

THE JOURNAL  
OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF  
BUDDHIST STUDIES

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

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

EDITORS

*Peter N. Gregory*  
*University of Illinois*  
*Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, USA*

*Alexander W. Macdonald*  
*Université de Paris X*  
*Nanterre, France*

*Steven Collins*  
*Concordia University*  
*Montréal, Canada*

*Ernst Steinkellner*  
*University of Vienna*  
*Wien, Austria*

*Jikidō Takasaki*  
*University of Tokyo*  
*Tokyo, Japan*

*Robert Thurman*  
*Amherst College*  
*Amherst, Massachusetts, USA*

*Volume 12*

*1989*

*Number 1*

# CONTENTS

## I. ARTICLES

1. Hodgson's Blind Alley? On the So-called Schools of Nepalese Buddhism *by David N. Gellner* 7
2. Truth, Contradiction and Harmony in Medieval Japan: Emperor Hanazono (1297–1348) and Buddhism *by Andrew Goble* 21
3. The Categories of *T'i*, *Hsiang*, and *Yung*: Evidence that Paramārtha Composed the *Awakening of Faith* *by William H. Grosnick* 65
4. Asaṅga's Understanding of Mādhyamika: Notes on the *Shung-chung-lun* *by John P. Keenan* 93
5. Mahāyāna *Vratas* in Newar Buddhism *by Todd L. Lewis* 109
6. The Kathāvatthu Niyāma Debates *by James P. McDermott* 139

## II. SHORT PAPERS

1. A Verse from the *Bhadracarīprañidhāna* in a 10th Century Inscription found at Nālandā *by Gregory Schopen* 149
2. A Note on the Opening Formula of Buddhist *Sūtras* *by Jonathan A. Silk* 158

## III. BOOK REVIEWS

1. *Die Frau im frühen Buddhismus*, by Renata Pitzer-Reyl (Vijitha Rajapakse) 165

2. *Ālayavijñāna: On the Origin and the Early Development of a Central Concept of Yogācāra Philosophy* by Lambert Schmithausen  
(Paul J. Griffiths) 170

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS 178

# A Verse from the *Bhadracarīprañidhāna* in a 10th Century Inscription found at Nālandā

by Gregory Schopen

Although it has not been previously recognized or identified, a verse from the *Bhadracarīprañidhāna* occurs in a 10th Century inscription from Nālandā which was published more than forty years ago. The inscription, unique in some ways, consists of four separate parts which are “engraved round the base of the drum” of a small *stūpa*. The first part—A—is a donative record written in two verses of an elaborate *kāvya* style; B consists of a single verse which is clearly identical to verse 46 of Watanabe’s edition of the *Bhadracarīprañidhāna*<sup>1</sup>; C contains what is usually called “the Buddhist creed”; and D contains two more verses which come from Buddhist literature.

A first reading of the inscription was left in manuscript by Hiranand Sastri. When this manuscript was edited and readied for publication by N.P. Chakravarti he added a very much improved reading of his own in a footnote.<sup>2</sup> I re-edit the text here on the basis of the plates published in *Nalanda and Its Epigraphic Material*, but my text differs only occasionally from that given by Chakravarti.

The inscription—which has not previously been translated—is of interest from a number of points of view. It provides us with a late record of religious activity undertaken by a monk for the sake of his teacher.<sup>3</sup> It provides us with another instance of the inscriptional use of religious verses of a kind already known from other sites. From Swat we have two inscriptions which contain a verse that is also found in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, the *Avadānaśataka*, the *Dīgha-* and *Samyutta-nikāyas*, the

*Theragāthā*, the *Jātaka*, the *Gāndhāri Dharmapada*, and the *Udānavarga*<sup>4</sup>; another inscription containing a verse that occurs in the *Mahāvastu*, the *Dīgha*, the *Dhammapāda*, the *Udānavarga*, and in the concluding verses of the *Prātimokṣas* of the Mūla-sarvāstivādins, Mahāsaṅghikas and Sarvāstivādins also comes from Swat.<sup>5</sup> There is at least one more verse of a similar kind and distribution found at Swat and another at Guntupalli.<sup>6</sup> All of these are much earlier than our Nālandā inscription, but the verses found in D are of exactly the same kind: they too also occur in the *Udānavarga*, the *Avadānaśataka*, the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Dīgha*- and *Samyutta-nikāyas*, etc.<sup>7</sup> If nothing else our Nālandā inscription establishes the continuity of the old practice of using apparently well known verses in Buddhist inscriptions.<sup>8</sup>

The primary importance of our inscription, however, must lie in the fact that it contains the only verse of the *Bhadracarīpranīdhāna* known to occur in an Indian epigraph, and its occurrence establishes the fact that the *Bhadracarī* was known and actually used in the 10th Century at Nālandā.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, although several specifically identifiable *dhāraṇīs* have been found at a number of sites,<sup>11</sup> *this verse is the only passage from a Mahāyāna text so far known to occur in an Indian inscription.* This fact may suggest that, apart from *Dhāraṇī* texts, Mahāyāna literature—contrary to what we might think—was not widely known.<sup>12</sup> The fact that this passage occurs in a 10th Century inscription, coupled with the fact that the only known references to “classical” Mahāyāna texts in Indian inscriptions come from the 11th Century,<sup>13</sup> could suggest in turn that if this literature was known at all outside of narrow scholarly circles,<sup>14</sup> it was known only very late.<sup>15</sup> It may also be significant that when a passage from a Mahāyāna text does finally occur in an Indian inscription it occurs in a single inscription together with two other passages from demonstrably non-Mahāyāna texts. This at the very least is curious, although it may have some connection with the equally curious fact that the one Mahāyāna text to be cited in an Indian inscription is also one of the Mahāyāna texts which the Indo-Tibetan tradition from the 9th Century on specifically associates with the Sautrāntikas.<sup>16</sup>

A.

(1) om̐ [ | | ] yo buddha<sup>1</sup>-śāsana-saroja-vikāsane<sup>2</sup> bhūl  
lokottare tad itare U U -U<sup>3</sup> tattvaḥ<sup>4</sup> |

(2) śāstre prabhākaramatiḥ saviteva loke śītānsu-tulya-carito  
pi yaśo viśuddhaḥ [ | | ]

(3) śiṣyeṇa tasya yati-kairava-śītadhāmnā buddhākareṇa<sup>5</sup>  
yatinā suguṇākareṇa<sup>6</sup> [ | ]

āropito bhagavataḥ sugatasya caityaḥ (4) sva[r]ṇṇācala-  
pratisamasthitir eva bhūyāt | |

punyenānena labdhāsau<sup>7</sup> bauddham padam anuttaraṃ  
śreyo-[mā]rge niyuñjīta lokaṃ saṃsāra-pīḍitaṃ<sup>8</sup> | |

<sup>1</sup> The scribe or engraver has used here—and at several other places—*v* for *b*, writing *vuddha*-. <sup>2</sup> This is Chakravarti's emendation; there is no sign of an *e-mātra* on the plate. <sup>3</sup> There are four *akṣaras* which cannot be read here with certainty. <sup>4</sup> The plate has *tatvaḥ*, which Chakravarti emends to what is printed as *tatvaḥ(ttvḥ)*. The latter is obviously a typographical error. <sup>5</sup> The scribe or engraver has again written *vuddha*-. <sup>6</sup> Chakravarti reads *svaguṇākareṇa*, but the first *akṣara* is clearly *su*-; compare the *su*- of *sugatasya* later in this same line. <sup>7</sup> The scribe has written *lavdhā-sau*. <sup>8</sup> The scribe here has used *v* for *p*, writing *vīḍitaṃ*.

B.

(1) om̐ [ | | ] yāvata niṣṭha<sup>1</sup> nabhasya bhaveyā |

<sup>2</sup>sa(tvā) ā[śe]ṣata niṣṭha tathaiva<sup>(2)</sup> |

(2) karmatu<sup>3</sup> kleśātu<sup>4</sup> yāvata niṣṭhā |

tāvata niṣṭha<sup>5</sup> mama praṇidhānaṃ | |

<sup>1</sup> C akravarti reads *niṣṭhā*, but a comparison with the same word at the end of line 3 where the long *ā* is clear makes this unlikely.

<sup>2</sup>(<sup>2</sup>)Chakravarti reads this line as: *sa cāśeṣata niṣṭhā tathaiva*. *i*. The second syllable is hard to interpret. Sastri had read *-vā*, but the textual parallels suggest *-tvā*-, which is possible. The bottom part of the *akṣara* involved appears to be broken. Chakravarti reads the third syllable as *-śe*-, but a comparison of it with *-śā*- in lines 1 and 2 of A, or with *śa*- of line 3 of B, makes it unlikely

that a *ś* is involved here. A comparison of it with *ā-* of *āropito* in line 3 of A, or with the *a-* of *apramattaś* in line 2 of D, on the other hand, suggests it was intended for initial *a-*. This is also what the textual parallels have. But if read in this way the line is short a syllable. Chakravarti makes up for it by reading an *i* at the end of the line, but what he reads for *i* is almost certainly only a *danḍa*. The textual parallels suggest that the scribe has inadvertently omitted a *-śe-*. (For the grammar of this line see Edgerton's remarks on it at *BHSG* § 8.10). <sup>3</sup> Chakravarti reads *karma tu* as if *tu* were a separate indeclinable; cf. *BHSG* §§ 8.53–.55. <sup>4</sup> Chakravarti reads [*krī*]śātu, but the reading *kleśātu* is virtually certain and confirmed by the textual parallels: *kleśatu*. <sup>5</sup> Chakravarti reads *niṣṭhā*, but I see no trace of the *ā-mātra*, and the textual parallels read *niṣṭha*.

C.

“Buddhist formula in two lines”

D.

(1) ārabhadhvaṃ niṣkramata yujyadhvaṃ buddha<sup>1</sup>-śāsane<sup>2</sup>  
dhunīta mṛtyunaḥ sainyaṃ na-(2)-dāgaram iva kuñjaraḥ |

yo hy asmin dharmma-vinaye apramattaś cariṣya-(3)-ti  
prahāya jāti-saṃsāraṃ duḥkhasyāntaṃ kariṣyati | |

<sup>1</sup> The plate reads again *vuddha-*. <sup>2</sup> Although Chakravarti read *-śāsane*, and although this is obviously what was intended, there is no *ā-mātra* visible in the plate.

A.

Om. He who was, in the unfolding of the lotus of instruction of the Buddha which goes beyond the world . . .

For the Teacher, Prabhākaramati was in the world like the rays of the sun; his presence too was like the beams of the moon,

beautiful and brilliant.

By his pupil, the cool delight to the night blooming flowers  
of ascetics, the ascetic Buddhākara, a mine of good qualities,  
a *caitya* of the Blessed One, the Sugata, was raised—may it  
endure like a mountain of gold!

Through the merit of this may that one (Prabhākaramati)  
obtain the unsurpassed station of a Buddha!

may the world, afflicted by continuous rebirth, be fixed on  
the more fortunate path!

*B.*

as great as the full extent of the sky would be—  
so too the full extent of all living beings without remainder;  
as great as the full extent of acts and imperfections—  
so great is the full extent of my vow.

*C.*

“Buddhist formula in two lines”

*D.*

You must begin! You must set forth! You must attach  
yourselves to the instruction of the Buddha!  
This would topple the army of death like an elephant  
does a hut of reeds.

Indeed, he who, being attentive, will practice in this  
teaching and discipline  
having abandoned the continual cycle of births,  
will effect the end of suffering.

## NOTES

1. K. Watanabe, *Die Bhadracarī. Eine Probe buddhistisch-religiöser Lyrik* (Leipzig: 1912).

2. H. Sastri, *Nalanda and Its Epigraphic Material* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 66) (Delhi: 1942) 106–07 & n.1; pl. XI. This volume was reprinted by Sri Satguru Publications, Delhi, 1986.

3. For earlier examples of religious acts undertaken by a monk for the sake of his teacher see H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (Abhandlungen der Akad. der Wissen. in Göttingen. Phil.-Hist. Kl., Dritte Folge Nr. 47), ed. K.L. Janert (Göttingen: 1961) § 29 (64–65); S. Konow, *Kharoshthī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, II.1) (Calcutta: 1929) LXXXVIII (171–72); T. Bloch, "Notes on Bodh-Gayā," *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1908–09 (Calcutta: 1912) 156–57; etc.

4. G. Bühler, "Three Buddhist Inscriptions in Swat," *Epigraphica Indica* 4 (1896/97) 134(A); H. Lüders, "A Buddhist Inscription in Swat," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1901) 575–76. For the textual occurrences see F. Bernhard, *Udānavarga* I.3 (Abhandlungen der Akad. der Wissen. in Göttingen. Phil.-Hist. Kl., Dritte Folge, Nr.54) Bd. I (Göttingen: 1965) 96.

5. Bühler, *Epigraphia Indica* 4 (1896/97) 135(B); Bernhard, *Udānavarga* XXVIII.1, Bd. I, 353.

6. Bühler, *Epigraphia Indica* 4 (1896/97) 135(C); Bernhard, *Udānavarga* VII.12, Bd. I, 160; I.K. Sarma, "Epigraphical Discoveries at Guntupalli," *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* 5 (1975) 58 [the verse here is in need of re-editing]; Bernhard, *Udānavarga*, XXVII.34, Bd. I, 350. (In addition to the verses already referred to the *ye dharmā hetuṣprabhavā* verse is, of course, very frequently found in Indian inscriptions, but its chronological and geographical distribution has as yet not been systematically studied. For textual passages in prose in Indian inscriptions see S. Konow, "Two Buddhist Inscriptions from Sarnath," *Epigraphia Indica* 9 (1907/08) 291–93 (cf. D. Kosambi, "The Pali Inscription at Sarnath," *Indian Antiquary* 39 (1910) 217); R. Salomon & G. Schopen, "The Indravarman (Avaca) Casket Inscription Reconsidered: Further Evidence for Canonical Passages in Buddhist Inscriptions," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 7.1 (1984) 107–23.) For the various 'Pratītyasamutpāda Sūtras' found in Indian inscriptions see the following and the sources cited in them: J.W. de Jong, "A propos du *nidānasamyukta*," *Mélanges de sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demiéville*, t.II (Paris: 1974) 137–49; O. von Hinüber, "Epigraphical Varieties of Continental Pāli from Devnimori and Ratnagiri," in *Buddhism and Its Relation to Other Religions: Essays in Honour of Dr. Shozen Kumoi on his Seventieth Birthday* (Kyoto: 1985) 185–200; H. Durt, K. Riboud et Lai Tung-Hung, "A propos de 'stūpa miniatures' votifs du *v<sup>e</sup>* siècle découverts à Tourfan et au Gansu," *Arts asiatiques* 40 (1985) 92–106.

7. Bernhard, *Udānavarga* IV.37–38, Bd. I, 138.

8. For some remarks—not always well supported—on the use of *gāthās* see Ét. Lamotte, "De quelques influences grecques et scythes sur le boudd-

dhisme," *Académie des inscriptions & belles-lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1956*, 500ff. (This was later incorporated into Ét. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien des origines à l'ère śāka* (Louvain: 1958) 546ff.); Ét. Lamotte, *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse*, t.II (Louvain: 1949) 688 & n.4. For textual warrants for the practice of inscribing religious verses on objects of worship see the interesting story in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* where the Buddha himself specifies that exactly the same verses as occur in section D of our inscription should be written above an image of himself painted on a cloth (R. Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śāyanāsanavastu and the Adhikaranavastu* (Serie Orientale Roma 50) (Roma: 1978) 63–69); and the similar story—again involving the same two verses which occur in D—in the *Rudrāyanāvādāna* (P.L. Vaidya, *Divyāvādāna* (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts no.20) (Darbhanga: 1959) 466 (cf. G. Roth, "Symbolism of the Buddhist Stūpa" in *The Stūpa—Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance*, ed. A.L. Dallapiccola & S.Z.-A. Lalle-mant (Wiesbaden: 1980) 194 n.61, 197; and G. Roth, "The Physical Presence of the Buddha and its Representation in Buddhist Literature," in *Investigating Indian Art*, ed. M. Yaldiz & W. Lobo (Berlin: 1987) 297—in the second of these papers Roth suggests that the verses that occur in D are the two verses which—according to some texts—are "represented" by the two bells of an ideal stūpa).

9. For an excellent bibliography on the *Bhadracarī* see A. Yuyama, *Indic Manuscripts and Chinese Blockprints. (Non-Chinese Texts) of the Oriental Collection of the Australian National University Library, Canberra* (Occasional Paper 6. The Australian National University. Centre of Oriental Studies) (Canberra: 1967) 33–50; for the Sanskrit version add, at least: Shindo Shiraishi, "Samantabhadra's Bhadracarī-praṇidhānam. Die Bhadra-Cari genannten Wunschge-lübde des heiligen Samantabhadra," *Memoirs of the Faculty of Liberal Arts & Education, Yamanashi University*, No. 11 (Dec. 1960) 10–17; Shindo Shiraishi, "Ueber die Ueberlieferung und Komposition des Textes Samantabhadra's Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna," *Memoirs of the Faculty of Liberal Arts & Education, Yamanashi University*, No. 12 (Dec. 1961) 1–6; Shindo Shiraishi, "Bhadracarī. Ein Sanskritext des heiligen Jiun. Abdruck im Jahre 1783," *Memoirs of the Faculty of Liberal Arts & Education, Yamanashi University*, No. 13 (Dec. 1962) 1–18; W.T. de Bary, ed., *The Buddhist Tradition in India, China & Japan* (New York: 1969) 172–78 [a translation from the Skt.]; M. Tatz, "The Vow of Benevolent Conduct (introduction, translation and commentary)," *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture* (Raghuvira Commemoration Volume), Vol. 5, ed. L. Chandra & P. Ratnam (New Delhi: 1977) 153–76.—for some interesting observations on the Indian manuscript of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* translated into Chinese in the 8th Century by Prajñā—and this is the only Chinese version that contains the *Bhadracarī*—see S. Lévi, "King Subhakara of Orissa," *Epigraphia Indica* 15 (1919/20) 363–64; Jan Yun-Hua, "On Chinese Translation of 'Avatamsaka-Sūtra' Original from Uḍra," *The Orissa Historical Research Journal* 7 (1959) 125–32. On the Chinese translations and the relationship of the *Bhadracarī* to the *Gaṇḍavyūha* see L.O. Gómez, "Observations on the Role of the Gaṇḍavyūha in the Design of Barabudūr," in *Barabudūr. History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument*, ed. L.O. Gómez & H.W. Woodward, Jr. (Berkeley: 1981) 183ff.

10. The verses in D are not specific to any one text but—like many similar verses—were freely used by the compilers of a variety of Buddhist texts. The verse in B, however, is both specific to and characteristic of the *Bhadracarī*. It appears to occur nowhere else. Knowledge of the verse might in this case, therefore, be taken to imply knowledge of the text as a whole.

11. G. Schopen, "The Text on the 'Dhāraṇī Stones from Abhayagiriya': A Minor Contribution to the Study of Mahāyāna Literature in Ceylon," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 5.1 (1982) 100–08; G. Schopen, "The Bodhigarbhālāṅkāralakṣa and Vimaloṣṇīṣa Dhāraṇīs in Indian Inscriptions. Two Sources for the Practice of Buddhism in Medieval India," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 29 (1985) 119–49.

12. The *Bhadracarī* itself apparently came to be classified as a "Dhāraṇī Text" at some stage. It is frequently found, for example, in manuscript collections of *dhāraṇīs* from Nepal; M. Winternitz & A.B. Keith, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Vol. II (Oxford: 1905) 260; H. Halen, *Handbook of Oriental Collections in Finland* (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, No. 31) (London & Malmö: 1978) 85–86 (285); Ryōtai Kaneko, et al., "A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Possession of the Toyo Bunko," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 37 (1979) 171, 189, etc. Unfortunately the history and function of these collections is far from clear. But if the *Bhadracarī* was so classified already in the 10th Century then the verse which occurs in our inscription may have to be considered only another instance of a "dhāraṇī" in an Indian inscription.

13. "The Sarnath Stone Inscription of Karna: (Kalachuri) Year 810" (= 1058 C.E.) records the fact that a copy of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* had been made and given to the community of monks at Sarnath, and that something else had been given—what is not clear—to insure its constant recitation (V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri Chedi Era* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, IV.1) (Ootacamund: 1955) 275–78); "The Nalanda Inscription of Vipulasrimitra" (11th Century) also seems to refer to the same text as "the Mother of the Buddhas' in eight thousand (verses)" (*yasya hṛdaye sahasrair aṣṭābhiḥ prativasati sambuddha-janani*; N.G. Majumdar, "Nalanda Inscription of Vipulasrimitra," *Epigraphia Indica* 21 (1931/32) 97–101; cf. J.C. Ghosh, "The Date of the Nālandā Inscription of Vipulaśrimitra," *Indian Culture* 1 (1934) 291–92.

14. The *Bhadracarī*, for example, was known to a few Buddhist scholiasts: to Bhavya (c. 6th Century; C. Lindtner, "Mātr̥ceṭa's *Pranidhānasaptati*," *Asiatische Studien / Études asiatiques* 38.2 (1984) 102), Śāntideva (c. 8th Century; C. Bendall, *Çikshāsamuccaya. A Compendium of Buddhist Teaching compiled by Çāntideva chiefly from Earlier Mahāyāna-Sūtras* (Bibliotheca Buddhica I) (St. Petersburg: 1897–1902) 290.8, 291.9, 297.1), Kamalaśīla (late 8th Century; G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, Part II (Serie Orientale Roma IX,2) (Roma: 1958) 221.2); G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, Part III (Serie Orientale Roma XLIII) (Roma: 1971) 13.12), and Atiśa (10th/11th Century; Lindtner, *Asiatische Studien / Études asiatiques* 38.2 (1984) 103). The problem, of course, is that we have no idea how widely these men and their works were known in actual

Buddhist communities and their "importance" has almost certainly been badly distorted by modern scholarly interest in them.

15. It is of some significance to note that inscriptional evidence suggests that *Dhāraṇī* texts were publically known much earlier and much more widely than the texts we think of as "classically" Mahāyāna. cf. the papers cited in n. 11 above.

16. L. de La Vallée Poussin noted the association of the *Bhadracarī* with the Sautrāntika nearly seventy years ago (*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. J. Hastings (Edinburgh: 1909) Vol. 2, 259n; cf. Vol. 12, 194), but good documentation for this association has only recently been made available in a series of excellent works by Katsumi Mimaki (see K. Mimaki, *La réfutation bouddhique de la permanence des choses (Sthirasiddhidūṣaṇa) et la preuve de la momentanéité des choses (Kṣaṇabhāṅgasiddhi)* (Paris: 1976) 197 and notes; K. Mimaki, "La *Ṣaṇmukhī-dhāraṇī* ou 'Incantation des six portes,' texte attribué aux sautrāntika (I)," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 25.2 (1977) 972–65; Mimaki, "Le chapitre du Blo gsal grub mtha' sur les Sautrāntika. Un essai de traduction," *Zinbun* 15 (1979) 164 n.1.