

PALI BUDDHIST STUDIES IN THE WEST

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3. Germany

Perhaps more than anywhere else in the Western world, Germany is pre-eminent in facilitating Buddhist studies on both organised academic and private popular levels. Although Chairs in Sanskrit and Indology were established during the early 19th century, it would be more appropriate to open this by no means comprehensive survey with a description of the achievements made by individual scholars and more popular writers in the field of Pali Buddhism.

Friedrich Spiegel. Born 1820 in Kitzingen, near Würzburg; died 1905 in Munich. He was educated at Erlangen University, where he became Professor of Oriental Languages in 1849, and obtained his doctorate at Jena in 1842. He is solely remembered for being the first European to edit and publish a Pali text in the West. This was the Uraga Sutta from the Sutta-Nipāta, together with extracts from the Commentary and Rasavāhini. Under the collective title of *Anecdota Palica*, the whole was printed in Devanāgarī script in Leipzig (1845). Not so well known is the fact that he worked on a Pali dictionary for the next twenty years. The manuscript was passed by his grandson to Heinz Bechert (see below).

Albrecht Weber. Born 1825 in Breslau; died 1902 in Berlin. He studied in Bonn and Berlin (where he settled, becoming a professor in 1856), but he too is only remembered for a single work: the first translation of a Pali text (the *Dhammapada*) into a living Western language—German. This appeared in an issue of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (ZDMG, Leipzig 1860).

Ernst Windisch. Born 1844 in Dresden; died 1918. Becoming a professor at Leipzig in 1871, he edited the Itivuttaka for the PTS (1890) and contributed papers on Pali philology to various journals. He has three books to his credit: *Māra und Buddha* (Leipzig 1895), *Über den sprachlichen Charakter des Pali* (Paris 1906) and *Buddhas Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung* (Leipzig 1908).

Hermann Oldenberg. Born 1854 in Hamburg; died 1920. He studied Sanskrit and Indian philology, obtained his doctorate in 1875 from Berlin (where he became a lecturer) and four years later succeeded Prof. Hermann Jacobi at Kiel. (He also occupied the position of Professor of Comparative Philology and Sanskrit at Göttingen.)

For the PTS, he edited the entire Vinaya Piṭaka (5 vols., London 1879-83; reprinted 1964) and Theragāthā (1883; reprinted 1966). His greatest work was undoubtedly *Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre und sein Gemeindeglied*, the first major exposition of Buddhism in German based on original Pali source materials, published in Berlin in 1881 and subsequently running into several editions (the last being Stuttgart 1959). It has been translated into English, French, Italian and Russian. A short anthology from the Pali Canon—*Reden des Buddha*—appeared posthumously in 1923, whilst a collection of his essays was edited by K. L. Janert nearly half a century later—*Kleine Schriften* (Wiesbaden 1967).

Wilhelm Geiger. Born 1856 in Nuremberg; died 1943. He studied Oriental languages at Erlangen University under Spiegel (see above) and is generally known for his studies of Sinhalese grammar and literature. For the PTS, however, he edited the Mahāvamsa (1908; reprinted 1958) and Cūlavamsa (2 vols., 1926-7); and subsequently translated these histories: *Great Chronicle of Ceylon* (1912; reprinted 1964) and *Minor Chronicle of Ceylon* (2 vols., 1929-30; reprinted 1973). He also translated (into German) the first sixteen *samyuttas* of the Saṃyutta Nikāya (Munich 1925-30), compiled *Pāli Literature und Sprache* (Strasbourg 1916; translated as *Pali Literature and Language*, University of Calcutta 1943; reprinted Delhi 1968) and wrote a general study in this field, *Pāli Dhamma vornehmlich in der kanonisch Literatur* (Munich 1920). In the latter year he succeeded Ernst Kuhn as Professor of Indology and Iranian Studies at Munich University. (The latter had compiled an early grammar—*Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik*, Berlin 1875.) His minor writings—*Kleine Schriften zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde*—were collected and published posthumously (Wiesbaden 1973).

R. Otto Franke (1862-1928) translated parts of the Dīgha Nikāya—*Das Buch der längeren Texte des buddhistischen Kanons* (Göttingen and Leipzig 1913), the Dhammapada—*Das hohe Lied der Wahrheit* (Jena 1923) and compiled an anthology from the Dīgha—*Die Buddhistenlehre in ihrer erreichbar ältesten Gestalt* (1915). He also produced grammatical works and Pali studies.

Paul Dahlke. Born 1865 in Osterode; died 1928 in Berlin. Graduating in medicine, he specialised in homeopathy and established a private practice in Berlin. Convinced of the truth of Buddhism by the Sinhalese *theras*, Sri Sumaṅgala and Wajiswara, he began writing an enormous number of essays and books on Buddhism, mainly from a Western viewpoint: *Aufsätze zum Verständnis des Buddhismus* (Berlin 1903), *Das Buch vom Genie* (Leipzig 1905), *Buddhismus als Weltanschauung* (Breslau 1911), *Aus dem Reiche des Buddha* (Breslau 1912), *Die Bedeutung des Buddhismus*

für unsere Zeit (Breslau 1912), *Buddhismus als Religion und Moral* (Leipzig 1914; Munich 1923; Vienna 1975), *Was ist Buddhismus und was will er?* (1918; Colombo 1968), *Buddhismus und religiöser Wiederaufbau* (1920), *Das Buch Pubbenivāsa* (Berlin 1921), *Neubuddhistischer Katechismus* (1921), *Buddhismus, seine Stellung im geistigen Leben der Menschheit* (1926), *Heilkunde und Weltanschauung* (Stuttgart 1928) and *Buddhismus als Wirklichkeitstheorie und Lebensweg* (Karlsruhe 1928). Sīlācāra translated three of the foregoing works into English: *Buddhist Essays* (London 1908), *Buddhism and Science* (London 1913) and *Buddhism and its Place in the Mental Life of Mankind* (London 1927); whilst a short selection of his writings—*Essays and Poems*—was published by the BPS (Kandy 1965).

Apart from being a prolific writer, Dahlke was also able to translate selections from the Pālī Canon: *Die Lange Sammlung* (Dīgha Nikāya—Berlin 1920), *Die Mittlere Sammlung* (Majjhima Nikāya—Berlin 1923), *Buddha Auswahl aus dem Pālī-Kanon* (Majjhima—Berlin 1920; Munich 1960) and *Der Pfad der Lehre* (Dhammapada—Berlin 1919; Heidelberg 1969); together with the compilation of four anthologies: *Nirvāṇa* (1903), *Buddhistische Erzählungen* (Dresden 1904; Berlin 1960; translated as *Buddhist Stories*, London 1913), *Über der Pālī-Kanon. Einführung in die buddhistischen Urschriften* (Berlin 1919) and *Der Buddha—die Lehre des Erhabenen* (Berlin 1920-22; Munich 1966). At his own expense, he launched the *Neubuddhistische Zeitschrift* in 1917 which, changing its name to *Die Brockensammlung* in 1924, continued to appear as late as 1938 (ten years after his death) still printing MSS he had left behind.

However, he will be best remembered for *Das Buddhistische Haus* which he had constructed in Berlin-Frohnau in 1924. This became a major Buddhist centre in Europe which, since 1957, has been administered by the German Dhammaduta Society of Colombo. The latter appointed resident bhikkhus and thus created the only Theravādin *vihāra* in the country.

Following Dahlke's death his pupil, *Kurt Fischer* (1892-1942), continued Dhamma activities through the medium of *Buddhistisches Leben und Denken* (1930-42).

Julius Dutoit (1872-1958) translated the entire Jātaka collection—*Das Buch der Erzählungen aus früheren Existenzen Buddhas* (7 vols., Leipzig 1908-21), and wrote one general work, *Das Leben des Buddha* (Leipzig 1906).

Karl Seidenstücker (1876-1936) studied natural science, medicine, philosophy and philology at Göttingen, Halle, and Leipzig Universities. He is credited with founding the first Buddhist Society (1903) and journal

in Germany (both in Leipzig). The latter began as *Der Buddhist* in 1905 but subsequently changed its title to *Buddhistische Werte* and, later, *Mahābodhiblätter*.

He translated the Khuddakapāṭha (Breslau 1910), Uddāna (Munich 1920), Tivuttaka (Leipzig 1922) and Sutta-Nīpāta (serialised in *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, Munich 1931). He compiled an anthology, *Handbuch der Pālī-mus in Übersetzungen* (Breslau 1911) and a grammar, *Handbuch der Pālī-Sprache* (3 vols., Leipzig 1916/23/25). Four popular expositions comprised: *Das Licht des Buddha* (Leipzig 1905), *Buddhismus als Wissenschaft* (1910), *Buddhistische Evangelien* (1911) and *Das System des Buddhismus* (1911)—the last three being published in Breslau.

Nyāṇatiloka. Born 1878 as Anton Walter Florus Gueth in Wiesbaden; died 1957 in Ceylon. He studied music in Frankfurt and Paris and first heard of Buddhism through Schopenhauer and Alexandra David-Neel. Hearing of Ananda Metteyya, he visited him in Rangoon where he became a sāmaṇera in 1903 and a bhikkhu in 1904. In 1911 he settled on Polgasduwa, a small island on the south-west coast of Ceylon and there remained for much of his life. Following his state funeral as a citizen of Ceylon, his ashes were interred on the island beneath an imposing monument.

Apart from ordaining numerous fellow-countrymen, Nyāṇatiloka has proved a major formative influence on 20th century Buddhism by virtue of his literary output. First and foremost is the unique anthology, *The Word of the Buddha* (Rangoon 1907; 15th English edition, BPS, Kandy 1971), which is based on the Four Noble Truths, The German translation—*Das Wort des Buddha*—did not appear until four years prior to his death (Constance 1953). A similar, but lesser-known, anthology is *The Buddha's path to Deliverance* (Buddha Sahityā Sabhā, Colombo 1952)—*Der Weg zur Erlösung* (Constance 1956). A *Kleine systematische Pālī-Grammatik* appeared in Breslau (1911) whilst a *Pālī-Anthologie und Wörterbuch* was published in Munich (1928). The latter was reprinted in Constance (1954) with the "Dictionary" appearing separately (and again in 1976.) The English traslation appeared as the *Buddhist Dictionary* (Dodanduwa 1950; Colombo 1973). Two other major exegetical works are: *Geistes-training durch Achtsamkeit. Die buddhistische Sati-paṭṭhāna-Methode* (Constance 1950; reprinted 1970) and *Guide through the Abhidhamma Piṭaka* (BSS, Colombo 1938; BPS, Kandy 1971). He also translated the Aṅguttara Nikāya—*Die Lehreden des Buddha aus der Angereiheten Sammlung* (5 vols., Leipzig and Breslau 1907-20; reprinted Munich 1922-3 and Cologne 1969): *Therīgāthā* (Breslau 1911); *Dhammasaṅgani—Kompendium der Dingwelt* (serialised in *Studia Pālī-Buddhistica*, a monthly review in Hamburg edited by the late Dr. Helmut Palmié from 1952-4);

Puggalapāṇatti—*Das Buch der Charaktere* (Breslau 1910); Visuddhimagga—*Der Weg zur Reinheit* (Constance 1952; reprinted 1975) and the Milinda-pañha—*Die Fragen des Milinda* (Breslau 1913-4; Munich 1924).

Kurt Schmidt. Born and died in Berlin 1879-1975. Graduating in Law from Rostock University in 1901, he pursued his own studies in Buddhism and did not engage in organised activities until 1946. He compiled two anthologies: *Sprüche und Lieder*—selections from the Dhammapada, Udāna, Sutta-Nipāta and Theragāthā (Constance 1954), and *Buddhas Reden*—from the Majjhima Nikāya (Hamburg 1961); a dictionary, *Buddhistisches Wörterbuch* (Constance 1948) and a grammar, *Pāli, Buddhas Sprache* (Constance 1951). He also wrote no less than eight popular works—from his composition, *Der Buddha und seine Lehre* (Leipzig 1917), to his last, directed towards youth, *Buddha und seiner Junger* (Constance 1955).

Walter Markgraf (died 1914) was Sāmaṇera Dhammanusāri under Nyānatiloka in Burma (1908-9) before returning to Germany to establish the *Deutsche Pāl-Gesellschaft* in collaboration with Seidenstücker. Two branches were located in Breslau and Brandenburg but disagreements between the two leaders led to an early demise of the society. In spite of that, however, a number of books and essays were published in its name, including those of Markgraf himself, namely, his translation of the Dhammapada—*Der Pfad der Wahrheit* (1912)—and a *Kleiner buddhistischer Katechismus* (1913). Between 1909-13 he also produced a journal, *Buddhistische Welt*.

Nyānaponika. Born 1901 in Hanau am Main, Siegmund Feniger became a Buddhist in his late teens through reading relevant literature. He established a Buddhist study circle in Königsberg during the 1920s but in 1936 went to Polgasduwa to become ordained by Nyānatiloka.

Since 1952 he has made the Forest Hermitage at Kandy his base of operations where, six years later, the Buddhist Publication Society was founded with himself becoming the chief editor. He has translated innumerable *suttas*, composed invaluable expositions for the Society and provided its essential intellectual and spiritual leadership without which the Society's activities would have quickly terminated.

Full-length translations and studies include: *Abhidhamma Studies*—based on the Dhammasaṅgani and Aṭṭhasālini (Dodanduwa 1949; BPS 1965); *The Heart of Buddhist Meditation* (Colombo 1954; London 1975); *Anguttara Nikāya: an Anthology* (3 vols., BPS 1970-6); *samyuttas* 17-34 of the Samyutta Nikāya (in German for Hamburg University, 1967); Sutta-Nipāta (in German, Constance 1955); *Die Einzige Weg* (Constance

1956) and *Kommentar zur Lehrrede von den Grundlagen der Achtsamkeit (Satipaṭṭhāna)* (Constance 1972).

Paul Debes. Born 1906 in Wuppertal, he dedicated his life to the Dhamma from 1947 and is supported full-time by the circle he founded in the following year. *Buddhistisches Seminar*, his creation based on Hamburg, was intended to engage in deep and serious examination of the Dhamma based on the *suttas*. The monthly journal, *Wissen und Wandel* ('Knowledge and Conduct'), has reflected this tendency since its inception in 1955. Debes has also contributed a full-length study: *Das Dasein und seine Meisterung nach der Lehre des Buddha* ('Existence and how to control it according to the Teaching of the Buddha', Hamburg 1963). Apart from Markgraf, two other Buddhists founded publishing houses devoted exclusively to the dissemination of Theravāda literature. After the First World War, *Oskar Schloss* (died 1945) started *Benares Verlag* in Munich and produced Nyānatiloka's translation of the Anguttara Nikāya, Geiger's partial translation of the Samyutta Nikāya. Seidenstücker's translation of the Udāna, together with series such as *Benares-Bücherei* and *Buddhistische Volksbibliothek*. When Schloss emigrated to Switzerland, Ferdinand Schwab continued the work until 1931.

Paul Christiani, a doctor of engineering, established the *Buddhistische Handbibliothek* in 1953. From its address (Hermann Hesse Weg 2, D-7750 Constance), Verlag Christiani continue to print the German works of Nyānatiloka, Nyānaponika, Kirt Schmidt and others.

According to Hellmuth Hecker: 'In the forty years which have elapsed since the publication of Geiger's translation (1930), only one work has been added to the list of translated Pāli *suttas*, namely, the 1967 continuation (Volume 3) of Geiger's Samyutta Nikāya. Otherwise, there have been only new editions or secondary translations, including nine of the Dhammapada. It is a striking fact that of all the Indologists at German universities, only one (Prof. Geiger at Munich) contributed a translation. All the other first-time translators were either private scholars of Indian studies (Seidenstücker, Dutoit) or learned German bhikkhus (Nyānatiloka, Nyānaponika). And of the secondary translators (Dahlke, Kurt Schmidt, Nyānaponika, Franke), only Franke was an Indologist. In fact, the universities contributed very little to the furthering of the texts of original Buddhism. German Indologists did far more for Buddhism through the medium of English, to mention only Max Müller and Wilhelm Stede.'

Today, Buddhism can be studied at the Universities of Berlin (Seminar für indische Philologie), Bochum, Bonn Cologne, Freiburg im Breisgau, Göttingen, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Kiel, Mainz, Marburg, Munich,

Münster and Tübingen. A questionnaire on Pali Buddhist studies was sent to these centres with replies being returned as indicated below. According to H. W. Schumann, "17 of the 26 non-technical universities in the Federal Republic of Germany have chairs for Indian philology and philosophy. At all these 17 universities Pali is taught." Unfortunately, he does not specify the 17.

Bonn (Indologisches Seminar): Prof. Dr. Claus Vogel is Head of Department in which approximately twenty-five students each year (with two-three at M.A. and Ph.D. levels) undertake courses in Indian religions and languages. The textbooks by Geiger and Warder are used to impart Pali which is taught by Prof. Frank-Richard Hamm.

Freiburg im Breisgau (Indologisches Seminar): Prof. Dr. Ulrich Schneider is Head of Department in which approximately twelve students (with six at M.A. and Ph.D. levels) undertake similar courses. Only Geiger is used for teaching Pali. Schneider edits a series of academic contributions in this field. *Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie*, which are published in Wiesbaden.

Edmond Hardy (1852-1904) was Professor of Philosophy (and of Indic Philology at Fribourg in Switzerland). He was at the same time a Benedictine monk and Catholic priest. For the PTS he edited the *Petavatthu* and *Vimānavatthu Commentaries* (London 1894/1901), the last seven *nipātas* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (3 vols., 1895-1900) and the *Nettipakaraṇa* (1902). In addition, he wrote two general works: *Der Buddhismus nach älteren Pali werken* (Münster 1890) and *Buddha. Eine Abhandlung Sammlung Göschen* (1905).

Göttingen (Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde): Prof. Dr. Heinz Bechert heads the Seminar which forms part of the Department of Oriental Studies. His assistants are Dr. Gustav Roth, Dr. Heinz Braun, Dr. Lore Sander, Dr. Hans Ruelius and Dr. Georg von Simson. Geiger and the PTS Dictionary are the principal study materials for Pali. About five students pursue M.A. and Ph.D. courses each year whilst between 1970-5 six Indological theses were completed.

Dr. Bechert (born 1932) obtained his doctorate from Munich in 1956 and was appointed Professor of Indology in 1965. He concentrates on South-East Asian studies, particularly Sinhalese whose manuscripts he is helping to catalogue at the university as part of the programme, "Cataloguing the Oriental Manuscripts in Germany". A paper on Buddhism in East Bengal was presented by him at a symposium held in the London School of Oriental and African Studies in 1971. His magnum opus is undoubtedly *Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft in den Ländern des Theravāda-Buddhismus* (3 vols, Hamburg 1966-72). He is also preparing romanised editions of the *Apadāna* and *Rasavāhini* for the PTS.

Hamburg (Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens): Prof. Dr. Lambert Schmithausen and Prof. Dr. Albrecht Wezler are joint Heads of Department in which approximately twenty students pursue M.A. and Ph.D. courses each year. Dines Andersen and Geiger are used for Pali studies. The Emeritus Professor is Ludwig Alsdorf who is currently Editor-in-Chief of the *Critical Pāli Dictionary* in Copenhagen.

Heidelberg (Südasiens Institut): Prof. Dr. H. Berger is Head of Department with Dr. Hermann Kopp and U Tin Htway as Lecturers. Dr. Kopp studied Sanskrit and Pali under Heinrich Zimmer and Max Walleser at Heidelberg. From 1936-39 and after the Second World War until 1953, he was on the editorial staff of the PTS. After other appointments he returned to Heidelberg in 1964. For the PTS, also, he edited the Commentary to the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*Manorathapūraṇī*, Vols. II-V, 1930-57, together with the second edition of Vol. I, 1973) and the Indexes to *Theragāthā Commentary III* (1959).

Geiger is used to teach Pali but only between five and six students (with one or two at M.A. and Ph.D. levels) pass through the Institute each year.

The name of Max Walleser (1874-1954) will always be associated with Heidelberg. Not only were nearly all his writings published here but in 1928 he founded the *Institut für Buddhismuskunde* to perpetuate the studies which he had initiated. Although most of his published works deal with Sanskrit literature, he also wrote *Die philosophische Grundlāge des älteren Buddhismus* (2 vols., 1925) and *Die Sekten des älteren Buddhismus* (1927). For the PTS, he edited the *Manorathapūraṇī* Vol. I (1924) and, with Dr. Kopp, Vol. II (1930).

Marburg (Fachgebiet Indologie im Fachbereich aussereuropäischer Sprachen und Kulturen): Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Rau is Director of the Indisch-Ostasiatischen Seminars, assisted by Prof. Dr. Claus Vogel (who teaches at Bonn also).

Geiger and the PTS Dictionary are used to teach Pali in conjunction with the texts from the PTS. Again only about six students (with one or two at the higher levels) pass through the Seminars each year.

Of academic journals, only one would appear to include relevant items. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (ZDMG) was launched in Leipzig in 1847. Following the Second World War it was transferred to Wiesbaden and has, since 1960 been edited by Prof. Dr. Herbert Franke of the Ostasiatisches Seminar at Munich University.

For further reading.

- German Buddhist Writers.* BPS, Kandy 1964.
- Girod, D.: *Paul Dahike—Arzt und Buddhist.* Das Buddhistische Haus, Berlin-Frohnau 1972.
- Gnanawimala, Guido Auster and Ralf Leu (Eds.): *50 Jahre Buddhistisches Haus gegründet von Dr. Paul Dahike* 1924-1974. Berlin-Frohnau 1974.
- Hecker, Hellmuth: *Buddhismus in Deutschland—Eine Chronik.* Deutsche Buddhistische Union, Hamburg 1973.
- Mitteilungsblatt der Buddhistischen Gesellschaft Hamburg* III, 8-9, 1957. (A memorial issue in honour of Nyānatiloka's life and work.)
- Peiris, William: *The Western Contribution to Buddhism.* Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1973. (Vide "Germany", pp. 81-160.)
- Schumann, H. W.: *Buddhism and Buddhist Studies in Germany.* Internationales, Born-Bad Godesberg 1972.
- Buddhismus und Buddhismusforschung in Deutschland.* Ibid. Reprinted by Octopus-Verlag, Vienna 1974.
- Welbon, Guy Richard: *The Buddhist Nirvāna and its Western Interpreters.* University of Chicago Press 1968. (Vide pp. 194-220 for Oldenberg.)

BOOK REVIEWS

The Wisdom of the Early Buddhists. Geoffrey Parrinder. Sheldon Press, London. 86pp. £1.50.

Apart from the authentic translations from the BPS, Kandy, no anthologies from the Pali Canon in English have appeared for many years.

A new publication in this field is to be welcomed, and one, moreover, which can include a succinct account of the Buddha's essential teachings. This slim volume, compiled by the Professor of the Comparative Study of Religions at London University, thus provides an excellent introduction to the *spirit* of early Buddhism.

The selection of texts is taken, for the most part, from either the *Dīgha* or *Majjhima Nikāyas*. Utilising the only extant and complete translations—Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of the Buddha* and Horner's *Middle Length Sayings*—in "abbreviated and direct form", the straight-forward teachings of the Buddha are offered to illustrate the compiler's thesis that "graceful language, humane spirit, religious devotion and moral endeavour appear as characteristic products of Theravāda Buddhism".

RBW

De Leer van Boeddha. H. Saddhārissa. Wereldbibliotheek B.V., Amsterdam. 143pp.

Further to the announcement of the German edition of *The Buddha's Way* (PBR, 2, 1), the Dutch translation by Bob Sinkeler and Emile Molhuysen has just been issued by Wereldbibliotheek, although no price has been indicated.

As with the German edition, the original photographs have been omitted but the bibliography has been expanded in spite of the fact that the additional items belong almost wholly to the Zen tradition. To correct this misleading imbalance of Dutch literature, here is a list of the major Pali Buddhist works in that language:

Woorden van den Boeddha. Tr. J. A. Blok (Deventer, 1953, 1970). Contains the *Dhammapada* and the *Uraga*, *Dhaniya*, *Khaggavisāṇa*, *Kasibhāradvāja*, *Mahāmaṅgala* and *Nālaka Suttas* from the *Sutta Nīpāta*.