The Two Earliest Copper-plate Inscriptions from Nepal

by

Mahes Raj Pant & Aishvarya Dhar Sharma

Kathmandu
July 1977
This series of Miscellaneous Papers is-as also the Journal of the Nepal Research Centre,- intended to quickly present to the Nepalese Scholars and a general interested public the results of research done at or from the Nepal Research Centre.

In this series, we especially publish such materials or studies which are
(a) of current interest, as also project reports, etc., the early publication of which seems useful; some of these articles, however, may be included into the Journal for wider circulation later on;
(b) reprints of articles of scholars working at NRC which appeared overseas and therefore are unlikely to have an impact in Nepal;
(c) offprints from the Journal of the NRC
(d) general materials, like bibliographies, catalogues, etc.

For practical reasons, each publication in this series will be given a running number, according to the date of publication in this series.
The Two Earliest Copper-plate Inscriptions from Nepal

by
Mahes Raj Pant & Aishvarya Dhar Sharma
This article is the first original contribution to the Nepal Research Centre’s new series of *Miscellaneous Papers*, the first twelve numbers being offprints from the Journal of the NRC.

The reason for an early publication of the present article is obvious: it carries considerable current interest as it presents to the interested public the two earliest copper-plate inscriptions, found in Nepal so far. Although there must exist copper-plate grants even from Licchavi times, none has been brought to light so far—no doubt because of the lack of excavations in the Kathmandu Valley, where only some trial diggings have been done.

The two inscriptions published here also are of importance as they give some additional evidence for the fact that the pre-Malla Kingdom of Nepal extended far beyond the rims of the Kathmandu Valley, to which the Licchavi and post-Licchavi Kingdoms often had been thought confined. It remains to be seen whether the Nepal of the pre-Khasa invasions (13th century AD) extended even further West than the Gandak River: Every small-scale yet thorough survey of the area may turn up new materials in this regard, and we hope that these two inscriptions may not for long remain ‘The two earliest copper-plate inscriptions from Nepal.’

WOLFGANG VOIGT
The Two Earliest Copper-plate Inscriptions from Nepal

Mahes Raj Pant & Aishvarya Dhar Sharma

Both the copper-plate inscriptions presented here are in the collection of AISHVARYA DHAR SHARMA. They are important additions to Nepalese epigraphs, of which publication was initiated by BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI in collaboration with GEORG BÜHLER in 1880.¹

NO. 1 – COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF N. S. 221

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The copper-plate is nearly oblong and measures about $18.5 \times 10.2$ cm. It is about 0.09 cm. thick and weighs about 165 g. The record is inscribed on one side only, and consists of four and a half lines, and covers less than half of the plate. The average number of characters in a line is 26, while the average size of the characters is about $0.7 \times 0.5$ cm.

The characters are deeply engraved and most of them show through the reverse side of the plate. The plate is in a state of fairly good preservation, except for a small crack in the middle just from the third line to the bottom. The first eight characters of the fourth line seem reengraved after the obliteration of the original ones, some strokes of which are still visible.

The characters of the document belong to one of the early Newari scripts, of which more scientific analysis is yet to be done.\textsuperscript{2}

The inscription is written in Sanskrit prose. In addition to many spelling errors, the language is quite incorrect, which is not unusual with the documents of the period to which it belongs.

As in other inscriptions, the characters are engraved separately and the words are not spaced. Nevertheless, we will present the text separating the words unless they are not compounds or are not combined by euphonic laws.

The year in the present inscription is engraved in numerical symbols. The decimal system of writing numbers with figures for 1 to 9 and the cypher with the application of the principle of space value became popular in Nepal at a comparatively late period. All the documents of the Licchavi

period do not have the decimal system of writing numbers. The same is the case with the documents of the earlier part of the post-Licchavi period, of which one of the proofs is the present document.

The era of the inscription is Newari Saṃvat (N. S.) which started on the 20th October 879. The era was in official use during the post-Licchavi and Malla periods which spanned almost nine centuries. In the inscription only the year, month, fortnight, and lunar day are given, but a weekday is lacking, and the date cannot be verified.


4. The term post-Licchavi period denotes the period between 879-1380. The year 879 is the epoch of Newari Saṃvat, and in 1380 Śrīti Malla became the sole ruler supplanting Jayājunadeva of the old dynasty.


6. The term Malla period denotes the period between 1380-1769. In 1769 Prthvīnārayaṇa Śāha captured Bhaktapur, and Śrīti Malla’s line was totally supplanted by the Śāha dynasty.
It is interesting to note here that out of 196 documents of Licchavi Nepal so far discovered, all but eight are stone inscriptions. But, unlike those in contemporary India, none of them are copper-plate inscriptions.

7. Coin legends are excluded here.


9. For the eight Licchavi documents, which are not on stone, see Bajracharya, doc. 76, pp. 317–319; doc. 166, pp. 587–588; doc. 171, p. 590–591; doc. 189, p. 598; doc. 190, p. 599; Bajracharya, p. 93 and Manandhar, pp. 86, 87.

None the less it is known from one stone inscription of Narendradeva dated (Mānadeva) Sañvat11 71 (647) that copper was used as one of the engraving materials in Licchavi Nepal.12

To the best of our knowledge, until recently the earliest copper-plate inscription discovered in Nepal was of N. S. 454 (1333) attached to the front wall of the imposing building of Kāśīhamanḍapa.13 The present copper-plate inscription, dated N. S. 221 (1100), has been the earliest copper-plate inscription so far discovered in Nepal, surpassing the older one by more than two centuries and three decades.

11. It was HEMARAJ SHARMA who identified the era used by Aṃśuvarman and his successors with Mānadeva Sañvat of 576 on the basis of an unpublished astronomical work known as the Sumatiṣṭhita. See K. P. JAYASWAL, Chronology and History of Nepal [From 600 B. C. to 880 A. D.] (Patna: M. N. Burman & Co., 1937, hereinafter cited as JAYASWAL), pp. 33-38. PETECH furthered this theory utilizing Tibetan sources also in a well documented article. See LUCIANO PETECH, "The Chronology of the Early Inscriptions of Nepal," East and West, XII (1961, hereinafter cited L. PETECH), pp. 227-232. Now DINESH RAJ PANT has proved this theory verifying the date of Aṃśuvarman’s inscription in Changu, the only Licchavi inscription that has a weekday, which was discovered some four years ago. See DINESH RAJ PANT, “Cāguko Aṃśuvarmāko Abhilekhako Tithimitiko Gaṇanā (Calculation of the Date of the Changu Inscription of Aṃśuvarman),” Pārṇīna, IX (V. S. 2032-2034 [1975-1977]), pp. 273-275. The Sumatiṣṭhita, edited by NAYA RAJ PANT in collaboration with DEVI PRASAD BHANDARI and DINESH RAJ PANT, is now in the press.

12. BAJRACHARYA, doc. 126, pp. 474-478. Strangely enough, the learned commentator has not commented on this rare information derived from the inscription.

13. The copper-plate inscriptions of the Khas rulers, who never ruled from Kathmandu valley, the dynastic seat of the Licchavi and successive dynasties, are ignored here.

Copper-plate Inscription No. 1

Detail of the reengraved third line
15. The symbol \( \mathbf{\textcircled{1}} \) precedes the word. For this symbol inscribed before the texts of other post-Lichchavi inscriptions, see RAJBANSHI, pl. 27, 28, 30, 34, and the No. 2 copper-plate inscription of the present paper. This type of symbol is interpreted as an auspicious symbol by SIRCAR. For auspicious symbols in epigraphs, see D. C. SIRCAR, Indian Epigraphy (Delhi Varanasi Patna: Motilal Banarasidass, 1965, hereinafter cited as D. C. SIRCAR), pp. 92-97. For auspicious symbols found in Nepalese manuscripts, see SAKYA, p. 84.

16. As already stated, these characters seem to be reengraved after the obliteration of the original ones. Due to the existence of some strokes of the original characters, these are confusing and in some cases hardly decipherable. The first character seems to be engraved originally as र and afterwards to have been changed to श. Confusion arises because it is difficult to distinguish which strokes belong to the original character and which to the new one. The second character seems to be द. But in view of the existence of the strokes of the original character it is very hard to decipher. So we did not give it in the text.


17. ष is below the line. It seems to be omitted by the scribe at first. For the omission in epigraphs and manuscripts, see D. C. SIRCAR, pp. 90-92.
Let it be auspicious.
In the year 200 (and) 20 (and) 1, on the 10th day of the bright half of Mārga, during the reign of the Supreme King of Kings and Supreme Lord, the Glorious Sivadeva, during the victorious reign of Śrī Rāmadeva, the feudatory, — in Māmgvra district, at Satāda (of) Jhaniteśvara the worshipful, — Śrī Ida Bhāvo Nāyaka, Śrī Dhaknapa Nāyaka (and) Śrī Sohava Rāne, they are to be selected as chiefs by the members of Goskī and Pāncaīśī.

18. It is to be noted that the language has defied a full translation due to the obscurity and a wild absence of syntax.

19. Brackets are used for additional words that are necessary for clarity.

20. The word Śrī is used as an honorific prefix to names. No translation is made of it, as it has no equivalent in English.

21. In the original “Rāmadīva.” See Commentary I.

22. The meaning of the word is unknown.

23. Bhāvo seems to be a derivation of the word bhāva, an honorific term frequently used in Sanskrit dramas. The Bhāvo-ending personal names are seen in other post-Licchavi documents, too. See Hemaraj SAKYA and T. R. VAIDYA, Medieval Nepal (Colophons and Inscriptions) (Kathmandu: T. R. Vaidya, 1970, hereinafter cited as SAKYA and VAIDYA), Colophon no. 6, p. 12, and the no. 2 copper-plate inscription of the present paper.


25. For gośthā, see Commentary V.

26. For pāncaśī, see Commentary V.
COMMENTARY

Though the inscription is very brief, it needs a lengthy commentary because it is one of the most important documents of the post-Licchavi period. Therefore we present the commentary, which is rather detailed, in different thematic divisions.

I

Harṣadeva’s last document as the reigning king is dated the 13th day of the bright half of Phālguna, N. S. 217. After this, a document is available dated the 24th day of Kārtika, N.S. 220 belonging to “the victorious reign” of Mahāśānti-dhipati Mahāśānta Rāmadeva. The third is the present document, which is dated the 10th day of the bright half of Mārga, N.S. 221, and belongs to the reigning period of king Śivadeva and “the victorious reign” of Sūmantaka Rāmadeva. After this, no document is available until the 12th day of the dark half of Āśvina, N.S. 231 when Simhadeva was reigning. There is also a document to prove Simhadeva reigning on the 9th day of the bright half of Āśvina, N.S. 234. A recently discovered document proves that Śivadeva was reigning on the 8th day of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa, N.S. 239. A document of the 15th day of the bright half of Caitra, N. S. 240 is avail-

27. PETECH, p. 50, doc. 5.


29. RAJBANSHI has published a two line stone inscription dated N. S. 221 (it has no other particulars of the date) which records the donation of a water-spout by one Devagupta. See RAJBANSHI, pp. 48, 80, pl. 31. It is ignored above, for does it not mention a ruler’s name.

30. PETECH, p. 57, doc. 1.

31. Ibid., doc. 2.

32. Jātarūpaśikā on Amarakośa (according to the Catalogue, Kośa), Kaiser Library, Kathmandu, MS. no. 560, Colophon: "संवत् २०० ३० ५ भारपदकुचमवर्धवाचार्या राज- निषु (४) ज्योतिर्नाथवीरिवदेश्य विजयवर्जे सिंहितेः टीकिति।"
It seems that after Harṣadeva, the central government became weak, and feudatory chiefs, exploiting the opportunity, tried to claim their autonomy. Mahāsāmanta Rāmadeva, a high feudatory of one region, claimed his autonomy, adding a high sounding title, Mahāsāmantādhipati, to his usual one and was bold enough to ignore his overlord’s supremacy over him, as can be seen in the light of the document dated N. S. 220 which is already mentioned. Later, the monarch subdued Rāmadeva, as is attested to by the present copper-plate inscription wherein the king’s name is given with full royal titles along with the name of Sāmanta Rāmādīva, which is the corrupt form of Rāmadeva of the document of N. S. 220.

According to the earlier chronicles such as the Gopālarājavamsāvalī, it was Sivadeva who succeeded Harṣadeva. As already stated, contemporary records of Simhadeva are available to prove him reigning in at least N. S. 231,
234, 240 and 242. It is strange to note here that neither the Gopālarāja-
vanśāvalī nor the Kaiser Fragment of Vahṣāvalī gives his name in their
lists of kings. Both of them have placed Śivadeva after Haryadeva,
and after Śivadeva, they have given the name of Indradeva,"

37. Gopālarāja-vanśāvalī, National Archives, Kathmandu I. 1583, fol. 24. [Cecil
Bendall, the discoverer of the chronicle, has published some sentences from it
in his “Historical Introduction” (hereinafter cited as Bendall) to Śāstrī, vol. 1.
Photos of a few folios of the chronicle are published in Śāstrī’s same volume. The
Sanskrit portion of the chronicle from folio 22 b, line 5 to folio 29 a, line 5 has been
published in PETECH, pp. 219-224, as Appendix VI. The whole text of the chronicle
is published by Yogī Naraharinath in his “Gopāla-vanśāvalī (571 Varṣa aghi
Lekhīyako Itihāsā) [Gopāla-vanśāvalī - A Chronicle Written 571 Years Ago],” in
Himavataṃsaṅkṛiti I, no. I (V. S. 2016 [1959]), pp. 9-25 and by D. R. Regmi in his
Medieval Nepal, Part III, Source Materials for the History and Culture of Nepal,
740-1768 A. D. (Inscriptions, Chronicles and Diaries, etc.) (Calcutta: Firma K. L.
Appendix B. We have an unpublished reading of the chronicle deciphered in 1959
by Ramajī Tevari et al. of the Samśodhana-mañḍala from a photo
(Kaiser Library MS. no. 720) of the original manuscript. Afterwards MAHES
RAJ PANT improved the reading in the light of the original manuscript.
We would like to give the faithful reading of the relevant passages of the text
throughout this paper:] ...Raja Bhiṣṇuvendra, 234, 240, and 242. It is strange to note here that
neither the Gopālarāja-vanśāvalī nor the Kaiser Fragment of Vahṣāvalī
gives his name in their lists of kings. Both of them have placed Śivadeva after Haryadeva,
and after Śivadeva, they have given the name of Indradeva,"
whose reign is confirmed by contemporary records.\textsuperscript{38} It is not unusual to assume that the \textit{vamśāvalī}-s omitted Simhadeva’s name because omissions are not impossible in these kinds of works. Nevertheless, the \textit{Gopālarāja-vamśāvalī} mentions the name of Simhadeva, which is undoubtedly the prakritized form of Simhadeva,\textsuperscript{39} at least four times as the father of four illustrious sons,\textsuperscript{40} three of whom successively reigned over Nepal.\textsuperscript{41} As noted above, Sivadeva was reigning on the 8th day of the dark half of Śrāvana, N. S. 239, while Simhadeva was reigning on the 15th day of the bright half of Caitra, N. S. 240. It has already been mentioned that Sivadeva was reigning on the 2nd day of the dark half of Prathamāśāḍha, N. S. 240, while Simhadeva, was reigning on the 2nd day of Bhādra N. S. 242. It is strange to find Sivadeva reigning again on the 1st day of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha, N. S. 243, as referred to above. Though overlapping dates of the kings of that period are not new to us\textsuperscript{42}, we are not sure of this in the present case because of the lack of documents.\textsuperscript{43}


\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Gopālarāja-vamśāvalī} fol. 31: सम्बत् १६६ वेशालकुण्डलस्य विशाखनकत्र भृकुटीय स्वश्रितस्र अधिनेन विशाखनकत्र पुज भृगुमहेंद्रवेदवस्य जातः॥ ... सम्बत् २०६ वेशालकुण्डलस्य उजयानन्दस्य भृगुहेंद्रवेदवस्य पुज भृगुनानन्दवेदवस्य जातः॥ ... सम्बत् २२६ — — शुक्ला-महोदयः रेखितस्य स्योरिहेंद्रवेदवस्य पुज श्रीमुन्नवेदवस्य जातः॥ ... सम्बत् २३३ अधिनिगुल्लास्य विशाखनकत्र प्रहरिकहेंद्रवेदवस्य पुज श्रीमुन्नवेदवस्य जातः॥


\textsuperscript{43} For a discussion on Sivadeva and Simhadeva, see PETECH, pp. 54-58 and REGMI, pt. I, pp. 158-166.
It has been generally assumed and often asserted that "strictly speaking, the name Nepal should be restricted, and was confined in ancient times to the enclosed valley, about 20 miles in length by 15 in breadth, within which Kathmandu, the capital, and many other towns and villages are situated."  

A statement in the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of the Gupta emperor Samudra Gupta (ca. 330–375), however, sheds light on the size of Nepal during those days. According to the inscription, Nepal was one of the frontier states of Samudra Gupta’s empire. The statement in Fleet’s translation is as follows:

"Whose imperious commands were fully gratified, by giving all (kinds of) taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeisance, by the frontier-kings of Samataṭa, Ḍavāka, Kāmarūpa, Nepāla, Kartripura, and other (countries) . . . “

Of the five frontier kingdoms mentioned in the inscription of Samudra Gupta, Samataṭa and Kāmarūpa correspond respectively to south-east Bengal and Assam. Ḍavāka, the second kingdom of the inscription, is identified with modern Dabok in Nowgang district of Assam. The fifth, Kartripura, has been identified with Kartarpur in Jalandhar district and it comprised roughly the territory of the Katuria Raj of Kumaon, Garhwal, and Rohilkhand.

Now it is quite clear that Hariṣena, the celebrated author of the text of the Allahabad inscription, describing the frontier kingdoms of his master Samudra Gupta’s empire, first named three eastern states Samataṭa, Ḍavāka, and Kāmarūpa before naming the northern state Nepāla and the western one Kartripura. From this it can be seen that no state existed between Kāmarūpa and Kartripura except Nepal, and that those two states were Nepal’s eastern and western neighbours respectively. Nevertheless, if we confine Nepal to Kathmandu valley, it will be difficult for us to explain why Nepal is described in the inscription as one of the kingdoms situated on the frontiers of Samudra Gupta’s empire.


In contradiction to the previous paragraph, one could argue that due to underpopulation at that time, the majority of lands were without bigger settlements and, therefore, Harisena only mentioned Nepal as a land having flourishing settlements from time immemorial, and he ignored sparsely populated lands between Kathmandu valley and Kāmarūpa in the east, and between Kathmandu valley and Kartarpura in the west, although they were on the frontiers of the empire of his master.

Now let us glean other historical records to be sure of the size of Nepal in those days. Of the records, which contain this type of information, the earliest is the stone pillar inscription in Changu erected by Maṇadeva, the first Nepalese ruler with contemporary records, in (Śaka)47 Saṃvat 386 (464). The inscription describes how he subdued his feudatories in the east and the west who ventured to become autonomous after the unexpected death of his father. According to the inscription, after successfully regaining control of his eastern feudatories, he went to the western lands to subjugate the feudatory crossing the Gandak, "so large, so choppy as to vie with the ocean with its dreadful whirlwinds and its undulating billows."48 Though the inscription does not state the size of the Licchavi kingdom, it does make us quite sure of the fact that the kingdom was not confined to the valley but extended outside of it both in the east and the west, and that the wide tracts of land outside the valley were already under some kind of organized administration.

47. The era employed in inscriptions from the time of Maṇadeva to Śivadeva I was identified with Śaka Śamvat of 78 by BABU RAM ACHARYA on the basis of the Sumaititantra. See BABU RAM ACHARYA, "Nepālaka Licchavi-rājāharūko Kālaganāna [The Chronology of the Licchavi Kings of Nepal]," Śāradā, V (V. S. 1996 [1939]), pp. 332 ff.. Later, in a well documented article, PETECH furthered this theory. See L. PETECH, pp. 227–32.

Licchavi inscriptions have been found from Dumja in the east to Gorkha in the west. In other words, Licchavi inscriptions are distributed from the Sunkosi to the Daraudi Rivers which are among the river systems of the Kosi and the Gandak respectively. This shows that the kingdom of Nepal in Licchavi times was not confined to Kathmandu valley.

The account of Indian Asia by the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-chuang, who was in India from 630 to 664, also sheds light on the size of Nepal at
that time. Describing Ni-po-lo (Nepal) the Chinese pilgrim writes, “This country is about 4000 li in circuit, and is situated among the Snowy Mountains.” One li is equivalent to one third of a mile, which is about 0.5364 km. Thus 4000 li are nearly 2150 km. From this it is quite evident that in the 2nd quarter of the 7th century the length and breadth of Nepal totalled about 1000 km., which is roughly equal to the size of the present Nepal.

Kalhana’s Rājatarangini gives a graphic account of the Kashmirian king Jayāpīḍa’s expedition against Nepal, from which Nepal’s extent in the late 8th century can be roughly estimated. According to the account, at first Aramuqi, the king of Nepal, “retired with his army to a great distance” when Jayāpīḍa “entered his land” and later he defeated Jayāpīḍa by resorting to clever tactics. Jayāpīḍa was taken prisoner and was confined in a very high stone building on the bank of the Kālagandikā, after he had marched uninterruptedly for a few days in an eastward direction inside the Nepalese territory. Now it should be noted that Nepal extended far beyond the Kali Gandak where the unchallenged Kashmir army arrived only a few days after it entered the Nepalese territory.

It is quite interesting to note that the kings of the post-Licchavi period reigned at least up to Lamjung which is drained by two of the Seven Gandaks, as is attested to by a Buddhist manuscript copied in N. S. 189


56. Lamjung is watered by the Marsyangdi and Madi Rivers, both are from the Gandak system. See Mechekhi Mahakali (Bhāga 3) Paścimāṅcala Vikāsa Kṣetra [From the Mechi River to the Mahakali River, Volume III, Western Development Region] (Kathmandu: Department of Information, Ministry of Communications, His Majesty’s Government, V. S. 2031 [1975], hereinafter cited as MM, vol. III), pp. 173–175.
From this it is quite clear that even in the late 11th century the limits of the kingdom of Nepal extended far beyond Kathmandu valley.

Because of having formed the opinion that "the kingdom of Nepal included the valley proper and (at least during long periods) two considerable extensions: the Palamchok district to the East and the Navakoth region to the West", PETECH did not even consider post-Licchavi Nepal to have extended up to Lamjung in the west, notwithstanding its early mention as Lamjuguñi, which was available to him in the document mentioned above, and failed to identify Lamjuguñi of the document with the present Lamjung but concluded that "the place cannot be identified".

It was GAUTAMVAJRA VAJRACHARYA who identified Lamjuguñi of the document with present Lamjung. See GAUTAMVAJRA VAJRACHARYA, "Nevãrī Bhaṣāko Tāmāna Bhaṣā tathā Limbū Bhaṣāsāgako Sādṛṣya [Similarity of the Newari Language to the Tamang and Limbu Languages]," Pūrṇimā, 1, no. 2 (V. S. 2021 [1964]), hereinafter cited as G. VAJRACHARYA, p. 44.


It is quite obvious that Lamjuguñi of the document is formed by affixing ka (ka) to the word Lamjuguñi and attaching it to the singular number locative.
As in India, post-Licchavi Nepālamaṇḍala, too, was usually divided for administrative purposes into units styled as visaya-s, which roughly corresponded to the modern districts and were under the administration of feudatories generally designated as visayādhipati, who were responsible to their overlord residing in Kathmandu valley.

The earliest mention of a visaya within Nepālamaṇḍala in the post-Licchavi period has been found in a record inscribed on the pedestal of a gilt-répoussé plaque representing the Garuḍāsana form of Viṣṇu which is now in the collection of Jack Zimmerman in New York. According to the inscription, the plaque was dedicated by one Lripa in N. S. 124 (1004) in a Visaya named Jiglodgama when Udayadeva was reigning over Nepālamaṇḍala. Now it is difficult for us to locate Jiglodgama Visaya because we can neither connect it with current place names nor do we know where the sculpture originally was from. This Visaya is not mentioned in other documents, and the nonavailability of clues makes us helpless in this regard.

Next to Jiglodgama Visaya what is found in chronological order is Phallapvinga Visaya mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript of the Kubjikāmatā. The colophon states that the manuscript was copied for a gentleman living in Kochaku Tole in Phallapvinga Visaya in N.S. 212 (1092) during the reign of Harṣadeva.

In a later document the Visaya is spelt as Phānapiṅga as attested to by the colophon of the Aṣtāsāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā which was copied for an inhabitant of Phānapiṅga Visaya in N.S. 285 (1165) when Anandadeva was reigning. A record inscribed on a stone water-spout in Ikhapokhari, Pharping, states that the donation of the water-spout was made by an inhabitant of Yavili Tole in the town of Mahāsāmanta Jetāraṇa Jīva, the ruler of Phānapiṅga Visaya, in N.S.
381 (1261) during the victorious reign of Bhīmadeva. The inscription definitely proves that Pharping was one of the Viṣaya-s governed by a feudatory in the post-Licchavi period, and Phallupvinga, Phānapinga, and Phanapina are the same in spite of slight differences in their spellings.

Though Gandīgulma is mentioned in also two other documents, dated N. S. 1199 (998) and 2854 (1165) respectively, its mention as a Viṣaya is found so far in only one document. It is the colophon of a manuscript of the Buddhist text Aśtasahasrikāprajñāpāramitāpanjikā which was copied in Gandīgulma Viṣaya in N.S. 213 (1092/1093) during the reign of Harṣadeva.

To PETECH “the place Gandīgulma . . . seems to be located near Patan”, because “the place Gandigulmaka is mentioned as Gandigulmako in an inscription of the year 95 of the Amśuvarman era at Patan”.

66. RAMAJI TEVARI et al., Pharping Tutepani Abhilekhā [An Inscription from Tutepani, Pharping], Abhilekha-saṅgraha, no. 9 (V. S. 2020 [1963], hereinafter cited as TEVARI), p. 27.


68. PETECH, p. 64, doc. 12.

69. PETECH, p. 50, doc. 4.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid.
The inscription mentioned by PETECH is badly damaged and the text is hopelessly incomplete. The line where in the Gaṅgigulmakō is mentioned reads as follows: "(त य)वंशाक्रियाणसिद्धवल्कोमालिनि . . . . . . वासिद . . . . . .". The meaning of this line is not clear and is debatable.

In the present state of our knowledge we are not in a position to locate Gaṅgigulma definitely, though we would like to tentatively suggest its locale. It is known from Sanskrit literature that Gulma is a kind of outpost which in modern usage can loosely be termed as police station. It appears to us that Gaṇḍī is the short form of the Gaṇḍakī or Gaṇḍikā—Sanskrit words for the Gandak. The existence of Gulmi district, the eastern boundary of which is the Kali Gandak, persuades us to conclude that the word Gulmi is derived from Gaṇḍigulma which seems to have been situated on the bank of the Kali Gandak. Now it is worth noting that Aramudi entrusted Jayāpiḍa to the hands of trustworthy guards in a very high stone building on the bank of the Kālagandikā, as Kalhana tells us. It seems to us that there was a special Gulma on the bank of the Kali Gandak where the Kashmirian king was taken prisoner. Of course, this is a conjecture which requires further proof to be accepted.

Chronologically, the fourth Viṣaya is Maṁgvara, which is mentioned only in the present inscription and which we will discuss in Commentary IV.

72. BAJRACHARYA, doc. 132, p. 494.


76. Rajatraṅgiṇī, IV. 546.

77. DHAÑABAJRA BAJRACHARYA has identified Gaṇḍigulma Viṣaya with the present Gulmi area. However, he has not given any evidence to prove his theory. DHAÑABAJRA BAJRACHARYA, "Madhyakāla Nepāla [Medieval Nepal]," in Nepāla Paricaya [An Introduction to Nepal] (Kirtipur: Curriculum Development Centre, Tribhuvan University, 1976), p. 71. Thus all the conclusions arrived here are our own.
The fifth is Pannaga or Panuniga Viṣaya which will be dealt with in the Commentary of the No. 2 inscription of the present paper.

The last is Pañcāvatadesīya Viṣaya which is found in the colophon of a manuscript entitled Vṛttasārasaṅgrahadharmaṇaputrikā which mentions in N. S. 321 (1201) Pañcāvatadesīyaviṣayādhipati Rāṇaka Śrīdharasimha during the victorious reign of Ari Malla. The Viṣaya named Pañcāvatadesīya cannot be identified unless sufficient data are available.

IV

As already stated, the present document was issued from a Viṣaya named Manigvara, of which no mention is found in other documents so far. It has also been stated that in the post-Licchavi period, Nepal had some administrative units known as viṣaya, the ruler of which was generally designated as viṣayādhipati.

The inscription mentions Jhāṃteśvara, obviously a Śaivite deity, though he bears a unique name, and whose temple was under the territorial jurisdiction of Manigvara Viṣaya.

Neither the Viṣaya nor the deity of the present inscription can be identified. Nevertheless, we can roughly guess the locale of the inscription in the light of evidence supplied by the inscription itself and other documents.

The inscription provides a clue to the approximate location of Jhāṃteśvara. It appears to us that the name of the viṣaya mentioned in the inscription as Manigvara is the archaic form of Magar, a well-known tribe of mid-western Nepal. Thus it seems that the original location of the inscription was Magarat, the native country of the Magars, the clear demarcation of which is beyond our present state of knowledge.

80. It is worth noting here that a place named Mangarbango is situated on the lap of Dhaulagiri to the south of Dhorpatan and to the north of Taman. See the Preliminary Edition of the Map of Nepal published by the Survey of India Offices in 1923, sheet no. 2, Lat. 28° 23' N: Long. 83° 10' E. For Dhorpatan and Taman, see MM, Vol. III, pp. 667-668 under the District of Baglung in Dhaulagiri Zone.

It is interesting to note here that in his Varnaramākara Jyotirīṣvara of Mithilā
As noted above, a document is available dated N. S. 220 (1099) belonging to the “victorious reign” of Mahāśāmantādhīpata Mahāśāmanta Rāmadeva. It is the colophon of a Buddhist Dhāraṇī named Auyṣuṣṭavijaya copied by one Kamalapāṇi in Dhavalasrota.” As mentioned before, the present document, which is dated N. S. 221 (1100), belongs to the reigning period of king Śivadeva and “the victorious reign” of Sāmanatā Rāmadeva. As confirmed already, Rāmadeva is no other than Mahāśāmantādhīpata Mahāśāmanta Rāmadeva of the N. S. 220 document, who tried to be autonomous after Harṣadeva. Mention of Rāmadeva as the ruler in the document of N. S. 220 written in Dhavalasrota and in the document of N. S. 221 dedicated in Maṅgvara Viṣaya reveals the fact that Dhavalasrota was under the territorial jurisdiction of Maṅgvara Viṣaya.

Again Dhavalasrota, rather differently spelt, is seen in the colophon of the well-known Ayurvedic classic Carakasamhitā copied in N. S. 303 (1183) in Dhavalasrottri during “the good and victorious reign” of Mahāśāmanta Ratnadeva.

refers to Yakṣa, Vidyādhara, Gandharva, Kinnara, Gong, Patagonga, Savara, Kirāta, Vavvara, Bhilla, Pukkassa, Pañčārī, Medu, and Maṅgara as mleccha castes. See RADHAKRISHNA CHAUDHARY, Mithilā in the Age of Vidyāpati (C. 1330–1525 A. D.: A Study in Cultural History (Varanasi: Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1976), p. 138. Perhaps, Maṅgara of the Varnarāṇḍaka is no other than the Magar tribe which is mainly settled in the northern part of Mithilā in the Nepalese territory.

It is worth mentioning here that Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha, originally the king of Gorkha, said, “I am the King of the country of the Magars.” See NAYA RAJ PANT et. al, Śri 5 Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāhako Upadesa [ The Counsel of His Majesty Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha ] (Lalitpur: Jagadambā-prakāśana, V. S. 2025–2028 [1969–1972]), p. 330.

81. PETECH, p. 53, doc. I. PETECH who publishes the document “for the first time, from a hand-copy kindly supplied by vajrācārya Pūrṇaharṣa of Kathmandu” reads the place name as “Dhavalasro(tra x)mā” and concludes, “written at Dhavalasrottra.” REGMI who has “verified the date from the copy shown to” him “by Pūrṇaharṣa Vajrācārya, the owner of the ms.”, reads the place name as “dhavalasrottryamaṁ”. See REGMI, pt. I, p. 146. SAKYA and VAIDYA, who have published the document in more detail, read the place name as “Dhavalasrottryam”. See SAKYA and VAIDYA, colophon 4, p. 8.

82. PETECH p. 72, doc. I. PETECH reads the place name as Dhavalasrottryom which seems to be the singular number locative of the incorrect word Dhavalasrottri. REGMI has published the place name as Dhavalasrotym. See REGMI, I, p. 192.
Lastly, *Dhavalasrota* is seen in the colophon of a manuscript of *Kriyākālayuñottara* copied in N.S. 304 (1184), some 14 months later than the manuscript of the *Carakasamhitā* mentioned above, in *Dhavalasrotapura* during “the reign” of the same *Mahāsāmanta* Ratnadeva, but is corruptly spelt as *Ratnadīva*.

In this context it is worth remembering that the Magars are mainly settled in the western and southern flanks of the Dhaulagiri-massif. As proved already, *Dhavalasrota* of the documents of the post-Licchavi period was situated in the *Viṣaya Manīgvara* which seems to be the archaic form of *Magar*. Thus the place name *Dhavalasrota* apparently is connected with *Dhaulagiri*, the standardized spelling of Dhaulagiri. We, therefore, roughly


An undated palm-leaf manuscript in old Devanagari was copied in *Vavalāsānnikā*, *Nepalaviṣaya* during the reign of *Mahāsāmanta* Ratnadeva by one Bhogana for a preceptor from Kashmir.

*Kulālikāmāye Kubjikāmatam* (according to the Catalogue, *Kubjikā Tantra*), Kaiser Library, Kathmandu, MS. no. 57. colophon: "अर्थों नेपालियाँये ववलासांस्काराया महासामतरस्तेवरजये धीरांगमारायंधीतेजस्वस — — भवोमया — कर्ण — श्रीधीपुस्तकसुडङ्क्षय सािं लिखिति । नेलकृ भोगनस्मिति ॥ ॥ मगन महासी ॥ ॥"

This *Mahāsāmanta* Ratnadeva may be the same *Mahāsāmanta* Ratnadeva of *Dhavalasrotapura*. Perhaps the word *viṣaya* here represents the country, not the district. The place name *Vavalāsānnikā* is not identified yet. Probably Bhogana is incorrectly written for Bhogana. It is a known fact that many Kashmirians had ṇa-ending names such as Kalhaṇa and Bilhaṇa. From this it can be conjectured that the scribe also was from Kashmir.

locate Dhavalasrota in the lap of Dhaulagiri in spite of SASTRI, PETECH, REGMI, who have identified Dhavalasrota with Dhulikhel outside Kathmandu valley, south-east of Banepa.

It is quite interesting to note that Rānaka, a popular feudatory title of medieval India, is prefixed to the name of a Viṣayādhipati of Nepal, ruling in N. S. 321 (1190) in an unidentified Viṣaya named Pañcavatadesīya. Nevertheless, the Rānaka or its derivative-ending personal names, or the word Rānaka suffixed to the occupational term mentioned in the post-Licchavi documents which are originally from western Nepal, traditionally known as Magarat, suggests that the persons bearing the word Rānaka in their names may be the Magars, one of whose main clans is Rana.

85. SASTRI. vol. II, p. 85.
86. PETECH, pp. 53, 72.
87a However, it is quite interesting to note here that BENDALL is "inclined to think that" Rātmatīṣhayā of Dhavalasrotapura "must have been a local raja, or a king of western Nepal." See BENDALL, p. 8.
90. One Gaṅgarānaka is mentioned in a document dated N. S. 189 written in Lanaung (note 57 of the present paper). One Suvārāne is mentioned in the present inscription dated N. S. 221 issued from Mahāvīra Viṣaya. One .Suvārākāru Rānaka is mentioned in a document dated N. S. 119 written in Gaṇḍīgulma (D. R. PANT, p. 137) which seems to be located in Gulmi on the bank of the Kali Gandak in Mid-western Nepal (Commentary III of the present paper).
Two institutions, Goshti and Panchali, have played important roles in the life of the Nepalese people from Licchavi times onwards. The former, now known as Guthi, represents the religious and charitable land endowments of the country,92 and the latter which flourished as Panchayat, is the core of the present political system.92

The present document also mentions both the institutions as Gauhti and Panchali. Due to our ignorance of the clear meaning of some words our way is barred, and we cannot go any further for the time being.


Copper-plate Inscription No. 2
NO. 2 – COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF N. S. 282

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The copper-plate is nearly oblong, as the previous one is, but is a little bit smaller. It measures 17.6 x 8.5 cm. and is about 0.5 cm. thick and weighs about 115 g. The record consists of full seven lines and covers more than half of the plate. The average number of characters in a line is 23, while the average size of the characters is about 0.7 x 0.5 cm. Unlike the previous one, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation and can be deciphered well, though the plate has small cracks in two places. The characters are well engraved but they are not so deeply cut as the previous one, and some of the characters do not show through the reverse side of the plate.

Like the No. 1 inscription of the present paper, it is written in Sanskrit prose. Though the language is incorrect and has many spelling errors just as the previous one, it is more comprehensible in comparison to that. The script of this document is the same as the first one.

As in the previous inscription, the year is given in numerical symbols. The year, month, fortnight, lunar day, weekday, and asterism are given in the inscription, and they are sufficient elements for the verification, though we have not verified the date yet.

It is quite interesting to note that the present copper-plate inscription has been the second earliest copper-plate inscription so far discovered in Nepal.

It is to be noted that the method of editing of the text and its translation is the same as the one employed in the previous one.

94. The ending mark, however, is in the next line in the right side.
TEXT

1. श्रेयोऽस्०५ || सम्बत् २०० ५० ॥ मार्गासिरस्युक्कलपुर्व्यमास्य रोहिन्याभासिद्

2. ने-१०८ राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभरभारक्षे। श्रीनेपालाधिपति

3. श्रीमद्वान्दविवेकस्य विजयराजे -|| श्रीपुजं गर्विष्याधिपतिमहा-

4. सामन्तश्रीमद्वहस्यदीवस्य प्रवर्तराजाकेले -|| श्रीयसरप-

5. रिह्यमस्तोलाकाष्ठिशिन -|| मीभिङ्गु भासो ९४० हम्मिय स्त्रीपुरप

6. उभयकेन श्रीसातेशभरभारक्षे -|| च्छत्रकेन उमामहेथ-

7. र बालकः प्रवव १०५५ || दुर्भकाममोचायेन टोकितामि ||

TRANSLATION

Let it be auspicious.
In the year 200 (and) 80 (and) 2, on the 15th day of bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa, Tuesday, Rohiṇī asterism, during the victorious reign of the Supreme King of Kings, Supreme Lord, Most Venerable, Ruler of Śrī Nepāla, the Glorious Ānandadeva, during the moving forward time of the Ruler of Śrī Panuṅga district, High Feudatory, the Glorious Rahasyadeva., 97 मौंभिङ्गु २८

95. As in the previous inscription, the symbol precedes the word.

96. For this type of punctuation in Nepalese documents, see SAKYA, p. 84; RAIBANSI, pl. 36.


96b. For the anusvāra here, see the note 16a of the present paper.

97. In the original Rahasyadīva, See Commentary.

98. This seems to be a personal name of Newari origin.
Bhāvo and Harṣa Vayi both the husband and wife, inhabitants of the western block of Yakhara, consecrated the image of Umā-Maheśvara (with) bālacakra in the temple of Śrī Jhānteśvara the worshipful. (It is) offered for the sake of righteousness, worldly pleasure, and salvation.

COMMENTARY

The inscription records the consecration by a couple of an Umā-Maheśvara image in the temple of Jhānteśvara in N.S. 282 (1161), during the victorious reign of Ānandadeva, "the ruler of Nepal", when Rahasyadeva was the ruler of Panumga Vīṣaya.

It should be noted here that the locale of Jhānteśvara was under the territorial jurisdiction of Marigvara Vīṣaya in 1100, as known from the copper-plate

99. The Vayi-ending female name is seen in another post-Licchavi document, too. See SHAKYA and VAIDYA, colophon 5, p. 10

100. In the original Tolaka. Tola means a division of the town. See R. L. TURNER, A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages, 2nd impression (London New York Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 305, column 2, word no. 5483. The toler spelt variously is found frequently in the post-Licchavi documents to denote a division of the town. See PETECH, p. 44, doc. 3; p. 45, doc. 1; p. 50, doc. 2 and 3; p. 57, doc. 2; p. 63, doc. 5; p. 67, doc. 1; p. 74, doc. 2; TEVARA p. 27; REGMI, pt. I, p. 178; REGMI pt. III, pt. 1, inscription X, pp. 5-6; SAKYA and VAIDYA, colophon 5, p. 10; colophon 8, p. 16. In modern Newari and Nepali, the division is spelt as tvah and tola respectively.

101. Yakhara seems to be a Newari word. According to Mr. THAKURLAL MANANDHAR, the greatest authority on old Newari, yakhara means the southern part. It is interesting to note here that Yūpatolaka within Pannaga viṣaya is mentioned in a document of N. S. 270. See REGMI, pt. I, p. 178.


In preparation:

A Preliminary List of Private Manuscripts Filmed by the Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project (1975–77).

B. KOLVER: A Ritual Map from Nepal.


Previous publications in German include:

KHUMBU HIMAL ed. by the late Prof. Dr. W. Hellmich and aided by grants of the F. Thyssen Foundation. (Mostly in German)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vol.</th>
<th>Collected Articles Covering</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

MAPS published by the Society for HIGH MOUNTAIN RESEARCH, MUNICH, with grants from the F. Thyssen Foundation.

1. Khumbu Himal (1:50.000)
2. Tamba Kosi–Likhu Khola
3. Lapchikang
4. Rolwaling
5. Shorong–Hingku
6. Dudh Kosi

In preparation:

Kathmandu Valley in 16 sheets (1:10.000) and in one sheet (1:50.000)
Lamtang (1:50.000)

Also published by the SOCIETY FOR HIGH MOUNTAIN RESEARCH, Munich in its series ‘HOCHGERBIRGSFORSCHUNG’ (High Mountain Research).


NEPAL RESEARCH CENTRE PUBLICATIONS


In preparation:

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

1. N. GUTSCHOW & M. BAJRACHARYA: Ritual as Mediator of Space in Kathmandu.

2. Ch. KLEINERT: Dolpo- The Highest Settlement Area in Western Nepal.


