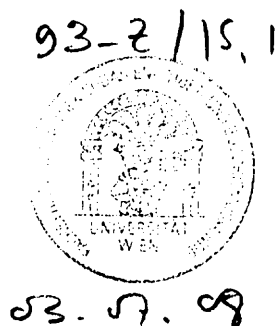


**THE JOURNAL
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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

*Roger Jackson
Dept. of Religion
Carleton College
Northfield, MN 55057
USA*



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CONTENTS

I. ARTICLES

1. The Violence of Non-Violence: A Study of Some Jain Responses to Non-Jain Religious Practices, *by Phyllis Granoff* 1
2. Is the *Dharma-kāya* the Real “Phantom Body” of the Buddha?, *by Paul Harrison* 44
3. Lost in China, Found in Tibet: How Wonch’uk Became the Author of the *Great Chinese Commentary*, *by John Powers* 95

II. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

- Some Observations on the Present and Future of Buddhist Studies, *by D. Seyfort Ruegg* 104

III. AN EXCHANGE

- The Theatre of Objectivity: Comments on José Cabezón’s Interpretations of mKhas grub rje’s and C.W. Huntington, Jr.’s Interpretations of the Tibetan Translation of a Seventh Century Indian Buddhist Text,
by C. W. Huntington, Jr. 118
- On Retreating to Method and Other Postmodern Turns: A Response to C. W. Huntington, Jr.,
by José Ignacio Cabezón 134

IV. BOOK REVIEWS

1. *Choix de Documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale complété par quelques manuscrits de l'India Office et du British Museum*, by Yoshiro Imaeda and Tsugohito Takeuchi
(Alexander W. Macdonald) 144
2. *A Concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories*,
by Leslie Grey (Barend A. van Nooten) 145

V. NOTES AND NEWS

- Report on the 10th IABS Conference
(A. W. Macdonald) 148

CONTRIBUTORS 151

II. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Some Observations on the Present and Future of Buddhist Studies*

by D. Seyfort Ruegg

At this Conference we are fortunate to be celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the International Association of Buddhist Studies. By the standards of many learned societies this is not a great age, but it is no doubt long enough for our Association to be able to look back and take stock with a sense of some achievement. It may also be an appropriate moment to attempt to look forward.

The IABS has as its goal the furthering of Buddhist studies throughout the world, and it is then fitting if we think of it as being a World Association of Buddhist Studies. By Buddhist studies the IABS understands the serious investigation, by all suitable means, of Buddhism both historically (diachronically) and descriptively (synchronically). Accordingly, drawing as it does on diverse disciplines such as those of philology, history, archaeology, architecture, epigraphy, numismatics, philosophy, cultural and social anthropology, and the histories of religion and art, our enterprise is at the same time a disciplinary and a multi-disciplinary one. Buddhism is indeed not only philosophy and/or religion, at least in the narrow senses of these terms, but also a way of living and being, a cultural and value system permitting Buddhists in vast areas of the world to construct so much of their mundane as well as spiritual lives.

The kind of serious intellectual investigation promoted by the IABS is certainly in part academic, one pursued in institutions devoted to teaching and/or research. But only in part. For in view of the prevailing patchy, and often unsatisfactory, implantation of Buddhist studies in universities and research organizations in so many parts of the world, were Buddhist studies to be confined exclusively to these institutions they could run the risk of having a very limited future. Exceptionally fortunate indeed are the places where this is not the case, and rare are the institutions where Buddhist studies have been regarded as a discipline meriting an academic chair and structure.

Equally importantly, we see today a significant and serious — if still perhaps somewhat diffuse — interest in Buddhism among the public, both the young and the less young, to which the universities find themselves poorly placed to respond. Many will perhaps agree that in order for Buddhist studies to flourish — even to survive — it will be the task of those concerned with them to seek to attract and hold the educated attention, interest and support of persons who are not full-time professional academics. An effort must be made somehow to achieve a closing of the ancient and entrenched divide between “town” and “gown.” Scholars of Buddhist studies need to foster contacts with specialists from other disciplines with whom collaboration may prove fruitful both within and outside the universities: historians and archaeologists, anthropologists, medical and health specialists, psychologists, those concerned with ethics and the relation between man and his environment, and many more.

Ethics for example has become a focus of attention in many disciplines from philosophy to medicine (and including now business studies). In Buddhism non-injury (*a[vi]hiṃsā*) is of course an ancient and honoured concept, but its implications may not have always been drawn out in their fullness. The question of man in relation to nature and his environment is also an old one in Buddhism, even if looked at simply from the point of view of the division between the sentient (*sattvaloka*) and non-sentient world (*bhājanaloka*). According to a very important current of Buddhist thought, moreover, all sentient beings (*sarvasattva*) without exception, including of course animals, are considered to have the Buddha-nature (*tathāgatagarbha*, etc.); certain schools in addition attribute this Buddha-nature also to plants, and it is then thought of as pervading in some way the whole of nature. So it will be of interest to observe how the Buddhist traditions have demarcated the areas of man and his environment differently both from each other and from many contemporary discussions on the subject which are of course influenced by quite other religio-philosophical and cultural traditions.¹

Mention has just been made of the problems posed by the patchy implantation of Buddhist studies in universities and research institutions. It is of course true that in South Asia there exists a good deal of activity in various branches of Buddhist studies associated with established university posts, but less perhaps than in former years and less also than might be hoped for in view of the fact that Buddhism originated and took on so many of its developments in this part of the world. As for Europe, the number of university chairs in Buddhist studies can probably still all be counted on the fingers of one hand; and other full-time teaching and research posts dedicated to these studies are not numerous. In Japan, certainly, the situation is very different, so much so that it can be said that it is there that Buddhist studies have their greatest geographical density and are achieving their greatest academic intensity. In America until about a decade ago Buddhist studies suffered from a paucity of established

academic posts, but significant progress has been made since then. And it is noteworthy that this development has benefited the study of the Buddhist traditions of Southeast, East and even Central Asia as well as of South Asia. A further remarkable development in the United States in particular has been the appearance of accredited institutes and colleges of Buddhist studies which address themselves to the needs of a public that does not consist solely of younger full-time students, and which attempt also to bridge the gap between professional scholars of Buddhism and those who are not academics.

A comparison of the present situation of Buddhist studies in America, Europe and Japan is instructive and it suggests some observations. First, in Europe Buddhist studies, with only a few notable exceptions, have tended to be concerned with Indian Buddhism whereas in North America they deal at least as often with East Asian and occasionally Southeast or Central Asian Buddhism. Secondly, in continental Europe most posts in Buddhist studies are either in departments of Indian or Asiatic/Oriental studies whereas in North America — and now in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand — they are increasingly often located elsewhere, especially in departments of religion and philosophy or much more rarely in departments of history. Thirdly (and perhaps partly as a consequence of the second point), in America there may be two — in very favourable cases even more — scholars of different traditions of Buddhism working in the same academic unit, whereas in Europe it is still exceptional to have full posts in several traditions of Buddhism at a single institution. In Japan the academic organization of Buddhist studies seems to combine features of the systems characteristic of continental Europe and America, and a tendency to join both appears to be making some headway elsewhere too. The idea of locating Buddhist studies in a department of religion is of course not totally without parallel and indeed precedent in Europe, for at the *École des Hautes Études* in Paris Buddhist studies were already represented from the inception in 1886 of its *Section des Sciences Religieuses* by Sylvain Lévi. Generalizations are of course always risky, and it is often possible to point to opposite tendencies in any given area. At all events, the two models for the organization of Buddhist studies just mentioned — the one that places them in a department of Indian or Asiatic/Oriental studies and the one that locates them in departments of religion and/or philosophy or, occasionally, of history — can lend disciplinary variety to Buddhist studies.

Placing Buddhist studies in departments of religion, philosophy or history could, it is true, result in their being distanced if not totally divorced from the historical and philological disciplines — Indology, Sinology, etc., — devoted to the cultural areas in which Buddhism originated and developed. In other words, the academic study of Buddhism might find itself being organized without due regard being accorded to its historical matrix and cultural context. This potential danger has perhaps been reinforced, in America in particular, by the surprising and indeed paradoxical circumstance that, not infrequently, Buddhist studies have

been represented little or not at all where Indian studies were otherwise strong and that, conversely, Indian studies have not always been cultivated where Buddhist studies were represented. This is once more but a generalization, and there are exceptions which — since things are always changing — may become more the rule. At all events, it should be clear that Buddhist studies — however much they can benefit from close contact with the disciplines of religious studies and philosophy or of history to which they in turn have very much to contribute — must be solidly based in philology (in the comprehensive sense of this word) and cultural studies.

If in Europe the link between Buddhist studies on the one side and Indology on the other has usually been very close, one consequence has been that — given the fact that chairs of Buddhism have been so rare — very many distinguished scholars of Buddhism in Europe have actually occupied professorships of Sanskrit and Indian studies rather than of Buddhist studies. This, as already noted, can have the very important advantage of keeping the study of Buddhism firmly anchored in its historical matrix and cultural context. But such structuring of Asian studies inevitably carries the danger that the successor of a scholar of Buddhism will not be a specialist in our studies at all but in some completely different branch of Indology, Sinology, etc.

In an age of increasing specialization, moreover, it is growing ever more difficult to maintain the idea, prevalent since the foundation of Asian studies, of a chair in for example Sanskrit and Indian studies that may be filled equally by a Vedist, a classical Sanskritist or a specialist in Indian Buddhism. (The equipping of institutes and seminar libraries alone can make such shifting from one branch of Indology, Sinology, etc., to another highly problematic from a purely practical point of view.) I cannot see that sufficient recognition has been given to this problem, and to the risk it involves, in any but a very small handful of European universities. In Japan on the other hand the system adopted, in the national universities in particular, of distinct established chairs in Buddhist studies beside chairs of Sanskrit and Indian philosophy has quite successfully addressed this real problem for our discipline. How this problem of chairs and their continuity will be resolved in the North American universities still remains to be seen.

Without established and continuing structures and without strong and enduring academic traditions it is at any rate hard to see how any discipline can in the first place become established and then, once established, develop and flourish. Vigorous and sustained efforts need to be made towards consolidating the study of the different traditions of Buddhism at universities and research institutions. Outside South and Southeast Asia dedicated posts in Pāli and the Theravāda tradition of Buddhism are almost unknown. Only a very small handful of posts exist for Central Asian Buddhism, in particular for the Tibetan and Mongolian traditions. And outside Japan surprisingly few exist for such important areas as the Buddhist traditions of China and Japan. The development

of Buddhist studies has indeed often proved difficult, and one cannot altogether escape the impression that inertia, perhaps even opposition, has been greater than might legitimately have been hoped and expected. This is not the place to go into this phenomenon. But it does appear pertinent at least to allude to it if only in order to pose the question whether this situation reflects, to some degree that is difficult to ascertain, a cultural or ideological prejudice, perhaps even a more or less unconscious attitude of anti-clerical secularism or anti-monasticism. As for the study of Buddhist philosophy, it has no doubt been affected by the fact that, in recent years, the development of the human and social sciences (welcome though this was) has been accompanied by a retreat in philosophy — a subject that one would have thought to be essential to these very sciences.

A very strong plea must also be entered here for pursuing research in Buddhist studies in close collaboration with competent scholars from Buddhist countries who are well trained in their intellectual and spiritual traditions. The need for this kind of collaboration might appear altogether obvious were it not for the fact that, to the detriment of scholarship as well as of mutual understanding in these studies, it has too often been overlooked.

We have probably all come to see that the universalist scholar in Indology, Sinology, etc., is something of the past, noble though the ideal of comprehensive knowledge still remains and however successful this ideal of scholarship may have been before specialization developed to the degree we now know. The problems of the universalist scholar and the generalist are ones that may concern us within the field of Buddhist studies also. For here too specialization is inevitable, and it is growing at a rapid and daunting pace. Communication, both intellectual and organizational, among the various disciplines and trends represented within the broad purview of Buddhist studies is sometimes proving difficult. Even the question of the usefulness of holding general congresses such as the present one is being raised. A historian dealing with Buddhism might perhaps ask what he can find in a congress where much time is spent in discussing philosophy and religion, and some philosophers and religionists might ask how they can benefit from a conference where anthropology or archaeology are legitimate subjects of discussion. Nonetheless, while we acknowledge both the inevitability and the very real benefits of specialization — and therefore the usefulness of holding smaller colloquia devoted to the emerging specialisms in Buddhist studies — it seems to me that there remains a need for a comprehensive congress where the overarching concerns — theoretical and practical, disciplinary and interdisciplinary — of Buddhist studies can be addressed. This Conference may wish also to consider the question of promoting in the future specialized colloquia alongside our periodical General Conferences. If the latter were for example to be held every three or four years, smaller thematic and regional colloquia could be organized in the intervals.

I have mentioned that Buddhist studies have, traditionally, most often been placed in philologically and historically oriented departments or faculties of Asiatic/Oriental studies, and that in the nineteenth century and through several decades of the twentieth century this arrangement served them well, allowing them to make very remarkable progress. But since the 1960s in particular have we not heard much about a supposed lack of “relevance” of the philological and historical disciplines, not to speak of philosophy? And especially since the 1970s, with the publication of Edward Said’s book *Orientalism* (1978), has not an attack been mounted on Orientalism for its supposed racial, cultural and political biases? This critic of Orientalism once took a great Sanskritist and scholar of Buddhism, Sylvain Lévi, as a target in his very sweeping campaign. And commenting on Lévi’s having connected Orientalism and politics in an interview,² Said has written:

“For all his expressed humanism, his admirable concern for fellow creatures, Lévi conceives the present juncture in unpleasantly constricted terms.... The Oriental is imagined to feel his world threatened by a superior civilization; yet his motives are impelled ... by rancor or jealous malice. The panacea offered for this potentially ugly turn of affairs is that the Orient should be marketed for a Western consumer, be put before him as one among numerous wares By a single stroke you will defuse the Orient ... and you will appease Western fears of an Oriental tidal wave. At bottom ... Lévi’s principal point — and his most telling confession — is that unless something is done about the Orient, ‘the Asiatic drama will approach the crisis point.’”³

To any one familiar with Lévi’s *oeuvre*, this representation of it will appear so tangential by its focus on the manipulative and exploitative as to render his ideas and position hardly recognizable for us.

Yet the practitioners of what in academic circles is often still being called Orientalism must now, I think, be conscious — at least somewhat more so than they were in the past — of their pre-judgements (not to say prejudices) and be more critically aware of both their pre-suppositions and their methodologies. Orientalism and with it our own discipline, when not in a phase of antiquarianism and a rather unreflective positivism, seem quite often to have found themselves being buffeted between exoticism and attempts at “relevance” motivated either by sheer fashion or by considerations of trade and commerce with Asia. The dangers of fashion and radical *chic* are now being encountered in the problems arising in connection with curricular pluralism and “cultural studies” — things that could, however, be made very worthwhile provided of course that they are pursued on a solid foundation. Regrettably, far from contributing to greater scholarly and critical awareness, the fashion for so-called relevance as well as the stance of anti-Orientalism, generating heat rather than light, appear not to have made matters better.

It might be that Orientalism as represented in our institutions will soon (though for quite other reasons) be as much overtaken by developments, and hence as much a thing of the past, as the universal Indologist, Sinologist, etc. And the change in name of our great sister (or rather, in view of its age, mother) institution from Congress of Orientalists first to Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa and then to Congress of Asian and North African Studies had perhaps after all a certain justification that was not only politico-ideological but genuinely intellectual. For the IABS too such debates are probably not altogether without pertinency.

Let us now turn briefly to a couple of developments in Buddhist studies over the past fifteen years or so. Most welcome has been the resurgence in Pāli Buddhist studies after a period of eclipse relative to their former state. This is especially gratifying since, after all, the Pāli canon (together with its exegetical traditions elaborated in the Theravāda school) represents one of the main pillars in the great hall of Buddhist studies as well as of Buddhism as a living tradition. Another specialism, Tibetan Buddhist studies, has also made a good deal of progress in this period despite the considerable obstacles in the way of the establishment of Tibetology as an academic discipline. The development of this specialism too is gratifying because of the great significance of the Tibetan Buddhist traditions when considering the religious, philosophical and cultural role of Buddhism as a way of thought and practice that has remained very much alive until the present day.

Occasionally these two traditions within Buddhism have, however, been seen as antithetical in their religious and philosophical positions, and sometimes (e.g., in contemporary Nepal, and elsewhere too) they are even regarded as rivals in competition with each other. It is of course true that the Buddhist traditions of Tibet and Mongolia are deeply imbued by the Mahāyāna whilst the Pāli canon and the Theravāda school are normally to be classified as Śrāvakayānist.⁴ But what has sometimes been lost sight of is the fact that Tibetan-Mongolian Buddhism is by no means *exclusively* Mahāyānist or Vajrayānist. In fact, like any Buddhist order of monks or Saṃgha, the monastic order in Tibet and Mongolia is founded on the Vinaya, in this case the one belonging to the Mūlasarvāstivādins which is one of the great Śrāvakayānist Schools and (in so far as they are Vinaya-Schools) Orders (*nikāya*). Furthermore, in Tibetan philosophical thought Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, representing as it does the doctrines of the Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika schools of the Śrāvakayāna, is one of the fundamental points of reference and, accordingly, one of the prescribed textbooks in Tibetan seminaries. In the Tibetan and Mongolian canons, the bKa' 'gyur, there are moreover to be found a number of texts parallel to Pāli Suttantas, and some that were apparently translated from Pāli;⁵ and the Buddhist tradition in Tibet has accorded due attention to these *sūtras* belonging to what is in Buddhist historiography and doxography frequently described as

the Buddha's first turning of the Wheel of the Dharma. It is therefore fitting that the Pali Text Society is at present supporting a research project to edit and translate several *sūtras* from the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur and to compare them with parallels extant in Pāli as well as in Sanskrit.

In Buddhist studies uncertainty and perplexity have been caused by the question as to how best and most precisely to use the terms Śrāvakayāna, Hīnayāna and Theravāda, which are sometimes being employed as if they were practically coterminous equivalents to which Mahāyāna (or Bodhisattvayāna) is antithetically (or even hostilely) opposed.

Strictly speaking — and very notably in the usage of the Tibetan doxographers and descriptions of the Path — the Śrāvakayāna (Tib. *ñan thos kyi theg pa*, the “Vehicle of the Auditor”) is indeed contrasted with the Mahāyāna (Tib. *theg pa chen po*, the “Great Vehicle”), but these two Vehicles are nonetheless very frequently regarded as being complementary rather than as absolutely exclusive of (or hostilely opposed to) each other. For Tibetan Buddhist tradition in fact acknowledges both to be authentically founded in the Word of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*) and to correspond to the Buddha's successive turnings of the Wheel of the Dharma. This view of the matter may be adopted in the perspective of that version of the *triyāna*-theory in which the three Vehicles of the Śrāvaka, Pratyekabuddha and Bodhisattva, classified in an ascending hierarchical order, are acknowledged as separate and *ultimately* distinct *yānas* bringing different types of individuals — divided according to their spiritual categories or “genes” (*gotra*) — to their respective and different final destinations, namely the three distinct kinds of Awakening (*bodhi*) recognized in this theory. Or on the contrary, and *a fortiori*, this view of the Vehicles may be taken in the perspective of the theory of the One Vehicle (*ekayāna*) according to which the three *yānas* are accepted not as *ultimately* separate Vehicles leading to *ultimately* distinct kinds of liberation, but as all finally converging in the single and unique Vehicle (the *ekayāna* = *buddhayāna*) whereby all sentient beings will reach Buddhahood. In this second perspective, then, the theory of three Vehicles and of separate spiritual *gotras* has only provisional validity. For in this case the distinct *yānas* of the Śrāvaka, Pratyekabuddha and Bodhisattva serve to convey persons of the corresponding *gotras* to genuine yet provisional spiritual destinations without, however, leading to radically distinct spiritual goals; and they finally converge together in the *ekayāna* or *buddhayāna* in conformity with the theory of the *tathāgatagarbha* or Buddha-nature according to which all sentient beings ultimately achieve Buddhahood.

Now the fact that the Śrāvakayāna, the first of the turnings of the Wheel of the Dharma, has been considered by Mahāyānist hermeneuticians to be not of definitive and certain meaning (*nīrtha* = *nges don*) but rather of philosophically and soteriologically provisional meaning, and thus to require further interpretation in another sense (*neyārtha* = *drang don*), was not simply a crude

attempt by Mahāyānist to denigrate non-Mahāyānist texts and doctrines. In fact, Mahāyānist hermeneutics considers a large body of its own Mahāyāna scriptures — either those belonging to the second or to the third turning of the Wheel of the Dharma — to be *neyārtha* too.

On the other hand, the Hīnayāna (Tib. *theg dman*, also *theg chung*, the “Small Vehicle” or “Lesser Vehicle”) — a term that embraces both the Śrāvakayāna and the Pratyekabuddhayāna — is antithetically opposed to the Bodhisattvayāna (Tib. *byang sems kyi theg pa*) inasmuch as it is a Vehicle that does not include the Bodhisattva’s Path but constitutes a Path leading rather to Arhatship conceived of as different from Buddhahood. Where Hīnayāna has been employed as a historical designation either for pre-Mahāyāna Buddhism or for Buddhism that is not specifically Mahāyānist, but without any specific reference being actually intended to the Path (*mārga*) of the Small Vehicle of the Arhat in contradistinction to the Path of the Bodhisattva, the term Śrāvakayāna can usefully be substituted both in the interests of the terminological and conceptual clarity required in scholarly work and in order to avoid the use of a possibly disparaging expression. Alongside features that are strictly speaking characteristically Hīnayānist — that is, that are specific to the path of an Arhat in contradistinction to that of a Bodhisattva — the Śrāvakayāna also comprises elements that are so to say neutral — i.e., largely mainstream and non-specific to any single Buddhist yāna — and (in some of its forms) even elements that point in the direction of what is known as the Mahāyāna.

As for the term Theravāda, literally “Doctrine of the Elders,” linguistically it is of course simply the Pāli word that corresponds to Skt. Sthaviravāda, the name given to that great trunk of Buddhism opposed to the Mahāsāṃghika at the time of a disagreement in early Indian Buddhism. Sthaviravāda is thus a comprehensive term that covers several of the traditional Schools/Orders or Nikāyas (e.g., the Sarvāstivāda, Dharmaguptaka, etc.,) and may accordingly cover a wider area than the Pāli term Theravāda. But since Sthaviravāda does not embrace all the Nikāyas, this term cannot properly be used as an equivalent of what has been termed “Nikāya Buddhism.” Furthermore, it has to be borne in mind that in the course of its long history the Theravāda too has not been altogether unfamiliar with the Bodhisattva-ideal;⁶ this School indeed passed through a number of the developments that its sister-schools in India knew. Moreover, to take for scholarly purposes the name Theravāda as a designation for “early” or “original” Buddhism (i.e., the teaching of the historical Buddha)⁷ in contrast to later developments — that is, in effect to identify Theravāda and Buddhavacana⁸ — is, historically speaking, a very wide (and eventually tendentious) use of the word.⁹ Nor can Theravāda designate the whole of so-called “Nikāya Buddhism” any more than can its Sanskrit counterpart Sthaviravāda. In sum, the term Theravāda is in fact required by the historian of Buddhism as a technical name to designate one of the many schools deriving from early Buddhism, namely the venerable tradition of the Theras that traces its descent

through Aśoka's son, the Elder Mahinda who established it in the middle of the third century BCE in Sri Lanka whence it spread very extensively in Southeast Asia. Today Theravāda is usually understood by historians of Buddhism as designating specifically the tradition connected with the Mahāvihāra in Sri Lanka.¹⁰ On the contrary, when reference is being made to the above-mentioned old division of Nikāya Buddhism which is opposed to the Mahāsāṃghika, and not specifically to the Buddhist tradition of Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, the historian has available the Sanskrit term Sthaviravāda which, as just mentioned, is used more comprehensively than Pāli Theravāda and is therefore appropriate to designate the broader group of Schools/Orders in question.

Consequently, to regard the names Śrāvakayāna, Hīnayāna, Sthaviravāda and Theravāda as coterminous equivalents (except only to the extent that the name Hīnayāna might be understood as a more or less disparaging one) despite the fact that they enter into distinct combinations and into quite different pairs of terms and concepts, and then to make them *en bloc* the radical antithesis of Mahāyāna, can only render the terminology unserviceable for tracing the complex historical developments in Buddhism and for describing its no less complex spiritual paths.

If only the Pāli and the Tibetan traditions of Buddhism have been dwelt on here, this is certainly not because I consider them to be somehow more important than others, but rather in order to attempt to show by means of examples how two Buddhist traditions that may perhaps appear to us as in some sense "antipodal"¹¹ in relation to each other are, nevertheless, not heterogeneous and totally irreconcilable in the broad and rich frame of Buddhist theory and practice. My observations relate at the same time to several of the gaps in our discipline to which attention was usefully called by G. M. Nagao in his presidential address to the first Conference of our Association in 1978.¹² Much very valuable work has of course also been carried out over the past decade and a half in the Buddhist traditions transmitted in Sanskrit (of which in fact the Buddhism of Tibet is in large part a prolongation), and in those of East and Southeast Asia. Let me also recall here the emphasis Nagao laid on the need to bring to bear in Buddhist studies what he termed the analytical and synthetic approaches — i.e., the method whereby pieces of information accumulated from various sources are established as reliable data and the method by which these established data are then made to yield a humanistically meaningful historical and descriptive account of Buddhist thought, practice and culture — and reiterate the plea for a solid philological (by which I do not of course mean only linguistic) foundation for studies in the history, religion, philosophy and iconology of Buddhism.

At the start of this address I said that in Buddhist studies we can look back over the fifteen years that have passed since the founding of the IABS with a

sense of achievement. Some of this achievement has been mirrored in and contributed to by our Journal. The *JIABS* has in fact a very essential function to fulfil both as an organ of the Association, recording its conferences and other activities, and as an outlet for articles, book-reviews and reports on symposia and the like which reflect the many facets of Buddhist studies world-wide. Some articles may also seek to respond to the needs of our readership which is varied, and presumably not composed exclusively of professional academics in Buddhist studies. And precisely because few can aspire to being experts in each and every aspect of Buddhist studies, we probably require more reports and bibliographical surveys that keep specialists in one branch abreast of developments in others. The philologist and the historian of religion and philosophy will for example require information about important recent developments in history, archaeology, art history, etc., as they bear on Buddhist studies. Above all, our organization will wish to promote this scholarly exchange on a world-wide basis.

The present and future of Buddhist studies are of course to be seen not only as the product of what happens in universities and learned societies but in correlation, at least in part, with the world situation, and also, it has to be added, with the trials and troubles through which so many Buddhist peoples and their Saṃghas have passed. In that great arc of Buddhist civilization stretching from Tibet and Sri Lanka in the west to Korea and Japan in the east, few indeed have been the Buddhist peoples that have been spared prolonged and terrible calamities during this century. The events to which I am referring have inevitably had a deep impact on Buddhism — both on the Saṃgha and also on the Dharma-as-teaching (*deśanādharmā*) in its temporal situation — in the areas concerned and thus, if only indirectly, on Buddhist studies. For it can hardly be supposed that there exists no correlation between the welfare and well-being — the *hita-sukha* — of the Buddhist peoples and the flourishing of Dharma and Saṃgha on the one side and the condition of Buddhist studies on the other side. Let us hope that the well-being that some peoples having a Buddhist heritage now enjoy may prove to be also a harbinger of amelioration elsewhere.

NOTES

* Presidential address delivered on the 19th July 1991 on the occasion of the Tenth Conference of the IABS held at UNESCO, Paris. The author wishes to thank the Spalding Trust for a travel grant.

1. The role of environmentalism in Buddhism has become highly topical. For the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's espousal of this cause for Tibet and the Himalayan region and for his proposal of a Zone of Ahimsā, see his *Freedom in Exile* (London, 1990), pp. 274-5: "The Tibetan plateau would be transformed into the world's largest natural park or biosphere. Strict laws would be enforced to protect wildlife and plant life; the exploitation

of natural resources would be carefully regulated so as not to damage relevant ecosystems; and a policy of sustainable development would be adopted in populated areas.”

Concerning nature and environmentalism in Buddhism, see recently L. Schmithausen, “Buddhismus und Natur,” in: R. Panikkar and W. Strolz, *Die Verantwortung des Menschen für eine bewohnbare Welt in Christentum, Hinduismus und Buddhismus* (Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1985), pp. 100-33; K. Inada, “Environmental Problematics in the Buddhist Context,” *Philosophy East and West* 37 (1987), pp. 135-49; and the discussions connected with the 1990 Tsurumi/Osaka International Garden and Greenery Exhibition reported in *Revista de Estudios budistas* 1 (1991). For the question of ecology, etc., in Buddhism, reference can be made to the bibliography and brief discussion in I. Harris, “How Environmentalist is Buddhism?,” *Religion* 21 (1991), pp. 101-14.

2. Une heure avec M. Sylvain Lévi, Indianiste, Professeur au Collège de France, par Frédéric Lefèvre, in *Nouvelles Littéraires*, 14 March 1925, reprinted in *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi* (Paris, 1937), pp. 118-25.

3. E. Said, *Orientalism* (Penguin ed., London, 1985), pp. 249-50.

4. The terms Śrāvakayāna and Śrāvakayānist are here being used advisedly instead of Hīnayāna and Hīnayānist. See below.

5. Nos. 747-759 in the Beijing edition, translated by Ānandaśrī and Nyi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po of Thar pa gling (Thar pa Lo tsā ba, a teacher of Bu ston Rin chen grub, 1290-1364).

6. Even though in Sri Lanka the Bodhisattva-concept seems to have been associated especially closely with kingship, concerning the *bodhisatta mahāsatta* as a spiritual type — as distinct from *bodhisatta* used as an appellative to designate Gotama Śākyamuni prior to his attainment of buddhahood and including his earlier existences — see Buddhaghosa, *Visuddhimagga* iii. 128 (ed. Kosambi, p. 94) and ix. 124 (p. 270). And on the *pāramitāsīla*, the highest form of *sīla* exercised for the purpose of the liberation of all beings (*sabbasattavimokkha*), see *Visuddhimagga* i.33 (p. 12). — On *sammāsambodhi* as distinct from *sāvakabodhi* and *pacceka(sam)bodhi*, see (in addition to the *Khuddakapāṭha*, p. 7, on *sāvakapāramī*, *paccekabodhi* and *buddhabhūmi*) the Lokuttarasampattiniddesa (Chap. viii) of the *Upāsakajanāṅkāra*, p. 340 ff. (which mentions *sāvakabuddhas* and *paccekasambuddhas*). Cf. W. Rahula, “L’ idéal du Bodhisattva dans le Theravāda et le Mahāyāna,” *Journal Asiatique* 1971, p. 68 f.

7. Under the entry *theravāda*, the Pali Text Society’s Dictionary (London, 1925) has given both “the doctrine of the Theras” and “the original Buddhist doctrine.”

8. See R. C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pali Language* (London, 1875), s.v. *vādo*: “*Theravādo* is a term applied to the orthodox doctrines or word of Buddha as settled at the first Saṅgīti.” Childers quotes the *Dīpavaṃsa* (iv. 6, 13).

9. It is to be noted that as used alongside *nānavāda* in the Pāli canon (*Majjhima-nikāya* i, pp. 164-165, in connexion with Ālāra Kalāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta) *theravāda* has in fact a quite different meaning from the one it acquired in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and comparable later texts. In other words, in the Pāli canon *theravāda* has neither the meaning of (*buddha*)*sāsana* it has acquired in the historical literature of Sri Lanka, nor the meaning

of original Buddhism given it by some modern writers.

Needless to say, what is being stated here is definitely not meant to deny the fact that the *buddhavacana* as recorded in the Pāli canon of the Theravādins has become an integral part of the tradition of this school, which is of course based on it. But by the same token the *buddhavacana* as recorded in the canons of the Sarvāstivādins, Dharmaguptakas, etc., has become an integral part of these Nikāya-traditions, which are similarly based on these canons. Thus, much of the contents as such of the Theravādin canon are no more (and of course no less) Theravāda in the historical sense of this term than the contents of, e.g., the Sarvāstivādin canon are Sarvāstivāda in the historical sense. But if it were the case that the philosophical and religious contents of the canon of the Theravāda school are Theravāda, by the same token the contents of the canons of the Sarvāstivāda school, etc., will be Sarvāstivāda, etc.; and as a result the same (or very similar) Buddha-word would be termed sometimes Theravāda and sometimes Sarvāstivāda, etc., for no other reason than that it happens to be found in the canon of this or that Nikāya even when it is common to other canonical traditions.

Nevertheless, the expressions "Theravādin canon," "Sarvāstivādin canon," etc., may serve perfectly legitimately to designate a particular canon as *redacted* and *transmitted* by the Theravāda, Sarvāstivāda, etc., schools. These canons may then be specifically Theravādin, Sarvāstivādin, etc., in respect to their linguistic expression, structure, etc., but not in their religious and philosophical contents which may in fact be largely mainstream and thus not Nikāya-specific.

10. Historically, Sinhalese Buddhism embraced other traditions too, e.g., that of the Abhayagiri Vihāra. And it has to be recognized that in a later mainland Buddhist source such as Vinītadeva's **Samayabhedoparacanacakra-Nikāyabhedopadarśana-saṃgraha*, the school of the *gnas brtan pa* (= *sthavira*) is identified only by its subdivisions of Jetavanīya, Abhayagirivāsīn and Mahāvihāravāsīn without any continental representative being mentioned. Hence, in effect, it is represented as being the Tāmraparṇīya, or Sri Lanka, school. This appears to indicate that the only, or at least the main, representatives of the Sthaviras (as a school) known to the *later* Indian and to the Tibetan historiographical and doxographical traditions were indeed to be found in Sri Lanka at their time.

On the Mahāyāna in Sri Lanka, see especially S. Paranavitana, "Mahāyānism in Ceylon," *Ceylon Journal of Science* (Section G: Archaeology, Ethnology, etc.), ii (1928-33), pp. 35-71; H. Saddhātissa (ed.), *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* (London, 1965), Introduction, pp. 104-11; Nandasena Mudiyanse, *Mahayana Monuments in Ceylon* (Colombo, 1967); H. Bechert, "Mahāyāna literature in Sri Lanka: the early phase," in: L. Lancaster (ed.), *Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems* (Studies in Honor of E. Conze, Berkeley, 1977), pp. 361-8; and G. Schopen, "The text on the 'Dhāraṇī Stones from Abhayagiriya,'" *JIABS* 5/1 (1982), pp. 100-08 Cf. also J. C. Holt, *Buddha in the Crown: Avalokiteśvara in the*

Buddhist Traditions of Sri Lanka (New York, 1991).

On the question of "Mahāyāna Theravāda" in Hsüan-tsang's writings, see recently A. Hirakawa, *A History of Indian Buddhism* (Hawaii, 1990), p. 257. E. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien* (Louvain, 1958), pp. 596-601, refers, perhaps more appropriately, to Mahāyānasthaviras. They are located by Hsüan-tsang not only in Sri Lanka but also on the mainland at Bodh Gayā and Bharukaccha, and in Kalinga and Surāṣṭra; it is not certain what language(s) they used. Hsüan-tsang also refers to monks who studied both the Great and the Little Vehicles; cf. E. Lamotte, "Sur la formation du Mahāyāna," *Asiatica* (Festschrift F. Weller, Leipzig, 1954), p. 395, and *Histoire*, p. 601.

11. In using the expression "antipodal," I am not thinking only of the difference in the geographical distribution of the Vehicles in South and North Asia but also of a certain polarity between them, poles being of course not only opposed but also in complementary tension.

12. See *JIAS* 1/2 (1979), pp. 79-85.