

Number 19 / 2007

Journal of Indological Studies

(New title for *Studies in the History of Indian Thought*)

Articles

- Hans Bakker, Thanesar, the Pāśupata Order and the Skandapurāṇa:
Studies in the Skandapurāṇa IX 1
- John Brockington, Kṛṣṇa's Names in the Mahābhārata 17
- Diwakar Acharya, Anuparama's *Dvaipāyanastotra* Inscription
from the Early 6th Century: Text, translation and comments 29
- Koji Ezaki, Language and Reality:
Udayana's refutation of the Buddhist theory of momentariness 53
- List of Contributors** 67

Association for the Study of the History of Indian Thought
c/o Department of Indological Studies
Graduate School of Letters
Kyoto University

Studies in the History of Indian Thought (15 Nos., 1981–2003) was renamed
Journal of Indological Studies in 2005.

©October 15th, 2007
Association for the Study
of the History of Indian Thought
c/o Department of Indological Studies
Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University
Yoshida-honmachi, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto 606–8501, Japan
Printed by Showado E-press Co. Ltd., Kyoto, Japan
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced
without permission of the Association

Anuparama's *Dvaipāyanastotra* Inscription
from the Early 6th Century:
Text, translation and comments *

Diwakar ACHARYA

Introduction

This inscription was first published by S. LÉVI in 1908 with a French translation, some remarks and annotations in the third volume of his *Le Népal*. His remarks on the reading and vocabulary of the inscription are reliable and important but his translation has limitations, and he has gone too far in associating it with Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇavism. Almost fifty years after him, in 1954, D. VAJRACHARYA and J. NEPAL together published a new reading of the inscription in a rare Sanskrit Journal called *Samskṛtasandēśa*. Two years later, R. GNOLI published his reading, but did not translate the text. When VAJRACHARYA compiled and published his Nepali book on Licchavi inscriptions in 1973, he incorporated the reading he published earlier together with his colleague and added a few comments, but he also refrained from translating it, rather leaving the task to 'somebody with proper knowledge of Indian philosophy'.¹

D. REGMI (1983) adopted the latest reading of VAJRACHARYA and produced an English translation, but we may as well forget about this translation, which exposes a man who ventured an edition and translation of an early Sanskrit inscription with no proper knowledge of Sanskrit and early Indian scripts. In 1991, DHAKAL, a Nepali Sanskritist, published a complete reconstruction of the inscription with a Nepali translation. The first 16 lines of the inscription are badly damaged, leaving only 5–6 *akṣaras* readable in every line, so that DHAKAL's reconstruction of this part is rather a new poem. And even in the remaining part, his approach is too free and he has not looked at the actual inscription, allowing himself to change the reading in a way that fits in with his imagination. I have criticised his approach in 1993 in a Nepali article and reinterpreted some of the stanzas of the inscription. In this paper, I thoroughly revise the reading using fresh

*I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Arlo GRIFFITHS of Leiden University, Prof. Harunaga ISAACSON of Hamburg University, and Profs. Werner KNOBL and Yuko YOKOCHI of Kyoto University for their helpful suggestions and comments on earlier drafts of this paper. I am grateful to Prof. Akihiko AKAMATSU of Kyoto University for allowing me to present an earlier version of this article in the seminar of the Association for the Study of the History of Indian Thought, Kyoto.

¹VAJRACHARYA 1973: inscription no. 35, p.162.

rubbings/photos prepared by a team from the Nepal Research Centre on my behalf² and also those of LÉVI and GNOLI — the first prepared a hundred and the second fifty years ago — and translate the whole inscription.

This epigraph has been engraved on a pillar standing in front of a Vaiṣṇava temple³ at the eastern end of present-day Handigaon in the Kathmandu Valley, the supposed site of the ancient Licchavi capital. This unique inscription of 73 lines contains a *stotra* dedicated to Dvaipāyana in 34 stanzas of nine different metres. Up to line 56, each line contains two pādas of a stanza. As lines 43–46 and 53–56 contain longer metres, the *akṣaras* are tightly written. From line 57 onwards, where the Sragdharā metre of 21 *akṣaras* is used, the text runs continuously but with an extra space left between two pādas, for the sake of clarity.

Date of the Inscription

Two decades ago, excavations were carried out at Handigaon including in the vicinity of the Satyanārāyaṇa temple, and these have revealed different layers of construction in the area. However, it is unfortunate that VERARDI, the archaeologist involved, has made serious mistakes in interpreting the archaeological findings, and in order to make it fit with his theories, has suggested to date Anuparama's inscription 'no earlier than the 2nd half of the 8th century'.⁴

His wrong conclusion is based on some misleading assumptions. He cites LÉVI (1905–8, III: 35) and writes that 'discerning its Bhāgavata affiliation, he envisaged a problem for religious history: no cult of Vyāsa in that period was attested by any other document elsewhere, neither in Nepal nor in India itself.'⁵ LÉVI was clearly wrong in associating this inscription with the Bhāgavata cult. It should be clear after reading the inscription that there is nothing in it that would relate it with the Pāñcarātra or any other form of Vaiṣṇavism; instead, it speaks of Vedic orthodoxy in a smārta perspective. In this inscription, Dvaipāyana is not praised as a form of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa but as a seer — the wise saviour of Vedic knowledge. It is true that at the

²I am grateful to the two researchers Mr. Jeevan MAHARJAN and Nirajana KAFLE, and to the photographer Yogesh BUDHATHOKI for their kind help in producing rubbings and photos of the inscription in my absence. However, due to new construction and repair work around the pillar, a few lines of the inscription are now underground, so that I have to rely on LEVI's and GNOLI's rubbings in that portion.

³Presently this temple is identified as Satyanārāyaṇa Temple, but originally there should have been a temple dedicated to Dvaipāyana (better known as Vyāsa in later times), as the inscription on the pillar suggests. After an earthquake in a later period (see VERARDI 1992: 21), the site of the Dvaipāyana temple, which possibly included a memorial for Anuparama's father Paramābhīmānin, was turned into a Vaiṣṇava temple, and the old pillar lying there was erected in front of the new Nārāyaṇa temple after adding an image of Garuḍa on top of it.

⁴VERARDI 1992: 24.

⁵VERARDI 1992: 24, fn. 56.

time of LÉVI no cult of Vyāsa was attested, but at the time of VERARDI the situation had already changed. Several decades before the latter wrote his report, the inscription of [Śaka] *saṃvat* 452 (530 AD) from Patan had come to light, which records a donation made for the sake of *kāraṇapūjā* of 'the lord who has enacted Vedic tradition (*vedakṛtāmnāyabhagavant*, i.e. Dvaipāyana) and even mentions Dvaipāyana's foremost disciple, 'the great sage Vaiśampāyana'.⁶ This inscription clearly suggests that in the sixth century and before there was a tradition of venerating the sages associated with the transmission of Vedic knowledge.⁷ It is also noteworthy that quite a few names with Vedic titles, such as Yājñika, Samrāj, Gṛhapati, Brāhmaṇa appear in Licchavi inscriptions. Virocanagupta, who was most probably related with the same family to which Anuparama belonged, is designated as Yājñika in an inscription dated [Śaka] *saṃvat* 428 (506 AD).⁸

VERARDI has also claimed that the script of the inscription shows it to belong to a later date. He should have systematically compared this inscription with other Licchavi inscriptions instead of simply claiming that 'it was not until the latter half of the 8th century that the northern *brāhmī* of the 'Licchavi' inscriptions shows any sign of change'.⁹ Here he should have relied on LÉVI's rather detailed description of paleographical peculiarities of the inscription and the conclusion he has drawn. It is enough to compare one or two *akṣaras* from Anuparama's inscription and from other dated Licchavi inscriptions to prove that Anuparama's inscription belongs to the early sixth century on palaeographical grounds and that the script of Licchavi inscriptions, like any other script, did change over time. Let me present here the *akṣaras* *la*, *ha* and *ṇā* from Anuparama's inscription and the same *akṣaras* from King Aṃśuvarman's inscription dated [Licchavi] *saṃvat* 32 (608 AD)¹⁰ found in the same locality.

Anuparama's Inscr. (before 540 AD) Aṃśuvarman's Inscr. (608 AD)

On the other hand, these *akṣaras* are written exactly the same way in Mānadeva's Cāṅgunārāyaṇa inscription dated [Śaka] *saṃvat* 386 (464 AD)

⁶Vaiśampāyana is mainly associated with the Black Yajurveda, even though he is said to have studied all branches of the Vedas (see *Śābarabhāṣya* ad *Jaiminisūtra* I.1.30). As this inscription shows great reverence to him, it is somewhat likely that it was installed by followers of the Taittirīya *śākhā*. A religious trust (*goṣṭhī*) related with this branch of the Black *Yajurveda* appears in an undated inscription to be placed at about the middle of the eighth century (see VAJRACHARYA 1973: inscription no. 149, l. 68).

⁷This inscription, first published in the first volume of the *Abhilekha Saṃgraha*, is included in VAJRACHARYA (1973: 138–140) as inscription no. 28.

⁸VAJRACHARYA 1973: inscription no. 22, ll. 29–30.

⁹VERARDI 1992: 24.

¹⁰VAJRACHARYA 1973: inscription no. 77 = GNOLI inscription no. 36, plate 38.

and Anuparama's inscription.¹¹ So on palaeographical grounds, too, our inscription should be assigned to the early sixth century but not even to the seventh, and it is impossible to place it in the second half of the eighth century as VERARDI wanted.

VERARDI further says that he has found the base supporting the inscribed pillar built with reused bricks of the type employed in the so-called stūpa.¹² This does not mean that the pillar is new; it has also been reused. When the original site of the Dvaipāyana temple and Paramābhimānin's memorial was finally turned into a Vaiṣṇava temple after an earthquake in a later period, an image of Garuḍa was placed on top of the old pillar lying there and it was erected in front of the new Nārāyaṇa temple, and while doing so, old bricks from ruins were reused. The rivalry with Buddhism reflected in the inscription, which has made VERARDI concerned, also is not a problem inasmuch as it reflects worries of the orthodox section of the society.

I would say in sum that the archaeologist should have interpreted his finding in the light of all available facts instead of attempting to invalidate one and ignore others to build grand theories. I believe I have said enough to re-establish the authenticity and validity of Anuparama's inscription, so at this occasion I prefer not to go into further details. I plan to take up this issue again on another occasion.

Anuparama and His Family

The last line of the inscription records that the *stotra* is composed by Anuparama, whom we can identify as the father of Bhaumagupta, who ruled Nepal around 558 AD together with the Licchavi king Gaṇadeva as his chief vassal, and as the great-grandfather of Jiṣṇugupta, who became a sovereign king securing the Licchavi throne for himself and for his son Viṣṇugupta. Anuparama's wife was called Ābhīrī Gominī and his father Paramābhimānin alias Paramagupta Gomin.¹³ The concluding stanza of our *stotra* seems to imply that Anuparama built a memorial for his father Paramābhimānin in the temple of Dvaipāyana, and installed a pillar with this *stotra*. As the inscription is damaged and the date is not visible, it is unknown when exactly that would have happened. ĩFrom an inscription of Jiṣṇugupta, it is further known that Anuparama had an elder brother called Mānagupta Gomin. It is not known when Anuparama was born and what his profession was, but it

¹¹On palaeographical peculiarities of Anuparama's inscription, see LÉVI 1908: 26–27. For classification of Licchavi script in four periods (464–567, 568–641, 642–733 and 734–818 AD) and a comparison of several characters from the first three of these periods, See G. VAJRĀCĀRYA 1973.

¹²VERARDI 1992: 23.

¹³Paramābhimānin as mentioned in Anuparama's inscription is a less formal name; it should formally be Paramagupta Gomin. There are other instances of a family name being substituted with the title Abhimānin: Bhimābhimānin and Kalahābhimānin. See ACHARYA 1997.

is known from the inscription of his wife Abhīrī Gominī that he had already died by [Śaka] *saṃvat* 462 (540 AD), the date of that memorial inscription.¹⁴ One probably senior relative of Anuparama was Bhīmagupta, who appears as the governor of a province (*viṣayapati*) and the chief household officer (*mahāpratihāra*) of the king in an inscription dated [Śaka] *saṃvat* 411 (489 AD). It is worth mentioning that Bhīmagupta is the only royal officer we know from the time of King Mānadeva (459–505 AD). Anuparama's contemporary Ravigupta was the foremost of the people involved in politics from the house of the Ābhīra Guptas at the time of Vasantadeva (506–532 AD). Ravigupta gradually rose to the rank second to the king before he died or was killed together with the king.

Anuparama, though belonging to a ruling family, does not appear to have been involved in politics like his senior relatives and children. He does not even mention his family name Gupta, and its substitutes Gomin or Abhimānin, the latter of which he attaches to his father's name.

Language and Style

This *stotra* inscribed on a pillar is written in remarkably good Sanskrit with a wide and sometimes rare vocabulary, and above all, the content is quite academic. However, Anuparama's elliptic but heavy stanzas and the arrangement of words in them give the impression that he was trained in dogmatic speculation better than in poetic composition.

Anuparama's knowledge of Sanskrit grammar is noteworthy. More than once, he uses uncommon forms of words based on analogy under the influence of archaic Vedic usage. LÉVI has collected the following formations which he was not able to find in dictionaries: (*duṣ*)*pratipāda* (l. 39), *upanibandha*^o in the sense of verbal composition (l. 39), *prapata*^o (l. 49), *tryātman* (l. 56), *nīraṃhas*, *duritabhid*, *tamomuṣ* (l. 63); *aparajas* (l. 66), *kṣāyīn* (l. 65), *kṣāyaka* (l. 67), *saṃvivekin* (l. 69), and the irregular aorist *asṛkṣat* (l. 37), which as LÉVI remarks is not completely wrong.¹⁵ In addition to these, I want to draw attention to the following formations, mainly compounds, which are rare and interesting: *-karaṇādṛta* (l. 19), *pramāṇaśuddhi* (l. 25), *vyavāriṣyata* (l. 35), *atiṣṭhapat* (l. 37), *aṃhasāvṛta* (l. 41), *uccairmohaṃ dadhāti* (l. 44), *ā+dhū* meaning 'to analyse' (l. 46), *sācīna* (l. 50), *rūpapakṣasthita* (l. 62), *cyutajagad* (ll. 69–70) and *ā+cakās* (l. 70).

Anuparama's choice of metre is also admirable; he has composed 34 stanzas in nine different metres.¹⁶ stanzas 1–6 are composed in Vaṃśastha

¹⁴VAJRACHARYA 1973: inscription No. 38.

¹⁵LÉVI 1908: 27.

¹⁶This way of composing a collection of stanzas in different metres on one particular theme is called *saṃghātaka*. This category is mentioned in the *Kāvyaadarśa* (I.13) but commentators have either ignored or misinterpreted it. However, we can be sure about it from the evidence of the *Kāliyugasamghātaka* of an anonymous author preserved in a

metre, 7–9 and 11–20 in Upajāti, 10 in Puṣṭitāgrā, 21 and 31 in Rucirā, 22–23 in Śikhariṇī, 24–25 in Praharṣiṇī, 26 in Mañjubhāṣiṇī, 27–28 and 32–34 in Mālinī, and 29–30 in Sragdharā.¹⁷

Reflections on the Content

The date of Anuparama being rather early in the first half of the sixth century, before the time of Dharmakīrti, Kumāriḷa and Śāṅkara, it is quite important to reflect on the dogmatic points known to him and presented in this *stotra*. It also reveals the worries and reactions of a learned Hindu to the growing influence of Buddhism in the society towards the middle of the sixth-century.

When Anuparama praises Dvaipāyana as the compiler of the Vedas and the author of the Bhārata epic and other unspecified texts, he describes the nature and value of these texts. He depicts Dvaipāyana as the knower of the true meaning of Dharma as well as of the true nature of the *ātman*. He describes Dvaipāyana as the saviour of the Dharma from the hands of Buddhists, and gives a glimpse of Hindu-Buddhist debate of the time. It appears quite interesting to me that here Dvaipāyana is not characterised as a mythological figure or an incarnation of some god, but as a man of great achievement, and finally a liberated soul capable of bestowing well-being on ordinary souls.

As understood by Anuparama, the main aim of Dvaipāyana, the author of the Bhārata epic, was to bring back into the sphere of Hinduism those people who had been influenced by Buddhism. In his opinion, the contribution of the epic to the continuation of Dharma is very significant, as it transformed the Vedic religion of the elite into a form closer to the laymen's perception, that is, more or less the form known to us as Hinduism. The epic was composed when the Vedic corpus was proving ineffective, and a scripture that would provide an ethical and spiritual perspective was missing. Anuparama even appears to say that the Vedas were preserved along with the Vedic tradition because of the epico-puranic literature. The epic directs the people to the path of truth-seeking, and it is a *Kāvya* as well as a *Śāstra*, because it entertains and at the same time teaches the Dharma.

Anuparama has knowledge of Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta and Sāṃkhya-Yoga. He speaks about the dilemma of animal-killing being justified in Vedic sacrifice. He also makes passing remarks on the concepts of *vidhi* and *anuvāda*: the two important components of Vedic hermeneutics. He finds

14th-century manuscript. For a preliminary report and edition of the text, see ACHARYA 2006.

¹⁷According to LÉVI, stanzas 1–6 are in Anuṣṭubh and 7–20 are in Upajāti. However, GNOLI identifies stanzas 1–9 as Anuṣṭubh; he is not sure about the 10th stanza, but again identifies stanzas 11–20 as Upajāti. As up to stanza 10 the epigraph is much damaged and only a few *akṣaras* are intact, both of these scholars have made mistakes in their identifications of the metres of these stanzas.

the Sāṃkhya-Yoga knowledge, which arises from discrimination of the three *guṇas* and the *puruṣa*, compatible with the pursuit of the knowledge of *ātman* as taught in Vedānta.¹⁸ He does not present Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta and Sāṃkhya-Yoga as being opposed to each other. Thus he appears to be feeling at ease with different Brahmanical philosophical systems, but he is antagonistic to the Buddhists, and aims at them as his main target calling them extreme nihilists, bad arguers, side-tracked thinkers, opposers to the Vedas, and so on.

Anuparama's philosophical understanding is characterised by identity-in-difference, by the position that reality is mutually inclusive, characterised as undifferentiated as well as manifold or differentiated. He thinks the following sets of contrast are compatible in the ultimate reality, the self: it is differentiated as well as undifferentiated (*pr̥thak* vs. *apr̥thak*), it is eternal as well as non-eternal (*nitya* vs. *anitya*), it is ever-existent but undergoes transformation as well, it is created and destroyed in every entity (*sthita* vs. *sarvaga*), it is the absolute consciousness but exists in specific conflicting forms (*caitanya* vs. *rūpapakṣasthita*),¹⁹ it is subtle (*sūkṣma*) as well as all-pervasive (*vyāpaka*), and it is beyond speech and mind but contemplated upon.

Let me reflect upon this phenomenon. The idea of identity-in-difference can be called the *smārta* perspective, intended for lay householders. I see in Anuparama a representative householder who advocates this perspective. Since the *smārta* perspective is shared by all Brahmanical systems as their common ground, it can link and harmonise all of them. A philosophical system which has to do with religious ethics, Vedānta for instance, is necessarily under the influence of this perspective, when it accepts the authority of the other Brahmanical philosophies in a preliminary stage of argument. For example, Sāṃkhya and Yoga along with Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika are regarded in all schools of Vedānta more as the basics and tools of philosophical and spiritual training than as independent philosophies. While Mīmāṃsā is valid for them as long as the superior stage of spiritual pursuit is not reached.²⁰

¹⁸Profs. ARAMAKI and MIKOGAMI from Kyoto have suggested on me that Anuparama is more to the side of Yoga philosophy. Some expressions in stanzas 10 and 33 suggest that this is likely, but we cannot be sure about it in the absence of definite clue.

¹⁹On an alternative interpretation of the expression *rūpapakṣasthita*, see fn. 134 below.

²⁰Although Vedānta teachers criticised other philosophies for what they took to be wrong conclusions, they always accepted their tenets for practical purposes, provided these were not contrary to their own tenets. They are not concerned as long as the other philosophies confine themselves to speculating about worldly existence and dealing with epistemology and logic, and do not invade their own domain of ultimate reality.

TEXT

The first eighteen lines of the inscription covering the first nine stanzas of the *stotra* are severely damaged, leaving only five or six out of 22–24 *akṣaras* in each line intact. It is therefore not possible to reconstruct the text completely, but still these few *akṣaras* at least hint at the theme of the individual stanzas, and I have tried to reconstruct a few words here and there even in this part in order to guess at what may be the intended meaning. The *akṣaras* restored at broken edges are shown inside angular braces ⟨...⟩. They are placed in footnotes up to stanza 10, and afterwards in the text of the inscription itself, where fewer *akṣaras* are damaged. Those *akṣaras* traces of which are still visible are shown inside round brackets (...). Punctuation in the form of *daṇḍa* and double *daṇḍa* in every stanza is mine, and so are line numbers inside parentheses and verse numbers. In my footnotes, L stands for LÉVI, G for GNOLI, and V for VAJRACHARYA.

- ²¹(1) ∪_∪ ∪_∪ ∪_∪ ∪_∪
 ∪_∪ ∪_∪ ∪ *se yatātmane*²² |
 (2) ∪_∪ ∪_∪ ∪_∪ ∪_∪
 ∪_∪ ∪_∪ (nta)dhiye sate²³ namaḥ || 1 ||
 (3) ∪_∪ ∪_∪ ∪_∪ ∪_∪
 ∪_∪ ∪_∪ t pratidehanisṛ(taḥ)²⁴ |
 (4) ∪_∪ ∪_∪ ∪_∪ ∪_∪
 ∪_∪ ∪_∪ (vi)kīrṇṇabhānūnā || 2 ||
 (5) ∪_∪ ∪_∪ ∪_∪ ∪_∪
 ∪_∪ ∪_∪ ta²⁵ sarvvaṃ ātmani²⁶ |
 (6) ∪_∪ ∪_∪ ∪_∪ ∪_∪
 ∪_∪ ∪_∪²⁷ (śa)śinīva kāntatā²⁸ || 3 ||

²¹It is plausible that a short line with a date, of which no trace remains now, preceded the first line.

²²*se yatātmane*] *ṣa yatātmane* LG; *sa yatātmane* V. The lower part of the *akṣara* preceding *se* is still visible and can possibly be recognised as a *na*.

²³*ntadhīye sate*] ... *dhiyaṣa te* LGV. I am tempted to supply ⟨*krā*⟩ or ⟨*śā*⟩ before the remaining *akṣaras*, which makes a meaningful word together with those *akṣaras*.

²⁴*t pratideha*^o] V; *pratideha*^o LG • *nisṛ(taḥ)*] Read *nisṛ(taḥ)*; *nirvṛ(taḥ)* V; *ni mṛ* ... LG

²⁵∪_∪ ∪_∪ ta] ... ta LG; ... ta V. Following the meaning of the portion intact in this line, I would read here ⟨*idaṃ tvayādhīya*⟩ta. I expect that the analogy of the moon is concerned with the poetic imagination about the moon's keeping its light inside in the dark-half, so I have chosen this verb form.

²⁶The *akṣara mā* is written irregularly; although it resembles *pā*, it cannot be read so, as the headmark does not touch the main bar.

²⁷A possible reconstruction of this part could be ⟨*tvayi sthitā sā*⟩; *tvayi* reflecting *ātmani* in the previous line.

²⁸(śa)śinīva kāntatā] V; ... śinīvakāntar. LG

- (7) ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡
◡_◡ ◡_◡ (ma)yena²⁹ tejasā |
- (8) ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡
◡_◡ ◡_◡³⁰ (sa)viteva³¹ bhāsate || 4 ||
- (9) ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡
◡_◡ ◡_◡pathena³² saugataḥ³³ |
- (10) ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡
◡_◡ ◡_◡³⁴ (gi)rām patir bhaveḥ³⁵ || 5 ||
- (11) ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡
◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡t trayī tvayā³⁶ |
- (12) ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡
◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡³⁷ (dhā)ryyate³⁸ || 6 ||
- (13) ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡
◡_◡ ◡_◡³⁹ (va)navāraṇena⁴⁰ |
- (14) ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡
◡_◡ ◡_◡tayāvarugnam⁴¹ || 7 ||
- (15) ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡
◡_◡ ◡_◡ (m i)dam aprabuddhya⁴² |
- (16) ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡ ◡_◡

²⁹ (ma)yena] V; ... yena LG. I suggest to read the whole line this way: ⟨jvalann iva brahma⟩mayena tejasā. The brilliance of brahman (brahmamaya-tejas) fits in with both the sun and the seer Dvaipāyana, so I would say this expression is almost certain. Note that what I have suggested is taken from Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* V. 30.

³⁰ ⟨bhavān ihavam⟩ could be the reading here, which is found also in stanza 20d. The honorific term *bhavān* is essential in the stanza, because of the third person singular form *bhāsate*. Other instances of this honorific construction can be found in stanzas 20 and 27.

³¹ (sa)viteva] V; ... viteva LG

³² This part could be reconstructed as ⟨nayeyur ajñāna⟩pathena. The optative second person singular *bhaveḥ* intact in the second half of the stanza asks for a verb in optative, so I suggest *nayeyur* which is in congruity with the subject in plural *saugataḥ*.

³³ saugataḥ] GV; saugataḥ L

³⁴ The last syllables in this portion could be ⟨tvam na⟩. The content of this stanza asks for a negative particle. Most of the time Anuparama uses *tvam* when he uses a verb form in the second person singular, so I guess that *tvam* occurred in the line.

³⁵ (gi)rām patir bhaveḥ] V; ... tpatir bhavaiḥ LG

³⁶ t trayī tvayā] trayī tvayā V; ... yā LG

³⁷ A possible reconstruction could be ⟨mahāvarāheṇa dhareva⟩. It is sure that the damaged part should have an analogy. What I suggest is not the only analogy possible, but it is true that the iconography of the great boar lifting the earth on its left shoulder is very popular at this time.

³⁸ (dhā)ryyate] V; ... ryyata LG

³⁹ A tentative reconstruction of this portion on the basis of the remaining part could be ⟨vṛkṣasya śākhā⟩.

⁴⁰ (va)navāraṇena] ... na vāraṇena V; ... na vāraṇe LG

⁴¹ tayāvarugnam] read tayāvarugnam; tvayāvarugnam V; ... darugnam LG. Here and in 32d a dental *n* is written when a retroflex is desired.

⁴² (m i)dam aprabuddhya] V; ... sa prabuddhya LG

___ ___ ṽtām⁴³ brajeyuḥ⁴⁴ || 8 ||

(17) ___ ___ ma(hā)ṛṇṇavam -⁴⁵

___ ___ ṽbhaṅgāt⁴⁶ |

(18) ___ ___ tayeve (śāsva)d⁴⁷

udvikṣya - (praṃ) ___ (ṣṭa)m ittham⁴⁸ || 9 ||

(19) ___ ___ karaṇādr̥tena⁴⁹ nityam

pr̥thumati(nā⁵⁰ pra) ___ ___ <m a>smin⁵¹ |

(20) ___ ___ kim idam asti vācyāśe(ṣaṃ)⁵²

___ kathita(m bha) ___ ___ vidya⁵³ || 10 ||

(21) <naraiḥ> parān nāstikatām prapannais

trayīvirodhena(ni)(vāryya)(mā)ṇāḥ⁵⁴ |

(22) <dharmmo> vya(vā)sthāsyata⁵⁵ nāḍya loke

dharttā tvam asyā⁵⁶ (yadi nā)bhaviṣyaḥ || 11 ||

(23) <vibhajya> vedam vyatikīrṇāvāktvād⁵⁷

anādinīṣṭhaṃ <vidhṛta>(s tva)yā⁵⁸ ca |

(24) <nūnam> katham veda ihābhaviṣyat

tvam bhāratādiṃ yadi nā<tani>ṣyaḥ⁵⁹ || 12 ||

(25) <pra>māṇasuddhyā veditārtthatattvaḥ

⁴³I suggest to read <loke narā nāstika>tām here. *nāstikatā*, which characterises the Buddhists, is an important part of Anuparama's worry, see below, stanza 11. The verb form in the third person plural asks for a subject in the plural, that is why I have supplied *narāḥ*. *loke* is admittedly uncertain.

⁴⁴brajeyuḥ] read *vrajeyuḥ* as read in V; ... *jeyuḥ* LG

⁴⁵ma(hā)ṛṇṇavam] (*bhavā*)ṛṇṇavam V; ... L; *mārtaṇḍa* - G

⁴⁶___ ___ ṽbhaṅgāt] ... *ja* ... *ravi* ... *dā* ... *bhaṅcat* V; ... LG

⁴⁷tayeve (śāsva)d] *tayeve saṃstham* V; *raye* ... LG

⁴⁸udvikṣya - (praṃ) ___ (ṣṭa)m ittham] ... *mittha* LG; *udvikṣya* ... *mittham* V

⁴⁹___ ___ karaṇādr̥tena] ... *karaṇādr̥tena* V; ... *karaṇādr̥tena* G; *karaṇa-gena* L. I suggest to read <paṭutara> on the broken edge.

⁵⁰pr̥thumati(nā] *pr̥thumati* ... V; ... LG

⁵¹pra) ___ ___ <m a>smin] ... LGV. The damaged portion could be reconstructed this way: *pra(hitañ ca cittam) asmin*.

⁵²kim idam asti vācyāśe(ṣaṃ)] *kim idam asti vācyāśeṣaḥ* V; *kim iha svastivācyāśeṣa* LG. I would supply *tad api* in the damaged portion.

⁵³___ kathita (m bha) ___ ___ vidya] ... *prakathita* ... (*dha*)rmmavidyā V; ... *kathitan na* ... LG. I suggest to reconstruct the whole line this way: *anukathita(m bha)(vate-ha dhārmma)vidya*. The same combination of *anu+kath* appears in 48c, and the term *dhārmavidya* is found as an example in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* to Pāṇini IV.2.60.

⁵⁴trayīvirodhena(ni)(vāryya)(mā)ṇāḥ] *trayīvirodhena nivāryyamāṇāḥ* V; *trayīvirodhibhir* ___ ṇāḥ L; *trayīvirodhi* ___ ___ ṇāḥ G. The plural ending in °*māṇāḥ* does not fit the context, so I suggest that it is a mistake for the singular.

⁵⁵<dharmmo> vya(vā)sthāsyata] (*dharmo*) *vya(va)sthāsyata* V; ___ *vya* ___ *sthāsyata* LG

⁵⁶dharttā tvam asyā] V; *dharmmābhastanyo* L; *dharmmā* ___ *syo* G

⁵⁷vedam vyatikīrṇa°] *vedam pratikīrṇa°* LG; *vedam vyavakīrṇa°* V

⁵⁸<vidhṛta>(s tva)yā] (*vacasā tva*)yā V; ___ ___ ṣa ca LG

⁵⁹nā<tani>ṣyaḥ] V; *nā(raci)ṣyaḥ* LG

(35) <dharmmā>(rttha)kāmādyaviviktarūpaṃ⁸⁰
yadi vyavāriṣyata⁸¹ (na tva)ye(dam)⁸² |

(36) <dūrā>t smṛtīnām agateḥ śrutīnām⁸³
tad adya loke niyatam vya(na)kṣyat⁸⁴ || 18 ||

(37) <vi>pātya mohān amṛtaṃ vyaśṛkṣat
svayañ ca dharmmādi jagaty atīṣṭhadhā⁸⁵ |

(38) <tra>(yī) tvayāgāj jagati pratiṣṭhān⁸⁶
tvam eva dharmmaṃ⁸⁷ vividhān atīṣṭhipaḥ⁸⁸ || 19 ||

(39) <hiṃso>(dbha)van duṣpratipādam etat
svarggādi śabdopanibandhamā<tram> |

(40) <ato 'sa>d astīti jano 'grahīṣyad⁸⁹
bhavān ihaivaṃ yadi na vyanekṣya<t>⁹⁰ || 20 ||

(41) <nivāri>tā kumatibhir aṃhasāvṛtaiḥ⁹¹
kutārkkikaiḥ katham api saugatātm(abhi)ḥ⁹² |

⁸⁰ <dharmmā>(rttha)kāmādyā°] V; √kāmādyā° LG

⁸¹ vyavāriṣyata appears to be a conditional based on the medio-passive of the aorist *avāri*. See WHITNEY § 998e-f (p.362).

⁸² (na tva)ye(dam)] √_ G; (sarvvavā)daḥ V; LÉVI forgets to mark the missing *akṣaras*.

⁸³ <dūrā>t smṛtī°] (dūrāt) smṛtī° V; √ smṛtī° LG

⁸⁴ vyadna)kṣyat] vyaśak. L; vya √ G; vya (naśyat) V

⁸⁵ atīṣṭhadhā] atīṣṭhathāḥ V; atīṣṭhat[ṭ] L; atīṣṭha[ṭ] G. I guess that only the last letter of the inscription reading is wrong, and that it is possible to explain how this mistake came about. In Licchavi inscriptions, a *halanta* letter is lowered from the line, and *pa* and *dha* are rather similar in shape. When *pa* and *halanta t* are written together and contracted, the result can easily be confused with *dhā*. Therefore, the intended verb may have been *atīṣṭhapat*, which is, to be sure, irregular if compared with *atīṣṭhipat* the form taught by Pāṇini (VII.4.5) and occurring at RV 9.86.40a etc. However, there is a parallel for our irregular form in *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* I.2.13.2: *ajihvarat*, the normal form of which, *ajihvarat*, is attested at *Vājasaneyasaṃhitā* V.17. I am grateful to Prof. KNOBL for drawing my attention to this rare example. The reduplicated causative aorist of the root *sthā* is used in *Saundarananda* II.38. Though the constituted text in JOHNSTON's edition reads *atīṣṭhipat*, Prof. YOKOCHI has informed me that JOHNSTON records *atīṣṭhi(ṣṭha)pat* as the reading of the only palm-leaf manuscript in his critical apparatus. This seems to mean that he could not decide whether the palm-leaf manuscript reads *ṣṭha* or *ṣṭhi*; and interestingly, the reading in the paper manuscript is *atīṣṭvapat*, which is clearly a misreading for *atīṣṭhapat*. Prof. GRIFFITHS has drawn my attention to the fact that another irregular reduplicated aorist form of the root *sthā*, *atīṣṭhipat*, is found in an inscription from Campā (For detailed references and treatment of irregular reduplicated aorist forms from inscriptions, see RENOUE 1984: 443–444). As Anuparama uses the regular form later on in this very stanza, it is perhaps appropriate to say that he shows off with his knowledge of a rare form restricted to a certain branch of the Vedas.

⁸⁶ <tra>(yī)] V; √ LG

⁸⁷ dharmmaṃ] LG; Read *dharmmān*; *dharmmāṃ* V

⁸⁸ vividhān atīṣṭhipaḥ] V; *vidhinānvatīṣṭha(h)* L; *atīṣṭhi* G

⁸⁹ The *avagraha* sign is absent in the inscription.

⁹⁰ vyanekṣya<t>] GV; *vyanakṣya[ṭ]* L

⁹¹ <nivāri>tā] (*nirākr*)tā V; √_tā LG

⁹² saugatātm(abhi)ḥ] *saugatād[ibhiḥ]* V; *saugatair a.* L; *saugatād[ibhiḥ]* G

- (42) ⟨trayī⟩ tvayi prathitagiri prabhāv iyam
payonidhau sarid iva vindati⁹³ sthitim || 21 ||
- (43) ⟨śrutismṛtyartha⟩(tvā)d⁹⁴ viniyatapadārthhādyanugamāt
tava śrutvā kāvyam sapadi manasā gamyapada⟨kam⟩⁹⁵ |
- (44) ⟨jano jñātā⟩rtthatvād abana⁹⁶paramārthhānusaraṇe
dadhāty uccairmmohaṃ sapadi gatavidyeṣv a(pi) ⟨matam⟩⁹⁷ || 22 ||
- (45) ⟨samākhyā⟩tam⁹⁸ śāstre manuyamabṛhaspatyuśanasām
vidhānaṃ kṛtyānām asugamapadaṃ loka(ya)⟨makam⟩⁹⁹ |
- (46) ⟨paraṃ kāvye⟩naivaṃ prativiṣayam ādhūya nipuṇam
phalenaivāśeṣaṃ tad idam a (malan tvam)¹⁰⁰ ⟨kathayasi⟩ || 23 ||
- (47) ⟨astīda⟩n nṛpacaritānuvādibhāvāt
pādādeḥ pratiniyatan tataś ca¹⁰¹ kāvya (m) |
- (48) ⟨dharmāder⟩¹⁰² anukathanād apīha śāstraṃ
tvam śakter idam api bhāratādy akārṣī(h) || 24 ||
- (49) ⟨dustā⟩(re) bhavajaladhau vivarttamānān¹⁰³
rāgādiprapatadhiyaḥ¹⁰⁴ pragāḍhamohān |
- (50) (mu)⟨ktāḥ⟩ syus tvim iti¹⁰⁵ vidhāya muktimārggaṃ
sācīnām¹⁰⁶ bhuvi puruṣāñ karoṣi mantre¹⁰⁷ || 25 ||
- (51) (sukhi)⟨nā⟩¹⁰⁸ viviktavacasā tvayā satā
kṛpayā parārthhaviniveśibuddhinā |
- (52) jaga(to) hitāya sukṛteha bhārate
bhuvi vānmayam sakalam eva darśītam || 26 ||

⁹³ vindati] GV; vindate L

⁹⁴ ⟨śrutī⟩(smṛtyarthatvā)d] √-----d LG; ... d V

⁹⁵ manasā gamyapada⟨kam⟩] V; manuśāgamya∞- LG

⁹⁶ rtthatvād abana°] V; ... (rtthatvādahana) L; rtya - da ∞ G. Read *avana* in place of *abana*.

⁹⁷ gatavidyeṣv a(pi) ⟨matam⟩] gatavidyeṣv a(niyatam) V; gatavidyeṣṭani ∞- L; gatavidye-
ṣ.a.i ∞- G

⁹⁸ ⟨samākhyā⟩tam] √---- LGV

⁹⁹ asugamapadaṃ loka (ya)⟨makam⟩] asugamapadaṃ loka (nibhṛtam) V;

aśā ∞ padām loka ∞- L; asugamapadaṃ loka ∞- G

¹⁰⁰ tad idam a (malan tvam)] tvam idam ama -- LG; tvam idam amalaṃ tat V

¹⁰¹ pādādeḥ pratiniyatan tataś ca] G; pādādeḥ pratiniyatan tataś ca L; pādādeḥ
pratiniyataṃ svataś ca V

¹⁰² ⟨dharmāder⟩] -- (te)r L; ---r G

¹⁰³ ⟨dustā⟩(re)] --- LGV

¹⁰⁴ Anuparama forms *prapatadhī* probably on the basis of an analogy to *pataga*.

¹⁰⁵ syus tvim iti] Read *syus tvam iti*; *syās tvam iti* V; *yas tvam iti* L; *yastvim iti* G. In this *pāda*, the words are arranged in a strange order for the sake of the metre.

¹⁰⁶ sācīnām] GV; jācīnām L. Read *sācīnām*. GNOLI questions the meaning of the term. This is a rare word but it occurs in the *Mahābhāṣya* to Pāṇini I.1.58 as an adverb meaning obliquely.

¹⁰⁷ mantre] V; mantr[aiḥ] LG

¹⁰⁸ (sukhi)⟨nā⟩] su(khi)nā V; ∞- L; su[khi][nā] G

(53) (vi)hita¹⁰⁹vividhadharmmo veditā vāimayānān
niravadhikam amitthyā śāntarāgādidoṣam¹¹⁰ |

(54)⟨nirabhi⟩bhavaparārtthas tad bhāvān¹¹¹ mohajālan
timiram iva vivasvān aṃśubhiḥ prakṣiṇo(ti) || 27 ||

(55)prativiṣayaniyogāt pālakatvāc ca tāsān
nipuṇatadavabodhāt tadvivekāc adoṣā(t) |

(56)jagati tadupadeśāt tvam mithas tadvibhāgād
upahita¹¹² iva mūrttis tryātmanā mantravācām¹¹³ || 28 ||

(57) sauṣmyād¹¹⁴ durbodham īsaṃ sthitam api sakalaṃ
lokam āvṛtya tanvā

vāgbuddhyor apy atītā(58)(kṛti)m¹¹⁵ api munibhiḥ
svāgamād dhyātataṭṭvam¹¹⁶ |

vidyārūpaṃ viśuddhe¹¹⁷ padam anatiśa(ya-

(59)kṣī)ṇasamsārabandham

syād ātmānan na jātu tvam iva kathayitā
kaś cid anyo dvitīyaḥ || 29 ||

(60)pratyādhārasthitatvāt pṛthag api na pṛthak
tatsvarūpāviśeṣāt

nityaṃ dharmmair ayo(gā)(61)t punar api na tathā
sarvvakālāpratīteḥ¹¹⁸ |

nāśotpādādyayogāt sthitam api (62)jagataḥ
sarvvagaṃ vyāpibhāvāt

caitanyaṃ rūpapakṣasthitam api kathaye(63)t
ko nu loke tvadanyaḥ || 30 ||

niraṃhasan duritabhidaṃ vivekinan

tamomuṣaṃ śami(64)tabhavaṃ vipaścitam |

girān patiṃ sudhiyam asaṅgicetasam

mayodi(65)tam vacanam upaitu te¹¹⁹ sadā || 31 ||

śamitabhavabhayena kṣāyīṇājñānarāśeḥ

¹⁰⁹(vi)hita°] (v)idita° L; vidita° GV

¹¹⁰amitthyā śāntarāgādidoṣam] V; amitthyāśāntarāgādidoṣ(am) L; amitthyāśāntarāgādi-
doṣam G

¹¹¹°bhavaparārtthas tad bhāvān] °ravaparārtthas tad bhāvān LG; °ravaparārtthas tad
bhāvān V; Read bhāvān in place of bhāvān.

¹¹²upahita] GV; upacita L

¹¹³tryātmanā mantra°] LV; tryātmanām attra G

¹¹⁴sauṣmyād du°] LGV read sauṣmyā du°, but I find du corrected to ddu by adding
a very tiny d on top of the head-mark, which looks like another head-mark.

¹¹⁵°(kṛti)m] V; °karam LG

¹¹⁶°mād dhyātataṭṭvam] V; °mād yātataṭṭvam LG

¹¹⁷viśuddhe] Read viśuddheḥ

¹¹⁸°kālāpratīteḥ] LÉVI suggests to correct it into °kālāpratīteḥ which does not fit in the
context.

¹¹⁹upaitu te] GV; upohate L

(66)svayamupahitadhāmnā vedyapāraṅgatena |
 jagad aparajasedaṃ tat tva(67)yā sarvvaṃ ārād
 viyad iva timirāṇām kṣāyakenā¹²⁰vabhāti || 32 ||

(68)guṇapurūṣavivekaññānasambhinnajanmā
 vyatīyutaviṣayāṇām (tvam) (69)girām saṃvivekī |
 jagati ghanavirūḍhavyāpisammohabhedi
 cyutajaga(70)d anirodhaḥ khe śaśivācakāḥsi¹²¹ || 33 ||
 tad aham iti nunūṣad¹²² bhinnasaṃsāra(71)bandham
 vitamasam arajaskaṃ tvāñ garīyāṃsam ādyam |
 katham api pa(ri)(72)laghvīm¹²³ svāñ nibadhnāmi vācam
 tad iha pitari me tvam sampadas saṃvidhatsva || 34 ||

(73) bhagavato dvaipāyanasya stotrañ kṛtam anuparameṇa] [⊗

¹²⁰kṣāyakenā°] Read kṣāyakenā°.

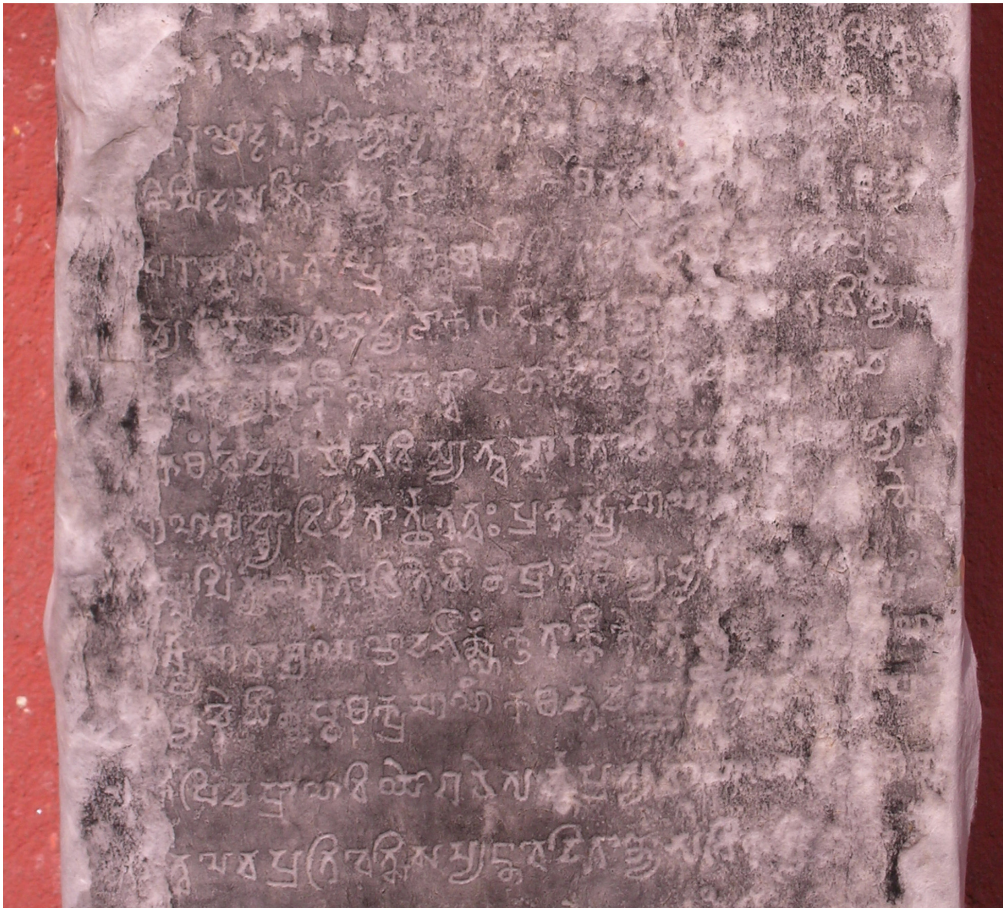
¹²¹śaśivācakāḥsi] śaśiva cakāḥsi LGV (unmetrical). Before a sibilant, assimilation of a *visarga* is generally preferred in Licchavi inscriptions, but *ācakāḥsi* in this stanza is an exception.

¹²²nunūṣad] Read *nunūṣan*. The neuter ending could be retained, if it is possible to treat the present participle form adverbially. Anyway, the whole expression *tad aham iti nunūṣad* is a bit odd, not easy to interpret.

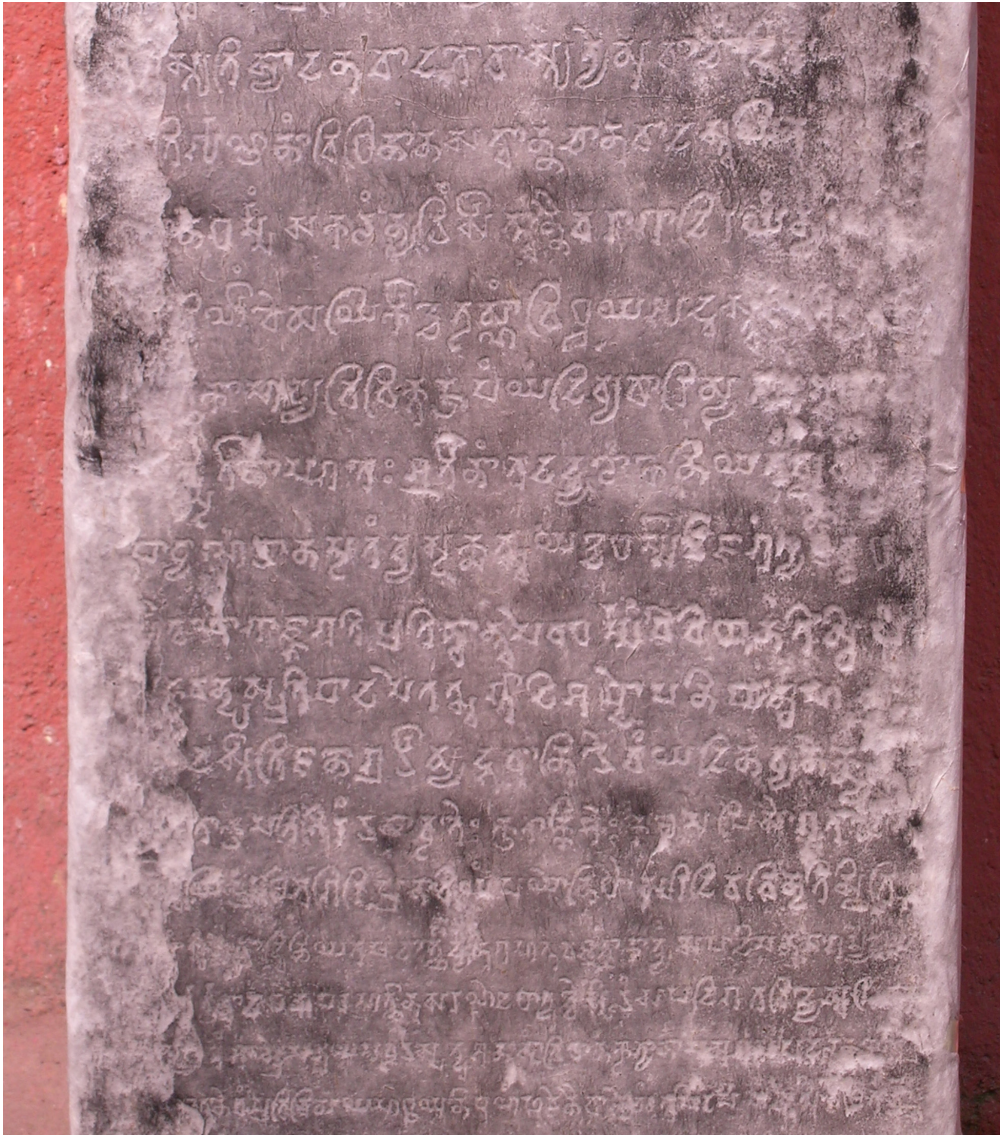
¹²³pa(ri)laghvīm] G; paralaghvīm LV



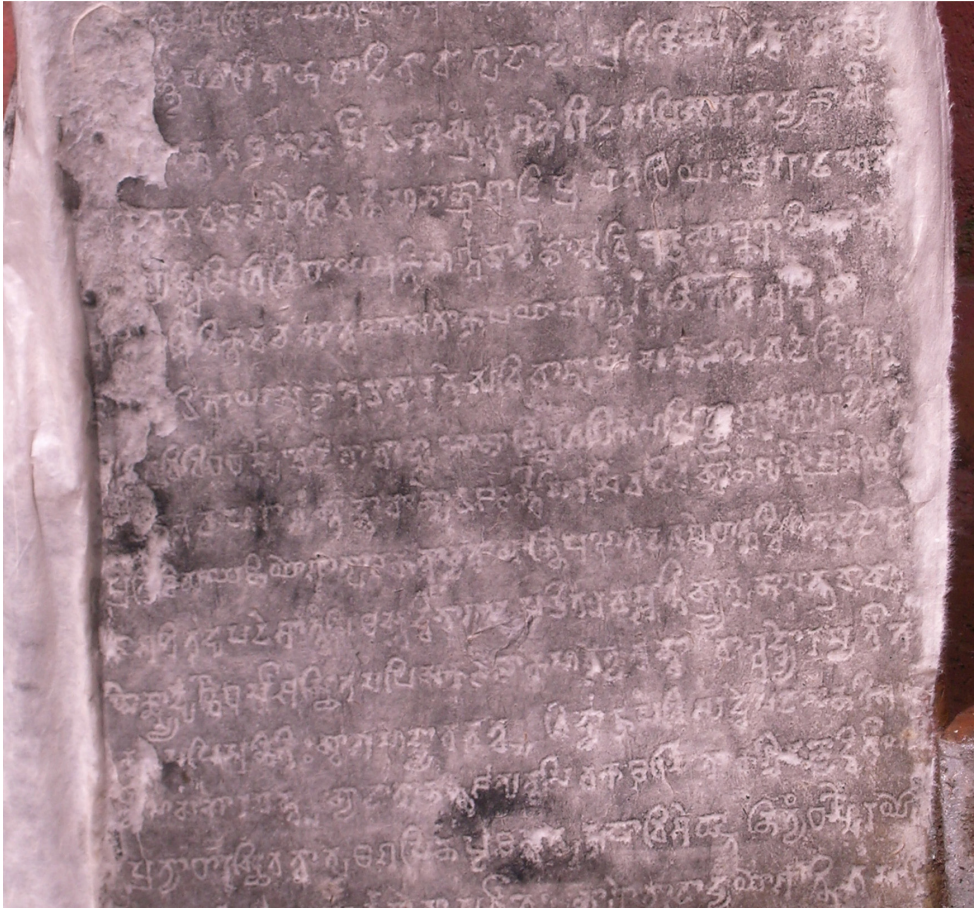
(Anuparama's Inscription lines 1-18)



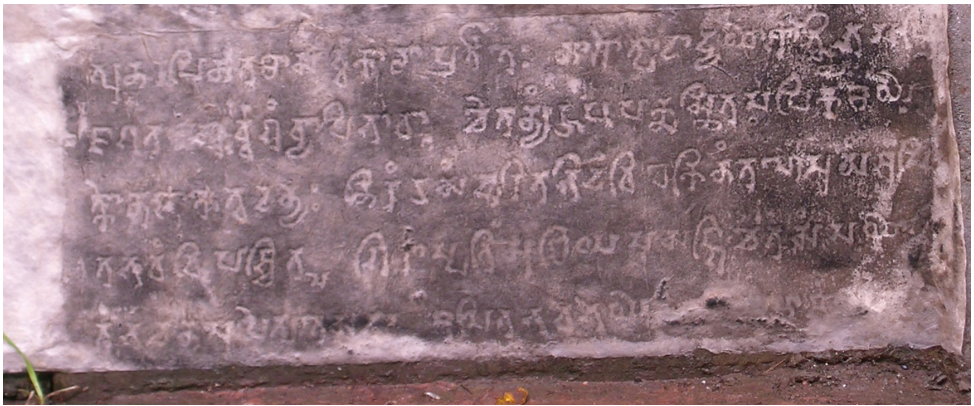
(Anuparama's Inscription lines 18-30)



(Anuparama's Inscription lines 31-46)



(Anuparama's Inscription lines 47-60)



(Anuparama's Inscription lines 61-65)

TRANSLATION

Homage to the wise man of ⟨surpassed/tranquil⟩ mind,¹²⁴... the self-restrained one. (1)

... having arisen in every [individual] body ... by the one whose light is widely spread (2)

⟨You contained⟩ everything in yourself. ... ⟨that is situated in you⟩ like the charm in the moon. (3)

... ⟨as if radiating⟩ with the brilliance ⟨of brahman⟩, ... ⟨thus you⟩ shine ⟨here⟩ [in this world] like the sun. (4)

The Buddhists would lead [the world] by the path ⟨of ignorance⟩, ... if ⟨you⟩, the master of speech, were not [here]. (5)

The threefold [Vedic knowledge is saved] from ... [and] is supported by you ⟨like the earth is supported by Mahāvarāha⟩. (6)

... ⟨The Buddhist position⟩ is broken off with ..., like a wild elephant (breaks off the branch of a tree). (7)

... not being conscious of this, ... ⟨people in this world⟩ would resort to ⟨atheism⟩. (8)

...the great ocean [of knowledge?] ...because of breaking ... having incessantly viewed ... as if ... this way. (9)

[Every] broad-minded man attentive to his ⟨sharper⟩ senses ⟨has⟩ ever ⟨directed his mind⟩ towards this entity. ⟨Even so,⟩ why this remains beyond all the entities which can be told about (*vācyaśeṣa*), O bearer of the science of Dharma, ⟨this fact you have⟩ described ⟨here in this world⟩. (10)

If you had not been the upholder of it, [i.e. of the threefold Vedic knowledge], ⟨the Dharma⟩ would not have been established today in the world, which [Dharma] is being ⟨denied⟩ by ⟨men⟩ who have resorted to extreme nihilism, through an opposition to the threefold [Vedic knowledge]. (11)

⟨Having divided⟩ the Veda, which was existing since the beginningless time but whose words were scattered about in speech, you kept it [systematically] asunder. ⟨Now⟩, how could the Vedas have existed here [in this world], if you had not composed the Bhārata epic and other [Puranic] texts? (12)

If you, who know the reality of things and are intent on the well-being of the world, ⟨had not upheld⟩ the ⟨true⟩ Dharma in this way, by the evidence of valid arguments (*pramāṇaśuddhyā*), it [i.e. the true Dharma], being shaken

¹²⁴In my translation, I take into account the tentative reconstructions I suggested earlier in the footnotes, because I feel that they help to understand the meaning of the intact parts of the inscription.

up by those who abide by ⟨another Dharma⟩, [namely, the Buddhists], would not have continued. (13)

If you had not recognised ⟨the scripture⟩ as a separate *pramāṇa*, which was again and again denied by the bad arguers who relied merely on ⟨unlawfulness/ non-existence of properties⟩, then how could we have abided by it?¹²⁵(14)

Even though ⟨killing⟩ [of an animal] is the cause of destruction of life, it is not an offence if this [killing] is not [carried out] in a way other [than the one prescribed in Vedic texts].¹²⁶ You alone know ⟨the scripture⟩ properly; no other knower [of it] exists in the world. (15)

A eulogy is possible by means of either ⟨injunction⟩ or reassertion; these two ways of statement are ⟨engaged with⟩ the topics of praise. ⟨But⟩ a eulogy of your virtues by means of injunction is not possible (*vidhinā na*), because they are [already] there. And, reassertion (*anuvāda*) of [your] virtues is not

¹²⁵The Buddhists do not accept verbal or scriptural testimony (*śabdapramāṇa*) as a valid means of cognition. They have to deny it in order to refuse the Vedas as the ultimate authority, and to establish their own new authority, which is mainly based on empirical knowledge. This stanza speaks of this fact, and the bad arguers could be the Buddhists in general. However, it is most likely that Anuparama knows at least some Buddhist logicians before Dignāga. The invocatory verse of the *Nyāyavārttika* uses the same term to refer to the Buddhists. It is also noteworthy that we find the same term *kutārka* put in the mouth of Dignāga in order to refer mainly to earlier Buddhist logicians in Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā*. For the related *Prasannapadā* passage and interpretation of the term *kutārka* in that passage, see KRASSER 2004: 140.

¹²⁶This statement reflects the moral dilemma faced by a contemporary Vedic orthodox about animal sacrifice. As the Buddhists had better arguments in favour of compassion and non-violence, the followers of Vedic orthodoxy must have been perplexed to find the plain statement 'a killing in a Vedic sacrifice is not a killing' in their defence.

This stanza of Anuparama reminds us of the following lines of Manu (V.41-42, 44):

madhuparke ca yajñe ca pitṛdaiṅvatakarmanī |
atraiva paśavo hiṃsyā nānyatrety abravīn manuḥ ||
eṣv artheṣu paśūn hiṃsan vedatattvārthavid dvijaḥ |
ātmanāṃ ca paśūṃś caiva gamayaty uttamāṃ gatim ||... |
yā vedavihitā hiṃsā nīyatāsmiṃś carācare |
ahiṃsām eva tāṃ vidyād vedād dharmo hi nīrabhau ||

"The honey-mixture, a sacrifice, an offering to gods or ancestors—at no other occasions than these, Manu has declared, may animals be killed. When a twice-born man who knows the true meaning of the Veda kills animals for these purposes, he leads himself and those animals to the highest state. . . . When a killing is sanctioned by the veda and well-established in this mobile and immobile creation, it should be regarded definitely as non-killing; for it is from the veda that the Law has shined forth." (OLIVELLE 2005: 140)

As OLIVELLE (2005: 1019) has recorded, the first of the above verses has parallels in the *Śāṃkhyāyanagrhyasūtra* (2.16.1), *Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra* (4.6) and *Viṣṇusmṛti* (51.64) (other verses have parallels only in the *Viṣṇusmṛti*). Vasiṣṭha's reading of the verse has a significant variant in the second half of the verse: *atraiva ca paśuṃ hiṃsyān nānyathety abravīn manuḥ*. Note that Anuparama has used the same expression *nānyathā*, and also that the oldest manuscript OLIVELLE used (NKt4) reads *nānyavety* (OLIVELLE 2005: 357) which is not very different from *nānyathety* in Old Nāgarī script.

possible either, in you where the injunction [presupposed for reassertion] is absent.¹²⁷(16)

You have entirely crushed heterodoxy (*adharmā*), [but] passion and other [emotion]s have not harmed you.¹²⁸ Pure, you ⟨have descended⟩ into this world, after shaking off the desire for ⟨heavenly⟩ as well as worldly pleasure. (17)

If this [entity] here whose nature was not [clearly] distinguished from Dharma, Artha, Kāma and other [similar notion]s, [namely, the liberating knowledge of the Self,] had not been revealed by you,¹²⁹ it would surely have vanished today in the world, being far from the Smṛtis and not the scope of the Śrutis.¹³⁰(18)

¹²⁷An injunction makes something known which is previously unknown from any other source at any other time (*ajñātārthajñāpakō vidhiḥ*). Something eternal or existing innately can never be unknown or unobtainable, and therefore, cannot be enjoined by means of an injunction. Reassertion, on the other hand, signifies a supplementary statement related with the matter already enjoined through an injunction (*vidhiśeṣa*) or praise or reproach (*stutir nindā vā*) of something already enjoined. The Naiyāyikas equate it with mere repetition, as it repeats a fact already enjoined by an injunction (*vidhivihitasyānuvacanam anuvādaḥ* — NS II.1.65), but the Mīmāṃsakas distinguish it from repetition, because it facilitates further elaboration on the matter enjoined earlier.

Vidhi and *anuvāda* are two major types of sentences in Mīmāṃsā. *Anuvāda*, which is not a valid means of knowledge, is generally compared with *vidhi* — a valid means of knowledge. *Vidhi*, *arthavāda* and *anuvāda* are mentioned also in the *Nyāyasūtra* as three types of sentence. For further information on the topic, see OBERHAMMER 1991: s.v. *anuvāda*.

Anuparama probably thinks that Dvaipāyana's virtues are innate, so that an injunction is redundant; and once injunction is denied, reassertion is impossible because it presupposes an injunction.

¹²⁸Although Dvaipāyana crushed heterodoxy and saved Vedic orthodoxy, he did not do this to accumulate merits but did it objectively as his obligatory duty which does not yield any merit. Anyway, as an ascetic he had given up even the desire for heaven, and he was not affected by passions. His sole concern was to purify himself, constantly thriving for liberation. This elliptic statement can additionally be taken as an allusion to the episode of Dvaipāyana's involvement in the production of the heirs of the Kuru family after his half-brothers had died childless.

¹²⁹Although it appears syntactically preferable to read ⟨*dharmmā[rthā]kāmādy aviviktārūpam* as two words and to take ⟨*dharmmā[rthā]kāmādy* as the subject, I have taken the whole of *pāda a* as a compound and interpreted it together with the demonstrative pronoun *idam* from *pāda b* as 'this [entity] whose nature was not [clearly] distinguished from Dharma, Artha, Kāma and other [similar notion]s, [i.e. the liberating knowledge of the Self]'. I opt for this rather tedious way of interpretation because of the expression ⟨*dūrā*⟩ *t smṛtīnām agateḥ śrutīnām* in *pāda c*, which clearly indicates that the subject should be the knowledge of the Self or brahman, and makes it least possible to take ⟨*dharmmā[rthā]kāmādy* as the subject. For, the Dharma, Artha and Kāma are precisely the subject matters of the Smṛtis and Śrutis.

¹³⁰The Smṛtis are probably regarded here merely as the books of Law, a guide for legal transactions and moral conduct useful to achieve the three goals of human life (*trivarga*) in this world. They are, however, of no help when one is concerned with the liberating knowledge of the Self. When Anuparama says that the Śrutis are unable to access it, he

The threefold [Vedic knowledge] has disseminated the immortal [truth] by breaking up delusions, and itself has established the Dharma with its subordinates in the world. [However,] the threefold [Vedic knowledge] has come to be firmly established through you, [so,] it is you who have established various Dharmas. (19)

“This heaven and the like, which is ⟨brought about through violence⟩, is difficult to explain. It is a mere verbal composition ⟨and hence⟩ is ⟨unreal,⟩” thus people would have thought, if you had not washed [their minds] clean in this way here. (20)

⟨Hindered⟩ somehow by the bad arguers — those characterised as Buddhists, who are evil-minded and covered up with vice, this ⟨threefold [Vedic knowledge]⟩ finds its abode in you, the master whose words are widespread, like a river [finds its abode] in the ocean. (21)

Since it is ⟨the essence of the Śrutis and Smṛtis⟩, and complies with the well-settled principles and so on, ⟨people⟩, having listened to your poetic composition that consists of words instantly understandable with [a simple] mind, display utmost fascinated interest (*dadhāty uccairmoham*¹³¹) in the pursuit of the favourable ultimate goal (*avanaparamārtha*), and direct [their] ⟨attention⟩ to those people who have understood the sciences (*gatavidya*). (22)

In the scriptures of Manu, Yama, Bṛhaspati, and Uśanas, the way of performance of duties is ⟨stated⟩ [in such a way that] its words are not easily understood, and it ⟨keeps⟩ the ordinary people ⟨away⟩. ⟨But⟩ you analyse (*ādhūya*) every topic efficiently, and ⟨tell⟩ it clear and complete together with the reward [of these duties] through your ⟨poetic composition⟩. (23)

It narrates the deeds of kings and has strictly regulated quarters and other [metrical unit]s.¹³² Therefore, this is a poetic composition. Since it

must have had the *atadvyāvṛtti* passages from the Upaniṣads in mind, particularly the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* passage *sa eṣa neti nety ātmā | agrhyo na hi grhyate . . . na riṣyati* which appears repeated verbatim in four different places (III.9.26, IV.2.4, IV.4.22, and IV.5.15). All Vedānta scholars take this and similar statements in the Upaniṣads as evidence for the incapability of the Śrutis to access the Self. For example, the *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā* (III.26), referring to the above passage, says the following:

*sa eṣa neti netīti vyākhyātaṃ nihnute yataḥ |
sarvaṃ agrāhyabhāvena hetunājaṃ prakāśate ||*

Since the Śruti passage *sa eṣa neti neti* denies whatsoever [earlier] formulated by the reason of its being imperceptible, [it is concluded that] the unborn, [i.e. the eternal Self,] illuminates itself.

An expression comparable to that of Anuparama can be found in the *Mahimnastava*: *atadvyāvṛtṭyā yaṃ cakitam abhidhatte śrutir api* (stanza 2).

¹³¹As an alternative, *uccair* can be read separate and interpreted adverbially.

¹³²Anuparama mentions here two standard characteristics of Kāvya: it should be a metrical text and it should narrate deeds of a king. If we assume that the rule of chapter

is an orderly narration of (the Dharma and so on), here [we] also [have] a treatise. Out of your talent, you have composed all of this, the Bhārata [epic] and other texts. (24)

[Thinking] that those people, who are going down in the ocean of the world (difficult to overcome) and whose mind is flying after passion and so on, should [also] be (liberated), you set the path of liberation¹³³ and direct these people side-tracked (*sācīna*) in this world to the sacred (*mantra*) [path]. (25)

You are the lucky (*sukhin*) and pious one who fixes his mind upon the well-being of others. You virtuous one, you have displayed on earth the entire scriptural corpus in clear words here in the Bhārata out of compassion for the well-being of the world. (26)

You have enacted the various duties, you know the scriptures, and the ultimate reality is (never disguised) to you. Like the sun burns off/destroys darkness with his rays, you burn off/destroy the net of delusion [such a way that] its bad effects appearing in the form of passion and so on are infinitely and truthfully quelled. (27)

You are, so to speak, the embodiment of the [Vedic] speech of Mantras in three ways: because you maintain them and employ according to each and every topic, because you understand them precisely and judge them faultlessly, and because you teach them in the world and distinguish them from each other. (28)

There would never be a second person capable of describing the Self like you; the almighty [Self], which is beyond apprehension because of its subtlety but is present all over the world pervading it with his body; which entity, though its aspect is beyond the scope of even speech and intellect, is contemplated upon by the sages following the proper course, [in] the form of knowledge of the Self (*[ātma]vidyā*); the abode of purity where the bondage of the world is destroyed to the very end. (29)

It is different because it serves as the base of every being, but it is not different because [even then] it is not distinct from its own nature. It is

division is covered by the expression 'other [standard]s' (*ādi*), Anuparama's understanding of Kāvya fits the definition of epic (Mahākāvya) of later poetics.

¹³³Here Anuparama credits Dvaipāyana for setting the path of liberation (*muktimārga*), and describes him as the exponent of the knowledge of the Self in stanzas 29 and 30. In the tradition, Dvaipāyana is equated with Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the *Brahmasūtra*. So, one can say that this fact is implied here and the *Brahmasūtra* is included among 'other texts' in stanzas 12 and 24. But I think it is least likely; if it would have been the case, Anuparama would have mentioned it clearly. In fact, Dvaipāyana is lauded by Anuparama for imparting the high knowledge in the form of poetry, and different portions of the *Bhārata* epic deal with the knowledge of the Self and the path of liberation. So, it is logical to think that Anuparama regards Dvaipāyana simply as the author of epic-purāṇic literature.

eternal as it is not associated with the properties but again is not so because this [nature] is not apparant in all times. Even though it is ever-existent [as the transcendent], being never associated with creation and destruction, it is [the immanent, present] in every individual entity [which undergoes the rise and fall] because of its all-pervasive nature. It is the [absolute] consciousness, even though it is existing in [specific] forms (*rūpapakṣasthita*). [So,] who else except you would have told [all this] in this world?¹³⁴ (30)

May this voice [of praise] I uttered ever reach you: the one who frees [people] from anxiety (*niramhas*) and splits the impasse (*duritabhid*),¹³⁵ who takes away the darkness of ignorance (*tamomuṣ*), a wise man who has quelled [the fear of] the world, a clever man, and a master of speech, who has good understanding, and whose mind is free from attachment. (31)

Like the sky shines with [the sun] who burns off/destroys¹³⁶ the mass of darkness, this entire world distantly shines with you — the sinless, who has quelled the fear of the world, who burns off/destroys the mass of ignorance, who has placed himself at the true home, and who has mastered the thing to be known. (32)

[You are] the one who has completely broken the chain of births by means of the knowledge that discriminates the *guṇas* and the *puruṣa*. You are the one who can properly judge the scriptures in which different topics are intermeshed. Like the moon you fully shine unobstructed [high] in the sky, who break the densely grown and all-covering delusion in this world, and as the one from whom the world is moved away. (33)

Therefore, I am trying so to praise you, the one who have broken apart the bondage of the world and is free of ignorance and passions, the fore-

¹³⁴As an alternative, it is possible to take the expression *rūpapakṣasthita* in the sense of 'standing as one in the absolute form and also as two (probably also implying to many)'. As this expression is not found anywhere else, it leaves some scope for speculation. This stanza presents the characteristics of 'the consciousness' which appear self-contradictory and incompatible with each other, but in fact they are in harmony there. One can say the whole issue is summed up with the expression we are concerned, and in that case, *rūpa* and *pakṣa*, should have meanings opposite of each other. So it is just possible to interpret *rūpa* as one and *pakṣa* as two. It is possible that about the time of Anuparama these terms were technical terms known to a philosopher and were used to describe the two aspects of the reality, or the supreme Self and individual self. Probably *rūpa* stands for *svarūpa*, the real nature, but how *pakṣa* stands for the opposite is obscure.

¹³⁵Many of almost synonymous terms are used here, probably a minute difference in meaning is intended. So I go as close to the original meaning of the term as possible.

¹³⁶Two derivatives, *kṣāyin* in the first *pāda* and *kṣāyaka* in the last *pāda* of this stanza, are not attested in dictionaries. However, they can be derived from the root *kṣai*, which is originally intransitive and means 'to burn'. If the original intransitive nature of the root had not yet changed at the time of Anuparama, we have to say that he used a derivative of simplex in the sense of causative. Anyway, the term *kṣāyaka* is found in the *Kāśakṛtsnadhātuvyākhyāna* derived from the root *kṣai nāṣe*. However, it is possible that Anuparama associated it with the fifth class *kṣi*, meaning 'to destroy', a verb form of which he uses in stanza 27 to describe the same situation.

most, the highly honourable one; and somehow I compose this very short formulation of my speech. So, you render glories to my father here. (34)

A praise of Bhagavat Dvaipāyana composed by Anuparama.

References

- ACHARYA, Diwakar. 1993. Prācīna abhilekhaharuko asaṅgata vyākhyāko nirākaraṇa [Refutation of Erroneous Interpretation of Two Licchavi Inscriptions] (in Nepali), in *Maryādā* (Vikrama Year 2050). Kathmandu: Balmiki Campus.
- 1997. Śīlavatīko abhilekha ra yasaka viśiṣṭa pakṣa [Śīlavatī's Inscription and its Significant Aspects: Revision of the Text and Analysis] (in Nepali), in *Prajñā* [Journal of the Royal Nepal Academy], Vol. 83ka, p. 39–45.
- 2006. Kaliyugasamghātaka in *Newsletter of the NGMCP*, No. 1 (July 2006), pp. 11-14.
- BRHADĀRANYAKOPANIṢAD. *Eighteen Principal Upaniṣads Vol. 1.* ed. V. P. Limaye and R. D. Vadekar. Poona: Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, 1958.
- DHAKAL, Venimadhav. 1991. Hāḍigāuṃ satyanārāyaṇa-sthānako anuparamako abhilekha [Anuparama's Inscription of the Satyanārāyaṇa Temple, Handigaon] (in Nepali), *Ancient Nepal*, Vol. 121–122, Kathmandu: Department of Archaeology.
- GNOLI, Reniero. 1956. *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*. Rome: IsMEO.
- JAIMINISŪTRA with the commentary (BHĀṢYA) of Śabarāsvāmin and the sub-commentary of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, ed. Tīrthahallīgrāmābhijana-subbāśāstrin. Ānandāśramasaṃskṛtagranthāvali No. 97. 5 Parts. Poona: Ānandāśrama Press, 1929–34.
- KĀVYĀDARŚA of Daṇḍin. ed. Rangacharya Raddi Shastri. Government Oriental Series A.4. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1938.
- KĀŚAKṚTSNADHĀTUVYĀKHYĀNA. [The Kannada Commentary of Cannavīrakavi on the *Kāśakṛtsnadhātupāṭha* Translated into Sanskrit.] Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka, with the cooperation of Two Kannada Students. Hariyana: Ramlal Kapur Trust, 1965.

- KRASSER, Helmut. 2004. Are Buddhist Pramāṇavādins non-Buddhistic? Dignāga and Dharmakīrti on the impact of logic and epistemology on emancipation. *Hōrin – Vergleichende Studien zur japanischen Kultur*. Vol. 11, pp. 129–146. Dusseldorf: München: Iudicium Verlag.
- LÉVI, Sylvain. 1905–8. *Le Népal: Étude Historique d'un Royaume Hindou*, Vols. I–II: 1905, Vol. III: 1908. Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'Études, Tome XIX.
- MĀDHAVĪYADHĀTUVṚTTI. ed. Dvārikādāsa Śāstrī. Benares: Tara Book Agency, 1983.
- MAHĀBHĀRATA. ed. V. Sukthankar, with the cooperation of S. K. Belvalkar, A. B. Gajendragadkar, V. Kane, R. D. Karmarkar, P. L. Vaidya, S. Winternitz, R. Zimmerman, and other scholars and illustrated by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi. (Since 1943 ed. S. Belvalkar). 19 Vols. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1927–1959.
- MAHĀBHĀṢYA of Patañjali. *The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali*, Vols. 1-3, ed. F. Kielhorn (1st edition, 1880; 2nd edition, 1892). Revised and furnished with additional readings references and select critical notes by K. V. Abhyankar. Fourth edition. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1985.
- MAHIMNASTAVA. *Praise of Shiva's Greatness* ed. & trans. W. Norman Brown. Poona : American Institute of Indian Studies, 1964.
- MĀṆḌŪKYOPANIṢAD and the MĀṆḌŪKYAKĀRIKĀ with Śāṅkara's *Bhāṣya* and Ānandagiri's *Ṭīkā* thereon. ed. V. G. Apte. Anandaśrama Sanskrit Series No. 10. Poona: Anandaśrama Press, 1921.
- NYĀYAVĀRTTIKA of Bhāradvāja Udyotakara. ed. Anantalal Thakur. Delhi: Indian Council of Philosophical Research, 1997.
- OBERHAMMER, Gerhard. 1991. *Terminologie der frühen philosophischen Scholastik in Indien*. Band I. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- OLIVELLE, Patrick. 2005. *Manu's Code of Law. A Critical Edition and Translation of the MĀNAVA-DHARMAŚĀSTRA*. Oxford: University Press.
- REGMI, D.R. 1983. *Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal*. 3 vols. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications.
- RENOU, Louis. 1984. *Grammaire Sanscrite*. Tomes I et II Réunis. Deuxième Édition Revue, Corrigée et Augmentée. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient.

- SAMSKṚTASANDEŚA. ed. Yogi Naraharinātha *et al.* Vol. II, Nos. 1-2-3. Kathmandu, 1954.
- ŚĀṆKHYĀYANAGR̥HYASŪTRA. ed. S. R. Sehgal. Second revised edition. Delhi: Sri Satguru, 1987.
- SAUNDARANANDA of Aśvaghōṣa. Critically edited and translated with notes by E. H. Johnston. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass 1975.
- ŚLOKAVĀRTTIKA of Kumārilabhaṭṭa with the commentary (NYĀYARATNĀ-KARAVYĀKHYĀ) of Pārthasārathimiśra, ed. and rev. Svāmī Dvārikādāsa Śāstrī. Varanasi: Tara Publications, 1978.
- SLUSSER, Mary Shepherd. 1982. *Nepal Mandala: A Cultural Study of the Kathmandu Valley*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- TAITTIRĪYASAMHITĀ of the Black YAJURVEDA with the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra. ed. A Mahadeva Sastri and K. Rangacharya. Vol. 1. Reprint of Government Oriental Library series, Mysore 1894. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986.
- VĀJASANEYASAMHITĀ of the White YAJURVEDA with the commentaries of Uvaṭa and mahīdhara. ed. Jagdishlal Shastri. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978.
- VAJRĀCĀRYA, Gautamavajra. 1973. Recently Discovered Inscriptions of Licchavi Nepal. *Kailash – A Journal of Himalayan Studies*. Vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 117–134. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- VAJRACHARYA, Dhanavajra. 1975. *Licchavikālakā Abhilekha*. [Inscriptions of the Licchavi Period.] Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies.
- VASIṢṬHADHARMASŪTRA. *Vāsiṣṭhadharmaśāstra: Aphorisms on the Sacred Law of the Aryas, as Taught in the School of Vasishṭha*. ed. Alois Anton Führer. Reprint of Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series 23, Bombay 1916. Delhi: Indological Book House, 1983.
- VERARDI, Giovanni. 1992. *Excavations at Harigaon Kathmandu: Final Report*. Vol. 1: Text. Rome: IsMEO.
- VIṢṆUSMṚTI. *The Institutes of Viṣṇu together with Extracts from the Sanskrit Commentary of Nanda Paṇḍit Called Vaijayanti*. ed. Julius Jolly. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1881.
- WHITNEY, William D. 1889. *Sanskrit Grammar*. Second edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.