus Valley script, writing was unknown in India prior to Aśoka’s time and consequently, that those parts of the canon where writing is mentioned must be of relatively late origin.<sup>20</sup> In *Development of Language and Cultural History*, VON HINÜBER investigates two aspects of the material culture of early Buddhist

18. Mainz/Stuttgart 1991 [= Untersuchungen zur Sprachgeschichte und Handschriftenkunde des Pāli II].

19. Cf. O. VON HINÜBER: *Untersuchungen zur Mündlichkeit früher mittelindischer Texte der Buddhisten*. (Untersuchungen zur Sprachgeschichte und Handschriftenkunde des Pāli III). Mainz/Stuttgart 1994. On the Buddha’s mother’s name, cf. pp. 13-14.

We are not in a better position in respect to the name of the wife of the Buddha; in the entire *Nikāya/Āgama* corpus the name Yaśodharā is mentioned only in a single *sūtra* of unknown sectarian origin, and only in its Chinese translation; the parallel passage in Pāli mentions neither Yaśodharā, nor Rāhula’s mother. Cf. A. BAREAU: “Un personnage bien mystérieux: l’épouse du Bouddha,” in *Recherche sur la Biographie du Bouddha dans les Sūtrapiṭaka et les Vinayapiṭaka anciens*. III. Articles complémentaires, Paris 1995, pp. 119-147.

20. Cf. O. VON HINÜBER: *Der Beginn der Schrift und frühe Schriftlichkeit in Indien*. Mainz/Stuttgart 1989. On this topic cf. also the exhaustive survey by H. FALK: *Schrift im alten Indien. Ein Forschungsbericht mit Anmerkungen*. Tübingen 1993.

monasteries, the one concerning doors, locks, bolts and keys, the other begging bowls and staffs.<sup>21</sup>

While VON HINÜBER's object of study is primarily the Pāli language and his chief tool of investigation is Middle Indic philology, a different approach was applied by the analytical philosopher Claus OETKE. OETKE's *"Ich" und das Ich* is perhaps the single most important contribution to the interpretation of the Weltanschauung of canonical Buddhism. DE JONG, who is usually quite reserved in his praise, called this study the most important book ever published on the controversy about an *ātman*.<sup>22</sup> OETKE provides a thorough analysis of previous research which brings to light the enormous diversity of scholarly opinions on the subject. As a result of this analysis, it becomes clear that most, if not all, scholars who have written on the subject have reached their respective, sometimes diametrically opposed, theories through failing to make the most basic of distinctions, such as between the concept of a person (sometimes termed *pudgala*, but also referred to by the word *ātman* without metaphysical implications) and a permanent substantial self or soul (also termed *ātman*, but in relationship to brahmanical or other metaphysical speculations). The assumption, advanced again and again, that the canonical texts betray the radical negation of a subject of experience, etc., is highly improbable, and as far as the oldest parts of the canon are concerned, it is without any basis. There is no evidence against the acceptance of a "common-sense" "psycho-physical" subject, which can be subsumed under the concepts of man, person, living being, etc.; in other words, even a complete negation of a metaphysical *ātman* would not imply the negation of such a subject. There is no indication that the canonical authors considered everyday statements involving the personal pronoun "I" to be problematic, let alone false; such statements do not involve, as was thought by later Buddhists, any profound error. On the other hand, the assumptions that the Buddha accepted a "meta-empirical" *ātman* (V. PÉREZ-REMON) or an Upaniṣadic *ātman* (K. BHATTACHARYA) are equally unfounded. Although there are passages where the absolute cessation of the Tathāgata, or of a liberated monk, after death is clearly denied, this too does not imply that the Buddha accepted the reality of an *ātman* because nowhere are these

21. Cf. O. VON HINÜBER: *Sprachentwicklung und Kulturgeschichte. Ein Beitrag zur materiellen Kultur des buddhistischen Klosterlebens*. Mainz/Stuttgart 1992.

22. Cf. *IJ*, 1991, p. 147.

statements applied to the *ātman*; they only refer to a liberated monk or to the Tathāgata. Nor is it said anywhere that the *ātman* cannot be grasped, but only that the Tathāgata, etc., cannot be grasped.<sup>23</sup>

The most prominent historian of early Buddhism is undoubtedly Heinz BECHERT, perhaps the most prolific writer among German Buddhist scholars. Many of his articles, however, have appeared in little-known journals and other organs of publication, and it is extremely difficult to keep track of his entire work. Fortunately, a complete bibliography of his writings has been published recently.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, I mention here only his monumental study on Buddhism, state and society in the Theravāda countries.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to his numerous publications, BECHERT has organized four conferences that have become milestones in the historical research on early Buddhism. The topics of these conferences were: Buddhism in Ceylon and studies on religious syncretism in Buddhist countries,<sup>26</sup> the language of the earliest Buddhist tradition,<sup>27</sup> the school affiliation of works belonging to Hīnayāna literature,<sup>28</sup> and the dating of the historical Buddha.<sup>29</sup> The publications of the proceedings of these conferences

23. Cf. C. OETKE: *"Ich" und das Ich: Analytische Untersuchungen zur buddhistisch-brahmanischen Ātmankontroverse*. Stuttgart 1988.
24. For a bibliography up to 1992 (containing 305 items and 108 book reviews) cf. B. GRÜNENDAHL, J.-U. HARTMANN and P. KIEFFER-PÜLZ (eds): *Studien zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde*. Festgabe des Seminars für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde für Professor Dr. Heinz Bechert zum 60. Geburtstag am 26. Juni 1992. Bonn 1993, pp. 3-51. For a continuation of this bibliography up to 1997 cf. P. KIEFFER-PÜLZ and J.-U. HARTMANN (eds): *Bauddhavidyāsudhā-karah. Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. Swisttal- Odendorf 1997, pp. 17-24.
25. Cf. H. BECHERT: *Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft in den Ländern des Theravāda-Buddhismus*. 3 vols. Frankfurt a. M./Berlin 1966-1973.
26. Cf. H. BECHERT (ed.): *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries*. Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung I. Göttingen 1978.
27. Cf. H. BECHERT (ed.): *Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung / The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*. Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung II. Göttingen 1980.
28. Cf. H. BECHERT (ed.): *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*. Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung III. 2 vols. Göttingen 1985-1987.
29. Cf. H. BECHERT (ed.): *The Dating of the Historical Buddha / Die Datierung des historischen Buddha*. Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung IV. Vol. 1 and 2, Göttingen 1991-1992, vol. 3 in preparation. For an Indian reprint of some of the

contain important contributions by leading scholars from all over the world. (For BECHERT's work cf. also the section on the Turfan discoveries.)

BECHERT's former student Petra KIEFFER-PÜLZ studied the *vinaya* rules that deal with the boundaries of the community of monks (*sīmā*). These rules are particularly important for the ordination of monks because unless ten monks can be found in the area of a community (or five in the neighbouring community) new monks cannot be ordained. KIEFFER-PÜLZ's study contains three parts; the one deals with the Pāli Vinaya, the other with the later Pāli commentatorial tradition (*Vinaya-ṭīkā*s), the third with the *Poṣadhavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*.<sup>30</sup> BECHERT's assistant, Ute HÜSKEN, published her dissertation on the monastic rules of Theravāda nuns, which unfortunately was not available to me.<sup>31</sup>

From 1972-1974 the German Research Council (DFG) funded a project to set up a microfilm collection of manuscripts representing the Northern Thai indigenous tradition. Some 1000 manuscripts from 95 monastic, as well as private, libraries were microfilmed. A preliminary handlist of the texts contained in the microfilm collection was prepared by Harald HUNDIUS, Passau, and is available upon request from the author. The microfilms are available in the National Library, Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University (Department of History), Chiang Mai University (Department of Thai), and in Germany at the Universities of Kiel and of Göttingen. As indicated by its title, the project focuses on indigenous Northern Thai literature; nevertheless forty-eight Pāli texts have been included in the collection because of their exceptional value. Some of these manuscripts represent the oldest manuscripts of Thailand and Southeast Asia, others represent Pāli works of Southeast Asian origin including works that have been composed by scholars of Lan Na. A number of manuscripts were microfilmed because of their rarity or because they contain previously unknown texts. Out of the forty-eight, eighteen short texts were identified as belonging to the category of texts

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papers cf. H. BECHERT (ed.): *When Did the Buddha Live? The Controversy on the Dating of the Historical Buddha*. Delhi 1995.

30. Cf. P. KIEFFER-PÜLZ: *Die Sīmā. Vorschriften zur Regelung der buddhistischen Gemeindegrenze in älteren buddhistischen Texten*. Berlin 1992. For the *Poṣadhavastu* cf. also the study by HU-VON HINÜBER mentioned below.

31. Cf. U. HÜSKEN: *Die Vorschriften für die buddhistische Nonnengemeinde im Vinaya-Piṭaka der Theravādin*. Reimer 1977.



used in Buddhist ritual and ceremonies (*suuṭ mon*), and can be found virtually in each and every monastery in the North. The colophons of the other thirty texts have been translated and studied by Harald HUNDIUS.<sup>32</sup>

### 3. *The Turfan discoveries in Sanskrit and Central Asian languages*

Between 1902-1914 four German (or more precisely, Prussian) expeditions, under the directorship of Albert GRÜNWEDEL and Albert VON LE COQ, were sent to the Central Asian Silk Road in the area called Eastern Turkestan and Chinese Turkestan. A fifth expedition was already in the planning stages when World War I broke out and brought with it the termination of German activities in that part of the world.<sup>33</sup> As is well known, the expeditions were extremely successful and returned with rich booty, including most beautiful murals removed from cave walls in their entirety; many of them, however, were destroyed by Allied bombing during World War II. Some of the surviving works were removed from the German collection and transported mainly to the U.S.S.R., but also to the U.S.A., as *Beutekunst*. The German expeditions were also successful in recovering large quantities of manuscripts and block-prints, usually fragmentary or incomplete, in various Central Asian languages such as Uigur (Old Turkic) and Tocharian, as well as in Sanskrit.

The first study based on the "Turfan discoveries"<sup>34</sup> was published already in 1904 by Richard PISCHEL, who is remembered today above all through his grammar of the Prakṛt languages, which although somewhat outdated, has not been superseded. This first publication was entitled "Fragments of the Sanskrit Canon of the Buddhists from Idyikutšari" ("Bruch stücke des Sanskritkanons der Buddhisten aus Idyikutšari"). Later it was established that the Sanskrit canon referred to in this title is that of the Sarvāstivāda, and indeed almost all the "Turfan canonical

32. Cf. H. HUNDIUS: "The Colophons of 30 Pāli manuscripts from Northern Thailand." *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* XIV, 1990: 1-174. The information above is taken, partly verbatim, from pp. 15, 20 of this paper.

33. The best popular introduction to the Indo-British, Russian, Japanese, German, Swedish and American expeditions to the Silk Road can be found in P. HOPKIRK: *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road*. London 1980.

34. This is a common but not entirely accurate designation, for none of the discoveries was actually made in Turfan itself; it would be more accurate speak of the these discoveries as mainly made on the Northern Silk Road not too far from Turfan.

texts" identified so far belong to the Sarvāstivāda school. A few fragments from the Dharmaguptaka canon were identified by Ernst WALDSCHMIDT.<sup>35</sup> It is now generally assumed that there were three successive phases of Buddhist missionary activity in Central Asia: The oldest one carried out by Dharmaguptaka monks, who were followed by Sarvāstivādins, who were, in their turn, succeeded by Mūlasarvāstivādins.<sup>36</sup>

Since then a considerable number of excellent scholars have worked with the Turfan materials e.g., Dieter SCHLINGLOFF, outside Germany better known by his monumental study of the Ajanta paintings, Herbert HÄRTEL, primarily known as an archæologist and art historian, Heinz BECHERT, who also manages the project of cataloguing the manuscripts, and Lore SANDER, whose palæographical study forms the standard work in this field;<sup>37</sup> one should also not forget the important contributions of non-German scholars such as Junkichi IMANISHI and Fumio ENOMOTO. Since PISCHEL published his above-mentioned paper the number of publications dealing directly with the Turfan Sanskrit manuscripts has grown to well over a hundred. A list of these publications up to 1991 was compiled by different scholars who contributed to various volumes of the catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts from the Turfan discoveries. As is well known, the two most important scholars who dominated this field for the better part of this century are Heinrich LÜDERS and Ernst WALDSCHMIDT. An excellent general survey of this vast and fascinating field of studies was prepared by Lore SANDER for the *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*;<sup>38</sup> unfortunately, however, this survey ends practically where ours begins.

More than a thousand Sanskrit texts, or fragments of texts, have been identified so far. It is impossible to mention them all by name here.<sup>39</sup>

35. Cf. E. WALDSCHMIDT: *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*. Vol. 1, Wiesbaden 1965, catalogue no. 656; cf. also E. WALDSCHMIDT: *Drei Fragmente buddhistischer Sūtras aus den Turfanhandschriften*, Göttingen 1968, pp. 3-16.

36. Cf. Ch. WILLEMEN, D. DESSEIN & C. COX: *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism*. Leiden/New York/Köln 1998, p. 126. The above statement, however, is perhaps too sweeping, and one also has to differentiate between the Buddhist missionary activity on the Northern and on the Southern Silk Roads.

37. Cf. L. SANDER: *Paläographisches zu den Sanskrihandschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung*. Wiesbaden 1968.

38. Cf. *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, ed. by J. DHIRASEKERA, vol. VI, [Colombo] 1979, pp. 52-75, s.v. "Buddhist Literature in Central Asia."

39. Complete lists of the identified texts can be found in the respective volumes of the *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*. Vols 10.1-7.

All I can note here is that a large portion of manuscripts belongs to the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivāda, but that there are also *sūtras*, narrative texts (*avadānas*), Abhidharma and philosophical texts, ritual texts (*raṅṅas*, *dhāraṅīs*, *mantras*), Mahāyānasūtras, poetic texts, plays, and grammatical and medical texts. A number of manuscripts belong to the Kuṣāṅa period (1st-3rd century), i.e., these fragmentary manuscripts are considerably older than Indian manuscripts.

Although numerous papers dealing with the Turfan texts have been published over the last 25 years, I know of only three monographs that belong to this period, excepting, of course, the seven volumes of the catalogue and the fascicles of the dictionary. BECHERT studied the so-called Marburg fragments of the *Saddharmapuṅḍarīkasūtra*. He re-establishes that the *Sdhp.* has only two, not three, recensions (Nepalese-Kashmirian and Central Asian) by showing that the Gilgit manuscripts represent an earlier stage of the Nepalese recension. He also discovered that five incomplete Central Asian manuscripts belonged to a single manuscript, different portions of which were sold by the locals to the Russian, English, German and Japanese expeditions.<sup>40</sup> Another important conclusion of this study is that the *Saddharmapuṅḍarīka* was originally a Middle Indic text, but that the original was transmitted orally and a process of Sanskritisation had started already with the first redaction. The study also contains strong criticism of Franklin EDGERTON's conception of so-called Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit as forming a dialectal unity; furthermore, BECHERT points out that EDGERTON's grammar and dictionary do not account for the special language and history of the *Sdhp.*<sup>41</sup>

Jens-Uwe HARTMANN prepared an excellent edition of the Sanskrit fragments of the *Vaṅṅārhavaṅṅastotra* of the popular poet Mātrceṭa, accompanied by an edition of the Tibetan translation and a careful and reliable translation. HARTMANN was able to use 73 new fragments and thus improve significantly upon previous work by Sh. BAILEY, PAULY, COUVREUR, etc.<sup>42</sup> Klaus SCHMIDT reconstructed the badly corrupt final

40. 1) The Kashgar manuscript in the collection of Petrovsky; 2) four leaves edited by Lüders; 3) The Marburg fragments; 4) a manuscript in the British Museum; 5) six leaves in the Otani collection.

41. Cf. H. BECHERT: *Über die 'Marburger Fragmente' des Saddharmapuṅḍarīka, mit einem Beitrag von Jongchay Rinpoche. Ernst Waldschmidt zum 75. Geburtstag am 15.7.1972.* Göttingen 1972.

42. Cf. J.-U. HARTMANN: *Das Vaṅṅārhavaṅṅastotra des Mātrceṭa.* Göttingen 1987.

portion (15 verses) of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Sarvāstivādins on the basis of Sanskrit and Tokharian manuscripts.<sup>43</sup>

Although it is outside the scope of this survey, I would also like to point out the work of Georg VON SIMSON (Oslo) who edited the fragments of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Sarvāstivādins on the basis of transcriptions prepared by Else LÜDERS and Herbert HÄRTEL.<sup>44</sup>

Further, one has to mention here the outstanding contributions of Klaus WILLE and Haiyan HU-VON HINÜBER, even though they are based on the Gilgit manuscripts (in contradistinction to the Turfan manuscripts). WILLE's study of the manuscripts of the *Vinayavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*<sup>45</sup> contains a very useful detailed description of the Gilgit manuscripts of the *Vinayavastu* that are dispersed all over the world. Wille also discovered and edited new fragments and prepared a survey of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* fragments discovered at Turfan. HU-VON HINÜBER provides us with a reliable critical edition and careful translation of the Sanskrit text (and of the Tibetan translation for the missing portions) of the *Poṣadhavastu* of the Vinaya of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* school. The edition and translation are preceded by a very learned investigation into the special characteristics of the language and terminology of the *Poṣadhavastu*.<sup>46</sup>

#### *A note on Buddhist texts in Central Asian languages*

Of course the Turfan discoveries include manuscripts not only in Sanskrit but also in Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian and various Central Asian languages such as Uigur. Most of the Buddhist Uigur texts were discovered by the Turfan expeditions. Among studies in this field one should note, in addition to the Uigur-German dictionary mentioned above, several works on the famous Maitreya text *Maitrisimit* that was translated into Uigur from Tocharian. Annemarie VON GABAIN, the 'mother-

43. Cf. K.T. SCHMIDT: *Der Schlussteil des Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins: Text in Sanskrit und Tocharisch A verglichen mit den Parallelversionen anderer Schulen*. Göttingen 1989.

44. Cf. *Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins. Nach Vorarbeiten von Else Lüders und Herbert Härtel herausgegeben von Georg von Simson. Teil I*. Göttingen 1986.

45. Cf. K. WILLE: *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Vinayavastu der Mūlasarvāstivādins*. Stuttgart 1990.

46. Cf. H. HU-VON HINÜBER: *Das Poṣadhavastu. Vorschriften für die buddhistische Beichtfeier im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins*. Reinbeck 1994.

figure' of Old Turkic studies in Germany,<sup>47</sup> has published a facsimile edition of this text, which is, surprisingly enough, attributed to the Vai-bhāṣika school in the colophon.<sup>48</sup> Şinasi TEKIN transliterated and translated the text.<sup>49</sup> Jens Peter LAUT's study of early Turkic Buddhism and its literary monuments also centers on it.<sup>50</sup> Finally, the first five chapters of the Hami version (found not in Turfan, but in Sängim and Murtuq) of the *Maitrisimit* were edited and translated by GENG Shimin and Hans-Joachim KLIMKEIT.<sup>51</sup>

Over the last decade the German Research Council has financed a major project on the life and work of Xuanzang (600-664) on the basis of his most important Chinese biography *Cien zhuan* as well as its Old Turkic translation. So far five volumes have appeared as the outcome of this project.<sup>52</sup> The biography was translated into Old Turkic approximately in the 10th century, and the Turkic text is used for clarification of problematic passages in the Chinese original.

An important centre for Uigur studies has been the Central Institute for Ancient History and Archæology of the (East) German Academy of Sciences (Zentralinstitut für alte Geschichte und Archäologie, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin). After World War II most of the ca. 8,000 Turkic fragments of the Turfan collection came to be held

47. Cf. P. ZIEME: "Annemarie v. Gabain und die Turfanforschung," in *Turfan, Khotan und Dunhuan*. Vorträge der Tagung 'Annemarie v. Gabain und die Turfanforschung,' veranstaltet von der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin (9.-12.12.1994), ed. R.E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann, I. Warnke and P. Zieme, Berlin 1996.

48. Cf. A. V. GABAIN: *Maitrisimit. Faksimile der alttürkischen Version eines Werkes der buddhistischen Vaibhāṣika-Schule*. Wiesbaden 1957.

49. Cf. Ş. TEKIN: *Maitrisimit nom bitig. Die uigurische Übersetzung eines Werkes der buddhistischen Vaibhāṣika-Schule*. Teil 1: Transliteration, Übersetzung, Anmerkungen; Teil 2: Analytischer und rückläufiger Index. Berlin 1980.

50. Cf. J.P. LAUT: *Der frühe türkische Buddhismus und seine literarischen Denkmäler*. Wiesbaden 1986.

51. Cf. G. SHIMIN and H.-J. KLIMKEIT: *Das Zusammentreffen mit Maitreya. Die ersten fünf Kapitel der Hami-Version der Maitrisimit*. Teil I: Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar. Teil II: Faksimiles und Indices. Wiesbaden 1988.

52. Cf. A. L. MAYER and K. RÖHRBORN: *Xuanzangs Leben und Werk*. 5 vols. Wiesbaden 1991-1996. [I could consult only three of these volumes.]

For a further "by-product" of this project cf. FRANKENHAUSER's study of the introduction of Buddhist logic to China.

in East Berlin,<sup>53</sup> and the series published by the above mentioned Institute (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients, Berliner Turfantexte) contains some important studies of Turkic Buddhism that are based on materials from the Turfan collection. The central figure in these studies is Peter ZIEME, who in addition to his own independent publications,<sup>54</sup> also collaborated with Georg HAZAI on the edition and the translation of "Jin'gangjing and the Gāthās of Master Fu"<sup>55</sup> and with György KARA (from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences) on Uigur translations of the "Deep Way" by Sa skya paṇḍita and the *Mañjuśrī-nāmasaṃgīti*.<sup>56</sup> The collaboration between the East German and the Hungarian Academies of Sciences made possible another joint publication by ZIEME and KARA concerned with Naropa's teachings in Uigur translations from the Tibetan.<sup>57</sup> Dieter MAUE has recently edited and transliterated Old Turkic documents in Brāhmī and Tibetan script.<sup>58</sup>

Among collective works one should note the lectures presented at the Hamburg Symposium on the languages of Buddhism in Central Asia,<sup>59</sup> and the volume edited by LAUT and RÖHRBORN on narrative literature

53. Cf. P. ZIEME: "Die Turfan-Sammlung der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Die türkischen Texte," in *Orientalistische Bibliotheken und Sammlungen, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek*, Berlin 1970, pp. 39-53.
54. Cf. P. ZIEME: *Zur buddhistischen Stabreimdichtung der Uiguren*. Berlin 1985 (Habilitationsschrift). Cf. also his *Altun Yaruq Sudur. Vorworte und das erste Buch. Edition und Übersetzung der alttürkischen Version des Goldglanzsūtra*. Turnhout (Belgium) 1996. ZIEME's work is not limited to Buddhist studies alone; cf. his *Manichäisch-türkische Texte*. Berlin 1975.
55. Cf. G. HAZAI and P. ZIEME: *Fragmente der uigurischen Version des "Jin'gangjing mit den Gāthās des Meister Fu," nebst einem Anhang von T. Inokuchi*. Berlin 1971.
56. Cf. G. KARA and P. ZIEME: *Die uigurischen Übersetzungen des Guruyogas 'Tiefer Weg' von Sa-skya Paṇḍita und der Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*. Berlin 1977.
57. Cf. P. ZIEME und G. KARA: *Ein uigurisches Totenbuch: Naropas Lehre in uigurischer Übersetzung von vier tibetischen Traktaten nach der Sammelhandschrift aus Dunhuang, British Museum Or. 8212 (109)*. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 22. Budapest 1978. Cf. also G. KARA: *Fragmente tantrischer Werke in uigurischer Übersetzung, mit 82 Faksimiles auf 49 Tafeln*. Berlin 1976.
58. Cf. D. MAUE: *Alttürkische Handschriften Teil I. Dokumente in brāhmī und tibetscher Schrift*. Stuttgart 1996.
59. Cf. K. RÖHRBORN and W. VEENKER (eds.): *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien: Vorträge des Hamburger Symposions vom 2. Juli bis 5. Juli 1981*. Wiesbaden 1983.

and hagiography in the Turkic tradition.<sup>60</sup> Japanese studies on Turkic Buddhism have gained in importance since World War II; a useful guide to this literature has been provided by LAUT and RÖHRBORN.<sup>61</sup>

As for the Iranian Central Asian languages, the authority in this area is Ronald EMMERICK at the University of Hamburg. A complete bibliography of his publications up to 1993 can be found in the appendix to his own *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*.<sup>62</sup> In the course of his research on the Khotanese fragments of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* he also prepared a translation of the Sanskrit text.<sup>63</sup> For Iranian studies one should further mention the work of David Neil MACKENZIE. A complete bibliography of his publications up to 1991 has been compiled in his felicitation volume.<sup>64</sup>

David UTZ has published a very useful survey of Buddhist Sogdian studies.<sup>65</sup> He points out that between 1942 and 1974 no work was done in Sogdian studies and that most of the material in the Turfan collection remains unpublished.<sup>66</sup> Most of the Sogdian texts were translated from the Chinese, probably in the 7th and 8th centuries during the T'ang domination of Central Asia, and they reflect the unsettled condition of the Chinese canon in this period.

A survey of Tocharian studies has been provided by Werner THOMAS.<sup>67</sup>

#### 4. *Abhidharma*

Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* (*bhāṣya*) naturally occupies a very central position in Abhidharma studies. Bhikkhu PĀSĀDIKA studied

60. Cf. J.P. LAUT, and K. RÖHRBORN (eds.): *Buddhistische Erzählliteratur und Hagiographie in türkischer Überlieferung*. Wiesbaden 1990.

61. Cf. J.P. LAUT and K. RÖHRBORN: *Der türkische Buddhismus in der japanischen Forschung*. Wiesbaden 1988.

62. R. EMMERICK: *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*, 2nd revised and enlarged edition. Tokyo 1992, pp. 53-61.

63. Cf. R.E. EMMERICK: *The Sūtra of Golden Light*, 3rd revised ed., Oxford 1996.

64. Cf. *Corolla Iranica. Papers in honour of Prof. Dr. David Neil MacKenzie on the occasion of his 65th birthday on April 8th, 1991*, ed. R.E. EMMERICK and D. WEBER. Frankfurt, Bern, New York, Paris 1991, pp. vii-xviii.

65. Cf. D.A. UTZ: *A Survey of Buddhist Sogdian Studies*. Tokyo 1980.

66. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 6.

67. Cf. W. THOMAS: *Die Erforschung des Tocharischen (1960-1984)*. Wiesbaden 1984. Unfortunately, this work is not available to me.

some 536 canonical quotations in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and demonstrated with a high degree of probability that the texts quoted by Vasubandhu belong to the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions.<sup>68</sup>

Yoshihito MUROJI prepared a precise edition and translation of two chapters, the *Samśkāravibhaṅga* and the *Vijñānavibhaṅga*, of the *Pratītyasamutpādavyākhyā* of Vasubandhu. In his book he also investigates the introduction of the concept of *ālayavijñāna* into Vasubandhu's "system" and appends parallel passages from one Tibetan and two Chinese translations of the *Karmasiddhi* dealing with the nature of the body and *karman* as well as with the meaning of the words designating them.<sup>69</sup>

In this connection I would also like to draw attention to the useful work by Marek MEJOR on the commentaries of the *Abhidharmakośa* preserved in the Tanjur; MEJOR conducted his research partly in Bonn and Hamburg, in part also in Budapest, Oxford, Cambridge and London.<sup>70</sup>

For the earlier period, prior to Vasubandhu, mention must be made of the recent valuable study of momentariness by Alexander VON ROSPATT.<sup>71</sup> Although this doctrine has often been the object of study in its forms posterior to Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, especially as it is presented in the late *pramāṇa* texts dating from the 7th to the 11th centuries, its form and development before Vasubandhu have not been the focus of significant work since de LA VALLÉE POUSSIN collected the relevant materials in 1937.<sup>72</sup> VON ROSPATT enlarged the scope of the enquiry, notably, by a thorough investigation of early Yogācāra sources. He also translated two long sections on *anityatā* and the proof of momentariness from the fourth chapter of the *Hsien-yang shêng-chiao*

68. Cf. Bhikkhu PĀSĀDIKA: *Kanonische Zitate im Abhidharmakośabhāṣya des Vasubandhu*. Göttingen 1989.

69. Cf. Y.G. MUROJI: *Vasubandhus Interpretation des Pratītyasamutpāda*. Stuttgart 1993.

70. Cf. M. MEJOR: *Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa and the Commentaries Preserved in the Tanjur*. Stuttgart 1991.

71. Cf. A. VON ROSPATT: *The Buddhist Doctrine of Momentariness. A Survey of the Origins and Early Phase of this Doctrine up to Vasubandhu*. Stuttgart 1995.

72. Cf. L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN: "Document de l'Abhidharma: La Controverse du Temps. III: Notes sur le moment (*kṣaṇa*) des Vaibhāṣikas et des Sautrāntikas." *Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* V, 1937, pp. 134-158.



*lun* attributed to Asaṅga. After examining several hypotheses for the origin of the doctrine of momentariness, VON ROSPATT rejects the suppositions that the concept of the momentariness of matter was derived from that of the momentariness of mind and that the driving force behind this doctrine was a spiritual practice such as *smṛtyupasthāna*. The most likely hypothesis, according to VON ROSPATT, is that the doctrine of the momentariness of matter follows from the denial of substance.

Siglinde DIETZ edited the fragments of the Gilgit manuscript of the *Dharmaskandha*, one of the seven early Abhidharma works that formed the *Abhidharmapiṭaka* of the Sarvāstivāda. Most of the fragments deal with the twelve members of *pratīyasamutpāda*. DIETZ describes the manuscript from a palæographical point of view, points out the grammatical peculiarities of the text in declension, conjugation, compounds and syntax, analyses the structure of the work and identifies quotations of the text in later Abhidharma works.<sup>73</sup>

### 5. Narrative and poetic literature

Research in narrative literature is conducted primarily by Michael HAHN.<sup>74</sup> Among his numerous studies in this area, one may mention his edition, in collaboration with Gudrun BÜHNEMANN, of the *Mahaj-jātakamālā*.<sup>75</sup> The *MJM* is one of the longest texts in the corpus of Buddhist literature; it consists of 9277 stanzas in 50 chapters. Unfortunately, some parts of the text are missing. Had the manuscripts been complete, the text would have contained 11,000 stanzas. The main sources of this compilation are the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka*, the *Jātakamālās* of Āryasūra, Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta, and the *Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍaka-*

73. Cf. S. DIETZ: *Fragmente des Dharmaskandha. Ein Abhidharma-Text in Sanskrit aus Gilgit*. Göttingen 1984.

74. Beside being the foremost authority on Buddhist narrative and gnomic literature in Germany, HAHN is also the author of the most successful textbook for the study of classical Tibetan. Cf. M. HAHN: *Lehrbuch der klassischen tibetischen Schriftsprache*. 5. verbesserte Auflage. Bonn 1985. First published in 1971. The revision of this popular primer is unfortunately not as thorough as it should have been, and important problems raised in discussions of the book were not taken into account. In the preface, HAHN announces his intention to address these problems in a forthcoming English translation.

75. Cf. M. HAHN: *Der grosse Legendenkranz (Mahajjātakamālā). Eine mittelalterliche buddhistische Legendensammlung aus Nepal*. Nach Vorarbeiten von Gudrun Bühnemann und Michael Hahn herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Michael Hahn. Wiebaden 1985.

*kathā*. In his learned introduction, HAHN places the *MJM* in the context of Buddhist narrative literature, summarizes the contents of the text, and describes the development of Buddhist literature from the 1st to the 11th centuries. Of particular importance are his notes on Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta which were the object of a separate earlier study.<sup>76</sup>

HAHN also edited and translated the *Lokānanda* of Candragomin.<sup>77</sup> The *Lokānanda* is a stage adaptation of the popular legend of Prince Mañicūda; with the notable exception of Harṣadeva's *Nāgānanda* it is the only complete, i.e., not fragmentary, Indian Buddhist drama to have survived, albeit only in Tibetan (and Mongolian) translation. HAHN argues for the identity of Candragomin the dramatist with the author of *Cāndravyākaraṇa* and *Śiṣyalekha*. This supposition has recently been criticized by Thomas OBERLIES in his study of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*.<sup>78</sup>

HAHN also edited the Tibetan text and translated the *Prajñāśataka* attributed to Nāgārjuna.<sup>79</sup> In an earlier study, Hahn demonstrated that this text had exercised a strong influence on Sa skya paṇḍita when he composed the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*. In the introduction HAHN argues in detail, against LINDTNER's view, that the author of the *Prajñāśataka* is identical with Nāgārjuna the Mādhyamika, on the basis of certain similarities of the text with the *Suhyllekha* and the *Ratnāvalī*. However, because the attribution of these two works to Nāgārjuna is also doubtful a definitive conclusion regarding this issue is not possible (cf. also the Madhyamaka section below).

## 6. Epistolary literature

Epistolary literature is a relatively minor genre of Buddhist literature, and it is not surprising that only one important work can be pointed out

76. Cf. M. HAHN: *Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta: Two Authors in the Succession of Āryaśūra. On the Rediscovery of their Jātakamālās*. Tokyo 1977.

77. Cf. M. HAHN: *Candragomins Lokānandanāṭaka. Nach dem tibetischen Tanjur herausgegeben und übersetzt. Ein Beitrag zur klassischen indischen Schauspiel-dichtung*. Wiesbaden 1974.

78. Cf. T. OBERLIES: *Studie zum Cāndravyākaraṇa. Eine kritische Bearbeitung von Candra IV.4.5-148 und V.2*. Stuttgart 1989. Cf. also HAHN's thoughtful reply, which raises important methodological issues, in "Über den indirekten Beweis bei literaturhistorischen Fragestellungen." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 36 (1992): 91-103.

79. Cf. M. HAHN: *Hundert Strophen von der Lebensklugheit. Nāgārjunas Prajñāśataka*. Bonn 1990.

in this area, namely, DIETZ's *Die buddhistische Briefliteratur Indiens*.<sup>80</sup> This is an important contribution to the genre of Indian literature known as *lekha*. Of the twelve surviving letters, only one *lekha* is preserved in the original Sanskrit, namely, Candragomin's *Śiṣyalekha*, and remains unedited; the others are all available in Tibetan translations, and one also exists in Chinese, namely, Nāgārjuna's *Suhr̥llekha*. DIETZ edited and translated nine letters in this book. Editions and translations of the remaining three are currently under preparation either by DIETZ herself or by Michael HAHN, her doctoral supervisor. In her introduction DIETZ discusses the development of the *lekha* genre in India and Tibet. Without the original Sanskrit being available, the vocabulary of the Tibetan translations is sometimes very difficult to grasp, and in some cases Dietz uses the Mongolian translation of the Tanjur to elucidate the meaning of Tibetan words.

### 7. Madhyamaka

Madhyamaka studies are relatively neglected in Germany. If we disregard the few years that David SEYFORTH RUEGG spent in Hamburg, Max WALLESER seems to have been the last Madhyamaka specialist in Germany before Félix ERB. Nevertheless, some important work has been accomplished in this area as well, notably, HAHN's edition of the *Ratnāvalī*.<sup>81</sup> Out of some 500 verses almost 300 (exactly 298 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>) are extant in the original Sanskrit. The question of the authorship of this text is not yet settled. In spite of LINDTNER's view to the contrary,<sup>82</sup> there is no compelling reason to accept the attribution of this work to Nāgārjuna; many scholars have voiced serious doubts as to whether this work could have been written by the author of the *Mūlamadhyamakākārikā*. HAHN's student Yokihiko OKADA edited the Tibetan translation of the commentary *Ratnāvalīṭīkā* by Ajitamitra.<sup>83</sup> Bhikkhu PĀSĀDIKA prepared a critical edition of the Tibetan translation of the *Sūtrasamuccaya*<sup>84</sup> which he claims to be an authentic work by the author of the

80. S. DIETZ: *Die buddhistische Briefliteratur Indiens. Nach dem tibetischen Tanjur herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert*. Wiesbaden 1984.

81. Cf. M. HAHN: *Nāgārjuna's Ratnāvalī*. Vol. I: The basic texts (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese). Bonn 1982.

82. Cf. Ch. LINDTNER: *Nāgārjuniana*, repr. Delhi 1987, pp. 163-169.

83. Cf. Y. OKADA: *Die Ratnāvalīṭīkā des Ajitamitra*. Bonn 1990.

84. Cf. Bhikkhu PĀSĀDIKA: *Nāgārjuna's Sūtrasamuccaya: A Critical Edition of the Mdo Kun Las Btus Pa*. København 1989.

*Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*; he promises to discuss this and other topics in a forthcoming study.

The only Madhyamaka philologist who is currently active in Germany is Félix ERB who specializes in the works of Candrakīrti. Even though he has been working in this field for many years his first publication appeared only this year (1997). It consists of an edition and translation of Candrakīrti's extremely difficult commentary on the first 14 verses of Nāgārjuna's *Śūnyatāsaptati*.<sup>85</sup>

However, the most important contribution to the interpretation of Nāgārjuna's thought is a series of articles by Claus OETKE in which he proposes a new interpretation of Nāgārjuna's philosophy. For lack of a better term one may call it a nihilist interpretation. However, this interpretation is not a revival of older nihilist interpretations like the one proposed by de LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. Rather, OETKE's new interpretation of Nāgārjuna's philosophy rests above all on a rigorous new analysis of the "mechanism" of Nāgārjuna's proofs of non-existence.<sup>86</sup>

85. Cf. F. ERB: *Śūnyatāsaptativṛtti. Candrakīrtis Kommentar zu den "Siebzig Versen über die Leerheit" des Nāgārjuna [Kārikās 1-14]*. Stuttgart 1997. In this connection I also want to point out ERB's Dr. phil. thesis: *Die Śūnyatāsaptati des Nāgārjuna und die Śūnyatāsaptativṛtti [Verse 1-32]*. Hamburg 1990. This dissertation has not been commercially published and thus cannot be purchased, but according to the academic regulations for unpublished dissertations 175 copies were delivered to the Faculty of Oriental Studies for the purpose of distribution.

86. So far the following articles have been published:

1) "Die metaphysische Lehre Nāgārjunas," *Conceptus*, Jahrgang XXII, Nr. 56 (1988): 47-64.

2) "Rationalismus und Mystik in der Philosophie Nāgārjunas," *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 15 (1989): 1-39.

3) "On some non-formal aspects of the proofs of the Madhyamakakārikās," in *Earliest Buddhism and Madhyamaka*, ed. D. SEYFORTH RUEGG and L. SCHMITHAUSEN, Leiden 1990, pp. 91-109.

4) "Remarks on the interpretation of Nāgārjuna's philosophy," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 19 (1991): 315-323.

5) "Pragmatic Implicatures and Text-Interpretation. (The Alleged Logical Error of the Negation of the Antecedent in Mūlamadhyamakakārikā)," *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 16 (1992): 185-233.

6) "'Nihilist' and 'non-nihilist' interpretations of Madhyamaka" (Review article of T.E. WOOD, *Nāgārjunian Disputations. A Philosophical Journey through an Indian Looking-Glass*. Honolulu 1994), *Acta Orientalia* 57 (1996): 57-104.

Strictly speaking, only the first two or three papers should count as part of German Buddhist studies; the rest should be considered as Swedish studies since OETKE's appointment to the Chair of Indology at the University of Stockholm.

In this connection one may also mention that a large number of additional manuscripts of Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* was found recently in Nepal; these manuscripts have been microfilmed and are available through the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project. Anne MACDONALD at the University of Hamburg is currently preparing a new edition and translation of the crucial first chapter of the *Prasannapadā* on the basis of these and further manuscripts.

### 8. *Yogācāra*

The absolute authority on *Yogācāra* texts is Lambert SCHMITHAUSEN, who is undoubtedly one of the greatest Buddhist scholars of this century. He has a vast and detailed knowledge of Buddhist texts in all the major Buddhist languages (Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese and Japanese), as well as of modern Buddhist scholarship. SCHMITHAUSEN has written important studies – his papers often constituting small monographs – on canonical Buddhism, Aśokan inscriptions, Abhidharma, Mahāyānasūtras and *pramāṇa*-literature. His specialty, however, is the *Yogācāra* school. Soon after completing his Dr. phil. thesis on the theory of error in Indian philosophy, which centers on Maṇḍanamiśra's *Vibhramaviveka*,<sup>87</sup> SCHMITHAUSEN shifted his focus of interest to early *Yogācāra*. His first major publication in this field was an edition and thoroughly annotated translation of the so-called *Nirvāṇa*-section of the *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi* with extracts from Tao Lan's commentary *Yü-ch'ieh-shih-ti-lun-chi*. In his major work, *Ālayavijñāna*,<sup>88</sup> SCHMITHAUSEN attempted to determine the reasons for the assumption of the existence of an *ālayavijñāna* by *Yogācāra* authors. He advances the hypothesis that the *ālayavijñāna* was postulated in order to account for the re-emergence of consciousness after states such as *nirodha-samāpatti* in which consciousness seems to be interrupted. *Ālayavijñāna* in the "Initial Passage" (SCHMITHAUSEN's term for the passage in the *Yogācārabhūmi* which he takes to represent the literary and conceptual starting point of the *ālayavijñāna* theory) would thus mean "the mind [that is characterized by] sticking [in the material sense

87. Cf. L. SCHMITHAUSEN: *Maṇḍanamiśra's Vibhramavivekaḥ*. Wien 1965. Apart from an edition and translation of this difficult and partly corrupt text, the book contains a superb study of the theory of error in Indian philosophy from its very beginning in the philosophical *sūtras* until the post-Maṇḍana period.

88. Cf. L. SCHMITHAUSEN: *Ālayavijñāna. On the Origin and Early Development of a Central Concept of Yogācāra Philosophy*. 2 vols. Tokyo 1987.

faculties].” SCHMITHAUSEN also discerned a strong Sāṅkhya influence in the choice of the term *ālaya* for this form of the unconscious mind: *ālaya* and *pravṛtti* are analogous to *pralaya* and *vṛtti*. The *ālayavijñāna* was then used to solve further problems. It was identified with *vijñāna*, the third member of *pratīyasamutpāda*, and connected to the theory of *karman*; thus it became “the mind to which [all (polluted) dharmas] stick [as its effects]” or “the mind which sticks [to all (polluted) dharmas as their cause].”<sup>89</sup> Consequently, the *ālayavijñāna* was devalued and associated with notions such as “badness” (*dauṣṭhulya*).

After the completion of *Ālayavijñāna*, SCHMITHAUSEN merged his scholarship with his increasing concern about the large-scale and systematic destruction of the environment. He published two monographs and a large number of papers on Buddhism and nature, in the hope that Buddhist ethics and Weltanschauung might provide an alternative to the ruthless exploitation of plants, living beings and the environment in general by the human species.<sup>90</sup>

SCHMITHAUSEN’s investigations into early Yogācāra were continued by his student Hidenori SAKUMA who wrote his dissertation on the concept of *āśrayaparivṛtti* in the *Yogācārabhūmi*.<sup>91</sup> SAKUMA showed that the “transformation of the base” is interpreted in certain sections as a psychological transformation due to which the “base” becomes free from “badness” and filled with “ease” (*praśrabdhi*); in other sections “badness” stands in opposition to power or control (*vaśitā*), and in still others “badness” is opposed to wisdom (*vidyādhātu*).

The latest important contribution to Yogācāra studies is by Klaus-Dieter MATHES with his study of the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*.<sup>92</sup> MATHES edited and translated this important text together with Vasubandhu’s *Dharmadharmatāvibhāgavṛtti* and the modern Tibetan commentary by Mi pham ’jam dbyaṅs nam rgyal rgya mtsho (1846-1912).

89. Cf. L. SCHMITHAUSEN: *Ālayavijñāna*, §3.13.8.

90. Cf. L. SCHMITHAUSEN: *Buddhism and Nature*. Tokyo 1991. – *The Problem of the Sentience of Plants in Earliest Buddhism*. Tokyo 1991. Cf. also *Buddhism and Nature. Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Occasion of EXPO 1990*. Tokyo 1991.

91. Cf. H.S. SAKUMA: *Die Āśrayaparivṛtti-Theorie in der Yogācārabhūmi*. Stuttgart 1990.

92. Cf. K.-D. MATHES: *Unterscheidung der Gegebenheiten von ihrem wahren Wesen (Dharmadharmatāvibhāga)*. Swisttal-Odendorf 1996.

### 9. *Pramāṇa*

Immodest as this may sound, I believe that I am currently the only “German scholar” who specializes in Buddhist philosophy.<sup>93</sup> Although Lambert SCHMITHAUSEN is one of the foremost specialists also in this field, he has not been actively engaged in *pramāṇa* studies for many years now. SCHMITHAUSEN’s vast knowledge, philosophical acumen and scrupulousness are reflected in one of the first dissertations he supervised, that of Takashi IWATA.<sup>94</sup> In this thesis IWATA studied the well-known argument for idealism: Because an object, such as a blue color, and its cognition are always perceived together, the object and its cognition are not different from each other. IWATA presented with great care and precision the different interpretations of this argument by all the important logicians from Dharmakīrti onwards (Devendrabuddhi, Śākyabuddhi, Dharmottara, Kamalaśīla, Prajñākaragupta, Ratnākaraśānti, Jitāri, etc.) as well as the ramifications this argument has for crucial issues such as the distinction between a means of knowledge and its result (*pramāṇa* and *pramāṇaphala*), and the controversy whether a cognition has a form of its own or not (*sākāra-* vs. *nirākāravijñānavāda*). IWATA’s superb study has been hitherto almost completely ignored, and I am glad to have this opportunity to draw attention to it. More recently, Iwata published a monograph on the technical terms *prasaṅga* and *prasaṅgaviparyaya* which reflect different employments of *reductio ad absurdum*.<sup>95</sup> IWATA is also engaged in a translation of the third chapter of Dharmakīrti’s *Pramāṇaviniścaya*; he has already published two instalments in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*. One hopes, however, that the pace of publication of this important work will be accelerated in the future.

93. I use “philosophy” here in the technical sense as equivalent to *pramāṇasāstra*. Some scholars may wish to consider Abhidharma or Yogācāra texts as philosophical texts. I cannot enter into this topic here; I merely want to make clear how I use the word “philosophy” in the present context.

94. Although IWATA’s dissertation was submitted in 1979, it was published only in 1991; cf. T. IWATA: *Sahopalambhaniyama: Struktur und Entwicklung des Schlusses von der Tatsache, dass Erkenntnis und Gegenstand ausschliesslich zusammen wahrgenommen werden, auf deren Nichtverschiedenheit*. 2 Vols. Stuttgart 1991.

95. Cf. T. IWATA: *Prasaṅga und Prasaṅgaviparyaya bei Dharmakīrti und seinen Kommentatoren*. Wien 1993.

In this connection mention must be made of two studies by Claus OETKE of the theory of inference, one concerning the doctrine of *trairūpya*, the other – which is quite unreadable – the *sattvānumāna*.<sup>96</sup> However, according to the criteria adopted here, these should count as Swedish publications.

Finally, my own research on Buddhist philosophy is mainly contained in two books. The first is a study of the sceptical Cārvāka philosopher Jayarāśi, and about half of it is devoted to his devastating criticism of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti; the second is concerned primarily with the proofs of rebirth adduced by Dharmakīrti and Prajñākaragupta.<sup>97</sup> In the post-Dharmakīrti period there were two towering figures in Buddhist philosophy: Dharmottara and Prajñākaragupta. While Dharmottara's work has received much attention in Western scholarship from early on and several of his works have been translated into various European languages, namely, *Apoḥaprakaraṇa*, *Kṣaṇabhāṅgasiddhi*, *Nyāyabinduṭkā*, *Paralokasiddhi* and *Laghuprāmāṇyaparīkṣā*, Prajñākaragupta's work has been hitherto almost completely ignored. In fact, my above-mentioned book contains the first attempt to translate and study in detail a part of his writings. Motoi ONO, who studied in Vienna, translated Prajñākaragupta's comments on *Pramāṇavārttika* 2.1-6. His dissertation is due to appear soon in the "Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde."

### 10. Tibetan Buddhism<sup>98</sup>

Tibetan studies throughout the world have undergone great changes during the last 25 years.<sup>99</sup> Tibetan Buddhism is no longer studied as a mere tool for a better understanding of Indian Buddhism, but in its own

96. Cf. C. OETKE: *Bemerkungen zur buddhistischen Doktrin der Momentanheit des Seienden. Dharmakīrtis sattvānumānam*. Wien 1993. – *Studies on the Doctrine of trairūpya*. Wien 1994.

97. Cf. E. FRANCO: *Perception, Knowledge and Disbelief. A Study of Jayarāśi's Scepticism*. Stuttgart 1987, Delhi 21994. – *Dharmakīrti on Compassion and Rebirth*. Wien 1997.

98. No attempt has been made here to impose consistency in the transliteration of Tibetan names and terms; the transliterations below follows the usage of the respective authors.

99. One may obtain a reliable notion of current trends in Tibetan studies from the *Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*, eds. H. Krasser, T. Much, E. Steinkellner and H. Tauscher, Wien 1997.



right and as part of Tibetan civilisation. The changing perception of Tibetan Buddhism is also reflected in the choice of texts studied. Less attention is paid to canonical Tibetan texts while indigenous Tibetan writers increasingly occupy the center of the stage. One also notices an increase in historical studies at the expense of philosophical and religious studies. This shift of perspective is clearly reflected in the work of Dieter SCHUH who for many years has been the most prominent Tibetologist in Germany. Among his many accomplishments, one may first note his ground-breaking volume on the different systems of the Tibetan calendar,<sup>100</sup> which remains the standard work on this technical subject. He also continued the work begun by Manfred TAUBE of cataloguing Tibetan manuscripts in German libraries.<sup>101</sup> Furthermore, SCHUH has accomplished the formidable task of publishing historical and diplomatic documents (Urkunden) that are crucial for our understanding of Tibetan history.<sup>102</sup> SCHUH also edits a series on oral

100. Cf. D. SCHUH: *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung*. Wiesbaden 1973.

101. Cf. D. SCHUH: *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke sowie Tonbandaufnahmen tibetischer Erzählungen*. Teil 5 (= Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band XI.5). Wiesbaden, 1973. – *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*. Teil 6. *Gesammelte Werke des Kon-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas*. (= Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band XI.6). Wiesbaden 1976.

The first four volumes by M. TAUBE deal with Tibetan manuscripts in what used to be the German Democratic Republic (DDR), i.e., in Altenburg, Dresden, Berlin, Halle and Herrnhut. Cf. also vol. 7 by F. Wilhelm and Jampa LOSANG PANGLUNG (1979); vol. 8 and 9 by D. SCHUH (1981, 1985); vol. 10 and 11 by P. SCHWIEGER (1990, 1995). For SCHWIEGER's work cf. also P. SCHWIEGER: *Ein tibetisches Wunschgebet um Wiedergeburt in der Sukhāvati*. St. Augustin 1978.

102. Cf. D. SCHUH: *Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Urkunden des tibetischen Mittelalters und ihrer Diplomatik*. St. Augustin 1977. – *Urkunden und Sendschreiben aus Zentraltibet, Ladakh und Zanskar*. Teil I: Faksimiles. St. Augustin 1976. – and L.S. DAGYAB: *Urkunden, Erlasse und Sendschreiben aus dem Besitz sikkimesischer Adelshäuser und des Klosters Phodang*. St. Augustin 1978. – and J.K. PHUKHANG: *Urkunden und Sendschreiben aus Zentraltibet, Ladakh und Zanskar*. Teil II: Edition der Texte. St. Augustin 1979. – *Grundlagen tibetischer Siegelkunde. Eine Untersuchung über tibetische Siegelaufschriften in 'Phags-pa-Schrift*. St. Augustin 1981. – *Das Archiv des Klosters bKra-šis-bsam-gtan-glin von sKyid-groñ*. Teil I: Urkunden zur Klosterordnung, grundlegende Rechtsdokumente und demographisch bedeutsame Dokumente,

narrative literature in various Tibetan dialects to which he contributed the first volume.<sup>103</sup> Each volume is dedicated to a different dialect and contains also a sketch of the particular features of the dialect.

SCHUH's work may be contrasted with that of Helmut EIMER which is exemplary for the way philologists with a Sanskrit background approach Tibetan studies. EIMER began to study the history of the transmission of the Kanjur at a time when "Kanjurology" as an area of study did not yet exist. However, with the continuing discovery of old Kanjurs, such as most recently the one in Tabo (cf. the survey on Austrian Buddhism below), Kanjur studies have become one of the most pressing tasks for "emancipated"<sup>104</sup> Tibetan philology, and EIMER's numerous meticulous studies make him an authority in this area.<sup>105</sup> Before he made Kanjur studies his area of specialisation, EIMER contributed several volumes on the life of Atiśa (982-1054), who played a key role in the revival of Buddhism in Tibet in the 11th century. His disciple 'Brom-ston rGyal-ba'i byuñ-gnas (1005-1064) was the founder of the bKa'-gdams-pa school; this school was perceived by Tson-kha-pa to have been renewed by himself as the new bKa'-gdams-pa school, later called Ge-lugs-pa school, that by the 17th century, under the leadership of the Dalai lamas, became the dominant spiritual and political factor of Lamaist Buddhism.<sup>106</sup> Incidentally, EIMER has argued that the correct spelling is

- Findbücher. St. Augustin 1988. The above volumes were published in the series Monumenta Tibetica Historica. Abteilung III: Diplomata et Epistolae. Vols. 1-6.
103. Cf. D. SCHUH: *Märchen, Sagen und Schwänke vom Dach der Welt*. St. Augustin 1982. To date 12 volumes appeared in the series "Beiträge zur tibetischen Erzählforschung" authored by M. KRETSCHMAR, S. HERMANN, P. SCHWIEGER, M. CAUSEMANN and others.
104. This adjective is used by STEINKELLNER in his preface to the collection of EIMER's papers. [I am not quite sure what it means.] Cf. H. EIMER: *Ein Jahrzehnt Studien zur Überlieferung des tibetischen Kanjur*. Wien 1992.
105. For a complete list of EIMER's publications cf. M. HAHN et al. (eds.): *Suhrl-lekhāh*. Festgabe für Helmut Eimer. Swistal-Odendorf 1996, pp. XIII-XXIII.
106. Cf. H. EIMER: *Berichte über das Leben des Atiśa (Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna)*. Eine Untersuchung der Quellen. Wiesbaden 1977. – *Bodhipathapradīpa: Ein Lehrgedicht des Atiśa (Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna) in der tibetischen Überlieferung*. Wiesbaden 1978 This is a companion volume to the earlier *Berichte*; it contains a critical edition and translation of the Bpp.; cf. also H. EIMER: *rNam thar rgyas pa, Materialien zu einer Biographie des Atiśa (Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna)*. 2 vols. Wiesbaden 1979.

Atiśa, and not Atīśa, because the name must be derived from Sanskrit *atiśaya*.

The University of Bonn, to which SCHUH and EIMER are affiliated, is the largest center for Tibetan studies in Germany and also responsible for the particular German scholarship which combines Tibetology with Mongolian and Central Asian studies. Even though the towering achievements of Annemarie VON GABAIN and Walther HEISSIG are not recent enough to be included in this survey, their influence and the direction they gave to scholarship of this type are still very powerful and noticeable. Rudolf KASCHEWSKY wrote his dissertation on the life of Tson-kha-pa under HEISSIG's supervision.<sup>107</sup> KASCHEWSKY also co-authored with Pema Tsering a translation and study of a Buddhist play from north-eastern Nepal, and an episode from the Gesar Epic.<sup>108</sup> Other outstanding dissertations from the Bonn school include that of Karl-Heinz EVERDING on the "existence-line" of the Mongolian Tulkus called lCañ skya Qutuqtus,<sup>109</sup> and that of Karénina KOLLMAR PAULENZ on the relatively small and little-known gCod-school of Tibetan Buddhism, both supervised by Klaus SAGASTER. SAGASTER is also the editor of a monumental series on iconography and symbolism of Tibetan Buddhism.<sup>110</sup> Five volumes have appeared so far in this series. The iconographical descriptions use a scheme of 23 (in vol. 5 only 19) cate-

107. Cf. R. KASCHEWSKY: *Das Leben des lamaistischen Heiligen Tshongkhapa Blo-bzan-grags-pa* (1357-1419), dargestellt und erläutert anhand seiner Vita "Quellort allen Glückes". 2 Vols. Wiesbaden 1971.
108. Cf. R. KASCHEWSKY and P. Tsering: *Das Leben der Himmelsfee 'Gro-ba bzan-mo. Ein buddhistisches Theaterstück*. Wien 1975. – *Die Eroberung der Burg von Sum-pa*. 2 vols. Wiesbaden 1987.
109. Cf. K.-H. EVERDING: *Die Präexistenzen der lCañ skya Qutuqtus. Untersuchungen zur Konstruktion und historischen Entwicklung einer lamaistischen Existenzlinie*. Wiesbaden 1988.
110. Cf. *Ikongraphie und Symbolik des tibetischen Buddhismus*. Ed. K. SAGASTER. Asiatische Forschungen 77a 77b [1983], 78 [1983], 96 [1987], 99 [1986], 114 [1991]. Wiesbaden. Vol. 1a-b by Loden Sherap DAGYAB and and Namgyal Gonpo RONGE describes the *sādhanas* from the collection of Ba-ri Brgya-rtsa. Vol. 2 by Ursula TOYKA-FUONG provides a detailed description and photographs (in black and white) of the sculptures of the important collection of Werner Schulemann in the Museum of East Asian Art in Köln (63 items). Vol. 3, also by TOKYA-FUONG, describes the sculptures of the collection of Ernst Senner (105 sculptures). Vol. 4 by DAGYAB deals with the *sādhanas* of the collection of Snar-thañ Brgya-rtsa and vol. 5, also by DAGYAB, presents the *sādhanas* of the collection of Sgrubs-thabs 'Dod-jo.

gories, such as gender, appearance, head, face, hair, eyes, mouth, arms, gesture, attributes, legs, position, jewellery, costume, basis and company. This series constitutes an courageous attempt to find a path through the jungle of Tibetan iconography.<sup>111</sup>

Next to Bonn, a few professorships for Tibetan studies have recently been established in Hamburg, Leipzig and Berlin. The first appointee at Hamburg was Gedün LODRÖ who unfortunately died just a few weeks after the beginning of the appointment. David SEYFORT RUEGG became his successor in this position. RUEGG remained in Hamburg only for a short period between 1984-1990. During this time he delivered and published his brilliant Jordan lectures.<sup>112</sup> In this set of five lectures, RUEGG undertook a "topological" study of a pair of opposing and complementary themes for which he uses the etic terms "nature" and "nurture." These etic terms are specified and illuminated by a rich variety of emic terms such as *tathāgatagarbha*, *śūnyatā*, and above all, *krama* and *yaugapadya*, with special reference to the Great Debate at bSam yas.

RUEGG's successor, David JACKSON, is one of the most prolific and versatile writers in Tibetan scholarship. In the last twenty years he has published more than thirty scholarly papers and no less than ten books.<sup>113</sup> His most recent book is a major study of the history of Tibetan

111. For the overall plan for this project cf. K. SAGASTER and L.S. DAGYAB, "Zum Plan einer Sammlung von Materialien zur tibetischen Ikonographie. *Zentral-asiatische Studien* 12 (1978): 359-411.
112. Cf. D. SEYFORT RUEGG, *Buddha-nature, Mind and the Problem of Gradualism in a Comparative Perspective. On the Transmission and Reception of Buddhism in India and Tibet*. [Reprint] Delhi 1992.
113. Cf. D.P. JACKSON, *Gateway to the Temple. Manual of Tibetan Monastic Customs, Art, Building and Celebrations. Text and translation of bsTan 'dzin mkho deb of Chogay Trichen Rinpoche*. Kathmandu 1979.
  - *The Mollas of Mustang. Historical, Religious and Oratorical Traditions of the Nepalese-Tibetan Borderland*. Dharmasala 1984.
  - *Tibetan Thangka Painting Methods and Materials*. London 1985. Rev. Ausg. 1988. [with J. A. Jackson]
  - *The Entrance Gate for the Wise (Section III). Sa-skya Paṇḍita on Indian and Tibetan Traditions of Pramāṇa and Philosophical Debate*. 2 parts. Wien 1987.
  - *Rong-ston on the Prajñāpāramitā Philosophy of Abhisamayālamkāra. His Subcommentary on Haribhadra's 'Sphuṭārthā'*. A Facsimile Reproduction of the Earliest Known Blockprint Edition from an Exemplar Preserved in the Tibet House Library, New Delhi. Kyoto 1988 [together with S. ONODA].
  - *The "Miscellaneous Series" of Tibetan Texts in the Bihar Research Society*,

painting. In this pioneering work, JACKSON presented for the first time many historical documents that provide invaluable information on individual Tibetan painters from the 12th to the 20th century as well as on different styles of painting. JACKSON naturally focuses on central (and Central) Tibet, but also adds informative notes on regional styles such as those of Amdo, Khams, Bhutan, Ladakh, etc. JACKSON is a phenomenally broad reader and has an exquisite control over a wide variety of sources. Although he is primarily an historian, he also accomplished important work in the field of *pramāṇa* in which he continued and partly superseded earlier pioneering studies by Leonard VAN DER KUIJP.

VAN DER KUIJP, now a professor at Harvard, was the first scholar to devote a book-length study to the so-called New Epistemology of Tibet (*tshad ma gsar ma* as opposed to *tshad ma rnying ma* of the 10th and 11th century).<sup>114</sup> It consists of four extremely informative essays on the leading figures of the period between the 11th and the 13th century, namely, Rngog lo tsā ba blo ldan śes rab, Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge, Sa skya paṇḍita and Go ram pa. In presenting the life and work of these seminal figures, VAN DER KUIJP relates the story of how the old epistemology based on *Pramāṇaviniścaya* commentaries was swept aside by Sa skya paṇḍita's shift of attention to the *Pramāṇavārttika*. Further salient work in Hamburg was accomplished by Franz-Karl EHRHARD, whose study of a rDzogs-chen collection of poems is of special interest also for its methodological reflections on the way of approaching and interpreting such texts. In his notes EHRHARD attempts to combine philological and hermeneutical approaches with literary criticism.<sup>115</sup>

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Patna. A Handlist. Stuttgart 1989.

– *The Early Abbots of 'Phan-po Na-lendra. The Vicissitudes of a Great Tibetan Monastery in the 15th Century.* Wien 1989.

– *Two Biographies of Śākyaśrībhadrā. The Eulogy by Khro-phu lo-tśā-ba and its Commentary by bSod-nams-dpal-bzang-po. Text and Variants from Two Rare Exemplars in the Bihar Research Society, Patna.* Stuttgart 1990.

– *Enlightenment by a Single Means. Tibetan Controversies on the "Self-Sufficient White Remedy"* (dkar po chig thub). Wien 1994.

– *A History of Tibetan Painting. The Great Painters and their Traditions.* Wien 1996.

114. L.W.J. VAN DER KUIJP: *Contributions to the Development of Tibetan Buddhist Epistemology. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century.* Wiesbaden 1983.

115. Cf. F.-K. EHRHARD: "Flügelschläge des Garuḍa." *Literar- und ideengeschichtliche Bemerkungen zu einer Liedersammlung des rDzog-chen.* Stuttgart 1990.

Jens-Uwe HARTMANN and Per SÖRENSEN were appointed professors of Tibetology in 1995 at the Universities of Leipzig and Berlin (Humboldt-Universität) respectively. HARTMANN is a specialist in the Turfan manuscripts and has written an important monograph on *Mātr-ceta* (cf. the section on the Turfan discoveries above). Among SÖRENSEN's publications in the period for which he would count as a German Tibetologist, one should mention his translation of the important popular chronicle *rGyal-rab gsal-ba'i me-long* compiled by Bla-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan, which begins with the genesis of the universe and ends at the time of Atiśa.<sup>116</sup> Another important and rare chronicle, the *Me-tog Phren-ba* by Nel-pa Paṇḍita, which quotes long passages from older, otherwise unknown texts, and which is particularly informative for the early period of the spread of Buddhism in Tibet, was edited with facsimiles of the manuscript and translated by Helga UEBACH.<sup>117</sup>

As is clear from the above, the emphasis in Tibetan studies during the last 25 years has not been on canonical Tibetan sources. However, to conclude I may mention two important studies of the language of canonical translations into Tibetan, both of which supplement the earlier achievement of the Norwegian scholar Nils SIMONSSON.<sup>118</sup> Heinz ZIMMERMANN investigated the factors that are responsible for "mistaken" translations from Sanskrit to Tibetan.<sup>119</sup> He also analyses the structure of the Tibetan sentence and thus deals with a relatively neglected aspect of Tibetan grammar. He distinguishes between two fundamental structures: fan structure (Fächerstruktur) and circular structure (Ringstruktur), and shows how complicated sentences can be constructed by

116. Cf. P.K. SÖRENSEN: *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies. An Annotated Translation of the XIVth Century Tibetan Chronicle: rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long*. Wiesbaden 1994.

117. Cf. H. UEBACH: *Nel-pa Paṇḍitas Chronik Me-tog phren-ba: Handschrift der Library of Tibetan Works and Archives. Tibetischer Text in Faksimile, Transkription und Übersetzung*. München 1987.

118. Cf. N. SIMONSSON: *Indo-tibetische Studien. Die Methoden der tibetischen Übersetzer, untersucht im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ihrer Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie*. Upsala 1957.

119. Cf. H. ZIMMERMANN: *Die Subhāṣita-ratna-karaṇḍaka-kathā (dem Āryasūra zugeschrieben) und ihre tibetische Übersetzung. Ein Vergleich zur Darlegung der Irrtumsrisiken bei der Auswertung tibetischer Übersetzungen*. Wiesbaden 1975.

means of these minimal elements.<sup>120</sup> OETKE, on the other hand, studied translations of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra* from Chinese to Tibetan and in this connection made essential observations on the use of auxiliary verbs in classical Tibetan.<sup>121</sup>

### 11. *East Asian Buddhism* (contributed by Michael FRIEDRICH<sup>122</sup>)

Because there is not a single permanent position designated for the study of East Asian Buddhism at academic institutions in the German-speaking world, research in this area is not conducted in a systematic manner.<sup>123</sup> The bulk of the contributions is constituted by Dr. phil. dissertations in Sinology, Japanology or religious studies motivated by individual interests, and by-products of the research project on the life and work of Xuanzang directed by Klaus RÖHRBORN at the University of Göttingen. Furthermore, exhibitions of East Asian Buddhist art regularly result in major catalogues. Occasionally, one finds important articles in the main scholarly journals concerned with Asian studies, but their number still reflects the wide-spread lack of interest in Buddhism in East Asian studies. In view of the contemporary relevance of Buddhism in the area this situation is untenable. It is to be hoped that recent innovations such as an interdisciplinary M.A. course in Buddhist studies (including East and Southeast Asian studies) at the University of Hamburg will establish a foundation to be built upon in the future.

Even if one disregards popular works and translations from other European languages as well as contributions to the “Christian-Buddhist dialogue” and publications by East Asian Buddhist communities or networks in the West, the following account is still far from complete and, due to unsatisfactory research tools, to some extent incidental. In those cases where I have not been able to consult a work I just provide the bibliographical information.

120. Cf. H. ZIMMERMANN: *Wortlaut und Sprachstruktur im Tibetischen*. Wiesbaden 1979.

121. Cf. C. OETKE: *Die aus dem Chinesischen übersetzten tibetischen Versionen des Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra. Philologische und linguistische Beiträge zur klassifizierenden Charakterisierung übersetzter Texte*. Wiesbaden 1977.

122. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Herbert Worm and Jörg Plassen, M.A., both Hamburg, for providing some helpful information.

123. For earlier achievements of German-language research on East Asian Buddhism one may consult the bibliographies cited in section I.1.a. of this survey.

### a. *Generalia*

The majority of studies concerns China and Japan; Korea is – as always – under-represented although her importance in linking these two cultures and in the innovation of Buddhism is commonly acknowledged.<sup>124</sup> There are no bibliographies specialized in German-language studies on East Asian Buddhism. Students have to rely on the bibliographical tools generally in use in East Asian studies.<sup>125</sup> After HACKMANN's manuscript of a Chinese-Sanskrit-German Dictionary (certainly superior to that by SOOTHILL and HODOUS) was published by Johannes NOBEL<sup>126</sup> no further lexicographical projects were undertaken, but some of the monographs on texts translated from Indian languages into Chinese contain useful glossaries.<sup>127</sup> There is no academic German-language journal devoted solely to East Asian Buddhism, though occasionally

124. The best introduction to Korean Buddhism is still to be found in Fr. VOS: *Die Religionen Koreas*. Stuttgart 1977. Furthermore, two dissertations are helpful: U. WISSINGER: *Geschichte und Religion Koreas im Spannungsfeld der großen Religionen und Reiche Ostasiens. Schamanistische, buddhistische, taoistische und konfuzianistische Grundlagen für die soziale und kulturelle Entwicklung des Landes*. Unpublished Dr. theol. diss. Freie Universität Berlin; Sang-Woo HAN (Regensburg): *Die Suche nach dem Himmel im Denken Koreas. Eine religionswissenschaftliche und -philosophische Untersuchung zur Hermeneutik des Menschen zwischen Himmel und Erde*. Frankfurt am Main 1987.
125. Besides the *Bibliography of Asian Studies*, published yearly by the Association for Asian Studies in Ann Arbor, and the *Annual Bibliography of Oriental Studies* (*Tōyōgaku bunkun rokumoku*), published by the Institute for Research in the Humanities of Kyoto University, the following tools are useful for Chinese Buddhism: L.G. THOMPSON: *Chinese Religions in Western Languages. A Comprehensive and Classified Bibliography of Publications in English, French, and German through 1980*. Tucson 1985; L.G. THOMPSON and G. SEAMAN (eds): *Chinese Religions. Publications in Western Languages 1981 through 1990*, Ann Arbor 1993; for Japanese Buddhism cf. S. FORMANEK and P. GETREUER: *Verzeichnis des deutschsprachigen Japan-Schrifttums 1980-1987*. Wien 1989; P. GETREUER: *Verzeichnis des deutschsprachigen Japan-Schrifttums 1988-1989*. Wien 1991; K. KLEIBER: *Verzeichnis des deutschsprachigen Japan-Schrifttums 1990-1991*. Wien 1995.
126. H. HACKMANN: *Erklärendes Wörterbuch zum chinesischen Buddhismus Chinesisch-Sanskrit-Deutsch*. Ed. J. Nobel. Leiden [?1960].
127. E.g., K. MEISIG: *Das Śrāmanyaphala-Sūtra. Synoptische Übersetzung und Glossar der chinesischen Fassungen verglichen mit dem Sanskrit und Pāli*. Wiesbaden 1987.



related articles are published in the major European series.<sup>128</sup> Gerhard SCHMITT has published a catalogue of Chinese Buddhist text fragments presumably of the Turfan holdings of the State Library at Berlin. It is listed as the first volume of a series, but no further volumes seem to have appeared.<sup>129</sup> A long article on the mythology of Chinese Buddhism by Franz J. MEIER in the *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* provides a general introduction to this aspect of Chinese Buddhism.<sup>130</sup>

**b. History and intellectual history**

Herbert FRANKE (born 1914), emeritus of Munich University, has time and again, in teaching and writing, dealt with Buddhism. One of the few German-speaking Sinologists who has command not only over East Asian tongues, but also over a wide range of Central Asian and Indian languages, he has in many articles studied aspects of Buddhism under the Mongolian Yuan dynasty (1280-1367). Two of his more recent studies are concerned with the consecration of the White Stūpa in 1279 in Peking and its history under the Yuan,<sup>131</sup> and with a Chinese non-canonical Buddhist text translated into Uigur, Mongolian, and Tibetan.<sup>132</sup> In 1996 a collection of three studies appeared, dealing with the influential Tibetan monk Tan-pa, the Tripitaka catalogue compiled under Qubilai, and a collection of anecdotes describing Qubilai as a faithful Buddhist.<sup>133</sup>

Helwig SCHMIDT-GLINTZER, FRANKE's successor in Munich and now director of the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, has studied the history of Chinese Buddhism in two major works. His Munich Dr. phil. dissertation is a study of the *Hongming ji*, the oldest extant compilation of Buddhist apologetic literature by the monk

128. *Asia Major* 3rd ser.; *Asiatische Studien*; *Monumenta Serica*; *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*; *Oriens Extremus*; *T'oung Pao*.

129. G. SCHMITT: *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente*. Berlin n. d.

130. Fr. J. MEIER: "Die Mythologie des chinesischen Buddhismus," in *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, vol. 4, Stuttgart 1988, pp. 441-735.

131. H. FRANKE: "Consecration of the 'White Stūpa' in 1279," *Asia Major* 3rd ser. 7, 1994: 155-183.

132. H. FRANKE: "The Taoist Elements in Buddhist Great Bear Sūtra (Pei-tou ching)," *Asia Major* 3rd ser., 1990: 75-111.

133. H. FRANKE: *Chinesischer und tibetischer Buddhismus im China der Yuanzeit. Drei Studien*. München 1996.

Sengyou (445-518).<sup>134</sup> In his habilitation thesis an attempt is undertaken to situate the universal histories of Chinese Buddhism during the Song dynasty (960-1279) in the social and intellectual milieu of their time.<sup>135</sup> Hannelore EISENHOFER-HALIM has written on the Japanese monk Dōshō (629-700) and Sino-Japanese relations.<sup>136</sup>

Iso KERN, a Swiss philosopher with a strong interest in Chinese thought, has studied the Buddhist critique of Christianity in 17th-century China. Following an informed introduction, he presents translations of texts by one lay Buddhist and four monks of the late Ming (1368-1643) who were reacting to the spread of the Christian mission.<sup>137</sup>

### c. *Philosophy and schools of Buddhism*

German-language studies of East Asian Buddhism have a strong inclination towards philosophy as well as the history of ideas ("Geistesgeschichte"). Although the traditional partition in indigenous schools may be misleading in some respects, it is still used for identifying different ways of thought and exegesis.

Bruno PETZOLDT (1874-1949), who spent the second half of his life in Japan, has left voluminous manuscripts, some of which have recently been edited. Although not literate in Chinese or Japanese, he drew on the help of well-known Buddhist scholars who supplied him extensive information. Shohei ICHIMURA, one of his Japanese students who became a well-known scholar of Chinese Buddhism himself, has edited PETZOLDT's monumental study on the Buddhist doxographical systems.<sup>138</sup> The editor has added a bibliography and glossary which increase the size of the volume to more than 1,000 pages. The result is the most complete

134. H. SCHMIDT-GLINTZER: *Das Hung-ming chi und die Aufnahme des Buddhismus in China*. Wiesbaden 1976.

135. H. SCHMIDT-GLINTZER: *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen und die Kompilation buddhistischer Universalgeschichten in China. Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte der Sung-Zeit*. Wiesbaden 1982.

136. H. EISENHOFER-HALIM: *Dōshō (629-700). Leben und Wirken eines japanischen Buddhisten vor dem Hintergrund der chinesisch-japanischen Beziehungen im 7. Jh.* Frankfurt am Main 1995.

137. I. KERN: *Buddhistische Kritik am Christentum im China des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Bern 1992.

138. Br. PETZOLD: *The Classification of Buddhism Bukkyō Kyōhan. Comprising the Classification of Buddhist Doctrines in India, China and Japan*. Ed. Shohei ICHIMURA in collaboration with Shinshō HANAYAMA, Wiesbaden 1995.

account of the different schools' attempts to classify Buddhist doctrines ranging from Indian beginnings to Chinese and Japanese classifications.

— α. Nichiren School

The Tendai monk Nichiren (1222-1282), founder of a school relying heavily on the teachings of the Lotus Sūtra and opposed to the popular beliefs of Amitābha-Buddhism, has been studied in the Munich Dr. phil. dissertation by Margret VON BORSIG; it was published in 1976.<sup>139</sup> Her German translation of the Lotus Sūtra on the basis of Kumārajīva's Chinese text was published in 1992.<sup>140</sup>

— β. Tiantai / Tendai and Huayan / Kegon

In his monumental study of Tiantai / Tendai,<sup>141</sup> PETZOLD not only gives a detailed account of its doctrines in China and Japan, but also relates them to influences from indigenous traditions such as Taoism. By drawing on European philosophers and mystics as well, PETZOLD focuses mainly on comparative issues. Even though this work is outdated in several respects, it remains the most comprehensive study of this school in any European language.

Peter FISCHER, in his Hamburg Dr. phil. dissertation, has studied the Japanese eschatological text *Mappō-tōmyō-ki* attributed to the Tendai monk Saichō (767-822).<sup>142</sup> The translation of the text is accompanied by a useful sketch of the development of the concept of *Endzeit* in Buddhism and a thorough discussion of historical and textual problems which results in the confirmation of the traditional attribution of the text and its date (801).

Another important contribution not only to Tiantai, but also to Huayan is the monograph by Robert Klaus HEINEMANN on the relation of prac-

139. M. v. BORSIG: *Leben aus der Lotosblüte. Nichiren Shonin: Zeuge Buddhas, Kämpfer für das Lotos-Gesetz, Prophet der Gegenwart. Ein Beitrag zu den Beziehungen zwischen ostasiatischer und westlicher Geistigkeit und zum Verständnis des modernen Japan.* Freiburg im Breisgau 1976.

140. M. v. BORSIG (tr.): *Lotos-Sūtra. Sūtra von der Lotosblume des wunderbaren Gesetzes.* Gerlingen 1992.

141. Br. PETZOLD: *Die Quintessenz der T'ien-t'ai-(Tendai-)Lehre. Eine komparative Untersuchung.* Ed. H. HAMMITZSCH. Wiesbaden 1982.

142. P. FISCHER: *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Mappō-Gedankens und zum Mappō-tōmyō-ki.* Hamburg 1976.

tice to the goal of awakening.<sup>143</sup> He attempts to show that the strict gradual progression of the Bodhisattva's practice in earlier Buddhism is slowly dissolved and replaced by a different concept identifying the process of practice with the goal. According to HEINEMANN, the main stages in this development are the Chinese translation of the *Huayan jing* (*Avatamsaka-sūtra*), works of the Chinese monks Zhiyi (538-597) and Fazang (643-712), founders of the Tiantai and Huayan schools, and finally the work of Dōgen (1200-1253), the famous Japanese Zen monk and founder of the Japanese Sōtō (Chinese: Caodong) school. Although one may object to some of HEINEMANN's conclusions, the work has given a fresh perspective on the characteristics of East Asian Buddhism.

The philosophy of the famous Korean monk Wonhyō is the subject of a Würzburg Dr. phil. dissertation by Yung-kye KANG.<sup>144</sup>

Finally, a complete translation of the shorter *Huayan jing* has to be mentioned, even though it is *sensu stricto* outside the scope of this survey. Torakazu DOI's German version was financed and published by the Tōdaiji in four volumes.<sup>145</sup>

#### — γ. Chan/Zen

The supposedly unorthodox traditions of Chinese Chan and Japanese Zen have continually attracted the attention of scholars and laymen alike. Undoubtedly, the doyen of Zen studies is Heinrich DUMOULIN S.J. (born 1905), emeritus of Sophia University, Tokyo. Besides numerous books on general topics of Buddhism and on its present situation, he has published a comprehensive history of Zen Buddhism in two volumes which is the only work of its kind in a Western language.<sup>146</sup> Among his books on Zen, one has to mention those on its spiritual path,<sup>147</sup> on the

143. R. Kl. HEINEMANN: *Der Weg des Übens im ostasiatischen Mahāyāna. Grundformen seiner Zeitrelation zum Übungsziel in der Entwicklung bis Dōgen*. Wiesbaden 1979.

144. Yung-Kye KANG: *Prinzip und Methode in der Philosophie Wonhyos*. Hildesheim 1981.

145. T. DOI (tr.): *Das Kegon Sutra. Im Auftrag des Tempels Tōdaiji aus dem chinesischen Text übersetzt*. 4 vols., Tokyo 1978-1983.

146. H. DUMOULIN: *Geschichte des Zen-Buddhismus*. Vol. 1: Indien und China, vol. 2: Japan, Bern 1975 (2nd ed. 1985, 1986).

147. H. DUMOULIN: *Der Erleuchtungsweg des Zen im Buddhismus*. Frankfurt am Main 1976.

development of Chinese Zen [!] after the sixth patriarch,<sup>148</sup> and on Zen in the 20th century.<sup>149</sup>

Further, he has contributed a translation of one of the two most influential compilations of “public cases” (*gongan/kōan*) of Wumen Huikai’s (1182-1260) *Wumen guan*, in 1975;<sup>150</sup> Walter LIEBENTHAL, another German-born scholar of renown, published his version of the same work in 1977.<sup>151</sup> The other important compilation of *gongan* is the voluminous *Biyān lu* by Yuanwu Keqin (1063-1135). In 1973, the third and last part of the huge translation by the noted Japanologist Wilhelm GUNDERT (1881-1971) was published posthumously; although far from being complete, it is to date the most serious attempt to do justice to the text in a Western language.<sup>152</sup> It contains not only the cases proper, but also all the commentaries by Xuedou Chongxian (980-1053) and Yuanwu himself.

The collected sayings of the Chan master Linji/Rinzai (?-866) are the subject of a Hamburg Dr. phil. dissertation by Robert Christian MÖRTH. In addition to a complete translation, he has presented an attempt to systematize the text known as *Linji lu*.<sup>153</sup> The topic of a Frankfurt Dr. phil. dissertation by Gerhard A. DÖHRN is a contemporary collection of Chan poems from the 7th up to the 16th century. The book, published in 1993, mainly consists of selected translations with some notes and general remarks on comparative aspects.<sup>154</sup>

148. H. DUMOULIN: *The development of Chinese Zen after the sixth patriarch*. Taipei [ca. 1990].
149. H. DUMOULIN: *Zen im 20. Jahrhundert*. München 1990.
150. H. DUMOULIN (tr.): *Mumon Kan, die Schranke ohne Tor. Meister Wu-men’s Sammlung der achtundvierzig Koan*. Mainz 1975.
151. W. LIEBENTHAL (tr.): *Ch’an-tzung Wu-men kuan. Zutritt nur durch die Wand*. Heidelberg 1977. – Yet another translation is by Kōun YAMADA, *Mumonkan: Zen-Meister Mumons Koan-Sammlung. Die torlose Schranke*. München 1989. LIEBENTHAL has earlier translated the work of Sengzhao, disciple of Kumārajīva: *Chao Lun. The Treatises of Seng-chao*. Hong Kong 1968.
152. W. GUNDERT (tr.): *Bi-Yān-Lu. Meister Yüan-wus Niederschrift von der Smaragdenen Felswand*. Vol. 1: München 1960, vol. 2: München 1967, vol. 3: München 1973. A paperback issue of all three volumes in one appeared München 1983.
153. R. Chr. MÖRTH: *Das Lin-chi lu des Ch’an-Meisters Lin-chi Yi-hsüan (+866). Der Versuch einer Systematisierung des Lin-chi lu*. Hamburg 1987.
154. G.A. DÖHRN: *Kurzgedichte chinesischer Chan-Meister*. Frankfurt am Main 1993.

An interesting topic forms the subject of a Zurich Dr. phil. dissertation by Claudia FRITZ. She studies the administrative structure of Chan-temples in late Yuan time (1280-1367) and, besides a copiously annotated translation of chapter IV of the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* (1343), provides a helpful overview of the development of rules and regulations in Zen institutions, drawing heavily on Japanese research.<sup>155</sup>

Helmut BRINKER of the Rietberg Museum in Zurich has studied Chan/Zen in East Asian art and edited the papers of an International Symposium on Zen in East Asia at Zurich University in 1982 which finally appeared in 1985.<sup>156</sup> The same year saw the appearance of his monograph on Zen in the art of painting.<sup>157</sup> An exhibition on Zen and Japanese culture at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin in 1993/94 is documented in a catalogue with articles by most German-language scholars of Zen. It also contains 100 photographs documenting the architecture and everyday life of the famous temple Tenryūji in Kyōto.<sup>158</sup>

— δ. Xuanzang and Yogācāra

The above-mentioned project on the life and work of Xuanzang (600-664) (cf. section 3 above) has yielded, besides studies of the Old Turkic versions of his biography, helpful translations of two chapters of the Chinese biography of Xuanzang, the *Datang daciensi sanzang fashi zhuan* begun by Huili (born 615) and completed by Yancong (fl. middle of the 7th century). Chapter VII was translated by Alexander Leonhard MAYER,<sup>159</sup> and the following chapter by Uwe FRANKENHAUSER.<sup>160</sup> Copious notes along with the discussion of textual problems make these volumes valuable tools for further research. In 1992, MAYER published his work on Xuanzang as “translator and sage,” an account of the activities of this famous monk.<sup>161</sup> FRANKENHAUSER’s Dr. phil. dissertation

155. Cl. FRITZ: *Die Verwaltungsstruktur der Chan-Klöster in der späten Yuan-Zeit. Das 4. Buch der Chixiu Baizhang qinggui, übersetzt, annotiert und mit einer Einleitung versehen.* Bern 1994.

156. H. BRINKER (ed.): *Zen in China, Japan, East Asian Art. Papers of the Internat. Symposium on Zen, Zurich University, 16.-18.11.1982.* Bern 1985.

157. H. BRINKER: *Zen in der Kunst des Malens.* Bern 1985.

158. Cl. MÜLLER (ed.): *Zen und die Kultur Japans. Klosteralltag in Kyoto.* Berlin 1993.

159. A.L. MAYER: *Cien-Biographie VII.* Wiesbaden 1991.

160. U. FRANKENHAUSER: *Cien-Biographie VIII.* Wiesbaden 1995.

161. A.L. MAYER: *Xuanzang. Übersetzer und Heiliger.* Wiesbaden 1992.

(Göttingen) deals mainly with the introduction of Buddhist logic (*yinming*) into China, but also covers later developments.<sup>162</sup> Further, the Swiss philosopher KERN has published articles on the philosophy of Xuanzang.<sup>163</sup>

— ε. Jingtū / Jōdō (“Pure Land”)

Amitābha Buddhism has played an important role in China at the latest from the 4th century onwards. In Japan, the various Amitābha schools increasingly gained importance since Kamakura times (1192-1333), and they still represent the most numerous group today. Their supposed founder Hōnen (1133-1212) is studied in the Marburg Dr. phil. dissertation by Christoph KLEINE.<sup>164</sup> Relying on his background in religious studies, KLEINE attempts to answer the question whether Hōnen was proposing reform, reformation or heresy. He opts for the last. Christian STEINECK has translated short texts by three famous proponents of Jōdō: next to Hōnen, Shinran (1173-1262) and the mendicant monk Ippen (1239-1289) are represented.<sup>165</sup> In a study and translation of a pictorial scroll containing an account of Ippen’s life, Franziska EHMCKE has provided an introduction to Jōdō and Ippen.<sup>166</sup> Volker ZOTZ has written a study on Shin-Buddhism, one of the Amitābha-denominations.<sup>167</sup>

— ζ. Shingon (“True Word”)

Esoteric Buddhism has survived in Japan up to the present and is known as Shingon or Mikkyō (“Secret Teaching”). Its introduction to Japan is

162. U. FRANKENHAUSER: *Die Einführung der buddhistischen Logik in China*. Wiesbaden 1996.
163. I. KERN: “The structure of consciousness according to Xuanzang,” *Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology*, vol. 19, no. 3 (1988): 282-295; “Object, Objective Phenomenon and Objectivating Act According to the ‘Vijñaptimātrāsiddhi’ of Xuanzang (600-664)”, in D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA, L. EMBREE and J. MOHANTY (eds), *Phenomenology and Indian Philosophy*, New Delhi 1992, pp. 262-269.
164. Chr. KLEINE: *Hōnens Buddhismus des Reinen Landes. Reform, Reformation oder Häresie?* Frankfurt am Main 1996.
165. Chr. STEINECK: *Quellentexte des japanischen Amida-Buddhismus*. Wiesbaden 1997.
166. Fr. EHMCKE: *Die Wanderungen des Mönchs Ippen. Bilder aus dem mittelalterlichen Japan*. Köln 1992.
167. V. ZOTZ: *Der Buddha im reinen Land. Shin-Buddhismus in Japan*. München 1991.

traditionally attributed to the monk Kūkai (774-835), or Kōbō Daishi, who brought it to Japan upon his return from his studies in China. Four short texts of his have been translated into German.<sup>168</sup> The catalogue of a 1988 Cologne exhibition of the art of Shingon covers all aspects of Shingon and contains some valuable essays.<sup>169</sup> Dietrich SECKEL has published a monograph on Buddhist temple names in Japan.<sup>170</sup>

#### d. Practice

A Munich Dr. phil. dissertation examines the reception and the cult of an esoteric *dhāraṇī* in China; Maria Dorothea REIS-HABITO has given a very comprehensive account of the *Mahākaruṇīkacittadhāraṇī* which was translated into Chinese by the Indian Bhagavaddharma around 650 and is still recited today on Taiwan. In addition to presenting a translation of the text containing the *dhāraṇī*, she discusses different versions of the text and supplementary materials from Tun-huang. Drawing on historical and literary sources, REIS-HABITO highlights the spread of the *dhāraṇī* and its role in confessional rituals.<sup>171</sup> Marcus GÜNZEL has studied another aspect of Buddhist practice still alive today. His Göttingen Dr. phil. dissertation deals with the liturgical texts recited in the morning and evening classes. These texts have been in use since the late 16th century.<sup>172</sup>

#### e. Art

Gunhild GABBERT has compiled a catalogue of the Buddhist sculptures originating from China and Japan in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst at Cologne.<sup>173</sup> Roger GOEPPER, the former director of the museum, has

168. M. Eihō KAWAHARA and C. Yūhō JOBST: *Kōbō Daishi Kūkai. Ausgewählte Schriften*. München 1992.
169. R. GOEPPER (ed.), *Shingon. Die Kunst des Geheimen Buddhismus in Japan*. Köln 1988; cf. also R. GOEPPER: *Das Kultbild im Ritus des esoterischen Buddhismus Japans*. Opladen 1983.
170. D. SECKEL: *Buddhistische Tempelnamen in Japan*. Stuttgart 1985.
171. M.D. REIS-HABITO: *Die Dhāraṇī des Großen Erbarmens des Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara mit tausend Händen und Augen. Übersetzung und Untersuchung ihrer textlichen Grundlage sowie Erforschung ihres Kultes in China*. Nettetal 1993.
172. M. GÜNZEL: *Die Morgen- und Abendliturgie der chinesischen Buddhisten*. Göttingen 1994.
173. G. GABBERT: *Buddhistische Plastik aus China und Japan. Bestandskatalog des Museums für Ostasiatische Kunst der Stadt Köln*. Wiesbaden 1972.



edited a catalogue accompanying the exhibition of calligraphies of contemporary Japanese monks.<sup>174</sup> Fausta NOWOTNY has written on the Pāli canon and East Asian art.<sup>175</sup>

*f. Literature and theory of translation*

Marion MEISIG has written a study on the well-known narrative of King Śibi and the dove which is found in different versions in the Mahābhārata and has been adopted by Jainas and Buddhists alike.<sup>176</sup> She examined all extant versions in the Chinese Buddhist canon, established a stemma and extensively discussed textual and interpretational problems. Furthermore, the Chinese glossary of 101 pages will be of great assistance in further research.

In his Cologne Dr. phil. dissertation Axel HELD has studied Yancong's (557-610) theory of translation.<sup>177</sup> In a short article<sup>178</sup> he has rejected the common opinion that Daoan (312/4-385), in one of his forewords, gave a general recommendation for translators, and relates the principles of translation proposed there to the concrete text the foreword was written for.

*g. East Asian Buddhism in modern times*

Chinese Buddhism in the 20th century has been the object of two studies. In the first years of the Republic, quite a few scholars turned to Chinese Yogācāra traditions in order to find new orientations. Important figures in this movement were the monk Taixu and the layman Ouyang Jingwu who are studied in the Munich Dr. phil. dissertation by Gotelind MÜLLER.<sup>179</sup> Xiong Shili (1885-1968), another representative of that current, exerted some influence with his "New Idealism" (*Xin weishi*

174. R. GOEPFER: *Worte des Buddha. Kalligraphien japanischer Priester der Gegenwart, Sammlung Seiko Kono, Abt des Daian-ji, Nara.* Köln 1982.

175. F. NOWOTNY: *Pāli-Kanon und ostasiatische Kunst.* Köln 1975.

176. M. MEISIG: *König Śibi und die Taube. Wandlung und Wanderung eines Erzählstoffes von Indien nach China.* Wiesbaden 1995.

177. A. HELD: *Der buddhistische Mönch Yen-Ts'ung (557-610) und seine Übersetzungstheorie.* Unpublished Dr. phil. dissertation, Köln 1972.

178. A. HELD: "Enthält Tao-an's Vorwort in CSTCC 8, 1 wirklich 'Leitsätze für die Übersetzer'?", *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 127-128 (1980): 111-119.

179. G. MÜLLER: *Buddhismus und Moderne. Ouyang Jingwu, Taixu und das Ringen um ein zeitgemäßes Selbstverständnis im chinesischen Buddhismus des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts.* Stuttgart 1993.

lun). The Dr. phil. dissertation by Qingxiong ZHANG (Freiburg im Üechtland) deals with his philosophy.<sup>180</sup>

The Cologne Dr. phil. dissertation by Gwan-yeon CHO is concerned with the interaction between popular Buddhism in Korea and new religious movements.<sup>181</sup>

Peter FISCHER has edited a volume on Buddhism and nationalism in modern Japan.<sup>182</sup> In his Erlangen Dr. phil. dissertation Andreas NEHRING has studied one of the contemporary "New Buddhist" religions in Japan.<sup>183</sup> The Heidelberg habilitation thesis by Ulrich M. DEHN on the "historical perspective of Japanese Buddhism" is concerned with the historian Uehara Senroku (born 1899).<sup>184</sup>

180. Q. ZHANG: *Xiong Shilis Neue Nur-Bewusstseins-Theorie. Vom Yogācāra-Buddhismus zum neuen Konfuzianismus*. Bern 1993.
181. Gwan-yeon CHO: *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Volksbuddhismus und der neuen religiösen Bewegungen in Korea und ihre Wechselbeziehungen*. Unpublished Dr. phil. dissertation Universität Köln 1995.
182. P. FISCHER (ed.): *Buddhismus und Nationalismus im modernen Japan*. Bochum 1979.
183. A. NEHRING: *Rissho Kosei-kai. Eine neobuddhistische Religion in Japan*. Erlangen 1992.
184. U.M. DEHN: *Die geschichtliche Perspektive des japanischen Buddhismus. Das Beispiel Uehara Senroku*. Ammersbek 1995.

## II. BUDDHIST STUDIES IN AUSTRIA 1971-1996<sup>185</sup>

Buddhist studies in Austria are practically identical with Buddhist studies in Vienna, because the University of Vienna is the only Austrian university that has established chairs in Indology, Tibetology and Buddhist studies. One can trace the beginning of Indology in Austria back to 1845 when the first Sanskrit classes were offered by Anton Boller.<sup>186</sup> Typically for that period, the study of Sanskrit was not an independent discipline, but only a part of comparative linguistics. However, after the nomination in 1880 of Georg BÜHLER to the newly created chair for Altindische Philologie und Altertumskunde, Austrian Indology attained international reputation and Vienna became one of the most important centres in Europe for Sanskrit and Indian studies. After BÜHLER's tragic death in 1898,<sup>187</sup> Indology in Austria underwent an eclipse. Yet one may say that the seeds of its future flourishing were already sown because Erich FRAUWALLNER (1898-1974) was born that very same year. FRAUWALLNER has been a dominant figure in the field of Indian and Buddhist philosophy for the better part of this century and his influence is likely to continue well into the next century. Therefore, even though FRAUWALLNER's major publications on Buddhism were written between the twenties and the sixties and thus precede the period with which we are mainly concerned here, they need to be taken into account.

FRAUWALLNER was a versatile scholar whose interest and competence were by no means restricted to Buddhism. He studied texts as widely

185. Just as in the previous section on Buddhist studies in Germany, I limit myself here to scholarly books and monographs. Papers, albeit extremely valuable, remain with a few exceptions outside the scope of this survey; similarly comparative studies and popular introductions for the general readership are also not mentioned here. As an exception to the rule, however, I would like to mention several works by Volker ZOTZ: *Zur Rezeption und Kritik des Buddhismus im deutschen Sprachraum von Fin de Siècle bis 1930*. Wien 1986. – *Erleuchtung im Alltag*. München 1990. – *Der Buddha im reinen Land*. München 1991. – *Buddha*. Reinbek 1991. – *Geschichte der buddhistischen Philosophie*. Reinbek 1996
186. For the early history of Indology in Vienna cf. E. FRAUWALLNER: "Geschichte und Aufgaben der Wiener Indologie," *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Jg. 1961, Nr. 10, pp. 77-95.
187. BÜHLER drowned when a sudden storm on Lake Constance overturned his boat.

apart as the Upaniṣads and Navya-Nyāya works.<sup>188</sup> In the realm of Buddhist studies as well his achievements were in various fields, such as Vinaya<sup>189</sup> and Abhidharma.<sup>190</sup> His specialty, however, was the *pramāna*-school. As early as 1929 he published his first short study of the Sanskrit fragments of Dignāga<sup>191</sup> where some of the typical characteristics of his later work are already present, notably, the use of Tibetan and Jaina materials for the reconstruction of portions of lost Sanskrit texts. His studies of Dignāga culminated in the seminal paper "Dignāga, sein Werk und seine Entwicklung,"<sup>192</sup> which remains, some forty years after its publication, the best study of Dignāga's thought. FRAUWALLNER's datings of Indian philosophers<sup>193</sup> have also proved to be of astonishing longevity and in spite of occasional challenges<sup>194</sup> remain widely accepted. His epoch-making articles on Dharmakīrti, whom he recognized as the central figure for the history of Indian philosophy<sup>195</sup> also remain un-superseded. FRAUWALLNER's incredible erudition, rigorous philological method and unflinching intuition for the history of ideas provided not only

188. For an almost complete list of FRAUWALLNER's publications cf. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 20 (1976): 5-17. More recently, two volumes of posthumous documents were published; cf. E. FRAUWALLNER: *Nachgelassene Werke, Aufsätze, Beiträge, Skizzen*. Ed. E. STEINKELLNER. Wien 1984. – *Nachgelassene Werke. Philosophische Texte des Hinduismus*. Ed. G. OBERHAMMER and Ch. WERBA. Wien 1992.
189. Cf. especially *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginning of Buddhist Literature*. Roma 1956.
190. Recently his Abhidharma studies were translated into English; cf. E. FRAUWALLNER: *Studies in Abhidharma Literature and the Origins of Buddhist Philosophical Systems*. Translated from the German by Sophie Francis KIDD under the supervision of Ernst STEINKELLNER. Ithaca 1995.
191. Cf. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 36 (1929): 136-139.
192. Cf. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 3 (1959): 83-164.
193. Cf. "Landmarks in the History of Indian Logic." *WZKSÖ* 5 (1961): 125-148.
194. Most recently FRAUWALLNER's dating of Dharmakīrti (600-660) was challenged by KIMURA on the grounds that Dharmakīrti is already mentioned by Dharmapāla. It is too early yet to pronounce a judgement on KIMURA's arguments (his paper was read at the Third International Dharmakīrti Conference held in Hiroshima in November 1997 and will appear in the Proceedings to be published by the Austrian Academy of Sciences). It is clear that if Dharmakīrti's dating will be changed, a considerable number of related datings will have to be modified as well.
195. Cf. *Kl. Sch.*, p. 689: "No one is mentioned as often by the representatives of the most diverse schools. No one has had such a lasting influence as he."

the first mapping and broad outlines of the historical development of Buddhist philosophy, but also a firm foundation for further studies by his disciples and the disciples of his disciples. Among his direct disciples one has to mention Lambert SCHMITHAUSEN, Ernst STEINKELLNER, Tilmann VETTER, and although to lesser degree, Yuichi KAJIYAMA. His indirect disciples are too numerous to be mentioned here.

Gerhard OBERHAMMER, FRAUWALLNER's successor at the chair of Indology in Vienna, had only a marginal interest in Buddhism, and the tradition of Buddhist studies would have disappeared completely from Austrian academic life had not a new Institute for Tibetology and Buddhist Studies at the University of Vienna been founded in 1973. Ernst STEINKELLNER was appointed its first director, and under his inspiring leadership the institute has grown to a major centre for Buddhist studies, both Indian and Tibetan. Like FRAUWALLNER, STEINKELLNER specializes in Buddhist *pramāṇa* studies; however, his work reflects the more advanced stage of this field. After the broad mapping of whole schools of thought and their mutual relationship had been accomplished by FRAUWALLNER, "the Viennese project" could turn to editions and translations of the major philosophical works as well as to more detailed investigations of the philosophical concepts that were developed by Dignāga, Dharmakīrti and the later Buddhist logicians. STEINKELLNER's initial studies concentrated on Dharmakīrti's logic. His edition and annotated translation of Dharmakīrti's *Hetubindu* is not only the definitive work on this text, but also unfolds Dharmakīrti's epistemological concepts both in their relation to Dharmakīrti's other works and in their relations to Dharmakīrti's predecessors and successors.<sup>196</sup> Another important result of this endeavour is the edition and annotated translation of the *Svārthānumāna* chapter of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*.<sup>197</sup> However, STEINKELLNER's work is certainly not restricted to Dharmakīrti's logic. With the notable exception of the topic of perception (*pratyakṣa*)<sup>198</sup> there is hardly any topic treated in the *pramāṇa* texts

196. Cf. E. STEINKELLNER: *Dharmakīrti's Hetubinduḥ. Teil I. Tibetischer Text und rekonstruierter Sanskrit-Text. Teil II. Übersetzung und Anmerkungen.* Wien 1967.

197. Cf. E. STEINKELLNER: *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścayaḥ. 2. Kapitel: Svārthānumānam. Teil I: Tibetischer Text und Sanskrit-Texte. Teil II: Übersetzung und Anmerkungen.* Wien 1976, 1979.

198. However, STEINKELLNER together with J. CHU, H. KRASSER, M. ONO, H. LASIC, E. PRETS and various other scholars are currently engaged in a major

upon which he has not published some pioneering contribution. During the 80's he dealt extensively with the topic of proofs of rebirth (*paralokasiddhi*) on which he published two monographs and a number of papers.<sup>199</sup>

Beside accomplishing his own remarkable work, STEINKELLNER has closely supervised a large number of Ph.D. dissertations, many of which appeared in the series "Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde" which was founded in 1977 and in which some forty volumes of high scholarly standards have already appeared.<sup>200</sup> The first dissertation at the Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde was penned by Gudrun BÜHNEMANN, now a professor of South Asian Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. It consists mainly in an annotated translation of Ratnakīrti's *Sarvajñasiddhi*.<sup>201</sup> BÜHNEMANN's facility in deciphering Sanskrit manuscripts (cf. also her collaboration with HAHN mentioned above) has led to two further publications in the same series, one of minor texts by Jitāri, the other of two *sādhana*s.<sup>202</sup> Other outstanding dissertations include Torsten MUCH's edition and annotated

study of perception in Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and Jinendrabuddhi's *Viśālamavati*.

199. Cf. E. STEINKELLNER: *Dharmottaras Paralokasiddhi. Nachweis der Wiedergeburt, zugleich eine Wiederlegung materialistischer Thesen zur Natur der Geistigkeit*. Wien 1986. – *Nachweis der Wiedergeburt. Prajñāsenas 'Jig rten pha rol sgrub pa. Ein früher tibetischer Traktat aus Dunhuang, mit seinen Glossen diplomatisch herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen. Teil I: Texte. Teil II: Übersetzung*. Wien 1988. This latter work also deserves special mention because it is, I believe, the only diplomatic edition of any Buddhist philosophical text.
200. A list of books published in this series is appended to this paper. Practically all Austrian scholarly publications on Buddhism appear either in this series or in the Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, notably, in its two series *Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens* and *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Sprachen und Kulturen Südasiens*. Note, however, that the latter two series also contain many volumes that are not concerned with Buddhist studies.
201. Cf. G. BÜHNEMANN: *Der Allwissende Buddha. Ein Beweis und seine Probleme. Ramakīrti's Sarvajñasiddhi*. Wien 1980.
202. Cf. G. BÜHNEMANN: *Jitāri, kleine Texte*. [Description of a manuscript from the Bihar Research Society with 10 small texts of Jitāri, and the edition of the following texts in Sanskrit: *Vedāpramāṇyasiddhi*, *Sarvajñasiddhi*, *Nairātmyasiddhi*, *Jātinirākṛti*, \**Īśvaravādamataparīkṣā*.] Wien 1982. <sup>2</sup>1985. – \**Sādhanaśataka* and *Sādhanaśatakapañcaśikā. Two Buddhist Sādhana Collections in Sanskrit Manuscript*. Wien 1994.

translation of Dharmakīrti's late work on public philosophical-religious debate (*vāda*), and Helmut KRASSER's edition and annotated translation of Dharmottara's short treatise on general validity of cognition.<sup>203</sup> KRASSER has recently completed his Habilitationsschrift on the refutation of the existence of God by Dharmakīrti and his commentators. He is presently employed at the new institute called "Institut für Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens," founded in 1992.

Next to his focus on the field of *pramāṇa*, STEINKELLNER also has a strong interest in Madhyamaka. Even though he did not publish in this field (except for a popular translation of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*<sup>204</sup>), one of the first dissertations he supervised, by Helmut TAUSCHER, continues DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN's work on the influential Madhyamaka text *Madhyamakāvatāra* of Candrakīrti.<sup>205</sup> TAUSCHER is presently one of the foremost Madhyamaka specialists in Europe and has recently published a *magnum opus* on the doctrine of two realities in Tsoṅ-kha-pa's works.<sup>206</sup>

A reliable indicator for the outstanding quality of an academic institution is its ability to attract graduate students and young scholars from all over the world. The geographical and historical position of Vienna facilitates the contacts of the institute with East European scholars. Furthermore, an increasing number of students from traditionally Buddhist countries, especially from Japan, have made the Vienna institute the place of their preferred choice for graduate work. Among the dissertations that were published so far I will mention only three. Toru FUNAYAMA published an excellent study of the concept of *kalpanā-poḍha* in the *Tattvasamgraha* which is unfortunately very difficult to

203. Cf. T. MUCH: *Dharmakīrtis Vādanyāya. Teil I: Sanskrit-Text. Teil II: Übersetzung und Anmerkungen.* Wien 1991. H. KRASSER: *Dharmottaras kurze Untersuchung der Gültigkeit einer Erkenntnis. Laghuprāmāṇyaparīkṣā. Teil I: Tibetischer Text und Sanskrit Materialien. Teil II: Übersetzung.* Wien 1991. Cf. also E. STEINKELLNER and H. KRASSER: *Dharmottaras Exkurs zur Definition gültiger Erkenntnis im Pramāṇaviniścaya.* Wien 1989.

204. Cf. E. STEINKELLNER (tr.): *Śāntideva, Eintritt in das Leben zur Erleuchtung. Poesie und Lehre des Mahāyāna- Buddhismus.* München 1989.

205. Cf. H. TAUSCHER: *Candrakīrti – Madhyamakāvatāraḥ und Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣyam (Kapitel VI, Vers 166- 266).* Wien 1981.

206. Cf. H. TAUSCHER: *Die Lehre von den zwei Wirklichkeiten in Tsoṅ kha pas Madhyamaka-Werken.* Wien 1995.

obtain.<sup>207</sup> Shunzo ONODA contributed a valuable study on monastic debate in Tibet,<sup>208</sup> and Chizuko YOSHIMIZU describes the fascinating and unexpected epistemology of the \*Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka.<sup>209</sup>

Apart from its ongoing activities in *pramāṇa* and Madhyamaka studies the Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde has a common commitment with the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (IsMEO) to further Tibetological and Buddhist studies in the form of joint projects concerning mainly southern Asia. This agreement between the two institutes has made it possible for a group of scholars to participate in an expedition to the Tibetan monastery at Ta pho (Tabo) in Himachal Pradesh in 1991. A special number of *East and West* (44.1, March 1994) was devoted to the results of this joint mission, on which various disciplines, such as history, art history, epigraphy and philology, were brought to bear on this hitherto little-known place which now seems to be of crucial importance for future Tibetan and Buddhist studies. STEINKELLNER reports on the “Kanjur” of Ta pho: “After the first day of work, when we opened fourteen bundles and found their contents to be an unbelievable mixture of numerous manuscripts mainly of *Prajñāpāramitā* and *Sūtra* texts by numerous hands, from very different periods with very different formats, many seemingly rather old, but many also considerably later, we decided first to scan through the whole collection of altogether sixty bundles. It took us four tiring days. The impression was overwhelming. We had seen a veritable treasure: altogether 38,000 folios, presumably written between the 11th and the 17th-18th centuries.”<sup>210</sup>

207. Cf. T. FUNAYAMA: *A Study of kalpanāpoḍha. A Translation of the Tattvasaṃgraha vv. 1212-1263 by Śāntarakṣita and the Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā by Kamalaśīla on the Definition of Direct Perception*. Reprinted for private circulation from Zinbun: *Annals of the Institute of Research in the Humanities*. Kyoto University. No 27, 1992.
208. Cf. S. ONODA: *Monastic Debate in Tibet. A Study of the History and Structures of bsDus grwa Logic*. Wien 1992.
209. Cf. Ch. YOSHIMIZU: *Die Erkenntnislehre des Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka nach dem Tshig gsal ston thun gyi tshad ma'i rnam bśad des 'Jam dbyaṅs bśad pa'i rdo rje*. Wien 1996.
210. Cf. E. STEINKELLNER: “A Report on the ‘Kanjur’ of Ta pho,” *East and West* 44.1 (1994): 115-138, at p. 117. Cf. also E. STEINKELLNER: *Sudhana's Miraculous Journey in the Temple of Ta Pho. The inscriptional text of the Tibetan Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra edited with introductory remarks*. Roma 1995.



The existence of an independent West Tibetan Kanjur has already been proved by HAHN's study of the Phudrag-Kanjur.<sup>211</sup> TAUSCHER studied a fragment of the *Sambandhapaṛīkṣā* together with Dharmakīrti's auto-commentary and an additional commentary by Vinītadeva found in the Ta pho library. His study clearly indicates that an independent West Tibetan textual tradition existed for the Tanjur too. The text of the Ta pho manuscript is independent of the four major canonical editions (Peking, Derge, Narthang and Cone) and thus reflects a version probably prior to the compilation of the canon in the early 14th century.<sup>212</sup> The importance of Ta pho for art history can be gleaned from a recent volume edited by Deborah KLIMBURG-SALTER, who was appointed Professor of extra-European art history at the University of Vienna in 1996, the year that concludes our survey.<sup>213</sup>

211. Cf. M. HAHN: "Bemerkungen zu zwei Texten aus dem Phudrag-Kanjur," in *Indology and Indo-Tibetology*, ed. H. EIMER, Bonn 1988, pp. 53-80.

212. Cf. H. TAUSCHER: "Tanjur Fragments from the Manuscript Collection at Ta pho Monastery. *Sambandhapaṛīkṣā* with its Commentaries *Vṛtti* and *īkā*," *East and West* 44.1 (1994): 173-184.

213. Cf. D. KLIMBURG-SALTER: *Tabo, A Lamp for the Kingdom. Early Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Art in the Western Himalaya*. Milan 1997. This work contains contributions by Christian LUCZANITS, Luciano PETECH, Ernst STEINKELLNER and Erna WANDL; all, except PETECH, are members of the Vienna Institute.