

# NEPAL

*Names Underlined>*

10 20 MILES

8 6°

T I B E T



28° N

DHAKA

KODARI

28° N

PALAKHACHOSA  
(PALANCHOK)  
SUM

DOLAKHA

THAN

TAMBU

HOPVA (B)

ON)

DULALGHAT

# MEDIEVAL NEPAL

CHIS  
GARI

IPUR)  
PHANAPPI  
(PHARPI

ON)

IPPA DA ANOTA

AMATI

Rapti

KWANPU  
GARHI

KARIMARPUR  
GARHI

PART 1

RAMECHHAP

METAURA

SINDHOLI GARHI

Bungmati (Bagnati)

# D. R. REGMI

N

D

I

A





# MEDIEVAL NEPAL

## Part 1

*(Early Medieval Period 750–1530 A.D.)*

D. R. REGMI, M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D.



FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY  
CALCUTTA :: 1965

Published by

FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY,  
6/1A, Banchharam Akrur Lane,  
Calcutta-12, India.

1st Edition 1965

© D. R. REGMI  
Kathmandu, Nepal

Printed by SRI G. C. RAY  
Navana Printing Works Private Limited  
47 Ganesh Chunder Avenue, Calcutta 13



*To*  
*The Revered Memory of*  
*My Parents*

*Delay in publication of “Medieval Nepal”  
after its announcement is regretted.*

**K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY**



## P R E F A C E

The volume in hand is the second of the series of the History of Nepal to be completed in four volumes.

The volume deals with events from the middle of the 8th century to 1760 A.D.

For the second volume, the title 'Medieval Nepal, (740 — 1760 A.D.), has been adopted. Here we have two divisions of the work; (a) Part I, 740 to 1530 A.D.', and (b) Part II, 'Nepal Divided: A History of the Three Kingdom of the Nepal Valley, 1530 — 1760 A.D.'

The medieval history of the Karnāli Basin is given in the first part in conformity to the arrangement of the subject-matter. This history is an account of the famous Khasa Kingdom of the 12th and 13th centuries and naturally came within the scope of the first part.

In the first edition our account closed with the event of Pratāpamalla's father's reign (1641 A.D.). But this was an abrupt closing. We have now a scientific basis for the division of history of the work covers. We start the medieval age since about the middle of the eighth century A.D. and end with the rise of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shāh who laid the foundation of modern Nepal in about 1760—68 A.D. The Part I of the volume covers the period of history beginning with the end of the Lichhavi period and ending with the division of the kingdom after Ratnamalla's death. The part II of this volume with the title 'Nepal Divided: A history of the Three Kingdoms of the Nepal Valley' narrates the events leading to the rise and establishment of the three kingdoms in the Valley of Nepal and their eventual elimination at the hands of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shāh. Here we have made a slight change in the scope of the subject covered. This new arrangement we thought was quite logical in view of the fact that the early history of the Baisi and Chaubisi states forms the background of the period

covered by the third volume, and fits in well to be incorporated there.

The rise of the Baisi and Chaubisi dates from the early 14th century A.D. Just a little earlier to this time the ancient chronicle (*Gopāla Varṣāvalī*) introduces into the main History events of Khasia and Magar invasions from the Valley of Nepal. But they do not occur since about 1326 A.D. As it appears from our history of the Karnāli Basin, the Khasa Kingdom fell to pieces in the 15th century and new Rajput principalities took its place. These were later known as the Baisi (twenty two) princes. I think that about the same time the Rajput dynasties had firmly settled in parts of the sub-Himalayan ranges in the west of the Nepal Valley. These were called the Chaubisi (twenty four). All these start their own history as they grow up.

As we have already observed there was a flourishing Khasa kingdom in the Karnāli Basin since the early 11th century A.D. We have no evidence to prove the suzerainty of Nepal rulers over this state. We do not know if ever the jurisdiction of the central kingdom in Nepal proper extended to the areas occupied by the Khasa Mallas and their neighbours of the Gaṇḍak Basin. Of course, with regard to ancient history no political entity other than the one existing in the Valley of Nepal has been traced for the entire stretch of the territories between the Sapta Gaṇḍaki and Sapta Kośī and this entity functioned more or less in Nepal proper and the areas immediately surrounding it in the four directions. Quite possibly the Nepal rulers in the climax of power ruled over a kingdom not as much extensive as the present day Nepal and sometimes even not larger enough than the Valley of Nepal with the outlying territories outside on both sides between the Budhi Gaṇḍak and the Sun Kośī or the Tāmā Kośī. Probably the same boundaries continued to exist in early medieval age so that excluding the region of the Baisi, farther west, the history of Nepal proper of the time could very well pass as the history of Nepal with its traditional frontier lines between the Gaṇḍak and the Tāmā Kośī. But the same could not hold ground in regard to the later medieval



period. The Sapta Gaṇḍaki Pradesh had by this time become a scene of new activity and potentially rival political states had emerged to the detriment of the power in the Nepal Valley. In this context the status of the usually functioning state of Nepal had greatly changed. It was no longer a powerful and dominating state as it used to be. Moreover under a condition of division, the unique personality of the state disintegrated. Now the Nepal Valley states formed just noticeable entities in the vast conglomeration of petty states. Their history was not the history of Nepal. This was the reason that we give the title 'A History of the Nepal Valley' to the work dealing with the history of the later period.

The Lichhavi dynastic history came to an end if not with Jayadeva II definitely with his successor Śaṅkaradeva, for the epigraphic records of the period are not available after 740 A.D. If the dynasty had existed further then the few inscriptions coming after 740 A.D. should have appeared with the usual titles of the Lichhavi kings, but these do not. The absence of any records in their name is clear evidence of the dynasty ceasing to rule since about 740 A.D. As records were abundant for the period preceding we are confirmed in our view that the Lichhavi rule could not exist in the absence of any kind of records. In the arrangement of the text as it was my view that the Lichhavi period was over with Jayadeva's successor, I completed my first volume with Ancient Nepal as its title bringing the narrative to a close upto c. 740, which could be the last date of the Lichhavi dynasty. With the same consideration I have started my narrative of the medieval history of Nepal since the mid eighth century A.D. I did not follow such writers who take the epoch year of the Nepal era as the starting point in this respect. By not following them I could cover the history of the hundred years left between Jayadeva II and Rāghavadeva.

It will appear later that from 1755 onwards the history of the entire central Himalayan region is in a way the history of Gorkhā's ruling dynasty which had acquired immense resources and power to become the sovereign of a new political unit with

Nepal as capital. Now in the context of the rise and growth of Gorkhā all these Baisi, Chaubisi and Nepal Valley states lose their importance as separate entities as well as the positions of that nature. At this stage their history is intimately bound up with the history of the different phases of the rise of the principality of Gorkhā which was to become the kingdom of Nepal. As we describe the events of Gorkhā's rise to stature, facts are narrated dealing with the history of all the states in the area for the time. But this goes to the third volume of our series, which specifically deals with the history of Gorkhā becoming Nepal. The narrative in the second volume covers events of the history of the Nepal Valley only upto the rise of Prthvinārāyaṇa Shāh, the Gorkhā ruler.

The work has 10 chapters in Part I and 8 in Part II. All these chapters provide political history of the period, while the last chapter in each part gives an objective study of the social and economic condition of Nepal at the time under consideration.

I express my gratitude to all those who have given me their unstinted cooperation in the preparation of this work, which is a pioneer attempt in the field of Nepalese historical research. In particular I am indebted to Mr. Shubha Bir Pandey for typing the manuscript and laboriously undertaking allied duties and to the publisher for the publication of the work.

Kathmandu,  
June 1st, 1961

D. R. REGMI



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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTORY

### I

#### TERRITORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION

In the absence of sources indicating Nepal's territorial extension, it is not only difficult but almost impossible to determine how this country stood in ancient days in regard to its frontier line.

However, Hiuen Tsang's observation on its peripheral distance may enable us to form an idea of its geographical situation and territory.

While Hiuen Tsang during his stay in India (629-644 A.D.) wrote his notes, he showed Nepal (Ni-po-lo) as a country situated at a distance of 1400 or 1500 li (280 to 300 miles) north-west of a ruined city, which lay about 100 li (20 miles) north-east of the capital of the Vrizzi country. According to him Nepal was reached after crossing some mountains and entering a Valley 'about 400 li round'. He noted that the country 'was about 4000 li (1300 miles) in circuit and was situated among the snowy mountains'. After speaking of Nepal, the Chinese pilgrim says that 'from this going back to Vaiśāli (Fei-she-li) and crossing the Ganges to the south, we arrived at the country of Mo-kie-t'o (Magadha)<sup>1</sup>. These lines are reproduced from S. Beal's translation of the original of Si-yu-ki. As it must have appeared, Nepal is approached through the capital of the Vrizzis but the journey back from Nepal is made direct through Vaiśāli. It appears that the route through Vaiśāli passed directly northwards to Nepal, while the Vrizzi one was a little circuitous. But from what Hiuen Tsang writes

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<sup>1</sup> Si-yu-ki: *Records of the Western World*, translated by S. Beal, Vol. II, London, 1906, pp. 80-81.

there was no country intervening between the Vrizzi country and Nepal and between the latter and Vaiśāli. But here are we to take that Vaiśāli and the Vrizzi republican territory had contiguous frontier with Nepal? All this, however, is not clear from the statement. Apart from that, we are equally left in dark about the route to reach the Valley of Nepal. By not giving a description of the route to and from Nepal Hiuen Tsang has introduced confusion as to the location and southern frontier line of this country. There is yet one more factor in Hiuen Tsang's statement, which creates confusion and this is in regard to the size of the country. Hiuen Tsang estimated Nepal's circumference to have been 4000 li (1300 miles). This means that the area which Nepal covers at the moment was practically the same which it had enjoyed in the ancient past. But whatever might have been the position in the ancient period, we do not think that it was so in the medieval age. Hiuen Tsang's estimate seems to have been somewhat exaggerated if we are not to suppose that Nepal's size was cut off in the period following Hiuen Tsang. It was thought until recently that as there was no political state in the central Himalayas other than Nepal and Kartyur (Kumaon-Garhwal) and that Nepal and Kartyur must have been fairly large entities touching each other. However, no one would agree that Kartyur was as extensive so to reach the basin of the Bheri and Karṇāli now lying within West Nepal. But more than that we have seen that since the early ninth century A.D. there had grown a sizable political entity in this region, which was ruled by a family of the Khasa tribe. This was the Malla kingdom extending far and wide in all four directions. Possibly the frontier of this state touched Nepal at the bank of the Kali Gaṇḍak. We also find that in the eastern Himalayas no political entity comes to our view in this period. But we are yet far from determining the eastern boundary of the state of Nepal. We face several questions in this connection; such as who ruled the Kirāta deśa now constituting East Nepal? Who were masters over the areas known as Sikkim and Bhutan today? We have no evidence of Nepal exercising its sovereignty over these regions. Neither any

other state from the Gangetic plains seems to have hold on them.

It was, however, wrong to say that Nepal in ancient days comprised only the Valley known today as the Valley of Nepal. As we shall argue it might have included more of territory beyond the Valley on four sides. H. C. Ray said that the kingdom was no larger than the area covered by the Valley. But he is definitely wrong as will be evident from the following discourse. Hiuen Tsang's observation that it was 4000 li (1300 miles) in circuit, however, exaggerated goes to refute this suggestion. But it is certain that Nepal had not enjoyed the possession of a much expanded area to compare with what it has commanded today.

As for Nepal's borderline in the Terai, it is also still a matter of conjecture. The graffitto of Ripumalla on the Aśokan Pillar in Lumbini suggests that the Khasa kingdom of the Mallas extended as far as the river Gaṇḍak in the Terai. But nothing can be said of the areas east of the Gaṇḍak. Did the present international boundary in the region form the traditional frontier between Nepal and its southern neighbour?

The natural frontier in the region is the eight mile wide forest belt that extends from the Gaṇḍak to the Kośi. South of the forest belt lies the Terai. The northern portion of the Terai falls within Nepal, while the southern portion belongs partly to North Bihar and partly to North Bengal. This plain is fertile but enjoys a very unhealthy climate. It is yet difficult to see if peoples other than the Tharus had lived in the ancient past to face its inhospitable climate.

It is unlikely that peoples either used to temperate or cold climate as that of the Nepal Valley might have settled down in the Terai, which always was the homeland of the Tharus.

Malaria and other inclemencies of the Terai weather might have equally discouraged peoples living quite south in Vaiśālī or Mithilā to try to settle down in this area. But stray attempts to occupy the region might not be ruled out. However, this would provide no clue to the state of Nepal's southern boundary.

Since the early medieval period North Bihar was a hunting

ground for adventurous rulers of the Indian subcontinent, who were struggling against one another for the making of an empire. Perhaps the Pālas from nearby Gauḍa were the first to arrive.

In the years from 9th to 11th centuries Chālukyas, Kālāchuris, Chandelās, Gāhadwalas and Rāṣtrakūṭas also tried their luck although none of them could secure more than a transitory foothold there. The Pāla rulers from Dharmapāla to Mahipāla held Tirhut under them although many times their claim was contested and they had to yield ground.<sup>2</sup> What is remarkable is the absence of a local ruling dynasty in North Bihar throughout this period. The corollary inference about the influence of the almost anarchic condition of this area on Nepal can only be to say that its boundary remained untouched. Practically speaking not only places inside the present boundary of the Nepal Terai, but also those a little far outside from it towards North Bihar do not possess authoritative records of domination by any power, local or external, until we come to Nānyadeva's time. Thus if we venture to observe that until the 11th century A.D. the Nepalese maintained their hold intact on their possession in the hills as well as on the Terai to the immediate south, we shall not be wrong. It is also quite likely that the belt between the Bāgmati and the Kamalā had belonged to them intermittently. I think that the same was the case in regard to the area between the Gaṇḍak and the Bāgmati. Previous to the rise of the Muslim Sultanates the Kaṛṇāṭaka ruler Nānyadeva had snatched a good portion of this tract and added to his territory. He and his successors had also established his capital in Simraongarh situated within this belt. Nānyadeva's kingdom must have extended as far as the forest belt. Since his time the area of Nepal was confined to the hills north of the forest belt. It is certain that even earlier to Nānyadeva's kingdom of Mithilā, the control Nepal exercised over its possessions in the Terai was practically nominal.

In the 16th century one of the kingdom of the Nepal Valley had under its jurisdiction the mart of Hetaura just on the

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<sup>2</sup> H. C. Ray: *Dynastic History of India*, I, pp. 272-80.



northern foothill of the Churia range. There was yet one more kingdom in the vicinity controlling the forest belt and Terai. By this, it was understood that even in the ancient and early medieval periods, Nepal's boundary did not stretch further than the Churia range. There is a temptation to accept this suggestion for various reasons. Foremost of these is the fact of any sort of cultural trace indentified as Nepalese being absent in the area outside the Churia range.

But as we also do not notice influence from the other side, the inclination will be to regard the Terai region as no-man's land. The forest belt was, of course, the natural boundary of Nepal. Nevertheless it will not be wrong to visualise the existence of some sort of loose hegemony of Nepal over the tract. This we say because Nepal had a stake as through this tract its trade route passed and it was obvious that for reasons of security also the Government could not leave the region to its own care as falling outside its jurisdiction.

Political frontier lines often shifted. But Nepal though it was much limited in area nevertheless seems to have enjoyed a stable frontier with the neighbours both on the west and the east. As for the frontier in the south we do not think if it was also disturbed. The kings of the neighbouring countries in present day North Bihar and Bengal were not impetuous enough to disturb their northern neighbour who was protected well in his natural surroundings.

As for the area under actual control we can say without any risk of refutation that Nepal as a political entity had all along throughout the middle ages comprised territories watered by the Seven Gaṇḍaks and the Seven Kośis in the mountains and in the upper reaches of their flow in the Terai,<sup>3</sup> the area what

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<sup>3</sup> *Nepāla Mahātmya*.

अ ७०

\*गण्डकी कौशिकी चैव तयोर्मध्ये वरस्थलं  
नीलकण्ठ तटे शौचं तयोः पुनस्तयाविधम् ॥१॥  
नेपाल इति विख्यातं देव क्षेत्रं सुख प्रदं  
ज्ञेयमगस्त्य तत्क्षेत्रं हिमवत् सानु सुन्दरम् ॥२॥

is known today as Bhitri Madeś (inner Terai or lowlands).

All this expansion of territory which Nepal comprised in the period we deal with, was, however, except the valley of the Bāgmati with Nepal proper and adjacent areas desolate and thinly populated and at the same time full of wild tribes and little administered. In the eighth century A.D. as we guess, the settlement of tribes occurred more or less the same way as it stands today. The Tharus lived in the immediate outskirts of the kingdom in the south. They inhabited the warm land just outside the dense belt of forest, which was also the natural frontier. We do not say with certainty if the Tharus were politically united with the Nepalese. There are virtually no records to establish whether they were politically united with Nepal or not. But the Southern state of any time did not also extend its jurisdiction to secure the loyalty of the Tharus. In the history of Magadha the Tharus do not at all figure in Vaiśālī and Mithilā. The Tharus might have played some part but it is much too difficult to assign a definite role to them in the history of these entities. They were certainly living in close proximity to the main civilised centres of Vaiśālī and Mithilā. However, they seem to be totally uninfluenced by the civilisation of their southern neighbours. I doubt if we could establish a state of political relationship between the Tharus and Vaiśālīans or Maithils. But they would not have been as well associated with Nepal either. Probably they inhabited an undefined strip of unhealthy territory, which neither Nepal nor its southern neighbour coveted. No natural barrier separated them from their southern neighbours but apart from the dialect I do not think they imbibed any traits of the latter's civilisation.

All the tribes scattered throughout the length of the Terai over 800 miles, such as the Tharus, Rājavarṇśis or Koches and Meches shunned contacts both with Nepal and North Bihar. The tendency to avoid contact with the civilisation was also visible with the Tamangs who lived in the north and the west as well as in the east of the Nepal Valley. This tribe under different caste names (Gurung, Murmi, Sunuwar) settled in the broad hilly region watered by the Himalayan rivers from

the Gaṇḍak to the Dudhkośi. We know for certain that the rulers of the Kathmandu Valley did not maintain any kind of cultural contact with these tribes. This is evident from the fact that all of them are precluded from the influence of the culture that flourished amongst the Newārs. There are a few culture spots in the tribal area but these were settled by the peoples of the Nepal Valley. Besides Dolkhā, about 60 miles straight east from Kathmandu, only two places outside the Valley are often noted in documents, one the fort of Noakot (called Nawakwatha) eighteen miles north-west and another, Palānchok situated at the same distance to the north-east. A few other unidentified sites could be marked within a limit of 60 miles on both sides, but not farther than that. It appears that on all sides Nepal had territories which were being regarded as Nepalese only nominally and in effect the Nepal Valley constituted what in reality passed as the kingdom of Nepal. It may be recalled that all reference to Nepal applied to this Valley which had also within its confines nourished a highly advanced culture, the like of which did not exist anywhere in the central Himalayan region. But yet one more factor rendered the position unique. While throughout the far flung heights and dales of the southern slopes of the Himalayas, not one tract escaped an almost savage existence, the Nepal Valley was like an Oasis in a naturally rich but culturally extremely backward surrounding, where in deep contrast life and culture worked to boast of a prideful human achievement. Further more, whatever might be its territorial size, and level or the standard of culture the fact remains that Nepal had led an independent existence in its history far away from the political influence of the Gangetic plains.

We have practically no information from any source whatsoever in regard to the details of Geographical features of the Valley of Nepal or of the route negotiated to reach it. This is true also of foreign sources until we come to the account of the Christian missionaries who travelled through Nepal either to go to Tibet or back from it to return to their bases in India. This leaves us in no possession of accurate knowledge of the

early topography of the land of Nepal for the early medieval period. We have a treatise in Sanskrit called *Nepāl Mahātmya* incorporated into *Skandapurāna*, that attempts to show centres of religious importance and from a Śaivite stand point. But this work was written comparatively late in the 17th century while the various units of the Chaubisi principalities had appeared. Hence it does not reflect the topographical situation of the places described as they stood in the past. Moreover, the names assigned in the treatise do not seem to bear resemblance to their actual nomenclature. The work is so burdened with irrelevant details of mythological events and episodes that it has escaped notice of relevant data. The *Nepāl Mahātmya* does not provide any idea of location of different rivers within the two main systems of the Gaṇḍak and Kośi. While it comes to list places of pilgrimage in the Valley of Nepal, the writer seems to have entirely lost sight of topography altogether. So even if we think to try to derive some essential knowledge out of the jumbled mass of mythical stories, the attempt to locate historical sites shall prove fruitless. The *Swayambhu Purāna* based on Buddhist mythology also suffers from similar kinds of deficiencies and weaknesses.

Now to the topography of the Valley of Nepal, it is situated south of the Nilkaṇṭha Himal (25000 ft. high) flanked by the second range of the Mahābhārata mountains in a curvature. There are three more ranges intercepting in a series between the snowy range and the Nepal Valley. But the Nepal Valley is an isolated plot unconnected with the mountain or the riverine system on both sides. It has its own watershed and opening to the south, which is the only outlet. There are two main channels for its drainage flowing from the northern barrier at a close range. These are known as the rivers Bāgmati and Viṣṇumati. Where these meet history created a setting for a high standard of social activity. But as these channels are not fed by snow, and also as these pass through a sandy bed, which soaks the shallow content, their utility as drainage is extremely limited. In summer for two months the bed is all but empty; yet the soil fertile as it is and the Valley sprawling

over the length and breadth of an undulating structure for its area helps to carve out an existence which should not be characterised as really hard; life progressed not merely under force of necessity but a bountiful nature had provided also means to the Nepalese to improve their condition materially and then the Valley of Nepal had in its own way lived an existence full of vitality and creativeness with its own contributions to human civilisation.

Outside the Valley of Nepal just one place called Noakot (Nawakwatha or Navakost) in the west commanded a ridge overlooking the swift flowing snow-fed and ever current Triśūli. Palānchok (Palakhachosa) was similarly situated with reference to the Bhoṭia Kośi in the east. Dolkhā Rājagrām (Rājagaon) farther east some sixty miles from the Nepal Valley has also a situation of a hill fort. The names these places bore in the past are not much different from those they bear today so that identification has become easy. Two more centres, Banepa (Binappa) and Panauti (Pūrnamati) figure in ms. colophons and inscriptional documents and these are yet known by the same names. It appears that Noakot, Palānchok and Dolkhā possessed strategic importance. They were in a way military outposts commanding the highways to the Himalayan border. But Banepa and Panauti just outside the confines of the valley show two more urban centres in a flourishing condition in another green and fertile valley though of a smaller size. In the 6th and 7th centuries Khopasi, a place just a mile east of Panauti in the same valley seems to have been the only place of significance in this area as one inscription indicates (Levi, No. 12). In the west about twenty-six miles farther over a ridge we have a stella of Jiṣṇugupta's reign (615-635 A.D.) and this equally shows the importance of the place called Kewalpur as an outpost to command the highway from the capital of Nepal to south western region of the kingdom and thence to the northern Gangetic plains. At the advent of the medieval period, however, both Khopasi and Kewalpur had lost their importance as they no longer come to be noticed in the documents.

The prehistory is briefly narrated in the volume 'Ancient Nepal' and there is no intention to repeat here what has already been said. As we bring the description of various political divisions into the last chapter of this volume, we also do not think it proper to deal with the subject at this stage. We shall end this section with an observation on the identity of the sites within the valley as mentioned in the medieval records.

Although the chronicles speak of Deopatan and Lalitapattan (modern Patan) in connection with the early chronology of the ancient period, we do not obtain colophon or inscriptional reference to any of the three cities of Nepal, much less to other townlets and villages, until we come to the eleventh century A.D. None of the centres specified in the documents of our period are available in the inscription belonging to ancient period (all in Gupta characters). Hiuen Tsang referred to the Nepal Valley but never gave an idea of the capital city or other important centres therein. From the inscriptions traced in different localities of the valley we do not have to know anything about the sites except that there used to be a Chancery at Mānagriha and Kailāśakūṭabhavana (also Bhadrādivāsbhavana); no indication as to the location of the capital is provided either. We have also seen that identification of the sites under these names is hardly possible in view of the absence of any kind of relics supporting the evidence suggested. Thus we confront an almost insurmountable difficulty in trying to look for old sites and determine their identity.

But as we approach the 11th century, the references in our documents to Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon are copious. A little later, places like Noakot, Palanchok, Banepa and Panauti also come into the picture. We shall, however, deal with the subject of their identity in the last chapter in connection with the description of the administrative condition of the time.

#### THE NAME: NEPAL AND NEWAR

In the volume 'Ancient Nepal' the question has been dealt with at great length, where considering all views put forth in

that respect the author also made his own suggestion as to the origin of the word 'Nepāl' (p. 25).

It would appear that the author had based his conclusion on the supposed non-Sanskritic origin of the name 'Nepāl'.

But the earliest reference to Nepal is in a Sanskrit treatise, the *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*. We may not bother about the date of this treatise, for at any rate this must belong to a period earlier to the Christian era. Not only this fact but all the Indian documents mentioning this country have the word *Nepāla*. We also find that the very first reference to Nepal, in the Nepalese records retains the Sanskrit name (Gnoli, n. LXI), and this invariably obtains as a rule in all the documents whatsoever. Nowhere the so-called indigenous name 'Nepā' is in evidence, although non-Sanskritic names of places do often appear, and they are in abundance. This runs concurrently also in Chinese texts, where the form used is *Ni-po-lo*.

We had suggested that 'Nepāl' is a Sanskritised form of the Kirāti word 'Nepā' meaning a central country (*Ne*=central, *pa*=country). According to Waddel (*Indian Antiquary*, XXII, pp. 292-94) *Ne* (*Nge*) *pa* may also mean a sacred country, a place of pilgrimage. It was said that such a feeling was current amongst the Lepchas, and the meaning of the word to the effect was conveyed in their language. Now, as 'Nepā' is the word used as the name of the country by the Newari-speaking inhabitants of the valley all inferences were drawn on that score. All such non-Sanskritic words get suffix 'la' when transformed into Sanskrit language, e.g. *Jhyā* (window) = *Jhyāla*, *Pasha* (shop) = *Pashala*, *Jyāva* (tool) = *Jyāval*, *bā* (rent) = *Baal*, etc. However, the absence of the word 'Nepā' in any context of either the inscription or documents of legends makes it difficult to say that 'Nepā' was the original expression. The suggestion as to 'Nepā' becoming 'Nepāla' could be accepted if only this was established.

Uptill now, the line of thinking has been to take Nepal as the home of an Indo-Mongoloid tribe, who also were regarded to have given the original name to this country. It was thought that because the tribe spoke a non-Sanskritic dialect, therefore



the name of the country could not be associated with Sanskrit vocabulary. Many including the author of the present work built their premise about the name of the country solely on this understanding. It was accordingly agreed in common that the name current in the Newārī vocabulary, i.e. *Nepā* was the correct term for the name of the country.

But the ground for the proposition is not so sure as it is readily supposed. For one thing, the racial affinity of the first group of settlers is yet undetermined. For another, it is well nigh impossible in the present circumstances to define the linguistic feature of the word and place it in a distinct category. The reasoning that *Nepāla* was derived from '*Nepā*' was not absolute. It could be said on a similar consideration that *Nepāla* was the correct form, and it became '*Nepā*' in the mouth of the Newari-speaking people just because they would not pronounce the three syllabic original.

We must have noticed that in the argument in either case, the most crucial point has been to place the word of the choice as the original.

But in the face of difficulties above listed there arises a question, how to prove the original position of the word '*Nepā*' and its precedence over '*Nepāla*'? A Nepalese writer (*Sans. Parishad, Patra* No. I, 1) suggested that the original word was '*Nepāra*', and this came to be pronounced as '*Nepāla*' by the people in Magadha who invariably rendered *ra* into *la*. But '*Nepāra*' is unknown either to the present generation or to legends. It would not serve the purpose either to identify '*Nepāra*' with '*Newāra*'. The current expression used goes without the last syllable in the latter as well and it is '*Newā*' and not '*Newāra*.'

In records the term '*Newāra*' came to be used since the 17th century or a little earlier, and the people using this term in their writings were outsiders. It must be known that any kind of surmise will have to be built taking the expressions as they are used in practice in our own vocabulary and not otherwise. But even '*Newā*' put as the original term does not help the issue without establishing facts of its very ancient existence in

the vocabulary of a record of a concrete nature. These, however, we have failed to trace in any context whatsoever.

Sylvain Levi offered an explanation to say that the name 'Nepāla' was derived from Sanskrit 'nīpā' prefixed to 'āla' meaning the foot of the mountain (II, p. 66); 'nīpā' also meant 'a species of *Aśoka* tree'. The French Scholar hinted at the possibility of 'Nepāla' being originated from either. At the heart of the city of Kathmandu we have an *Aśoka* tree, and underneath an image of *Gaṇeśa* bearing that name. A Nepalese author Baburām Āchārya, said that if we accept Levi's suggestion, the resultant expression would be 'Naipāla' and not 'Nepāla' (*Nepāla Sanskritic Parishad Patrika*, I, i, p. 1) and he dismisses Levi's proposition. But 'Naipāla' and 'Nepāla' are so close that one could be mistakenly pronounced for the other. Apart from the grammatical correctness of the term, *Naipāla* could be replaced by *Nepāla* in common parleys. However, this is not the crux of the problem.

It has to be admitted that since the earliest time of history, the country was known as 'Nepāla'. Here other points at issue will follow and we may pursue the argument despite the risk of repetition. We said in the beginning that the non-Sanskritic name 'Nepā' is not to be found in any record, whether inscriptions, colophons, chronicles or legends. We can dismiss the Sanskritic texts, as they preferred to use the Sanskritised or Sanskritic name. But how about the inscriptions that omit 'Nepā' amidst a concourse of non-Sanskritic names of numerous localities in the valley? When the Chinese used *Ni-po-lo* in the 7th century,<sup>4</sup> it was obvious that they knew of no term as 'Nepā'. Similarly if at any time 'Nepā' had come to be used in common parlance the records of the early and later medieval age could not have forgotten to absorb the same. But nowhere they do so, and obviously the reason must be that the term used in literary expressions by scribes was 'Nepāla'. It may be borne in mind that even records going as far back as the 15th century styled the present Newari as the *Nepālabhāṣā*; they

<sup>4</sup> *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, (S. Beal), p. 80.

never indicated the country by the other word '*Nepā*! All the same, there is one factor, which we cannot explain away at ease. Whatever might be said to disprove the suggestion, the fact remains that '*Nepā*' is the term for the country's name used in common parlance by the Newars of the Valley, who speak a type of mixed language.

The term must have come as a legacy of the past. Either it existed all along in the history or it came to be pronounced in that fashion at sometime or other due to some local influence and continued to hold ground. Of course, the influence must have been overwhelming to exert such a pressure. But the question is, how such influence was brought to bear on the linguistic structure of the name? We have to visualise a situation where a type of Mongoloid people dominated after emigration. It has been said that the Kirātas were such people and since their domination, the term '*Nepā*' became current.

From our study of the ancient history of Nepal, we come to know that the non-Sanskritic names of the places appear in the inscriptional records as early as the 5th century A.D. This presupposes a non-Sanskritic speaking people living in the valley in the period much anterior to it. So, under this assumption it may appear that '*Nepā*' came in vogue since about the time the Kirāti tribes secured complete dominance over the valley. This time must be about the 4th or 3rd century B.C. But why the writers at all time continued to adopt the old term '*Nepāla*'? Is it because of the fact that there was never a term like '*Nepā*' in evidence before them? But the contradiction inherent in the proposition is not solved. Is it then the fact that '*Nepāla*' was the literary form and '*Nepā*' was the commonly used original?

These are the anomalies we face either ways while putting forward any point of view in respect of the name. The greatest difficulty arises in our attempt to reconcile the universal use of '*Nepāla*' by the Newari speaking people in the Nepal Valley in their writings as late as the eighteenth century.

We know that it is unconvincing to say that '*Nepā*' appeared as a Kirāti abbreviation of Sanskritic *Nepāla*. We have also

absolutely no evidence to accept '*Nepā*' as the original term. Moreover, in no available records from the earliest down to the very modern, there is no instance of '*Nepā*' being employed as the name of the country. In this context '*Nepāla*' automatically suggests itself to the picture, but not as the Sanskritic version of '*Nepā*'. Whatever might have been its origin *Nepāla* seems to be the very original as well as the ever extant term for the name of the country. But we have yet to find out what really did give rise to this kind of name.

We do not intend to discuss aspects of the historical association of the word '*Newār*' as the same has had to be viewed in the light of the meaning attached with the country's name, '*Nepāla*' or '*Nepā*,' whatever it be.

### THE PEOPLE

We intend to deal only briefly with the subject of the racial composition of the people of the Valley of Nepal as the same has been dealt with at length in the first volume. It will be a sort of recapitulating the main points in that connection, which I shall attempt in the following paragraphs.

Since the remote past uptill the advent of the 14th century A.D. the Valley of Nepal has received all kinds of settlers and if not wholly, almost wholly all these came from the south and south-east. It is difficult to estimate as to who were the people to settle down and when they did; specially with regard to the very early settlers no archaeological and historical evidence is available. For any connected problem we can only resort to guess work to arrive at a conclusion. But one thing is definite. This is the racial feature where no one race or tribe predominates but seems to reflect traces of composite influences.

Undoubtedly the earliest settlers in the Nepal Valley were of the same stock as the Muṇḍās, Kols and Bhils of the Chhotanagpur region in today's South Bihar. It seems also certain that the Dravidians comprised the second wave of emigrants, and they might have penetrated into the valley in their northward expansion from the Gangetic plains. But these were literally swamped by the Kirātas at a later stage who came from North-

east India and spoke a language of Indo-Tibetan origin. They were a mixed race and probably the same as the Mons and Khmers of the Indo-Chinese region. For a considerably long time these tribes had made North-east India their permanent home. Subsequently they also expanded all over the east Gangetic plain. The Kirātas were pushed into the hilly area of the sub-Himalayan tracts on being pressed by the Aryans who came as far as the Gangetic plains. In comparison to the original settlers of the soil the Kirātas appeared to be a vigorous race. They so dominated the environment that Nepal was subjected to sweeping cultural changes, and novel dominant features were introduced.

#### THE LANGUAGE AND THE PEOPLE

The language spoken by the peoples of the Nepal Valley in the 14th century was what is now called Newārī. Documents in this language are as old as this date. Earlier to this all records appear in the Sanskrit language. But names of many localities are expressed in terms that do not sound Sanskritic. It appears that since early times Sanskrit had obtained a privileged position. In the court it was the only medium of expression. It might have been as well as official language of the country as the decrees and charters incorporated in the inscriptions go to show. The language of the inscription without a single exception is Sanskrit. The mass of the people, however, spoke Newārī. Now, analysing the different features of Newārī we find that although it is peculiarly evolved in its own way, it belongs basically to the Tibeto-Burma origin of the language. Newārī is extremely influenced by Sanskrit; its literature has 50% of its vocabulary either adopted or derived from Sanskrit. But the essential characteristic of a monosyllabic etymology remains without exception in all cases. All derivatives have been received in monosyllabic form.

Who introduced this language into Nepal? It must be surely the Kirāta tribes who racially formed a branch of the Indo-Mongols. They came en masse; ruling aristocracy, artisans, traders and professionals and also a small section of the peasantry.

The local population was overwhelmed, and they merged with the emigrants who had concurrently imposed their dialect. The newcomers were in all certainty hardier in physique and enjoyed a more dynamic culture. While the Kirāta tribes were settled, the language they spoke had become the common medium for all the peoples of the Nepal Valley, but not until the local dialect had greatly influenced it. Similarly while the two peoples met, they gave birth to a composite race. There were many more other emigrants to the Valley like the Lichhavis and Mallas. We cannot also rule out the emigration of the Khasa tribes from the south and west. The Valley of Nepal with the surrounding areas formed a tract situated in between the Khasa and Kirāta settlers. Naturally whatever might have been the route of entrance the Khasas like the Kirātas must have been drawn to the Valley. The Aryan families mostly belonging to priest and warrior classes formed yet other groups of settlers who had also mixed with the local populace. All of these must have surely married into the non-Aryan families. Once they entered the hills, the Brahmaṇs and Kṣatriyas became deviationist. They could conduct themselves ignoring the stringent rules of the scriptures. The offspring of the marriage obtained high status of a second rank Kṣatriya. Other castes too from the Gangetic plains mingled with their counterparts amongst the already existing. The likelihood of some Tibetans seeking shelter in the Valley is equally there.

In the resultant situation, it was a composite race that was given rise to. No one settler group could preserve its ethnic isolation. We find it extraordinarily difficult to say exactly what degree of intermixture had occurred and unless there is a scientific examination of anthropological data revealed it is also impossible to establish which section is what and how much integrated with whom. But on superficial observation, certain composite types can be specified. Broadly again, the fact of integrated race personality can be established.

It appears that at many stages of contacts with the outside world while emigration took place, the Valley of Nepal came to be occasionally influenced by Brahmanical culture. Probably

this was the culture which had surely produced the greatest impact on the life and society of the people of the country. This accounts for two things, (1) the prevalence of Sanskrit Buddhism, and (2) comprehensive influence of Sanskrit in Newārī. Both these have shaped the Valley of Nepal culturally what it is today.

## CHAPTER II

### SOURCES FOR THE EARLY MEDIEVAL HISTORY

(879 A.D.—1482 A.D.)

The period under consideration incorporates a history of nearly six hundred years beginning from the founding of the Nepal era to the end of the reign of Yakṣamalla whose death had left a divided Nepal wallowing in unrest and internecine conflicts.

It is a much extensive period of history ruled by half a dozen dynasties in succession in varied circumstances.

Because of colophon data to support the dates of a particular chronicle which is regarded as authoritative in the circumstances, we have here a chronology since 998 A.D. onwards which is if not wholly ascertained but at any rate rendered comparatively much regular. Unlike in the case of ancient history it is an advantageous factor for the early medieval period. Now we do not need speculating and cleverly manipulating the data offered to secure a readjustment of genealogical list to make it appear nearer to being correct as we had to for the time preceding.

We shall find that the first ascertained reign bears the date NS 40 (=920 A.D.) in view of a colophon datum of that date. In the contents of an inscription the regnal date is NS 132 (June, 1012). The dates of the chronicle we have just cited could be verified only since the former date. Probably the chronology of the period can be arranged with some degree of precision since NS 119. But all the same the problem of setting right the genealogy is not as simple as it may appear, for here we have not only an unascertained list of names for the time before NS 118 but there is also a gap at frequent intervals. It appears that the gap persists and often shows itself at different times throughout our period. This is due to the absence of colophon data of a good many reigns, although this applies mostly to the



beginning of our period. We have also felt that for the reigns determined within limits of the available colophon data there is yet much inadequate basis and yet our account has to be based on assumptions. It is no easy task to produce a connected history while even adequate data for a regular chronology are lacking. This is our disadvantage; without the basis of a trustworthy chronology, no history in the strict sense of the term comes to be written. In the circumstances it has been our attempt to present a chronology near to being exact as far as the data permit. This task is facilitated owing to large scale colophon data and authoritative chronicle of the 14th century made available to us and now we proceed with a surer chronology and we have a background much clearer for a history; though the same not quite informative as regards facts of events has nevertheless contained elements of political narrative howsoever brief. But it must be borne in mind that by this venture we produce a very elementary kind of political narrative and not a perfect and complete history of the period.

Up till a short time ago for the history of medieval Nepal reliance was placed on the erroneous account of the chronicles, all of which were written in the beginning of the 19th century and were mixed up with confusing mythological and legendary tales. But we no longer depend on them when we come to deal with the history of the period since the tenth century A.D. Obviously, this is because our source materials are comparatively more authoritative and can be verified with reference to fully authenticated, established and dated events or records. Source materials are important for any history. They are more so for ours, because thus far we are used to treading on a weak ground and these are also strictly limited. For Nepal the writing of history offers a new field. But we have to know that even the limited data are of much consequence to us. But they cannot be accepted in their face value. Not all of them are assessed to a required degree unlike those used for such fields relating to the history of Medieval India. But real assessment of source materials is not the only concern before us. We have also to perform a pioneer duty of collecting fresh source materials

as in our view there is yet enough to do as a spade work in this sphere as well.

One thing which requires our special attention is the fact of the colophon data being employed in the fixation of dates for various reigns. This is a new feature of the source materials not to be found in the writing of history of the contemporary period in India. Similarly, the case of a chronicle being employed to offer a regularised chronology for the history of a period of six centuries might not be so peculiar to some countries of antiquity, which command vast historical literature. However, to many including Nepal it is not so, where literature of historical interest is very poor.

### SOURCE MATERIALS

The source materials extend over a vast and varied field of genealogical histories called *Vamśāvalis* (chronicles), manuscript colophons, foreign accounts and inscriptions. We do not have evidence of coinage for this period as no coins are available. There are very few inscriptions for this period. They grow in number only towards the end of the period under review as we reach the time of Jaya Sthitimalla (NS 502-517). For the period up till NS 501 it shall appear that barring a few data of the type no inscriptional records have been found which really tended to supplement the evidence of the manuscript works as regards regnal years and it is also true that in the materials available there is very little to supply relative information about particular reigns. In this context inscriptions are of little importance for the time until we come to the reign of Jaya Sthitimalla. Thereafter they become important and some of them throw a flood of light on the history of the period. We shall, however, deal with them at the end. Now let us proceed to consider the nature of materials other than the inscriptions. We start our description with the chronicles.

### CHRONICLES

First, let us take up the consideration of the chronicles called *Vamśāvalis* in Nepal. It will appear that in the main they give

each in its own way a genealogy of kings with names and duration of their reigns supplemented with a brief noting of the principal events. Activities of religious nature find ready mention as the events of the reign concerned. Certain mythical stories e.g. of the appearance of a deity in dream or actually in person before a king or a priest are also incorporated, and some important events are associated with miracles. These chronicles provide also an account of the origin of festivals through such tales and this approach is common with those of comparatively recent origin.

Broadly speaking the *Vamśāvalis* can be classified into two divisions. The first consists of works compiled during the reign of Jaya Sthitimala (NS 500 and 515 = 1380-95 A.D.), while the second comprises those written in the first quarter of the 19th century, at the instance of the then ruling authorities.

As far as the chronology of our period is concerned, we find that the chronicles compiled during the reign of Jaya Sthitimala's time are very reliable in the same way as those belonging to the second group are thoroughly unreliable.

We call the former ancient or old chronicles, and the latter modern or later chronicles. There are three different works of ancient chronicles.

(1) the one known as *Gopālarāja Vamśāvalī*, which was traced in the Nepal Government Library by Cecil Bendall.

(2) the one used by Kirkpatrick for the historical chapter of his book *Account of Nepaul*; which in all probability is the same work as.

(3) the 15 page manuscript in the possession of F. M. Kaisar Shumsher J. B. Rana, Kathmandu.

Even though, the later chronicles are unreliable on the whole, they provide clues to understanding certain obscure events and reigns. Thus their utility even though of a much limited scope cannot be disposed of. We have accordingly examined these chronicles in some detail both to demonstrate their false narrative as well as to bring to light points where reliance can be placed on.

Of the three ancient works, the *Gopālarāja Vamśāvalī* is most

important, and we begin the description of the various chronicles with the treatment of this *Vamśāvalī*. The *Gopālarāja Vamśāvalī* has three divisions, about which we shall have an occasion to say in greater detail a little later.

### THE ANCIENT CHRONICLE

The ms. of the *Gopālarāja Vamśāvalī* belongs to the Government Library in Kathmandu.<sup>1</sup> This was first brought to the notice of the scholars by Prof. Cecil Bendall.<sup>2</sup> The *Gopālarāja Vamśāvalī* provides a very accurate chronology and dates for our period. These have withstood the test and verification conducted with reference to colophon data and were found agreeing with the latter save only in minor details. They present in the circumstances by far the most reliable dates of chronology. The *Gopālarāja Vamśāvalī* has three divisions. The best merit attached to these comes out of the fact that they were written in NS 508-10 (=c. 1390 AD) and the account they give about our period are thoroughly reliable. Evidently the king of Nepal of that time had helped to compile a chronology of kings of the country, and these were prepared in that course. It can be guessed that the author might have taken sufficient care to produce a reliable chronology. He also might have compared similar works then existing. The compilation probably came after a close scrutiny of facts and seems to have been based on a wealth of data preserved by reliable writers at different times.

The work is incomplete, of which, folios from 17 to 63, i.e. 47 pages could be utilised. It appears that few leaf at the beginning as well as at the end have been lost (three blank folios also have been added together. Quite likely letters in them have faded). The script in which the chronicle is written is called *Bhujimo*, one of the earliest characters of Nepal. We

<sup>1</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1583. 7. The ms. is in palm leaves measuring 11" × 6".

<sup>2</sup> CPMDN, I, Introduction, pp. 1-4.

have in the following pages referred to this work in three divisions as separate chronicles treating them as V<sup>i</sup>, V<sup>ii</sup>, V<sup>iii</sup> respectively on the line indicated by C. Bendall.<sup>3</sup>

At this stage we deem it proper to elaborate our description of the chronicle a little further, so that the reader has a clear picture of the document. The first of course, surveys the whole period from the beginning of the mythical Gopāla dynasty down to the time of Jaya Sthitimalla describing the event of his reign up to NS 507 but the second and third only supplement each other, the former (f. 30-b to 36-a) giving only dates of royal births and deaths as well as of births and deaths of other important personages belonging to the nobility from NS 177 to NS 396 is followed by the latter narrating events of reigns since 376 upto NS 509 with more details. Strictly speaking the initial passages in the third do not give us a new period other than the one touched by the second. New events are noted no doubt but up to 396 the treatment is just in the nature of supplementing the information of the former. The third text goes as far back as 352 (f. 38-b) and in a way can be regarded to have started its chronology since 352. Only from folio 39-b new dates appear and the text jumps from 396 to 408. All this, however, should not break the unitary character of the two chronicles combined. The treatment is just the same in both, and as for supplementary notes, they appear again and again also in the third text. In so many places an attempt is made to jot down notes irrespective of the sequence of time. So this factor alone does not break the unity of the second and third texts.

In fact the V<sup>ii</sup> and V<sup>iii</sup> seem to be one single chronicle and not V<sup>i</sup> which appears to be separate treatise by itself. But as Bendall says 'there is a marked difference of style and of certain features of description also in V<sup>ii</sup> and V<sup>iii</sup><sup>4</sup>, we have to give each of these works a separate designation. The V<sup>i</sup> looks all

<sup>3</sup> JASB, *Ibid.*, p. 4 (CPMDN, I, Introduction).

<sup>4</sup> CPMDN, I, Intro., p. 13.

the more a different treatise viewed from this standpoint. As distinct from  $V^{11}$  and  $V^{111}$  the treatment of subject matter is also different in  $V^1$ . In a few instances we have also marked dissimilarity in dates and regnal data between  $V^{11}$  and  $V^{111}$  on the one hand and  $V^1$  on the other. Also the former two are much elaborate, while the latter is brief. But all the same it could not be said that the work of compilation in the two groups is unrelated. Strictly speaking one cannot go independent of the other as the data together are correlative.

Now to consider the language of the chronicle. The  $V^{11}$  and  $V^{111}$  are written in old Newārī mixed with Sanskrit. But  $V^1$  is, if not wholly, written mostly in broken Sanskrit. In folios 28 and 29 there are passages in Newārī. According to Bendall 'the language is no doubt intended for Sanskrit, but in obscurity and a perfectly wild absence of syntax it rivals the worst colophons of the Nepalese mss'. Obviously a portion of  $V^1$  and the whole of  $V^{111}$  were composed at the time of Jaya Sthitimalla whose glory is profusely sung by the chronicler. The last portion is so over-laden with bias for the ruler of Bhatgaon that it has exaggerated the account concerning Jaya Sthitimalla to the neglect of the sovereign ruler of the kingdom. In the words of Bendall 'it seems as though the chronicle had been finished off by the partisan of the king, i.e. Jaya Sthitimalla'. The  $V^{111}$  begins its genealogy from the year 379 and ends with the year 509 the last entry being 509 *Chaitra sudi 12* (f. 58-a). The  $V^{111}$  is the most important of the three as it has been presented in the form of a real chronicle. According to Petech it is analistic in form.  $V^1$  extends up to folio 30-a but for the reigns until that of Anantamalla it is much too brief. Thereafter from (27-a—30-a) it offers a little more details of information. The  $V^1$  while giving the ancient chronology commits the same mistakes as other chronicles do and therefore its account has to be placed in the same category as those of Wright, Levi, Bhagwanall and others. It is only when the chronology approaches the 10th century A.D. it tends to become more and more dependable. But in spite of this drawback and the three of them suffering on account of wide grammatical mistakes in language they

have in Bendall's words, 'put matters in new light', and as such have immense value for the student of Nepal history for the period between 1100 and 1400 A.D.<sup>5</sup>

Because of the difficulty of understanding the language of the ms. much of the materials contained in the treatise of V<sup>11</sup> and V<sup>111</sup> could not be utilised for the history in our volume. It is the very early form of Newari dialect, which is in evidence in the chronicle. As the chronicle was prepared in Bhatgaon it appears that the language adopted therein is much influenced by the variety of expression of local use and it bears the imprint as different from the dialect spoken in Patan or Kathmandu. The vocabulary therein is much different from the one in use at the present time. One would require a vast knowledge of classical Newārī in all its aspects to be able to grasp the full meaning of the expression used by the chronicler. I supplemented my own smattering of Newārī by a literateur's knowledge of a friend, but my expectation was not fulfilled. There is a dearth of persons who possess a knowledge of classical Newārī. Since some time past due to various factors the traditional scholarship in the field has completely disappeared. Today it is hardly possible to find one man erudite enough to explain the passage of a treatise written in classical Newari. The spoken language is divorced from its past, and the traditional usage of orthography and syntax is forgotten. In this condition it is not possible to derive as much advantage from the ancient chronicle as was desirable. Nevertheless, as this chronicle forms the only reliable basis of a chronology for the early medieval period and this could not be ignored for our purpose, we have made an attempt to utilise the materials offered to the best of our ability.

It will appear, however, that the language problem has yet proved as much difficult to tackle as before and because we have not been able to read through many passages, our account has suffered a great deal for lack of details, and for the

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<sup>5</sup> See Hara Prasad Śastri's preface to the same; also Bendall's Introduction to CPMDN, I, pp. 1 to 4.

same reason it is also not unlikely that some important events might be missing from the narrative. As a matter of fact, at least a hundred year's history at the end becomes obscure on account of the passages not being intelligible to us.

## V K

The ms. of the *Vamśāvalī* in possession of F. M. Kaisar Shumsher J. B. Rana was probably written in NS 469, at which date the chronology stops.<sup>6</sup> It is just a fragment written in thick Nepalese paper in folios serially attached as pages. It has fifteen pages reduced in seven and half folios. Some pages are torn at the margin in the left corner, which has rendered the first few letters in these difficult to read. On the outer side of the last there are three scribbled notes in 3 short lines. The first of them is to show that the work was copied from the original on *Chaitra sudī 4 roj 1* (Sunday) of 859 NS, by one Sumanaorathasimha. The second line shows the date 859 *Śrāvaṇa sudī roj 6* along with the expression *Śukhula bha Syāka*, which is not intelligible. In the third line the date is 855 *Āṣāḍha sudī 4* of 855 and the following words in Newāri say that 'the Tirhutiay took gold'; what this means is not clear. The chronology starts with a name, of which only *Deva* is legible. This must be Rudradeva (I) who according to the chronicle ruled as far as *Bhoṭāntara*.<sup>7</sup> The portion dealing with the earlier period is either lost or deliberately left out by the copyist. The last folio is also apparently irrelevant as it gives the genealogy of Nānyadeva's successors in a different context. The text virtually agrees with V<sup>1</sup> except in a few cases. Commenting on the text Petech said, "Towards the end the ms. gives some dates and other additional material which is mostly abridged from V<sup>1</sup> but is often badly corrupted".<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Petech read it as corresponding to Condur Deo of Kirkpatrick (p. 8).

<sup>7</sup> Library Catalogue n. 171.

<sup>8</sup> Pp. 7-8.



## SOURCE OF KIRKPATRICK'S CHRONICLE

As we read Kirkpatrick's historical sketch there is no doubt that he got his information out of the source of VK, which was complete with the ancient portion. Kirkpatrick in his sketch does not give more than a list of names and dates. It is noted that the events described towards the end of the ms. are not fully transcribed in it. But all the same the chronology he reproduces is fairly dependable as far as the early medieval period is concerned.

For the late medieval period Kirkpatrick must have another source for his information.

In our text for the sake of reference while we have to refer to Kirkpatrick's sketch we have simply put Kirkpatrick; but wherever the original ms. has to be cited, we have used the abbreviated form VK following L. Petech.

We are indebted to Petech for reproducing the text of VK in his book. For the first time our attention is drawn to this work through his endeavour, although it was lying in the collection for many many years. Its importance may not be so much in view of the more extensive material contained in the *Gopālarāja Varṁśāvalī*. But as an additional source material confirming the account of V<sup>1</sup> it has its own utility. In the present volume we have used the data of this chronicle provided along with V<sup>1</sup>. The reader will note that I have also compared Petech's reproduction with the original. The reproduction on the whole is satisfactory and there are only a few cases of misreading, which I have corrected and marked in footnotes in course of my treatment of the subject.

The next category of chronicles we have to handle here is the group of chronicles known as the later chronicles.

## LATER CHRONICLES

All these chronicles are written in the language what is known as Nepālī today. Nepālī is the official language of Nepal since 1768 A.D. No chronicles in Newārī composed except those we have already referred to above are so far traced and some

fragments of one, which deals with the events of a few of the early 18th century have been traced, but the same fall outside the scope of the period we have in view in the present treatise. The later chronicles constitute the group used variously by Wright,<sup>9</sup> Bhagwanlal Indrajī,<sup>10</sup> Levi<sup>11</sup> and the copy called Sanskrit chronicle, and another one in Nepālī as usual (also in my possession). The Sanskrit chronicle is all in verse. I think this is the same one occasionally referred to by Petech under that name. I have followed Petech in adopting the name Sanskrit chronicle for that work. This is not a published work. But I possess a copy of the chronicle with me. I have, however, not seen the work referred to by Petech, which he says, is lying in the collection of Prof. Tucci.

Daniel Wright's chronicle was written by one Guvāju (Vajrāchārya priest of a section of the Newar community of Mahāvodhi vihāra, Patan) and translated into English by Munshi Sheo Shankar of the British Residency who was assisted in this task by another Guvāju Guṇānanda, Wright himself having edited the translated work. Wright published this chronicle under the title 'History of Nepal translated from the Parbatiya', in Cambridge, in 1877. Bhagwanlal Indrajī seems to have used a copy of the same chronicle. He has given a resume in his article on 'Some considerations on the 'History of Nepal', which he published as a paper in the Indian Antiquary, XIII (1884), pp. 411-28. This also appeared along with the inscriptions in a book form which is a reprint from the Indian Antiquary under the title, 'Twenty Three Inscriptions From Nepal Translated from Gujerati by G. Buhler, Bombay, 1885'. The chronicle used by Levi in his *Le Népal* ('History of Nepal', II, Paris, 1905), in pages 172-239 is compiled by one Siddhi Nārāyaṇa of Deo Patan. It appears that the chronicle in the hands

<sup>9</sup> Edited by Wright, Cambridge, 1877—Translated from Parbatiya by Munshi Shewasankar.

<sup>10</sup> Some considerations on the History of Nepal, IA, XIII (1884), pp. 411-28.

<sup>11</sup> Levi, *Le Népal*, 'Histoire du Népal', Part I, pp.193 ff.

of Wright and Bhagwanlal Indrajī were written by one who was a Buddhamārgī while Levi's was the work of a person who professed Śaivism. But this has not coloured the genealogy and legends of the chronicles, which all seem to be similar in all the three of them. Obviously these are cognate compilations presenting a chronology picked from identical source. I do not think if anything else could be said of the copies of the chronicle other than these, for example the Sanskrit chronicle, my own copy of the *Vaṃśāvalī*, Hodgson's India Office Library mss. 29 bis|4, 29 bis|5-b, 29 bis|5-b, 29 bis|4-b, and Cambridge University Library Add. 1652, though some of these differ from others in detail. However, the chronicle in my possession shows some important points of difference in narratives. By comparison it appears that there were two different chronicles circulated side by side. These emanated from a common source and shared broadly errors in common but there was difference between the two, which was mostly noticeable in the fact that my chronicle tends to approach correctness for the later period since NS 740.

We may put the copies handled variously by Wright, Bli, Levi and Hodgson in Group B<sup>1</sup>. Those differing from them should be classified to have belonged to Group B<sup>2</sup>. Of the latter, the chronicle in my possession can be particularly cited for information. I have found that this chronicle seems to be a recension of a common chronicle from which manuscripts now in the Darbar Library, National Library, Kaisar Library and in possession of a few persons in Nepal were copied. One of the special features of this chronicle is its tendency to become authentic both in matters of facts and dates as we approach the fourth decade of the eighth century of the Nepal era. Since this time again it offers more or less a correct version of the history of the period uptill NS 888, when the Nepal Valley was conquered by the ruler of Gorkha. For the period preceding we can cite numerous instances of differing accounts. Rudradeva is mentioned to have ruled as far as Chakumbhot which is not noted in Group B<sup>1</sup> chronicle. Unlike Group B<sup>1</sup>, this group introduces Rāghavadeva as the founder of the Nepal era of 879

A.D. The story of Sakhwal (see below) is there, but the name of the ruler is different from the one given by the group B<sup>1</sup> chronicles. Rāghavadeva's name also figures in the ancient chronicles of Kirkpatrick and VK. He came to reign in Lalitapatan as the monarch of one of the two kingdoms of Nepal. The existence of *dvairājya* before Rāghavadeva is also attested by VK and V<sup>1</sup>. But the Group B<sup>2</sup> giving a parallel set of names confuses the issue. All the same this is something new judged in comparison with the account of the other chronicles. Similarly in line with the Group B<sup>1</sup> chronicles of the later times, it brings into the scene Nānyadeva in NS 9 in the time of Jayadevamalla and Ānandamalla. But this altogether omits the dynasties of Bhāskaradeva and Vāmadeva and proceeds straight to Nānyadeva whose descendants rule Nepal uptill the advent of Jaya Sthitimalla. We also note that the treatment of Nānyadeva's descendants is the same as that of the Group B<sup>1</sup> chronicle. But it calls Harasimhadeva as the fifth successor of Nānyadeva. However, the description of the interval between his father's death and himself does not differ in any way from that of the other group. The time covered by this interval is 225 years and it is said that all this while the Vaisya Thakuri of Noakot were ruling. Then we are told that Nānyadeva's fifth successor Harasimhadeva came to Nepal from Simraongarh on *Pauṣa* 9 of Śaka 1245. But no reference to the Muslim conquest of Simraongarh is made in the account. As we proceed onwards to delineate the chronology of Harasimha's descendants the account tallies wholly with the description of the Group B<sup>1</sup> chronicle. The account of castes, however, is different and this is more in consonance with facts as they obtained in contrast to the one presented by the other group. A little later we shall discuss some of the errors of the later chronicles in general. We shall have occasions to criticise some more of their false statements. I think that for the present the above will suffice to present a comparison between the two groups of the later chronicles. The reader, however, should not forget while instituting a comparison that both the groups of chronicles taken in general are thoroughly unreliable as source materials for

the history of Nepal of our period, (C. 740—1530 A.D.). In either of them there might be some correct statements but it is difficult to judge them and on the whole the account is so distorted that even a few cursory citations of factual data lose their weight in the mass of grossly fictitious tales of a chronicler. But the Group B<sup>2</sup> is wholly correct as far as the account of the period since 740 goes except for that of Bhatgaon.

The chronicle B<sup>2</sup> carries the events in its description upto 1882 A.D. About this time Maharaja Bir Shamsheer, the third Rana Prime Minister had consolidated his position. It appears that although the compilation of the chronicle was done fifty years earlier during Bhimsen Thapa's piloting of the state affairs the writer had added to it in instalments narratives of events until 1882. We do not get the name of the compiler. As the work differs only to a small extent from Group B<sup>1</sup> chronicle as far as our period is concerned it is quite likely that the sources for both the chronicles were common for the major portion of the narrative. The near correct version of Group B<sup>2</sup> for the period since 741 is attributed to a different compiler who drew his materials from reliable sources unlike the original compiler working on the whole of Group B<sup>1</sup>, who had rendered the entire chronicle unreliable by drawing from sources of doubtful value. It is a pity that even those events that occurred fifty to sixty years previous to the compilation of the chronicle have been wrongly dated and their facts misrepresented. There is one thing more about the choice of chronicles by Wright, BLI and Levi. By what chance they got hold of the Group B<sup>1</sup> chronicle and missed the other one, Group B<sup>2</sup>? If it was Group B<sup>2</sup> publicised, those interested in Nepal might have obtained more accurate information of at least the later medieval period of our history. The Group B<sup>2</sup> is a widely circulated chronicle. I have examined more than ten manuscripts which are all copies of the same text. If Levi was keen enough for a copy I do not think his search would have gone in vain. Obviously the narrative of the late medieval period in Levi's history would have improved if he had been able to avail of the text of the chronicle.

For the criticism of the chronicle Group B<sup>1</sup> we reproduce below the statement of Bhagwanlal Indraji and Levi. It should be known that the same criticism applies to Group B<sup>2</sup> chronicle in so far as the narrative covers the ancient and medieval period upto 1600 A.D.

Bhagwanlal Indraji wrote about these chronicles. 'It is evident that though this *Varnśāvalis* contains many elements of historical truth, it possesses no value whatever as a whole'.<sup>12</sup> S. Levi has practically the same opinion to express about them.<sup>13</sup> Both he and Bhagwanlal found that the chronicles cannot be relied on for their chronology and history, as these have been virtually distorted beyond recognition. But all the same Levi and Bhagwanlal put reliance on these chronicles for some of their observations.

If there was a reason to reject these chronicles while Levi and Bhagwanlal had judged them, there is a greater basis for dismissing them today as works of history in view of a large number of reliable data of the manuscript colophons and inscriptions being traced so far since the time of Bhagwanlal and Levi published their volumes.<sup>14</sup>

The later chronicles are totally useless as source materials of history. They have indulged in introducing unreal dynasties and have made a great confusion between them and also as regards dates of contemporary rulers who are placed one after the other irrespective of their allied dates. An idea of this misplacement may be obtained from one instance and this is regarding the *Nānyadevites* and *Vāmadevites* who were contemporary rulers as verified by ms. data the one ruling in Tirhut and the other ruling in Nepal, but they are so placed in the genealogy and that one looks to have followed the other and the difference in time amounts to nearly two hundred

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<sup>12</sup> P. 42.

<sup>13</sup> I, p. 193.

<sup>14</sup> See for full criticism IA, XIII, pp. 413 ff; Levi, II, pp. 87 ff; I, pp. 202 ff. See also H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of North India*, pp. 185-232.

years.<sup>15</sup> On top of it the chronicler forgets that Nānyadeva's dynasty never ruled in Nepal. The dynasty is introduced to falsify the factual genealogy of the time. The chroniclers suffered from a lack of definite knowledge on the subject and also from an obsession that they have insufficient materials and chronological lists in their hands, which certainly did not cover the five thousand years of Kaliyuga, they wanted to connect their history with. Each chronicle for that matter starts to depict its account since the very dawn of Kaliyuga. It was to them quite necessary in order to keep up the reputation of their past that this history was to be associated with the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>16</sup> So the fact of contemporaneity was sacrificed and kings who ruled at one and the same time were made to rule at periods very distant from each other. But this alone could not suffice to answer fully to the needs, for with the limited number of names and under ordinary calculation of regnal years there comes a big gap otherwise remaining unfilled up. Accordingly, they took a recourse to lengthening reign periods, sometimes even 80 years were allotted and thereby the adjustment was effected.<sup>17</sup> But all these have rendered the whole texture of a chronology unreliable. We have rulers and many such of them ruling only three years according to ms. works but the same are given 20 or 30 or 40 years of rule by the

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<sup>15</sup> Wright, p. 138; Bendall, Nep. Cat. (Intro.), p. 29 for the correct date.

<sup>16</sup> A great war fought in India near Delhi at *Kuruṣetra* between the two powers of *Kuru* and *Pāṇḍavas*. No authentic evidence is available bearing on this war. The Nepal *Vamśāvalis* attribute to one of the names of the Kirāta dynasty a gallant heroism on that occasion. But only three generations after, they bring Buddha in the scene, which proves beyond doubt that the chronicler had no idea of the date of Buddha or Aśoka and least of all, of the date of *Mahābhārata*.

<sup>17</sup> Read as above Wright and BLI for a distorted picture of the history of the period. Bendall in his introduction to CPMDN, I tries to correct this distortion in the light of the data of the ancient chronicles and ms. colophons.

chronicles,<sup>18</sup> stretching the reign period to a ridiculous length. The idea preponderant had been to make an arbitrary adjustment of regnal years. We have all rulers down to Harasimhadeva antedated by fifty or sixty or hundred or even five hundred years as we go upwards.<sup>19</sup> King Bhojadeva who ruled in the eleventh century A.D. according to a ms. work is placed three hundred years earlier in 783 A.D.<sup>19a</sup> Nānyadeva's invasion occurring in 1119-20 A.D., if it at all came about, is wrongly antedated by two hundred years and to give one more instance, the epoch year of the Nepal era is placed during Nānya's time, though it is referred to the year 811 (+79=890 A.D.) of the Śaka era, notwithstanding the fact that it makes the whole assertion self contradictory.<sup>20</sup> At one place when it came to the treatment of the period between 1360 and to the time of Jaya Sthitimalla they have so gone wide of the mark that not a gap has been created with the discontinuity of the local families but this also much wrongly is made up by importing dynasties such as Nānyadeva's and Harasimhadeva's which on all contemporary accounts could not have touched the history if at all no more than a passing incident. All the five chronicles have these defects. They appear to be of no use for our purpose while we deal with the history of medieval Nepal upto the 15th century A.D. Kirkpatrick's authority also suffers from the same defects in regard to the ancient history; but the latter has at least shown a tendency to accuracy of chronological order in contrast to others as far as the early medieval period is concerned. We shall see that in many respects this chronicle seems to be a replica of the *Gopāla Varṣāvalī*, V<sup>1</sup> as far as the chronology upto 464 NS goes. We have referred to Kirkpatrick here, because in line with modern chronicles, the chronology he gives covers also the entire history of Nepal up to the end of the Malla dynasty, and except the genealogy

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 175; Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 156; Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>19a</sup> Vide below.

<sup>20</sup> Wright, second edition, p. 100; BLI, p. 39.



touching the period in review the entire chronology is not much different from those of the later chronicles. This is in contrast to ancient chronicles which come to our notice a little later. We have treated Kirkpatrick both as ancient and modern chronicles. In its latter aspect we treat Kirkpatrick and criticise his source in the same way as we do Wright, BLI and Levi. The same could be suggested while comparing Group B<sup>1</sup> and B<sup>2</sup> chronicles. It is true that one might be comparatively nearer to facts than the other in regard to certain dates and events but it does not mean that this should be accepted under such considerations at convenient points. The entire account is so full of false statements that it is not possible to differentiate the one from the other until we come to NS 740. Since this date, however, the Group B<sup>2</sup> becomes definitely reliable though its account of the kingdom of Bhatgaon is incomplete as well as unreliable.

It is said that the various chronicles in Group B are divided into two classes in accordance with the religious views of the chronicler. But I do not think that there is any material difference as to the chronology of the period dealt with by both. It might be that the chroniclers emphasise points according to their religious conviction, and give preferential treatment to deities and rulers agreeing with their views. But the chronology as a whole is little influenced by this factor.

For the reader's information I may note that Levi's chronicle is Brahmanical, while the chronicles of Wright and BLI were written by Buddhist priests. The Sanskrit chronicle and the Group B<sup>2</sup> are the works of authors following Brahmanical religion.

Although in the last two paragraphs we have brought to notice the defects of the modern chronicles we have nevertheless tried to use the chronology offered by them in so far as the same has been found useful in comparing the data of the chronology in general. It shall appear that from Rāghavadeva's time (although they omit Rāghava himself) uptill Abhayamalla (1216-55), the modern chronicles provide names of rulers along with regnal dates that stand some chance of verification

though we have also to tread the ground carefully here as elsewhere. But we shall realise that from Abhayamalla onwards they become so fantastic that they have to be totally dropped out of our consideration. The names which these chronicles give are noted each as they figure in the dynastic genealogy of the period.

### MANUSCRIPTS

But the most valuable historical material in matter of chronology ever obtained is the group of manuscripts, which constitutes the sole evidence for verifying the data of the *Vaiśāvalis* in well ascertained manner. Hardly need it be said that but for these mss. the value and reliability of the various chronicles could not have been judged. The practice followed in general by all the copyists of the mss. was to mention besides his own name and the date and place of writing, the name of the king who was reigning. Some and a few of them went a little further to add to these a few more details, including important events of the realm occurring just at the time of writing. Not all the mss. were written with the name of the reigning monarch. But whichever do they bring out the date and the ruler's name and are most useful for correcting errors in the chronology of the period. The data supplied in the colophons provide so far the only reliable evidence for the particular time or reign they were written. In their own way, they also supplement the dates from one to the other. Sometimes the information contained is very brief but it is enough to furnish the evidence for the chronology in an unfailingly correct way and thus far they are of immense utility to students of Nepalese history. Each manuscript was written in the script in vogue at the time, and all of them together reveal a variety of characters, though not much dissimilar between themselves. These mss. are in the main deposited in the Government Library Kathmandu, called the Bir Library. They are now accessible to general readers. A catalogue was prepared by Haraprasad Sastri in two volumes, the first in 1905 and the second in 1915. The two volumes provide us colophons with regnal dates and

names that are of quite significance for our purpose.<sup>21</sup> Apart from that, Mr. Bendall has added a summary of the main incidents noted in the *Varnśāvalis* in his introduction to the first volume.<sup>22</sup> We shall refer to these volumes as CPMDN following H. C. Ray.

Numerous volumes have been added to the Government Library in Kathmandu since Haraprasad Sastri prepared his catalogue. But a scientific catalogue of the entire collection is still to come. Recently the Library has published in Sanskrit two volumes, one for works on astronomy and another for literature. I have been told that a volume on drama is in print in the final stage. We do not have published catalogues of volumes belonging to other subjects. There is, however, a roughly prepared catalogue to serve our need. The colophons in the notices can be well utilised for the purpose as an appendix to CPMDN. Altogether more than 50 new colophon data of importance for the chronology of the early medieval age, so far not available in CPMDN, are obtained from additional stock of the library. From the new collections also are availed about a dozen colophon data of the manuscripts for the later period. The importance of new collections lies in the fact that we obtain from these the facts of initial regnal years of several kings, as also data for new and undiscovered reigns. All these are marked in due course. While referring to the catalogue of the Bir Library, we have used the abbreviated form 'DLC' or more often Darb. Lib. Cat. as Petech has done.

Besides the Bir Library, we have the National Library of the Government of Nepal where a good number of additional manuscripts of chronological importance are available. This

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<sup>21</sup> A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected Paper mss. belonging to the Darbar Library Nepal, with a Historical Introduction by Bendall, Vol. I. 1905, LXXXII, 32, 273, 23, P; Vol. II, 1915, XXXV, 272, 22 P.

<sup>22</sup> This appeared at first as an article in the Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, 1903 (Nos. 1 and 2), Part I, LXXII, pp. 1-32. His journey to Nepal, etc. (1886) is another indispensable historical treatise.

library was purchased from the late Rajguru Hemaraj Pandey. In my search of the historical data I have been able to obtain from this collection absolutely fresh colophons. With some of these we are in a position to fix new dates for the initial as well as conclusive years of certain reigns. The Hemaraj collection is also even otherwise important for the numerical richness of the palm leaf mss. covering all subjects.

We have yet one more collection of manuscripts and this is in the possession of Field Marshal Kaiser Shumsher J. B. Rana. In this collection one traces twenty-six entirely new manuscripts with regnal dates and of these 6 help us to find out initial years of six rulers of the early medieval period of Nepal history. The first and last available documents of Yakṣamalla are also obtained from this collection. Considering the importance of the colophon data availed of, Field Marshal Kaiser Shumsher's Library is of much importance to a research worker.

Though quite unexpected the Government Museum in Kathmandu has also a collection of manuscripts, and I found that a few of them provide new materials for my purpose. All these manuscripts, however, have to be picked up carefully from amidst a jumble. At the moment even a list of manuscripts belonging to the Museum is lacking. But there is some numbering of the manuscripts, which I have noted while utilising the colophons.

There might be more manuscripts in private possession that could help us to obtain additional data. I have noted some of these in the work of Petech, and I have also personally seen some more, some of these do come in the picture as determinant of regnal dates. But further search may bring in richer harvests.

Outside Nepal the following centres are well known for their deposits of Nepalese manuscripts; (1) The Cambridge University Library (Cambridge), (2) The India Office Library (London), (3) The Royal Asiatic Society Library (London) Hodgson collection, (4) The Library of the British Museum (London), (5) National Bibliotheque, Paris, (6) Levi's collection at the Institute of Indian Civilisation (Institute de la

Civilisation Indienne) University of Paris, (7) Leningrad Public Library, (Russia) and (8) Bengal Asiatic Society's Library (Calcutta) India, (9) Patna Museum, Patna, Bihar (India).

We have Cecil Bendall's Catalogue each for the collection in Cambridge University Library and British Museum.<sup>23</sup> Keith's Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts in the India Office Library is helpful, as we derive a few fresh colophon data from the same.<sup>24</sup> For the Nepalese manuscripts of the Leningrad Public Library we have Mironov's Catalogue.<sup>25</sup> It appears that only three of the many dated manuscripts of this library are useful for our purpose. A few exclusive colophon data have been also picked up from H. P. Sastri's Catalogue of Manuscripts of Government Collection with the Bengal Asiatic Society.<sup>26</sup> The labours of G. Tucci and Rahul Saṅkṛityayana have enabled us to avail of source materials from mss. preserved in Tibetan monasteries, which supply a few more novel data on the chronology of medieval Nepal.<sup>27</sup> But unfortunately as these manuscripts are not within reach the data could not be examined and verified. For the collection of National Bibliotheque (Paris) there is a catalogue prepared by M. Filliozat (Bibliotheque-Department Des Sanskrit).<sup>28</sup>

Lastly, L. Petech in a new volume (Medieval History of Nepal) published in 1958 enriches our information by adding colophons from many unpublished works picked up from different sources, including the private library of F. M. Kaisar Shumsher and the existing collection of the Bir Library, from

<sup>23</sup> This is published in a separate volume in 1902 under the title '*Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*' in the British Museum.

<sup>24</sup> Abbreviated CSPMIO, II (1955) following Petech.

<sup>25</sup> This is available in the Library.

<sup>26</sup> Abbreviated CSMASB. following Petech.

<sup>27</sup> Tucci, *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal* (1956). Rahul Saṅkṛityayana in JBORS, XXI, Pt. I; XXIII, Pt. I; XXIV, Pt. III.

<sup>28</sup> Catalogue du Fonds Sanskrit by Jean Filliozat, Fascicule 1-1 to 165 Librairie D'Amerique et D'Orient, Adrian-Masonneuve, Paris.

where fresh colophon data have been obtained. He has also collected together according to regnal years all the colophons so far published in different works. This is a signal service he has rendered. For the first time we have all the scattered data collected together at one place in the chronological order. As I have also derived my source materials for the chronology from these, let me observe here that in utilising my data I have thoroughly examined and compared Petech's note in the light of my own observation. Besides this, I have also utilised some fresh materials from sources which had been untraced so far. This finds mention here at a subsequent paragraph.

I could not but reproduce all the colophon data of the ms. source materials available to me, whether published or unpublished. I thought that it was necessary to refer to all the colophon dates in the treatment of my subject. A great many of these find place in the 'Medieval History', which L. Petech brought out as one of the volumes to appear as source materials for the history of Nepal. I would have only republished the materials. As already Petech's volume has preceded my own, this looks unnecessary. But I feel that for all the details the reader could only with difficulty refer to the publication of Petech.

But that was not the only consideration. The reader will find that in spite of his best efforts to avoid the issue, the author of the present work had to devote much space to determining regnal years in almost all the cases, and while the question of regnal years was discussed, it was essential to introduce all the relevant data in that connection, and it was not possible to treat the materials discriminately, the ones already noticed from those so far unpublished; thus the entire colophon and inscriptional data have come to be noticed in the present work in that course.

I have some more reasons to reproduce the colophons. I find that in some cases Petech has committed mistakes in reading the data. In regard to certain others their location is wrongly given. This is true also of the inscriptions which Petech had

partially given in his book. I also notice that important portions of a few colophons are missing. Under these circumstances I felt it would serve the cause of historical research if colophons and inscriptions are given in all their details in this volume as well. Now we shall have brought together all the data traced thus far (June, 1961 A.D.). Although it would look that the work done by Petech has been repeated here, but this would not be correct and the fresh data offered in the present volume placed together with those already published might tend to prove to the benefit of scholars who will find for them every document available collected at one place for a ready reference.

In regard to verification of dates I have to solely depend on what Levi, Kielhorn and Petech done. However, the dates in the colophons have freshly added have not been all verified and interpreted in terms of the C.E.

In utilising published materials I have not only referred to the volume incorporating the same but at every stage I have mentioned Petech if the document in question had been enlisted in his book.

As it will appear, all the new materials so far not published are specially marked as such. These are given as separate items in the list of the relevant data reproduced. But if these happen to give new dates for the initial or the last date of a reign, we have made it a point to reproduce the colophon in the very body of the text at the appropriate place. But such occasions are limited. All the dates are collected together, either in the beginning or at the end of the history of the reign concerned.

In our text wherever the datum follows the name of the ms. it should be taken as a colophon (*antah vākya*) with all the particulars noted therein.

#### OTHER SOURCE MATERIALS

Though not quite ample, another valuable material has appeared from the Chinese and Tibetan notices mentioned chiefly in the contemporary histories of the period, which E. Bretschneider so laboriously collected from the Yuan and Ming annals

under the title 'Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources'.<sup>29</sup>

These Chinese source materials Levi has noted in detail in his book 'Le Népal' and also in various issues of the *Journal Asiatique*, to which I have made a reference in particular places.<sup>30</sup> There are a few more materials from Chinese history appearing in Petech's 'Medieval History of Nepal' (pp. 99-101, 201-09) and these also have been utilised as the occasion needed.

In Chinese sources Nepal is mentioned several times once in Yuan Shih as the home of the artist A-ni-ko (1244—1306 A.D.) and at other times in Ming-Shih-lu in connection with the account of the exchange of embassies between the two countries. The Yuan Shih referred to is Po-na-pen edition published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1930. Besides the Ming dynastic history (Ming-shi-lu) works like Hsu-wen-hsien-t'ung-K'ao, 1747 and Hsu T'ung-tien of 1767 provide us information on the subject of Sino-Nepalese relations in the Ming period between 1384 and 1427 A.D.

Both Bretschneider and Levi have done a wonderful service by drawing our attention to the Chinese source materials. More recently Professors G. Tucci and L. Petech have added to our knowledge more facts from Chinese and Tibetan source materials. L. Petech produces the English translation of all the relevant passages in his book. I thought it was not necessary for me to have another English rendering of the same texts and therefore I have satisfied myself by noting the relevant extracts as Petech gives them.

For Tibetan source of information about the Malla rulers of the Karnāli Basin, who had concurrently ruled over West Tibet, I have drawn from Tucci's preliminary Report quoting the original texts in his name wherever it was required.

I have not been able to handle the Chinese materials in their original. In the circumstances, my source materials in this regard are obviously second-hand. But I feel that serious efforts

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<sup>29</sup> Pp. 222-23.

<sup>30</sup> Levi, I, pp. 168-69.



should be made in this direction to avail of as many data as could be traced out. Although the Chinese notices are helpful to us only in relation to the few Chinese Missions visiting Nepal between 1384 and 1424 A.D., it is quite possible that additional materials in this regard might throw some light on the contemporary political and economic condition of our country as known to an alien visitor. Our information of the Chinese sources is far too short of expectation and, therefore it would require further search for undiscovered materials as far as circumstances allow.

We have said that for the three ancient chronicles we are indebted to Cecil Bendall, whose indefatigable zeal for research and oriental studies has borne the fruit in the shape of the above noted materials and the number of ms. works, to which Haraprasad Sastri's valuable catalogue, prepared for the Nepal Library, has only supplemented. While the student of Nepalese history acknowledges gratefulness to these people, he is reminded at once of equally great and beneficent services of S. Levi rendered to the cause of original scholarship on the subject. His monumental work 'Le Népal' stands as a beacon light to future historians. His work is all-embracing and is the pioneer volume to open the great treasure of the past of the little but proud mountainous country. But we remember him mostly for excavating more Chinese source materials, which are the only foreign accounts available now on the much controversial problem of Nepalese chronology.<sup>31</sup>

#### COINAGE

Last but not the least, and equally important, should be the various clay coins, copper coins (unstamped), and silver coins,

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<sup>31</sup> Levi's Chinese accounts are taken from the annals of the Ming and Yuan noted with full reference at particular places in this article. His book on 'Nepal' as well as the number of articles he wrote for 'Journal Asiatique' being in French, there has been some difficulty regarding the proper estimate of the book by those who lack knowledge of French language. S. Levi, *Le Népal*, I, pp. 168-69; Bretschneider (London), pp. 222-23 (already cited).

which stand in the same relation to period after 1600 A.D. as the mss. stand to the time before.<sup>32</sup> As it will appear, the Nepalese history from 740 A.D. to 1600 A.D. is conspicuous as Jayaswal calls 'by the absence of coinage'.<sup>33</sup> Though occasional references to silver and gold coins in ms. data and earlier chronicles are not rare, so far no coins in silver or gold or copper have been traced for the period under review (740—1520 A.D.). One does not know as to how the economic life of the people could function without the medium of exchange. Probably a solution may be offered by bringing in the Paśupati coins or by ignoring the independent status of Nepal in that period, as some people have sought to do. But the mere fact of coinage is not sufficient to explain the status of a particular country. In history we know of countries which had coins but were not independent. Similarly a country might be independent but may not have any coins of its own current in the territory. In our case even this argument does not apply because, as the reliable chronicles and ms. documents vouchsafe, the state had not existed without coins. Probably further search may yield materials that are likely to help us to establish the correctness of this statement. Irrespectively, however, the coins form a connecting link with the mss. and do provide us a good and strong ground for the fixation of dates to the reigns after 1630 A.D. A detailed description of the coins will be found in the Appendix to the second part of this volume.

For the whole of medieval India coins become rarer as we proceed onwards from the time of Harṣavardhana (606-647 A.D.) until we come to the Muslim period in the 12th century A.D. We know that the Karṇāṭakas both in Mithilā and Bengal

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<sup>32</sup> Walsh, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1908, pp. 677 ff; V. Smith, *Catalogue of coins in Indian Museum*, 1906, I, pp. 281 ff; Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, P. XIII; Hoernle, JBAS proceedings, May, 1887; K. P. Jayaswal, JBORS, I, 1936, p. 3; III, p. 267 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Also read Prof. Rapson's *Indian Coins in Griendriß Der Indo-Arischer Philologie und Altertumskunde* (Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research, edited by G. Buhler).

(Senas) had no coins. The Imperial Pālas do not enjoy their own coinage except one of them Vighrahapāla III, whose only coin is just now traced. The Gurjara-Pratihāras have no coins, yet they were taken as great empire builders. The Rāṣtrakūṭas, another dynasty contesting for an empire, did not have coins in their name. We can cite numerous other examples of dynasties which ruled for centuries without issuing coins of their own. In spite of all this K. P. Jayaswal, however, thought that because Nepal had no coins of its own for the later ancient and middle ages uptill c. 1600 A.D., it was a dependency of some other country. But we know for certain that Jayaswal has formed a wrong assessment of the situation.

### INSCRIPTIONS

A few words more also should be added about the inscriptions of medieval Nepal, as we promised. As already observed, for the late medieval period, since the time of Jaya Sthitimalla, inscriptions are quite numerous. But inscriptions appear few and far between until we come to the reign of Jaya Sthitimalla. It is but natural that in this context we are used to assessing the source materials of history of the earlier period, without reckoning any inscriptional data. But up-to-date we have come across at least 26 inscriptions of different reigns of this period all on slabs of stones, the earliest one dating NS 125 Nirbhayadeva. This certainly proves that the period is not without its epigraphic records, which are historically important. But the period following is richer. We have obtained more than 3 dozen inscriptions for the reigns of Jaya Sthiti and his sons and grandson (502-602). These include also many inscriptions on copper plates (*tāmrapatra*), the earliest of which belongs to NS 508. It is true that some of these if deciphered correctly will unravel many events that lie hidden from us due to the obscurity of the text in question. All these inscriptions have their texts in Sanskrit and are inscribed in the earliest form of the Newārī script, the *Bhujimo* and *Gomo*. The Newārī text is unknown to the period upto 500 NS, though this is not uncommon for Jaya Sthiti's time since that date.

Let it be noted here that all the documents issued in this period have invariably followed the Nepal era, although a few (these are only three) have in addition, also calculated the date mentioning *Vikrama* and *Śaka* eras. In one or two instances the *Kali* era as well finds its place along with others (the Sundhārā inscription of Jaya Dharmamalla's reign and Kastamandapa copper plate of Ratnamalla. In the former the *Śaka*, *Vikrama* and Nepal era are concurrently used). In two documents (=mss. Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1692.4, and I. 787.4) we have only the *Śaka* era and not even the Nepal era finds place there. The first document using *Vikrama* era is the ms. (Darb. Lib. Cat I. 1365.5) of the reign of Arimalla. Here *Vikrama* and Nepal eras are concurrently used.

We have practically little archaeological source materials for our period other than the few inscriptions attached to certain old temples, the structure of which, however, presents a renovated appearance. No monuments of the period have survived which could offer some kind of evidence for the history. Whether stupas or temples the existing structure is no guide for understanding the past as it was featured. The only exception is provided by the sculptured images, and these are also dated to give us an authoritative chronological data. But these appear few and far between. Therefore we have no need to consider any aspects of archaeological materials.

In respect of our source materials we have to say in the last analysis that the best literature on the subject so far available does not give us more than a rough chronology. We have no works giving us full information about the life and society of the period. This applies equally well to the Chinese account of Nepal, which is the only foreign source material concerned about our subject.

The foreward to this book deals with works written by modern writers on the history of Nepal. Therefore we do not take notice of them here.

#### ASTRONOMICAL ELEMENTS IN THE DOCUMENTS

L. Petech has argued that *Sūryasiddhānta* or *Āryasiddhānta*

cannot satisfactorily explain the fact of 22 instances of intercalary *Āṣāḍha* and 4 instances of intercalary *Pauṣa*, which was noticed in the documents of the period. There was, however, a different system of calculation being followed. He says 'for practical purposes and a working hypothesis we can safely assume that the dates in the *Newārī Samvat* were in the medieval period calculated according to the *Bhāradvāja* system, true reckoning. It was used only in Nepal and since the earliest beginnings.' (P. 22).<sup>34</sup>

Basing his contention on an extract of the *Dharmanirṇaye tithisārasaṅgraha* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1634.11) he reproduces a stanza from the *Jimūtavāhana* to show that any intercalary month in the first six monthly period of the year ending with *Tulā* since *Vaiśākha* was called *Durāṣāḍha*, and the same falling within the next half became *Dvi Pauṣa*. The *Dharmanirṇaye tithisāra* quotes *Bhāradvāja* in support. Petech further observes, "According to both *Nārada* and *Bhāradvāja*, when one of the first six lunar months of a half year contains no *Sankrānti*, whichever that month may be, it is always *Āṣāḍha* which is duplicated as an intercalary month; when one of the last six lunar months contain no *Sankrānti* whichever that month may be it is always *Pauṣa*, which is duplicated as an intercalary month.'

We have no intention to tread the controversial ground of the complex subject matter in question. We have put forward the above statement of L. Petech just because we felt that it was something new and carried a sense of conviction. But the limitation of the present work rules out the consideration of the problem at its length. It will be good if persons interested in history and astronomy take the task in hand for further enquiries and research.

Our purpose in discussing the problem of the astronomical evaluation of the era is to bring out the broadest possible argument on the data shown in the documents so that no doubt is left as to their reliability.

<sup>34</sup> L. Petech: *Medieval History of Nepal*, p. 22.

At any rate even if the astronomical elements involved might not be fully verified, the value of the colophon data cannot be minimised. Similarly, the dates shown in the ancient chronicles are no less valuable and of utility for the history of Medieval Nepal. It is the fundamental of these data, that is of main interest to us.<sup>35</sup>

### THE MEDIEVAL CALENDAR

Let me now end this chapter with a passage on the nature of the medieval calendar of Nepal, which also continues uptill now as a calendar in vogue for a section of the Nepalese people known as the Newars.

As already suggested the year started with the first day of the bright fortnight of *Kārtika* (in autumn) and the month was lunar and completed with the dark fortnight, the *Amāvasyā* being the last day. The bright fortnight with which the month began was known as *Thva* and they called the dark fortnight, the second phase of the months as *gā*. The 12 months from the first to the last were as follows (1) Kachhalā (*Kārtika*), (2) Thinlā (*Mārga*), (3) Pohelā (*Pauṣa*), (4) Silā (*Māgha*), (5) Chillā (*Phālguna*), (6) Chanlā (*Chaitra*), (7) Vachhalā (*Vaiśākha*), (8) Tachhalā (*Jyeṣṭha*), (9) Dillā (*Āṣāḍha*), (10) Guñla (*Śrāvaṇa*), (11) Yañla (*Bhādra*), (12) and Kaula (*Āsvina*). We have put the classic names within brackets.

The bright fortnight of a month is common to both *Amānta* and *Pūrnimānta* reckoning, but the dark fortnight in one is not of the same month as in the other. For example *Māgha kṛṣṇa* in the Nepalese calendar is *Phālguna kṛṣṇa* in the *Vikrama* or *Śaka* calendar of our times. For the same reason the festivals of a particular month according to one system may belong to another month for the other system if they happen to fall during the dark fortnight. Anything occurring in the bright fort-

<sup>35</sup> CSBM, Op. Cit., pp. 147, 151, 168; Bendall, *Journey*, p. 80. IA, IX, p. 183. Read above for the *amānta* and to know that the era commenced with *Vikrama era* 937 expired.

night is, however, called to a common reckoning and must belong to the same month.

In the Colophons and inscriptions no month appears under a Newārī name, but in some instances the ancient chronicles show Newārī names also.

## CHAPTER III

### EARLY MEDIEVAL HISTORY

(c. 740—1146 A.D.)

#### THE NEPAL ERA OF 879 A.D. AND THE EVENT IT COMMEMORATES

Like the *Vikrama* and *Śaka* eras, the Nepal era of 879 A.D. is still the era of our Calendar. Like them it is a living era. This era is used in the Nepal Valley by a section of the Nepalese people known as the Newars.

This era started just a thousand and eighty two years ago. We have now stepped into the 1081st year of the era since the first of the bright fortnight of *Kārtika* last. In terms of the *Śaka* era this would fall on *Kārtika sudī pratipadā* of 801 expired. This date is the first day of the New year. Exactly a thousand and eighty one years ago, the Nepal era was founded on this day.

The calendar is lunar as well as *amānta*, the month starting on the day after the full moon day and ending with the *amāvasyā*, when the moon is totally lost to view in its last phase of decline. In terms of CE the New Year's day falls either in October or latest second week of November, but the original date for the epoch of the year was 20th of October in the Christian Calendar.

The New Year's day is celebrated as the day of '*Mha-pūjā*' by those who follow the era, '*Mha pūjā*' literally means 'the worship of one's own person'. This is a quiet ceremony performed in the family chapel inside home. All inmates of the home take their seat each facing a small *vedikā* with *svastikā* sign over which are placed all the paraphernalias of worship including a burning lamp. All squat in a line along with the five essentials of a household, e.g. a water jar (*gha*), broomstick (*tufi*), kitchen knife (*kuyin*), a sieve (*hāsa*) and a stone implement for powdering spices, salt etc (*lomā*). The water



jar and broomstick must be new. In theory each performs his or her own worship. But in practice the eldest male or female member of the family who leads the ritual plays the role of the worshipper to each worshipping the person of each inmate present. It is said that the worship of human body on that day is suggestive of two symbolic expressions, the thanks giving for the safe keeping of the body during the year ended and prayer for its protection during the current one.

As the era is adopted without interruption since its founding and as it continues to be in the calendar uptill today, there is little doubt about its original date, and this is an established fact. As we have already observed, the era started 1080 years back from now since the 20th of October in the year 879 A.D.

The manuscript colophons coming since as early as the date *Samvat* 40 have attested the founding of the era in that year.<sup>1</sup> Ms. colophons giving regnal years calculated with the epoch year of the era in the calendar follow in regular succession one after the other right from that year to the present. Each colophon of the ms. also tallies with the statement of the authoritative chronicles written in the 14th century A.D.; in many instances they agree fully both in regard to the chronology and regnal years. So whether any of the later chronicles supports the case or not or whether any of them gives a different date for the epoch, all this does not count much as the evidence for the founding of the era in 879 A.D. is such as cannot be refuted in any way whatsoever. The era is still used in reckoning the dates in our calendar. The initial year is traced without difficulty, for we have to go back to a year 1080 years earlier, as the present year is 1081st current. In terms of the Christian era, this year can only be 879 A.D.

As early as 1216 A.D. a manuscript *Amṛteśvarapūjā* gives in its colophon concurrent dates in terms of both the *Vikrama* and *Nepal eras*, 1273 and 336 (*Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa* 7) respectively.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first colophon is from ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* in the possession of one Siddhinarasimha Vajrāchārya of Patan.

<sup>2</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1365. 5.

This means that while 1273 VS was running then in terms of its own era Nepal was passing through the year 336. The date of the ms. will correspond to June 8th of the Christian year 1216 A.D.<sup>3</sup> In terms of the *Vikrama* era, the epoch year of the latter must fall in 1272 *Kārtika* (*Kārtika śukla 1*) 336 *Kārtika* = 936 *Kārtika* (*Kārtika śukla 1*) equivalent to 20th October, 879 A.D. Thus this document provides in evidence of the era being originated in 879 A.D. Although the colophon belongs to a date 335 years after the origin of the era, this nevertheless gives an irrefutable evidence for the existence of the era since 879 A.D.

The fact of the Nepal era beginning in the year 879 A.D. (October 20th) is important for the reason that it is the starting point for all the regnal dates beginning from that year in view of the large scale manuscript works available for that period showing in their colophons regnal dates, a fact which helps to bring out a correct chronology of the period.

The 20th October of the year 879 A.D. i.e. the first day of the first year of the Nepal era must be a very important day. Surely this day must have witnessed some extraordinary happening which was to be commemorated with a new era. But the story of the happening is yet obscure. There is one version of the event that had led to the birth of the era. Those contained in the later chronicles relate accounts of personal achievement connected with the episode ascribed to a peasant Sakhwal by name, who had found his heap of sand turned into gold on that day and who had used this gold to free each householder of the country from indebtedness.

In the word of Wright's chronicler, "When Anandamalla reigned in Bhaktapur and his elder brother in Patan and Kantipur, that a certain astrologer of Bhaktapur found out an auspicious moment, at which he said that sand taken from a certain place, would turn into gold. The Rājā Ānandamalla, having ascertained the exact time, sent a number of coolies to take up sand at that particular moment, from the place called *Lakhu*

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<sup>3</sup> Verified.

*Tirtha*, at the junction of the *Bhatikhu* and the *Viṣṇumati*, and to convey it to the Rājā's palace. The coolies did as they were directed, but as they were going back with their loads a Śudra merchant of Kantipur, named Sakhwal, prevailed on them to take their loads of sand to his house; and then the coolies filled up their baskets again with sand from the same place as before, and took it to Bhaktapur. Their second loads, however, not being taken up at the auspicious moment, did not turn into gold, and the Rājā, being enraged at the imposition practised on him, burned the book.

“On the other hand, Sakhwal, having obtained so much wealth, with the permission of Jayadeva Malla, paid off all the debts existing at that time in the country, and thus introduced a new era into Nepal called the Nepal Samvat. He then established a *chaitya* near his house, and placed a stone image of himself at the southern door of the temple of Paśupatinātha. Thus he obtained salvation”.<sup>4</sup>

The account of the chronicles translated by Bhagwanlal Indraji<sup>5</sup> and Levi<sup>6</sup> is similar. Both bring Nānyadeva's invasion of Nepal to a time nine years after the founding of the Nepal era. In the same way both the chronicles ascribe the founding of the era to a ruler who flourished seven generations after Sadāśivamalla ruling in Kaliyuga 3821 (=750 A.D.). Sadāśivamalla is the first ruler of the second Thākuri dynasty (Amśuvarman dynasty). Ānandamalla, during whose reign, the Nepal era was introduced, was the son of Abhayamalla. The Sanskrit chronicle has a similar story of the peasant Sakhwal but the time of the founding of the era it brings is during the reign of Vāmadeva who was himself the father of Sadāśivadeva. According to Wright and Bhagwanlal Vāmadeva was the grandfather of Sadāśiva. The Sanskrit chronicle is more confusing because in a subsequent verse it also says that the era was founded by

<sup>4</sup> Second edition, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 98-99.

<sup>5</sup> Twenty three Inscriptions from Nepal together with some considerations on the chronology of Nepal, Bombay, 1885, pp. 38-39.

<sup>6</sup> Levi, II, p. 179.

Sakhwal in VS 971 (=914 A.D.) in the reign of Harṣadeva. This chronicle puts the time of Nānyadeva's invasion to a date during the reign of Vāmadeva.

We know on the basis of ms. colophons that Abhayamalla reigned from NS 337 to 367 and Vāmadeva ruled in about NS 204 (see below). Thus it appears that we have to take with a grain of salt the story of the Nepal era associated with Abhayamalla and Vāmadeva. Consequently the historical basis of the era started by Sakhwal is lacking in the legend, which could be said to have existed in quite early times. The chronicler seems to have introduced the phenomenon of the era without any knowledge of its historical character. We must know that the Sakhwal story was not known to the author of the *Gopāla Vamśāvalī*.

Kirkpatrick has suggested that the 'commencement may bear some relation to the period of the first establishment of the Simraon dynasty in Nepaul'.<sup>7</sup> But the very kingdom in Simraongarh was founded in 1097 A.D. nearly 217 years after the Nepal era came to be founded.

The chronicle Group B<sup>2</sup> mentions Rāghavadeva as the founder of the era, but it has not been able to leave trail of the Sakhwal story nor of Jayadevamalla and Ānandamalla who follow Rāghavadeva and whose reign ended with the advent of Nānyadeva in NS 9.

Apart from the confusion of dates these chronicles introduce, we do not find it possible to believe the mythical story of sand becoming gold, though there is nothing unreasonable in the second part of the story which relates account of Sakhwal paying off old debts. The legend popular in the Nepal Valley corroborates the same story. The '*Mha pūjā*' is spoken of as a symbol of national emancipation, because even though paying off old debts was done on individual basis, it was the people in general who had obtained relief. But the legend should not be taken as very ancient, because nothing of this appears in the ancient chronicles and Sakhwal can be anything but a historical

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<sup>7</sup> P. 262.

person. On the whole these fail to bring out a convincing evidence of the real event of the epoch of the era. If Sakhwal had founded a dynasty, even though the story was connected with the account of sand turning into gold, we had no difficulty in accepting the event as the cause supporting the founding of the era. But the chronicles say that the ruler was not at all disturbed. Except the disappointment he had suffered on account of his sand retaining the normal form, he was least affected by the event. Moreover, he was only the king of the subsidiary kingdom of Bhatgaon. There was another ruler in Patan, who was the eldest brother of the two ruling persons in Patan and Bhatgaon respectively. The former was the real sovereign of Nepal; but according to the chronicler he is not at all in the picture.

We are used to reading accounts of eras being started by a new ruler who either founded himself a new dynasty or celebrated the event of the dynasty being founded by his immediate ancestor. We are also aware of eras being introduced as a concomitant of cultural impact from outside. Sometimes a new era may begin from the day of celebration of an event of national rejoicing for victory over the enemy or for recovery from a disaster or calamity of a very wide dimension. But there was never a new era ushered over a simple event as related by the modern chronicles.

Even otherwise it is impossible to find any useful information regarding the epoch of the era amidst the tangle of conflicting events and dates provided by the chronicles. We fail to understand as to how the story of the epoch could be made credible in the circumstances.

I think the custom of '*Mha pūjā*' can give a clue to trace the causes of the origin of the new era. We have said in the beginning that the '*Mha pūjā*' signifies an expression of thanks giving for having survived in body with safety and grace during the year past and also of a prayer and hope that the survival will continue also during the year just begun. This indicates that there was some great calamity befalling the country before the era started which was so serious that those who had sur-

vived it thanked God for having saved them and also prayed that they would not be exposed to the risk again in the coming days. The year preceding the new year's day probably brought hard time for Nepal. Nepal faced a severe calamity brought by famine and epidemic in the period immediately preceding the founding of the Nepal era.

But we seek in vain a calamity of such dimension in any legend. Neither the ancient chronicles nor the later ones talk of a crisis about 879 A.D.

We feel also disappointed of the ancient chronicles in this regard. The ancient chronicles all except one do not talk of the era. The one which introduces the founding of the era (Varṅśāvalī in possession of Kaisar Shumsher) attributes the era to the occasion of some religious celebration associated with God *Paśupati-nātha*. It says in the words: *Paśupatibhaṭṭāraka samvat-sara pravritti kritah*.<sup>8</sup> It does surely name one king who is called Rāghavadeva as the founder of the era. But the fact of some religious performance being the event of an important era is hardly acceptable. Unless a political event of national importance or an event of dynastic change or that of recovery from a national calamity is brought to light for the epoch of the era, the explanation would not carry conviction.

The '*Mha pūjā*' gets its sanction from *Skandapurāṇa*, *Vaiṣṇava Khaṇḍa*, *Kārtika Mahātmya*,<sup>9</sup> which probably was composed much later than the date of the Nepal era. I do not

<sup>8</sup> VK, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> There is also a similar passage in *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* which runs:

भविष्यपुराणे प्रथमे ब्राह्मणपर्वणि अष्टादशाध्याये  
“कार्तिकेमास्यमावास्यायस्तुदीपप्रदीपनम्”

इत्युपक्रम्य—

प्रतिपदि ब्राह्मणश्चापिगुडमिश्रैः प्रदीपकैः ।

वांसोभिरहतैश्चापि सगच्छेद् ब्रह्मणः पदम् ॥१९॥

गन्धैः पुष्पैर्नवैर्वस्त्रैरात्मानं पूजयेच्चयः ।

तस्यां प्रतिपदायांतु सगच्छेद् ब्रह्मणः पदम् ॥२०॥

ब्राह्मणान् पूजयित्वास्यामात्मानं च विशेषतः ।

स याति परमंस्थानं विष्णोरमिततेजसः ॥२२॥

think we can mix up the custom with the event and date of the new era. Perhaps this came to be associated with the epoch of the era much by way of accidental coincidence of the lunar date. So whether it is the story of Sakhwal or the custom of '*Mha pūjā*', the occasion little fits in with the supposed gravity of the event of a new era coming into being. Even if the *Kārtika Mahātmya* of the *Purāṇa* be regarded as old as the era, I cannot conceive that the custom of '*Mha pūjā*' should have occasioned the founding of the era by itself.

It is really astonishing that the obvious evidence of the existence of the era, as currently used, was not noticed by the modern chroniclers. Their ignorance had also misled some of our writers. They could not realise the broad as day light proof of the founding of the era in 879 A.D. They also ignored the date of the colophons, the date which were all calculated the *Kārtika Mahātmya* of the *Purāṇa* be regarded as old as Samvat 40=920 A.D. or so. Previously when these evidences were absent, historians were prone to base their conclusions on the fantastic assertions of the later chronicles, which placed the reign of Nānyadeva as to have occurred only nine years after the epoch of the new era, though illogically the same authority attributed the era to Ānandamalla whose reign is shown 35 years earlier to the Kaṛṇāṭaka king's invasion of Nepal. As the regnal dates of Nānyadeva are established the absurdity of such statement is apparent.

We can, however, suggest that the era must have been related to some event of national importance, which had occurred on the first day of the bright fortnight of *Kārtika* 1080 years back and which led to the birth of the new era in Nepal current since that date.

But what is the nature of the event? Because the issue is obscure, there are various interpretations of the epoch. In the main, however, there are two views of the event of 879 A.D. These are variously, (1) that the era was founded to commemorate the occasion of the end of Tibetan domination of Nepal in that year and (2) that the era introduced a new dynasty of rulers in the scene.

The first view suggests that Nepal was a dependency of Tibet until 879 A.D., in which year the Nepalese defeated the Tibetans and declared themselves independent.

As the issue of the epoch is very important, we now proceed to consider what event was actually commemorated by the era.

#### THE EVENT OF THE ERA

The theory of Tibetan domination over Nepal is put forward by the great French Savant Sylvain Levi who suggests that the Nepalese era of 879 A.D., was founded to commemorate the occasion of Nepal becoming independent of Tibet after a vassalage of nearly three hundred years.<sup>10</sup>

We do not know how he got this idea. He does not provide any reliable evidence to prove his statement. All that he produces in the nature of evidence is just guess work. He thinks that because Tibet was able to subjugate its many neighbours in the 7th and 8th centuries it might have brought Nepal also under its heels. But we must remember that S. Levi always wrote with a bias in favour of Tibet. He tried to render onto the Ceasar of Tibet glories that were not his.

The most striking feature of Sylvain Levi's suggestion is that he pushes his argument to its extreme. While he advances the theory of Tibetan domination of Nepal, he does not even seem to realise that Tibet could not continue to dominate Nepal while itself facing an internal crisis of undue severity.

S. Levi attributes the Tibetan exercise of suzerainty over Nepal to the Tibetan king Srong-Tsang-sGampo who ruled in Tibet from 620 to 650 A.D. Relying on certain Tibetan chronicles he also maintains that the Tibetan ruler married a daughter of the Nepalese ruler, Amśuvarman. He thought that Tibet had continued to exercise some kind of suzerainty over Nepal till the middle of the ninth century A.D.<sup>11</sup>

Since the early 7th century A.D. Tibet had risen to be a very powerful Pan-Asiatic State conquering Turkestan and

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<sup>10</sup> Levi, II, pp. 158, 163, 173-77.

<sup>11</sup> Levi, *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 148-49.



Kashghar on one side and Yunan on the other. In the South Tibet's frontier touched the outer fringe of the Himalayas. It is likely that the Tibetans had occupied territories as far as this line. The Chinese army was heavily defeated in 670 A.D. by the Tibetans. Although the Chinese avenged this defeat later in 692 A.D. by successfully invading the occupied areas, Tibet revived its efforts soon after. The military campaign had continued even while its king had been killed in 704 A.D. in a skirmish on the Tibet-Nepal border. In 710 A.D. the Tibetan king had once again obtained in marriage the daughter of the Chinese Emperor. According to Ms-Tuan-lin (Wen-hien Tung-K'ao)<sup>12</sup> the Tibetans had also successfully carried raids on the border areas of a part of North India. The period between 755 and 797 brought further acquisition and glory to Tibet. China had been weakened by internal disorders, and its hold on distant provinces became loose. Tibet exploited the occasion by renewing the attack, and thus captured Kansu, the remaining part of Turkestan and the whole of Khotan.<sup>13</sup> In a treaty of 783 the Chinese accepted Tibetan conquest as a fait accompli, and recognised as parts of Tibetan territory, what was then a good portion of Czechuan and Kansu. In the west the Tibetan empire touched the border of the Karakoram Range as it occupied territories upto Gilgit including Baltistan. According to the Ladakhi chronicle<sup>14</sup> it appears that some rulers of North India were subject to Tibet uptill the middle of the ninth century. In Thomas' Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan<sup>15</sup> we have a passage to state that the Pālas paid tribute to K'ri-sron-lde-btsan who died in 797 A.D.

S. Levi quotes T'ang shu to state that during the period of K'ai-yuan (713-741) an embassy of Central India came to

<sup>12</sup> Ming edition, 1524.

<sup>13</sup> Charles Bell: *Tibet, Past and Present* (1924), Appendix II, Stone Pillar Inscription recording the Tibetan conquest in West China.

<sup>14</sup> A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Tibet*, II, pp. 5-6, P. 34.

<sup>15</sup> I, London, 1935, pp. 272-73.

request from the son of Heaven an army of reinforcements to punish the Tibetans and another enemy still more dreadful who had just made his appearance, the Arabs (Ta-chi). But the emperor Hiuan tsong whose resources were much strained defending his own country could not afford any assistance, he only contented himself with conceding by a decree a title of honour to the Indian army, called 'the army devoted to virtuous acts (hoai-te-kium)'. This shows how powerful Tibet had become in the eighth century. The reign of K'ri-sron-lde-btsan had seen the climax of Tibet's military power and expansion.

But the glory that was Tibet was not to stay long. In 797 A.D. Mu-ne-btsan-po succeeded to the throne. He ruled upto 804 A.D., when he was murdered. Thereafter his youngest brother Sad-na-legs occupied the throne until 817 A.D. For all these years Tibet had to fight on two fronts both in the east and the west. The fight with the Chinese was old but with the beginning of the century, the new Arab state also was posing a threat to Tibet as it began expanding towards Central Asia making a common cause with the Chinese empire. As long as K'ri-sron-lde-btsan was living the Arabs were behaving as the allies and friends of the Tibetans. But in 798 they joined hands with the Chinese to challenge Tibet's strength in Turkestan. The latter country had to wage a defensive war in this theatre in 802 A.D. and met with reverses. Its territorial empire, however, was not much affected by this war, nevertheless its psychological effects were serious enough and Tibet was checkmated in its expansive career. But the position did not deteriorate until the Tibetan empire disintegrated due to internal troubles coming in the wake of a situation of civil war in 848 A.D.

K'ri-gtsug-lde-btsan Ral-pa-can was the successor of Sad-na-legs and he reigned from 817 A.D. to 837 A.D.<sup>16</sup> In his early career as king of Tibet Ral-pa-can exhibited sufficient zeal and courage in the best tradition of the Tibetan monarchy. Essentially, however, he was a peace loving man. In his time Tibet

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<sup>16</sup> Ral-pa-can was called K'o lik'otson and I-tai by the Chinese.

entered into a peace pact both with the Arabs (810 A.D.) and Chinese (822 A.D.),<sup>17</sup> and the chapter of war came to a close. This had, however, not led to the diminution of territories of the Tibetan empire.

But after sometime Ral-pa-can gave up concern for worldly affairs, donned the robes of a Buddhist monk and devoted himself to activities of religious nature. This gave an opportunity of manoeuvre and intrigue against the throne to the section of the nobility opposed to the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet. Later, Ral-pa-can was assassinated in 837 A.D. For some time further the Tibetans were involved in internal disputes of religious nature and there was a blood feud between the followers of Bon-po and Buddhism. Yet one more king was destined to be murdered. This happened in 842 A.D., when a Buddhist monk killed Glan-der-ma who was regarded as the protector of the Bon-po sect. The king's death again brought in its trail two infant claimants to the throne backed by two opposing sections of the aristocracy. By 843 A.D. the Tibetan empire had disintegrated, and with no central authority to curb them there were local chieftains ruling as kings all over Tibet, each in the area he grabbed and asserted his authority. It may be of interest to know that some of the new areas of conquest incorporated in the empire had declared themselves free of Lhasa in the early years of the century even while Lhasa had maintained its monarchy.

Apart from the question of the fall of Tibet as a great power in about 843 A.D., there is one more point to take into account while considering the issue of Tibetan domination over Nepal. This is the absence of any reference to Nepal in accounts of Chinese sources except for one occasion. The mention of Nepal comes in a notice referring to the incident of the death of a Tibetan king who was killed in battle while personally taking part in the attack directed to suppress the rebellious Nepalese.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Petech, *The Ladakh chronicle*, p. 80. Tieh-Tseng L'i, *Tibet Today and Yesterday*, N.Y., 1960 fn., p. 221.

<sup>18</sup> Hsin T'ang-shu (New T'ang History), Po-na edition, published in 1935, Shanghai Ch. 221a, P. 12a.

In regard to the period following as they narrate events of war and peace making the Chinese annals do talk of Turkestan and other places in Central Asia. Even the areas on Bengal and Assam frontier are noted. But any reference to Nepal is conspicuously absent in them. If Nepal had been under the Tibetan kings there was no reason for this country being omitted in the list of countries conquered or occupied. Obviously, Nepal was little affected adversely by Tibetan military expansion of the days of Srong-Tsang-sGampo's successors. Either the raids into Nepal did not at all occur or the invaders met severe reverses at the hands of the defenders. One such reverse the Tibetans met in 704-05 A.D., when in an engagement with the Nepalese the Tibetan king was killed, the account of which is presented by the chronicler of the Chinese T'ang-shu as earlier suggested. We have yet to examine the validity of Levi's statement in the light of Tibetan source materials. But as far as Chinese accounts go, the Tibetan army had not even moved to the south to approach the Nepalese border since 704 A.D. It is true that speaking of the years 645 and 704 A.D. the Chinese have said that Nepal was a dependency of Tibet, but as we know they do not talk of a victorious march over Nepal at any time either in the time of Srong-Tsang-sGampo or later.

S. Levi suggests that Nepal acknowledged the suzerainty of Tibet until the time of Glan-der-ma (called Ta-mo by the Chinese).<sup>19</sup> Quoting a passage from Rgyal-rabs Levi thinks that Ral-pa-can, like his predecessors, 'was a suzerain of Mongolia in the north, of countries touching Persia in the west, and in the south of countries of India bLo Mon li and Zahora (viz. Nepal and Hindustan) as far as the majestic bed of the Ganges'.<sup>20</sup> According to the French scholar Nepal could shake off Tibetan suzerainty only when the Tibetan empire had broken after the death of Glan-der-ma.

I do not think that bLo Mon li can be identified with Nepal. If Zahora or Zahore is the present Mandi area in the Punjab

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<sup>19</sup> II, pp. 178-79.

<sup>20</sup> Levi, II, p. 177.

Himalayas in India,<sup>21</sup> bLo Mon li can be a state close by probably east of it occupying the region what is known at the moment by name Garhwal-Kumaon. We can utmost suggest by bLo Mon li the state of Puran which was situated covering the basin of the river Karnāli. But this was a state which had nothing to do with Nepal. The Tibetan chronicler pushes the limit of the empire to the Ganges. This, however, should not be taken seriously. It may be that he was writing with the proud memory of the reigns of the Mes-ag-t'sons and K'ri-sron-lde-btsan. Petech suggests that Ral-pa-can had probably exercised 'some kind of suzerainty over two or three rulers of India'.<sup>22</sup> But Indian historians do not take such statements seriously. At any rate whether or not some Indian rulers were acknowledging Tibetan suzerainty at the time, we have not the slightest doubt about Nepal maintaining its independence all through the centuries while Tibet had become an imperial power.

The Ladakh chronicle (La-dvags-rgyal-rabs)<sup>23</sup> gives amongst other places of conquest by Srong-Tsang-sGampo two regions by name bLo-bo and Zan-zun in the south of Tibet as then constituted (Text, p. 32). The same authority said that in the time of his successors another place in the south called Bal-poi Sinkhun was added (Text, p. 32). This account is also supported by GRR.<sup>24</sup> But it is not possible to identify bLo-bo with Mustang in Nepal as A. H. Francke had also attempted to make out nor we have any reason to identify Nepal with Sin-khun.<sup>25</sup> Zan-zun (San-sun) is accepted for Guje which is now called West Tibet, but which was at the time outside the periphery of the Tibetan kingdom.<sup>26</sup> It is quite likely that

<sup>21</sup> Petech, *A Study on the chronicles of Ladakh*, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 12-13.

<sup>22</sup> *The Ladakh Chronicle*, p. 68.

<sup>23</sup> *Antiquities of Tibet*, II, pp. 31-32.

<sup>24</sup> P. 840; Text, p. 16-b.

<sup>25</sup> Op. Cit., *Antiquities of Tibet*, II, p. 85.

<sup>26</sup> G. Tucci, *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal*, Rome, 1956, p. 73.

bLo-bo was situated towards the east of Guje on the other side of the last line of the Himalayan snows. Thus it could be located in the south of Central Tibet, forming the main territory of the kingdom of the Tibetan monarchy. But on no account the name bLo-bo applied to Nepal or any portion thereof. Similarly the name Pal-boi San-khun (Sinkhuni or Sinkhun) occurring as a place in the south, upto which Srong-Tsang-sGampo's grandson had carried his conquest can be hardly identified with a province within the jurisdiction of Nepal. A. H. Francke translates the passage in the Ladakh chronicle to speak of these places as 'of Nepal' (II, p. 85). But this interpretation is unwarranted in view of the present location of these areas. In this context we have characterised the enumeration of the Ladakh chronicle as something not mentioning Nepal in course of its description of Tibetan conquest. Thus the same also tends to support the Chinese sources, which talk nothing of the Tibetan adventures in the south for all these years unlike the account as given by Sanang-satsen. I think that both these together provide a strong ground to reject the theory of Tibetan conquest of Nepal by Srong-Tsang-sGampo or by his successor.

The theory of Tibetan suzerainty over Nepal as propounded by Levi is accepted by many writers in India and abroad who claim to be able to write with authority on the ancient history of Nepal. In 1955 an eminent historian of India, R. C. Majumdar whose source of information is confined to Levi and H. C. Ray's DNI (he gives these two as his general reference) wrote in his 3 page paper on Nepal contributed to a volume of Indian history, "As we know that there was a disastrous civil war in Tibet followed by the decline of its power and disintegration of its political authority in the second and third quarters of the 9th century, it is not unlikely that the new era marks the emancipation of Nepal from the yoke of Tibetans".<sup>27</sup> R. C. Majumdar believes that the Tibetans exercised some kind of suzerainty over Nepal for a long time before 879 A.D. He

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<sup>27</sup> *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, 1955, Vol. IV, HCI, p. 50.

quotes also A. H. Francke<sup>28</sup> in support of his statement because Francke had earlier maintained that Ral-pa-can conquered India as far as the sea and also Nepal. Majumdar thinks that the Tibetan account of their king exercising suzerainty over some parts of India cannot be taken seriously. But taking his cue from the same source he enthusiastically supports the story of Nepal becoming dependent on Tibet as if in his opinion Nepal alone was destined to be a vassal of Tibet. R. C. Majumdar has done little original research on the history of Nepal and Tibet. So we can dismiss his contention without further arguments. But the same mistake is committed by Luciano Petech, who has to his credit substantial works of original research on these countries. Recently Prof. L. Petech suggested on the basis of a passage in one ancient chronicle of Nepal that a Tibetan king was ruling over this country sometime in the mid eighth century A.D.

There is a line in V<sup>1</sup> (f. 23-a) which runs *tatpāśchāt Bhoṭarā-jenamāyāti Nepālamāṇḍale rājyam karoti*. This comes just after the passage mentioning Vasantadeva and before the one mentioning Rudradeva who according to the same chronicle ruled peacefully as far as Bhoṭ (*tenacha Bhoṭaparyantam niṣ-kaṇṭakam rājyam karoti*). Petech translated the expression to say that one Tibetan king 'Namoyāti ruled over Nepal after Vasantadeva'. He then wrote 'this is an interesting piece of information, but it is difficult to connect it with the contemporary history of Tibet. If (and that is big if) it refers to the 8th century then it may have something to do with the climax of Tibetan expansion during the reign of K'ri-sron-lde-btson (755-797). But there is nothing in the Tibetan texts about the conquests in Nepal after the country had regained its independence by the successful revolt of 704 A.D. or else Namoyāti might be identified with the mysterious ruler, Aramudi, chief of Nepal—but Aramudi is certainly not a Tibetan name in spite of Levi's suggestion to this effect.'<sup>29</sup> The Italian scholar leaves

<sup>28</sup> *Antiquities of Tibet*, II, p. 58.

<sup>29</sup> Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal*, p. 29.

the argument incomplete. But yet he maintains his stand to say that Namoyāti, a Tibetan king, ruled over Nepal. In my view, the translation introducing the name of the Bhoṭarāja is wrong. Also the word after Bhoṭarāja is not Namoyāti. We read the passage as *Bhoṭarājenamāyāti*. The expression simply means 'Bhoṭarāja came and ruled'. The language of the passage is defective. It is *apabhraṃśa Sanskrit* but such a construction is commonly met in Nepalese literature of medieval days. In V<sup>1</sup> itself there are several places where we come across such constructions. But nevertheless the passage clearly shows that the chronicle introduces a ruler from Bhoṭa. However, the main question is that of identifying Bhoṭa of the passage. According to Petech the event of Bhoṭarāja's coming happened more than 132 years 10 months previous to the founding of the Nepal era in 879 A.D. What Petech has said about this event in the chronicle may not be exactly correct in regard to the date, but it could refer to another ruler Mes-ag-ts'oms (704-755) as he himself suggests. This is, however, a minor point of controversy compared to what is involved in the issue and had it not been for more weighty reasons we could have also accepted another personage K'ri-sron-lde-btsan (755-797 A.D.) himself. However, the issue here is not to choose between two rulers of Tibet regarding the episode. But as Petech has said, no Tibetan texts even talk of conquest in Nepal in his time or even in the time of his predecessor. Against all this we cannot surely make out a proposition to introduce a king from Tibet ruling over Nepal. However, even otherwise it is very difficult to identify Tibet as Bhoṭarāja, for this term has been employed to denote a separate principality of Banepa situated about 14 miles due east of Kathmandu outside the Nepal Valley. In the ancient chronicle and ms. colophons Bhoṭa always applied to Banepa area. An inscription in Gupta character of the reign of Śivadeva II of the early 8th century A.D. used the expression for the first time to denote the area of Banepa, through which passed the merchandise to Tibet. Several inscriptions and colophons in the later period have called the feudatories in the area as *Bhoṭarājādhirāja* (see Jayasimharāma's documents). Until the



very present the townlet of Banepa is called Bhoṭa. So the expression of the V<sup>i</sup> may also denote a ruler of Banepa principality coming to occupy the throne in Patan in supercession of the claim of a rightful successor. The chronicler must have omitted the name of the Bhoṭarāja as the event did not redound to the credit of the traditional ruling family of Nepal.

Thus it is definite that the proposition of Tibetan domination over Nepal rests on slender foundation. In the circumstances it is impossible to accept the hypothesis of the new era being founded in consequence of Nepal gaining back its independence in 879 A.D. Those who have argued for this sort of proposition have done so without seriously considering the weighty evidence against it.

S. Levi has another explanation for the adoption of the new era in 879 A.D. He took the new era to be just another version of the Śaka era, of course, with a new count. He thought that the Nepalese abandoned the name of the Śaka era because in that year they had reached a cycle of 800 years in terms of the epoch of the Śaka era, which was inauspicious in view of the number 8. Then they started the new count of years and thought they started a new era. According to him there was a superstition that the number 8 forebode evil, and the fear that if they did not drop the era, this number would follow them for 100 years and bring them disaster impelled them to start a new count of years, which shaped itself into a new era known as the Nepal era. It might be that the number 8 was inauspicious but this was not peculiar to the Newars. At least, we do not hear of this superstition any more at the moment. More than this, it does not seem that the Nepalese of the day had actually started the count with the 800th year of the Śaka year because the epoch of the Nepal era occurs after nearly 18 months had elapsed since that date. But most of all, we have to bear in mind that the Śaka era was not in vogue in Nepal at the time while the new era came to be born. It was Sylvain Levi who ascribed the epoch of a good many inscriptions of the 6th and 7th centuries to an era dating since 595 A.D. Obviously the latter era not the Śaka must have been adopted all the time

between this date and 879 A.D. Therefore the argument of Levi in this regard does not hold good to explain the circumstances of the Nepal era of 879 A.D.

Recently an Indian author R. C. Majumdar has tried to revive Levi's theory in respect of the epoch of the era. He says "the current era in Nepal started in 879 A.D. only one year after 800 Śaka era. If we allow for difference of one year as not unlikely to happen on account of the confusion between current and expired years we may suppose that this era was really the Śaka era with eight hundred omitted".<sup>30</sup> As we have already observed, the Nepal era started while actually the Śaka year 801 had expired. I do not think we can so easily explain away this difference by attributing the count to a confusion between the current and expired years. R. C. Majumdar thinks that 'the earlier era was also born by dropping the five hundredth year of the Śaka era'. The Śaka era is *Chaitrādi*. So we have here a difference of 18 months. Thus he makes out a case of the Śaka era 'to have been in continuous use in Nepal' since the very early time. But we have yet to establish the exact epoch years of the two groups of inscriptions of early Nepal and until then nothing categorically can be said if the Śaka era had been adopted in the stone. For the second group the likelihood of the Śaka era is further complicated, because this definitely starts with a new count, and its initial date is also as much uncertain though this can be placed within 68-78 A.D. Even if a narrow margin were to be there between the centenary of the Śaka era and our era, we cannot say for certain that the two were identical for we have other instances of eras coming within 6 or 8 years of the centenary year of the Vikrama or Śaka era but nobody has suggested that these were the Śaka era or Vikrama era in continuation e.g. the Chedi Kālachuri era of VS 306, the Gupta era of the Śaka 242, and Chālukya era of Śaka 998 founded by Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> R. C. Majumdar in JBAS, I, 1959, No. 1, pp. 48-49.

<sup>31</sup> Sewell and Diksit: *The Indian Calendar*, London, 1896, p. 43. Cunningham: *Indian Eras*, Calcutta, 1883, pp. 60-63, p. 75.

I do not think the founder of any of these eras ever thought of the centenary of any previous era, while he founded his own era. Of course, if the margin is closed, it may be possible to identify the new era with the traditional Vikrama or Śaka era. But not until then we can do so. Therefore the proposition of the Śaka era being in continuation does not stand the ground in the present state of our knowledge. Obviously R. C. Majumdar has indulged in speculation about the nature of the era, and this he has done following Levi. As we have already discussed Levi's statement in this regard, we know what value to attach to what R. C. Majumdar wrote on the eras of Nepal.

According to Levi, the new century of the Śaka era was associated with the event of the country's deliverance from Tibetan yoke. He observed: "I cannot prevent myself from believing that Nepal delivered from the Tibetan yoke by the murder of Glan-der-ma and the anarchy which followed hailed the new century as a new period of her history. We know what a superstitious omen attaches itself even in Europe on the birth of a new century".<sup>32</sup>

But Levi seems to have forgotten that Tibet had disintegrated in about 850 A.D. and if Nepal had been freed from the Tibetan yoke, it should have been about that time. Naturally the founding of the era should have taken place as soon as the country was freed and not 30-40 years later as Levi suggests. Why should the Nepalese have waited till October, 879 = Śaka 801 *Kārtika śukla* 1 for that occasion? If the era had started, say in 850 A.D. = Śaka 772, the Nepalese had not to be worried over ill omens. But S. Levi has no reasonable explanation as to why the era was not started in that year.

Now let us consider if the origin of the era was due to any change of ruling dynasty at the time. We learn from the inscriptions and this has been established beyond doubt, that Amśuvarman founded an era in 568-78 A.D. Uptill then another era was in vogue, of which the base year fell between 68 and 78 A.D. At the date while the Lichhavis were carving out a

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<sup>32</sup> Levi, II, p. 179.

precarious existence in the Valley their king happened to be too much dependent on the High Feudatory, the illustrious Amśuvarman, who belonged to another family of Kṣatriyas called the Ṭhākuri by the later Varṁsāvalis and consequently he was relegated in the background. Amśuvarman was the most dominant personality of the time, and not only overshadowed the throne, but also initiated a new chapter of history by founding an era. Of course, he did not found a dynasty to rule but his founding a new era was as much significant because the same indicated how powerful he was. In the climax of his power he became the head of the state. But after Amśuvarman the Ṭhākuris lost power and it was not until 879 A.D. that they had regained it. This is one of the several views put forth in support of a dynastic origin of the event of the era. It is said that in 879 A.D., a new chapter of glory opened for the Ṭhākuris. The event marked the end of the Lichhavi rule as well as the restoration of the Ṭhākuri dynasty. This time the Ṭhākuris were themselves placed in power as sovereigns unlike the period before when they had played the role of a Regent or Chief Minister or Head of the State. So the event carried all the greater importance. Those who subscribe to the view of the dynastic origin of the era say that the chronicles on the whole have made a mistake in putting Rāghavadeva in the old list in continuation. V<sup>i</sup> places him in the list of the restored line of Sūryavarṁsis, the same as the Lichhavis. VK or Kirkpatrick follows the same line in allotting him a place in the chronology. Nowhere he is introduced as a person who had started a new dynasty or restored the old one. If he is a Ṭhākuri, then he must have restored his line. If he is not, then he belonged to a new one altogether. But the list in which he is placed contains all Lichhavis who are wrongly called Ṭhākuris. It is argued that the names down to Rāghavadeva upto himself (but excluding himself) must be removed to the first list under the caption No. II, Lichhavi genealogy, i.e. the second line of the Lichhavi dynasty restored by Narendradeva. Bendall said that Rāghava's line was a new line and he also suggested that this is indicated by V<sup>i</sup> which begins entirely a new chapter, in fact, a new genea-

logy commencing with him. Bendall points out that this indicates a break in the old order and necessarily has to be commemorated by founding an era (JBAS, 1903, Part I). But Bendall is wrong to say that the V<sup>i</sup> starts a new list of rulers with Rāghavadeva. There is nothing in the chronicle to indicate a change of ruling dynasty since the time of Amśuvarman. Similarly, V<sup>i</sup> and VK (if it is regarded as the replica of V<sup>i</sup>) do not suggest any line other than the one of Sūryavaṃśi restored by Dhruvavarman. According to Kirkpatrick, Rāghavadeva, the founder of the era, belonged to the line of 'Sheo Deo Burmah, of the posterity of Nevisit, again subduing Nepaul, and expelling the Guptees'.<sup>33</sup> This is, of course, to mean that Rāghavadeva was of the Lichhavi dynasty. But if he was a Lichhavi, two of his successors Udayadeva and Nirbhayadeva of the ms. of NS 119 (see below) coming in after four generations would have adopted the epithet used by the Lichhavis of the dynasty of Vṛṣadeva. Or, these were not Rāghavadeva's successors of his line. But on Kirkpatrick's authority these rulers were of the same line. So the fact of Rāghavadeva being a Lichhavi is not established. Further, by the time the era came to be founded in 879 A.D., the Lichhavis seem to have disappeared from the scene. After Jayadeva II's reign (705-740 A.D.), the dynasty carried a lingering existence for some time and lost the field altogether towards the end of the century. This is best expressed in the absence of any inscriptional documents belonging to the Lichhavis for the period after Jayadeva II. At any rate the era was not associated with one who had Lichhavi connections.

But we also find it difficult to connect the era with the restoration of the Thākuris. We have no doubt that a new dynasty had replaced the Lichhavis on the throne but we do not see any evidence to prove that Rāghavadeva had started a new dynasty or the replacement took place in 879 A.D.

The expression *Śri Paśupatihattāraka Samvatsara* in one of the chronicle implies that the founding of the era was due to some religious event connected with the national shrine of Paśu-

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<sup>33</sup> Kirkpatrick, p. 262.

patināth. But it seems that this cannot hold ground unless we bring a situation which had led to the founding of a new era associated with God Paśupatiñāth, and this era could not have been introduced just because the deity was worshipped on a particular day. The issue of the era is linked with some event of great significance, though it cannot be doubted that the said event might have also caused propitiation of the Lord as VK suggests.

Quite often the era is the outcome of a desire of an individual ruler, who thinks he is strong enough in his kingdom to found a dynasty to rule in succession to him either in his name or in the name of his family, in the latter instance the epoch of the era is pushed earlier to the time of his ancestor who had probably laid the foundation of such a kingdom. It is true that for our era, we do not find any event of a dynastic change recorded in the ancient or modern chronicles. But we have to accept a position that in October, 879 A.D., the dynasty ruling so far had been replaced by a new one; we may not be able to say which exactly was the dynasty instrumental for the seizure of power and commemoration of the event. However, the fact of a dynastic change with the new era seems to be a certainty.

As we take up the question of the founder of the era we shall try to assess the dynastic position of the ruler who could have founded the era. It may be that with Rāghavadeva, a third dynasty had come into power, whether it was a restored line or a new line altogether.

Now there is only one point left to be explained. This is the fact of the era to have been started since the first day of the bright fortnight of *Kārtika*. Why this particular day was chosen for the purpose? This day is also the epoch of the Vikrama era in some parts of India, particularly in Gujerat.

As we know in Gujerat the *Vikrama era* is *Amānta* and starts from the first day of the bright fortnight of *Kārtika*. The coincidence of the facts of the year starting from *Kārtika śukla prati-pada* with *amānta* month in Nepal and countries like Gujerat etc. may have some meaning. The eras appear to be common. It may be suggested that if it was a different era in Nepal it

would not have been *Kārtika śuklādi*. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the latter half of the ninth century A.D., the same time the Nepal Samvat was founded the whole of North India saw the revival of the Malava era of 57 B.C. into a new era called the Vikrama samvat. By this time all the other dynastic eras in India had been out of the field. The Vikrama era had emerged in a new colour. It might be suggested that the cultural influence of the episode of this era must have deeply affected Nepal as it did other countries south of the Himalayas. Probably this is reflected in a cursory statement of one of the chronicles which asserts that Rāghavadeva had introduced Vikrama samvat into Nepal.<sup>34</sup>

But we cannot subscribe to the view that the Vikrama samvat was introduced into Nepal in 879 A.D. As we have a new count of years with the epoch, this is obviously a new era. If it was the Vikrama era introduced, the Nepalese would have counted their years with the epoch year of 57 B.C. as the Gujeratis did. The fact that there is a new epoch clearly establishes that there was absolutely no place for the Vikrama era as it is adopted in parts of India.

We see as we read the chronology of the medieval period that the Śaka and Vikrama eras came to be adopted in the documents of the medieval period only since the 16th century. Till then there were rare occasions when eras other than the Nepal Samvat were mentioned in documents. It will appear that until the time of Jayārjuna and Jaya Sthitimalla we have no instances of any other era being adopted except three times where the Vikrama era is being concurrently mentioned. At one instance the scribe was a Gujerati (document of Arimalla)<sup>35</sup> and it was natural for him to mention the era of his mother country. As for the use of the Śaka era about the time of Jaya Sthitimalla seen in a few instances it may be said that influences from neighbouring Mithilā might have led to the adoption of the Śaka era by a few scribes. But on the whole for the entire

<sup>34</sup> Kirkpatrick, p. 262, VK, P. 1.

<sup>35</sup> ms. *Amriteśvarapūjā*, vide above.

period upto the 15th century A.D. the Nepal era was being exclusively used in the Nepal Valley.

If our era was the same as the Vikrama era, the concurrent use of the former with the latter is not conceivable.

There is absolutely no doubt that in spite of the coincidence of several elements in the epochs of both the eras, the Nepal era of 879 A.D. was distinct from the Vikrama era, although it is possible that while the day of the epoch was determined, the choice would have been influenced by cultural contact with North India which at the time had seen the birth of the Vikrama era.

## II

### THE FOUNDER OF THE ERA

The modern chronicles except Group B<sup>2</sup> are of no help in the matter of discovering the man who had founded the era. They bring in personages who ruled two to three hundred years after the founding of the era (see above in the discussion of the epoch year of the era) e.g. the Sanskrit chronicle has Vāmadeva's reign for the event (c. NS 204), while Wright and BLI attribute to Ānandamalla's reign.

In the long list of royal names of the chronicle one name Rāghavadeva is marked by one of the ancient chronicles (Kirkpatrick) and VK and also by one of the later chronicles, the Group B<sup>2</sup> to have introduced the era. The statement of VK is not complete, as it does not provide us the actual date in terms of the older eras. The matter is left not a little explicit. But let us see if we can solve the points round about the career and regnal date of Rāghavadeva.

### RAGHAVADEVA AND THE NEPAL ERA

How far Jayadeva II's kingdom had been maintained intact is not known except that few rulers, whose identity might be doubtful, are brought to the scene by the ancient Vamśavalis to have ruled in the Valley of Nepal as successors of the Lichhavis. In fact, the whole history between Jayadeva II and Rāghavadeva is wrapped up in obscurity. This was the reason that led



several authors to indulge in wild speculations about the events of the era. About Rāghavadeva himself, little is known from the later chronicles, but V<sup>1</sup>, VK and Kirkpatrick mention him in a long line of kings of the restored line of Sūryavamśis (i.e. the Lichhavis). He is not mentioned by the Śaivite and Buddhist legends. But a chronology in the preamble to a Newari drama of Bhūpatīndramalla has Rāghavadeva.<sup>36</sup> This chronology does look much similar to that V<sup>1</sup>. It was prepared in NS 812. Unlike V<sup>1</sup>, however, Bhūpatīndramalla's genealogy is much irregular and omits altogether events, including the one of founding the era.<sup>37</sup> We have already seen what the later chronicles had to say about the founder of the era. The Sanskrit chronicle and Wright do talk of a new era but they give a date nearly two hundred years later; Kirkpatrick and VK are the only authority to talk of the era and to make Rāghavadeva the founder of the Nepal era.<sup>38</sup> Kirkpatrick said that Rāghavadeva started the tambul era of the Bickermajeet. We know that of the later chronicles there is only Group B<sup>2</sup> which shows Rāghavadeva as the founder of the era. He is placed just a generation earlier to Jayadevamalla, at whose time Nānyadeva conquered Nepal. The story of Sakhwal is connected with Rāghavadeva's reign. He is also said to be the first monarch of the two kingdoms, who ruled from Lalitpur. But the setting in which he is presented is so false that the chronicle does not help us to unravel the mystery about the founder of the new era. This may, however, show that a tradition as to Rāghavadeva being a founder of the new era was preserved in the eighteenth century A.D. VK uses the expression *Śrī Paśupati Bhattārika samvatsara pravrittih kritah*, while referring to this monarch.<sup>39</sup> V<sup>1</sup> is silent about the era. Similarly, about Rāghavadeva, being of a new line of rulers, we have no other authority than Bendall.<sup>40</sup> The

<sup>36</sup> This genealogy is elsewhere being called Jītamitramalla's as the work was composed by his son during his time.

<sup>37</sup> Rāmāyaṇa in 15 acts, dated NS 812, Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 367.

<sup>38</sup> Kirkpatrick, p. 261.

<sup>39</sup> P. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Bendall, JBAS, 1903, Table, p. 21.

latter, however, simply resorted to a guess, although the question is, what was the basis of his guess. But Kirkpatrick and V<sup>1</sup> are trustworthy documents which inspire confidence in them. So, the existence of Rāghavadeva in early medieval age cannot be doubted although the exact time he reigned might be subjected to a conjecture. Yet, there is one point that we have to consider in trying to build a premise based on V<sup>1</sup> and VK. If Rāghava has started a new dynasty, they should have mentioned this fact. But they do not. It is for this reason alone Levi has said that 'the pale figure of Rāghavadeva does not harmonise with the idea of the founder of the era' (II, p. 180). He discards altogether the importance of the founder in connection with the event of the era. This we have already discussed a little earlier. However, Rāghavadeva comes to be little known even from such chronicles as mention his name. There is little more added about him to his name and the result is that we could get practically no information of his greatness as the founder of the era. The point, however, is that whether these chronicles have to be regarded as the sole authority in this matter, and whether theirs is the last word. In this case, the personality of Rāghavadeva will appear to have no relation with the era. Alongside of this there is also the question of Rāghavadeva's lineage to be considered while we pursue the point to suppose the connection to the era with the event of Ṭhākuri restoration. Petech thinks that the Ṭhākuri dynasty rose in power with Bhāskaradeva, and his dynasty is the original one.<sup>41</sup> Of course, he admits that this designation were arbitrarily offered, and he had followed the later chronicles because of its practical convenience. In the first edition of this volume, the author made out a point that Rāghavadeva was a Ṭhākuri. But it was a tentative suggestion as in the circumstances it has to be. It is not known when the last scion of the previous dynasty ceased to function as a ruler, and in the chronicles there are so many inconsistencies that the event of a rise and fall of a particular dynasty is subject to utter confusion. In this

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<sup>41</sup> P. 25, Op. Cit.

confused background, we are at a loss to know as to which dynasty was introduced anew and which was just restored. But if Rāghavadeva were to be regarded as belonging to a particular line, as specified by the latter chronicles, to which the account of the new era under him directs a pointer, he must also be regarded as the first of the restored line so that the four rulers preceding him stand in the old order.<sup>42</sup>

Of the modern authors Levi grudgingly accepts Rāghavadeva as the founder of the era. Bendall who is supported by Princep and Cunningham strongly believes that he is the traditional founder of the era.<sup>43</sup> Bendall had not seen VK, which is the only chronicle to talk of Rāghavadeva as the founder of the era. He had, however, seen Kirkpatrick whose information was based on VK. But it is surprising that he thinks Kirkpatrick 'passed over Rāghavadeva' when in fact as we have seen Kirkpatrick mentions the fact of Rāghavadeva founding the era. So Bendall's conclusion is not based on the version of the chronicle either VK or Kirkpatrick. However, as he argues we have to admit that not only Rāghavadeva is recorded in the chronicle (ancient) but the years of reign assigned to him and his immediate successors quite accord with the tradition of his having founded the era. Thus if we add together the duration of his reign and his five successors down to Lakṣmīkāmadeva we get about 135 years. This again added to 879-80 brings us to the second decade of the eleventh century, when we know from a colophon that Lakṣmīkāmadeva 'had commenced to rule at all events as joint sovereign becoming sole king later on'.<sup>44</sup> We may not accept Bendall's point of argument, because the total number of years, 135, is based on a misreading of Guṇakāmadeva's regnal years, which should be 85 in place of 65. But as Petech suggests we can now rely on 'a highly

<sup>42</sup> See Wright, p. 153. He omits Rāghavadeva but other names have been found to correspond with those in Bendall's list.

<sup>43</sup> JASB, 1903, p. 53. Useful Tables, edited by Thomas, London, 1859, p. 269.

<sup>44</sup> CPMDN, I, Intro., p. 6.

authoritative text, i.e. VK' for the fact of Rāghavadeva's founding the Nepal era of 879 A.D. I do not think that in view of the statement of VK it will be reasonable to dismiss Rāghavadeva as the founder of the era. We have seen that a group of later chronicles (B<sup>2</sup>) also lends support to the statement of VK. In all probability Rāghavadeva had founded the era to commemorate the occasion of his dynasty coming into power at the time. Not until there is an evidence to contradict this position, Rāghava's claim must stand.

### III

#### GENEALOGY BEFORE RAGHADEVA

The later chronicles have a confused genealogy in general. Even V<sup>1</sup> and Kirkpatrick do not show improvement in respect of the chronology of the ancient and early medieval period. The problem of identifying a particular reign with the founder of the era is, therefore, rendered extremely difficult.

At this stage the confusion presented by the chronology of Nepal appears worse confounded as royal names repeat and regnal years multiply from one list to another. It is quite possible that the system of double rule by which we mean joint rule or simultaneous running of two governments over a single area was also to a certain extent responsible for this situation. But except for a hypothesis it is well nigh difficult to correct the ill-arranged genealogy of the chronicles.

We seek in vain to find out Jayadeva II out of a long list of names. So the base year also misses. If the last year of Jayadeva II be 740 A.D. then to cover a gap of 139 years we must produce a list of kings at least for six generations or even greater. But as Jayadeva II is not to be identified, we face a very odd situation, where the choice has got to be arbitrary.

According to Jayaswal<sup>45</sup> who gives Ṭhākuri paternity to Jayadeva II the chronology stands as follows:—

Śivadeva II, his sons Jayadeva II and Chandrakalādeva II

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<sup>45</sup> JBORS, XXII, Pt. 3, p. 249.

Narendradeva, 740-777

Varadeva, 777-784

Śaṅkaradeva (12 years)—784-796

Vardhamānadeva (13 years, or 16 years)—826

Bālārjuna-deva (36 or 36 years 7 months)—844 A.D.

Rāghavadeva (46 years)—880-926

All the regnal data are from the *Vaṁśāvalis*.

We shall also see that Jayaswal has chosen these names at random. The complex nature of the chronology will appear from the following table giving royal names from Amśuvarman to Rāghavadeva or where he is not mentioned, to his contemporary.

V <sup>1</sup>	VK and Kirkpatrick	BLI Levi and Wright	Sans. Chronicle
1. Amśuvarman, 43	Unghoo Burmah, 42	Amśuvarman (Ṭhākuri) 68	Amśuvarman (Kṣatriya) 35
2. Mānavarman, 65	—	—	—
3. Kritavarman, 65	Kirtoo Burmah, 18	Kritavarman, 87	Kritavarma
4. Change of dynasty: Mahīpāla	—	—	—
5. Devaladeva, 10 Sūryavaṁśi restored	—	—	—
6. Dhruvavarman, 108	—	—	—
7. Bhīmārjuna-deva, 35	Bheem Arjun Deo	Bhīmārjuna 93	—
8. Narendradeva, 13	Nund Deo, 16	(Nandadeva in Wright)	Nandadeva
9. Śivadeva, 16	Seo Deo, 16	— Varadeva, 95 Chandraketudeva	—
10. Narendradeva, 35	Nurrender Deo, 37	Narendra-Deva, 7	Narendradeva
11. Baladeva, 17	Bal Deo, 17	Varadeva, 8	Varadeva, 72
12. Vardhamānadeva, 16	Sunker Deo, 12	Śaṅkaradeva, 12	Śaṅkaradeva
13. Śaṅkaradeva, 12	Bheem Arjun Deo (II), 16	Vardhamānadeva, 13	Vardhamānadeva, 73
14. Vasantadeva, 21	Jye Deo, 19	—	—

V <sup>1</sup>	VK and Kirkpatrick	BLI Levi and Wright	Sans. Chronicle
15. In the interregnum the Bhoṭarāja (Banepa) controls Nepal. Then	Shree Bull Deo, 16 Condur Deo, 26	Balideva, 13	Balideva
16. Rudradeva, 27			
17. Jayadeva, 42-5	Jye Deo, 42-7 (Jayadeva—VK)	Jayadeva, 15	Jayadeva,
18. Baladeva, 11	Bul Deo, 11 (Baladeva—VK)	Balārjunadeva, 17	Balārjunadeva
19. Balārjunadeva, 21-5	Ballunjoon Deo, 36-7 (Balārjunadeva —VK)	Vikramadeva, 12	Vikramadeva
20. Mānadeva, 31			
21. Rāghavadeva, 43-6.	Rāghava Deo, 63-6 VK gives Mānadeva 36 years, in between Balārjunadeva and Rāghavadeva.	Guṇakāmadeva, 51 Bhojadeva, 8 Lakṣmikāmadeva, 22 Jayakāmadeva, 20	Guṇakāmadeva Bhojadeva Lakṣmikāmadeva Jayakāmadeva.

Our table has stopped with Rāghavadeva in the case of V<sup>1</sup> and Kirkpatrick as they mention him.<sup>46</sup> In the case of the later chronicles we have extended the names up to Bhāskaradeva, as Rāghava is entirely omitted therein.

Now it might have driven home to the reader that from this complex genealogy it is well nigh impossible to pick up Jayadeva II and specify his successors for the period up to 879.

We note that in this respect V<sup>1</sup> and VK do not differ much from later chronicles.

As to Rāghava's immediate predecessor there is some dispute about his lineage and person. The various lists offered by the chronicles have displayed a great variance in this respect. Bendall's list does not mention him, as its starting point is the

<sup>46</sup> V<sup>1</sup>, f. 22b-23a, Kirkpatrick, pp. 161-62; Wright, Chapter III, the regnal years from Narendradeva downwards are as in Levi; BLI (some considerations on the History of Nepal) completely agrees with Wright.

year 879 A.D. According to Kirkpatrick's authority and VK Bālārjunadeva is the predecessor of Rāghavadeva. Whatever may be his relation with the latter, he must be No. 1 Bālārjunadeva. If he be Rāghava's father then the line of the Lichhavis must end long before 879 A.D. Kirkpatrick has introduced only two kings in between Jayadeva II and Rāghavadeva with a total reign of 47 years.<sup>47</sup> Thus Jayadeva II's reign would be placed only half a century earlier to Nepal era. But this goes against the date of his inscription (No. 15).<sup>48</sup> The correct result, however, would be obtained by striking off the duplicate name of Jayadeva coming third after him and distributing the 142 years between Rāghava and Jayadeva II. According to the data of the inscriptions Jayadeva will follow Bhīmārjun Deo (I) immediately after. But the second Bhīmārjuna will have no place. Kirkpatrick's authority does not seem so wide of the mark if the list is thus arranged.<sup>49</sup>

According to the later chronicles who omit Rāghavadeva and Udayadeva, Baladeva ruled for 13 years, Jayadeva for 15 years, Bālārjunadeva for 12 years, Vikramadeva for 12 years and Guṇakāmadeva for 51 years.<sup>50</sup> The total, however, is only 103 years between 720 A.D. and the date of new era. If we add Śaṅkaradeva and Vardhamāna the total becomes exactly 128 years. As Śaṅkaradeva occurs in Kirkpatrick's chronology as the immediate successor of Jayadeva (12 years) he may be taken in the list. But it is impossible to accept Varadeva as the same person as Rāghavadeva. Perhaps his name must be taken,

<sup>47</sup> Jye Deo, Bul Deo, Ballarjunadeo.

<sup>48</sup> See Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 178; GI, pp. 186-87.

<sup>49</sup> Nandadeva of this line is according to some chronicles founder of Salivahana era in Nepal.

<sup>50</sup> Kirkpatrick, Op. Cit., p. 262. Śaṅkaradeva built Sankhu, a town on the north eastern corner of the Valley. The Goddess Ugratārā dwells in the hill above the town. Guṇakāmadeva built Kāntipur, modern Kathmandu, at the confluence of the two rivulets, Bāgmati and Viṣṇumati.

as dropped out from the usual list without trying further for an untenable identification.<sup>51</sup>

### DATE OF JAYADEVA II

In volume I of our series we have reconstructed the genealogy from Amśuvarman to Jayadeva II thus:

<i>Kings</i>	<i>Regents</i>
Amśuvarman	
Dhruvadeva	Jiṣṇugupta
Bhīmārjunadeva	Viṣṇugupta
Narendradeva	
Śivadeva II	
Jayadeva II	
Śaṅkaradeva	

We purposely avoided consideration of the dates of Jayadeva II in the preceding volume. But here as regnal dates have to be allocated for the five predecessors of Rāghavadeva, it now becomes unavoidable. Although, it is not an easy job to fix up a time limit for Jayadeva II we have to come to agree to some dates for his regnal years, so that we do not grope in dark about the interregnum between him and the founder of the third era starting from 879 A.D.

We have seen that the inscription of Sonaguthi (at the Bhr̥ngareśvara Temple), which shows the date *125 Bhādrapada śukla* is the last for Śivadeva, Jayadeva's father, as far as the same has preserved the name intact (Gnoli, Ins. LXXVIII). It has as the witness Rājaputra Jayadeva. In between Jayadeva's inscription with ascertained date<sup>52</sup> and the above noted document we have two inscriptions dating *137 Jyaiṣṭha śukla 5*<sup>53</sup> and *145 Pauṣa śukla 3*.<sup>54</sup> As the few lines on the slabs in the beginning are damaged both do not show the names of the ruler. But

<sup>51</sup> Wright, pp. 133-39; IA. XIII, pp. 411-12; Levi, II, p. 184.

<sup>52</sup> Ins. No. 15 of BLI (Gnoli, LXXXI).

<sup>53</sup> Gnoli, No. LXXIX (Levi, No. 18).

<sup>54</sup> Gnoli, No. LXXX (BLI, n. 14).



this has rendered the question of allocation of these documents much difficult. Before we fix regnal years for Jayadeva we have, however, to decide as to whom these inscriptions can be ascribed whether to Śivadeva or to Jayadeva. Let us see if any other factor of the inscription can help us to establish the identification of the ruler. Jayadeva's inscription does not have *dūtaka*. But the other two have *dūtaka*; in one we have *Bhattāraka Śri Vijayadeva* and in the other *Yuvarāja Śri Vijayadeva*. We may not take into consideration another document<sup>55</sup> (Levi, n. 19) and we can accept it as belonging to Śivadeva as the *dūtaka* therein is *Rājaputra Jayadeva* in common with the inscription of Samvat 125. But how to account for the dates in the other two inscriptions through the *dūtaka*? We do not have evidence enough to regard Vijayadeva as the vicarious name of Jayadeva. While in several inscriptions we notice the name, Jayadeva, we fail to understand as to why there was a need for the vicarious name to be adopted in others. So the question of identity between the two names have to be dismissed and therefore unless sufficient evidence is forthcoming, Vijayadeva must pass for a son of Jayadeva. Accordingly the two inscriptions must be assigned to Jayadeva.

Śivadeva's reign must have come to an end sometimes between Samvat 125 and 137 (693–705 A.D.). Jayadeva must rule from the date, 705, upto 740 A.D.<sup>56</sup> The Paśupati stella of Samvat 159 shows him at the climax of power. There are other dates in records following 159, which we can ascribe to Jayadeva's reign. Of course this is arbitrary. But an approximate date closing of his reign should be obtained. If we close Jayadeva's reign in 740 A.D. or so, then the remaining 140 years could be distributed amongst the five or six predecessors of Rāghavadeva coming between Jayadeva and himself. It is generally agreed that Rāghavadeva founded a ruling dynasty since October, 879 by which date the Lichhavi dynasty had run its course. It will appear however that for an interval of about two hundred years

<sup>55</sup> King's name and date figure peeled off.

<sup>56</sup> Gnoli, Inscription No. LXXXIX.

Nepal again passes through a time which is marked by the absence of any kind of reliable data such as inscription and colophons. It is not an easy task to settle a genealogy for this period, more so because the ancient chronicle is practically of no help until we come to the ninth century A.D.

fa

## MANADEVA III

But the interval of uncertainty is shortened by a reign which has come to light through an inscription in Gupta character of date 180.

This is a 3 line inscription on the pedestal of a standing image of Lokeśvara in stone enshrined in a temple situated in Yangu Vihāra in the city of Patan (eastern part). The first two lines invoke God Lokeśvara. In the last line, the relevant express runs; *Rājno Śrī Mānadevasya varṣe sityuttare śate* (=100+80) *Māgha kṛṣṇa dvitīyāyām pratisthāppa guṇodeshe*.<sup>57</sup> This means that the image was consecrated on *Māgha kṛṣṇa dvitīya* of the year 180, while in the reign of Mānadeva.

According to a ms. (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 279) it shall appear that in the Nepal year 180 (*asītiyukte saśate*) month of *Māgha site* and the day of *trītiya*, the ruling king was Baladeva. This is the last document of Baladeva and the first document of the next reign (Pradyumnakāmadeva) dates 183 *Jyaiṣṭha kṛṣṇa* (see below). In the context we may have a temptation to allocate the above inscription to a reign coming in between Baladeva and Pradyumnakāmadeva. But in view of the script of the record, which is definitely later Guptan (Known as *Kuṭilā*) any attempt to push it to NS 180 would be quite unwarranted. We have seen several inscriptions of the period beginning from the reign of Rudradeva-Bhojadeva (NS 132), and they have a script which is much different from the one adopted in the inscription under consideration. It is generally agreed that the Gupta script was in vogue only uptill the end of the 9th century A.D. or latest middle of the 10th century A.D.

Therefore the date of the Lokeśvara pedestal inscription in

<sup>57</sup> Unpublished.

Gupta character must follow the epoch year of Amśuvarman's inscription. This surely indicates that the ruler of the inscription was reigning in  $180 + 378 \text{ A.D.} = 758 \text{ A.D.}$  or so.

In the genealogy of the chronicle of V<sup>i</sup> there is one Mānadeva placed immediately before Rāghavadeva. As the date of the inscription has it, this Mānadeva should come rather immediately after Śaṅkaradeva. Because we have already two Mānadevas flourishing earlier to this date (see volume: *Ancient Nepal*) he should be called Mānadeva III and if he is to be assigned 31 years as V<sup>i</sup> does then he reigns till 200 AE (Amśuvarman era) = 768-78 A.D.

It will now appear that we have only five rulers left before Rāghavadeva. I do not think that we now face any difficulty in regard to distributing the remaining hundred years before the Nepal era started.

Any name in the chronicles which comes in the way of this list must either be fictitious or one that was misplaced. Similarly, in the subsequent list there is no room for names more than five utmost. Other names must be cancelled. The reconstructed list for the predecessors of Rāghavadeva shall be as follows:

	V <sup>i</sup>
1. Jayadeva II	
2. Śaṅkaradeva	12 years
3. Mānadeva III	31 „
4. Rudradeva I	27 „
5. Vasantadeva	—
6. Vardhamānadeva	16 „
7. Baladeva	11 „
8. Bālārjunadeva	21 years, 5 months

Here we come to the end of the period before the Nepal era of 879 A.D.

But all this is speculation. The right list shall come only in the light of more reliable documents.

Until incontrovertible facts establish otherwise even if Rāghavadeva's existence be doubted, when the fact of an era in 879 is established, the fact of a founder is undeniable. But the pro-

bability of Rāghavadeva founding the era stands a chance of acceptance, as two ancient chronicles mention him. The fact that he started his reign in 879 also supports the theory of his founding the era.

In the same way we can say that the line of kings, which began to rule since 879 A.D. must belong to one of the powerful families of aristocracy in the realm. But if it is a new dynasty its origin must be regarded as obscure.

As the later Varṁśāvalīs have put forward a hypothesis of the restoration of the Ṭhākuri dynasty following the *Sūryavamśis*, the inclination of scholars has been to designate the dynasty other than the Lichhavis as the Ṭhākuri dynasty. This could be accepted. But it is also likely that in the interregnum between the fall of the Lichhavis and beginning of the Nepal era a new dynasty had taken advantage of the situation. If it was so then the royal names occurring in the chronology in between Śaṅkaradeva and Rāghavadeva were of this line. These are, Mānadeva III, Rudradeva I, Vasantadeva, Vardhamānadeva and Balideva. As in the inscription of Mānadeva III quoted above, he goes without any of the titles indicating his Lichhavi lineage, the possibility of a new dynasty to which he belonged cannot be ruled out. But as in other cases, it would not be proper to stress the point of argument any further regarding the new dynasty.

#### IV

### THE SO-CALLED PALA SUZERAINTY IN THE 9TH AND 10TH CENTURIES

#### *Dharmapāla and Rudradeva I*

Of the predecessors of Rāghavadeva, Rudradeva is presented by V<sup>1</sup> (f. 23-a) as the ruler who had ruled undisturbed a territory comprising also the Kumbhoṭ. Kumbhoṭ is unidentified but it can be located somewhere in the present Kuti-Kerraun area. One of the later chronicles (group B<sup>2</sup>) also mentions Rudradeva to have ruled as far as Kumbhoṭ. Rudradeva comes

three or four generations earlier to Rāghavadeva. His date might be fixed towards the end of the 8th century A.D. As V<sup>1</sup> talks of him placing him immediately after Bhoṭṭarāja and gives him the credit of ruling over a kingdom which also included portion of Bhoṭ, Rudradeva must have been quite an important figure in the later Lichhavi genealogy.

Rudradeva's time coincides with the reign of Dharmapāla of Bengal (770-810). The latter is regarded by some scholars to have carried expeditions to the Himalayas and in that course brought under his domination the king of Nepal.

An Indian Historian R. C. Majumdar says<sup>58</sup>, "In this connection we might recall the tradition that Dharmapāla occupied the throne of Nepal, which we know was under the subjection of Tibet during the greater part of the 7th and 8th centuries. The expedition of Dharmapāla to Kedār and Nepal may also have some connections with Tibetan aggression-conflict of Dharmapāla with Tibetans". He repeats the statement about Dharmapāla in his new work 'Age of Imperial Kanauj' (1955) giving in addition the evidence of *Swayambhū Purāṇa* in support.<sup>59</sup>

It appears that Majumdar has thought himself to be guided in his proposition of Dharmapāla's conquest of Nepal by an article of Nalini Nath Das Gupta written on the subject of *Gokarṇa Tīrtha* and Dharmapāla<sup>60</sup> in 1937.

The latter identifies Gokarṇa of the Nepal Valley with the Gokarṇa mentioned in verse 7 of Devapāla's Monghyr Copper Plate Inscription, one of the three sacred sites including Kedār and Gaṅgāsāgar said to have been visited by Dharmapāla in course of his expedition.<sup>61</sup> He then goes to connect the story of

<sup>58</sup> *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Hindu period) edited by R. C. Majumdar, Dacca, 1943, fn., p. 125.

<sup>59</sup> Pp. 47, 58. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, HCI, iv.

<sup>60</sup> *Indian Culture*, July, 1937, pp. 264-67.

<sup>61</sup> E.I., XVIII, p. 305; IA, 1892, p. 255

केदारं विधिनोपयुक्तं पयसां गंगा समेतम्बु (म्बु) धौ । गोकर्णादिषु चाप्यतुष्टि ॥  
तवतान् तीर्थेषु धर्म्या क्रिया । भृत्यानां सुखमेव यस्यस

Dharmapāla's expedition with the legend maintained in a Buddhist Nepalese chronicle of later date according to which the first king of Nepal, a Chinese prince, had retired to give place to the Gauḍa king Dharmapāla who had earlier accompanied Krakuchhanda Buddha to the Valley.<sup>62</sup> Nalini Nath Das Gupta finds corroboration of this legend in *Swayambhū Purāṇa* showing the same story of the Gauḍa king and he quotes his source from one of Brian Hodgson's books.<sup>63</sup> Further, relying on Hodgson's account of *Swayambhū Purāṇa* he finds it possible to identify Gaṅgāsāgara with a site near Kapilavastu, where Krakuchhanda had gone before he visited Nepal. Now on the basis of the identification of these sites the Bengali scholar applies his mind to explain the implication of the verse of Devapāla's inscription and argues that all this 'appears to indicate a return march of the army of Dharmapāla from the Himalayas in the north to Bengal in the east through Kedāra in Garhwal, Gaṅgāsāgara in Kapilavastu in the Nepal Terai and Gokarṇa on the Bāgmati in Nepal'.<sup>64</sup>

I do not think that the argument offered by Nalini Nath Das Gupta to establish the fact of Dharmapāla's triumphant march to Nepal is in any way tenable.

Let me now proceed to deal with all the points of argument at length.

Kielhorn identified the Gokarṇa of Devapāla's inscription with the sacred shrine of Śiva situated in North Kanara<sup>65</sup> now in the state of Mysore. Aksaya Kumara Maitra on the other hand said that Gokarṇa was situated in Orissa at the summit of Mt. Mahendra<sup>66</sup> (modern Kaliṅga). Das Gupta rejected both these contentions and preferred his choice to Nepal Gokarṇa. He says: 'the difficulty of accepting Kielhorn's identification of Gokarṇa is that the verse as it is, would be in that case come to imply

<sup>62</sup> Wright: *History of Nepal*, pp. 82-83 (Second Edition).

<sup>63</sup> *Essays on the Language, Literature & Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1874, pp. 117-18.

<sup>64</sup> *Indian Culture*, Ibid., p. 267.

<sup>65</sup> IA, 1892, p. 257 fn. 56.

<sup>66</sup> *Sāhitya*, 1320 VS, 286-87 as quoted by Das Gupta.

that Dharmapāla on his expeditions first went to the Himalayas, then was forced to retreat to lower Bengal (Gaṅgāsāgar) and then again set out for North Kanara. But such meaning of the verse is not admissible.<sup>67</sup> He further thought that in the present (1937 A.D.) state of knowledge no one could say that Dharmapāla had strength enough to defeat the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king by marching into North Kanara which lay within the latter's empire. Referring to Maitra's statement Das Gupta says 'Besides the weakness of Maitra's argument which is on the surface, he could not prove that there is any living tradition or standing memorial of Dharmapāla's expedition at the Gokarṇa'<sup>68</sup>

In his view the Gokarṇa in the Nepal Valley satisfies all the conditions demanded of a site for identification with the place of the same name mentioned in the Pāla king's inscription. This is a site as sacred as the one in North Kanara. The Nepal Gokarṇa was mentioned in *Rāmāyaṇa* as the place where Bhagiratha practised *tapasyā* to have the Ganges flown into the sea (*Bālakāṇḍa*, *Sarga* 18 V. 29) and where Rāvaṇa also sat for several years to please the God Śiva by his austere rites (*Uttarakāṇḍa*, *Sarga* 9 V. 47). The Nepal chronicles refer to Gokarṇa as the capital of the Kirāta dynasty which ruled Nepal some 1900 years ago. One of the eighteen *Purāṇas*, the *Varāha Purāṇa* (ch. 215) also speaks of this place as an important centre of pilgrimage. Even Chaitanya the Bengali Vaiṣṇava saint of the 16th century had gone there to offer his homage (*Chaitanya Charitāmṛt* of *Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāja*, *Madhya-Līlā*, Ch. XVII, V. 71).

Not questioning the claim of the Nepal Gokarṇa to an equal status with the Gokarṇa of North Kanara, we are, however, unable to accept Das Gupta's argument that this was the site hallowed in the tradition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. If Bhagiratha had gone to the Himalayas for penance (*tapasyā*) to win the favour of the Ganges, it must have the range somewhere near the Gaṅgotri in Garhwal and not the sub-Himalayan Nepal Valley

<sup>67</sup> *Indian Culture*, *Ibid.*, p. 265.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 265.

five hundred miles far in the east. I know there is a shrine of Gokarṇeśvara near Kedārnātha. Probably the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* referred to this Gokarṇa. As for the story of Rāvaṇa's coming to practise austerity in the Nepal Valley, we do not think he should have come so far from the far south leaving a place of equal sanctity nearer home in North Kanara. It is true that both *Varāha Purāṇa* and *Skanda Purāṇa* (*Himavat-khaṇḍa*) speak of a *tīrtha* of Gokarṇa in the Nepal Valley and according to traditions of these mythologies, the Gokarṇa of Nepal was as sacred as the Gokarṇa of North Kanara, for both the places had the honour of receiving pieces of horns of the deer whose shape the frolicking Śiva was wearing in that form. But how much credence we can give to the antiquity of these traditions? The copies of the *Varāha Purāṇa* we have consulted are not very old. The oldest of them does not go back to more than 300 years (1673 VS). But we should not forget that the various texts eulogising the importance of the many centres of pilgrimage were introduced by interested parties quite late in the medieval period. This was done to attract the pilgrims whose bounteous offering helped them to make both their ends meet. At least, one text of the *Skanda Purāṇa* written in *Kuṭilā* script does not contain anything about Gokarṇa and the Nepal Valley. The whole of *Himavatkhanda* is missing there. The date of this ms. is 245 of an unidentified era. But by the nature of the script we could place it latest to the 10th century A.D. Obviously the ms. came after Dharmapāla. And it is significant that Gokarṇa does not exist there. The earliest copy of the *Nepāl Mahātmya* of *Skanda Purāṇa* dates 703 Nepala samvat. We can say nothing definite about the historicity of any area described by *Varāha Purāṇa*. One text shows a very insignificant and obscure area in mid-west Nepal inhabited by tribals to have been full of highly praised centres of pilgrimage. I do not think that the original text of the *Varāha Purāṇa* has anything to do with this additional fragment. I did not know that there was also a *Nepāla Mahātmya* in *Varāha Purāṇa* until my attention was recently drawn to a text. All this shows that very little of historical



value can be gleaned from such Puranic texts as are available today. It is impossible at this stage to separate the chaff from the grains in order to make the Puranas pass as source materials to us.

No inscriptions or records prior to the 14th century refer to Gokarna. One of the inscriptions of Amśuvarman, which dates early 7th century mentions several deities of sanctity in the Nepal Valley, such as *Bhumbhukkikājalāsayana* (*Nilakanṭha*), *Paśupatinātha*, *Dolādri Nārāyaṇa* (*Chāngu*), *Rāmeśvara*, *Hamsagrihadeva*, *Vagvatipāradeva*, *Māneśvara*, *Paravateśvara* and *Narasimha*, and some Buddhist monasteries.<sup>69</sup> But Gokarna is absent among the holy shrines and monasteries mentioned in the record. This clearly establishes that Gokarna did not exist in the early 7th century A.D. or if at all this shrine existed it did not command very popular following as the above named deities did to attract the notice of the ruler. Again, until we come to the 14th century no documents have anything to say about Gokarna.

Gokarna comes for notice in the chronicle of the 14th century at the earliest under date NS 501 *Mārgaśira Kṛṣṇa* 12 and it is not mentioned there as a religious centre but as a fort.<sup>70</sup> It is likely that either the shrine did not exist earlier or it was not a place of importance. For information about historic sites, the later chronicles are useless. So we do not see any point in the argument of Das Gupta that Gokarna figured prominently in Wright's chronicle. In Chaitanya's time Gokarna might have in existence. But if Chaitanya had visited the Gokarna of Nepal his biographer would have certainly mentioned Nepal and yet another religious shrine, that of Paśupatinātha, far more important would not have escaped his notice.

As I read the references to *Swayambhū Purāṇa* in Das Gupta's writing I tried hard to trace the lines where Dharmapāla was introduced but I have failed to notice any reference

<sup>69</sup> Gnoli, XXXVI.

<sup>70</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 59-b. Also in ms. Darb. Lib. Cat. I., 894. Gokarna finds a prominent place there.

to the Gauḍa ruler Dharmapāla in any copy of the text whatsoever, both in the *Bṛhat Swayambhū Purāṇa* and *Swayambhū Purāṇa*. I fail to understand how this reference was available to Hodgson. In the summary of the text which appears in R. L. Mitra's *Nepalese Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*,<sup>71</sup> the story of Dharmakara, a Chinese prince, ruling in Nepal while Buddha Krakuchhanda had left the country is there in chapter IV C.P. (P. 243), but there is nothing of a statement about his being succeeded by the Gauḍa king Dharmapāla. I have with me a very old copy of the *Swayambhū Purāṇa*. This is dated NS 678 (*Aṣāḍha Kṛṣṇa* 5). Perhaps this is the oldest copy available and this must have been written only about a hundred years after the treatise was composed in the time of Yakṣamalla (549-602 NS). Dharmapāla does not figure in this text, which means the tradition of his coming to Nepal is alien to *Swayambhū Purāṇa*. It may be that Hodgson confusing the tradition of the later chronicle inadvertently mentioned the source as one of the *Swayambhū Purāṇa*.

In Hodgson's summary of *Swayambhū Purāṇa* the story relates how Buddha Kāsyapa went to pay homage in 'Gaṅgā Sāgara' in the *sthān* (homeland) of Kapila Muni and city of Kapilavastu (Hodgson, *ibid*, P. 119). Das Gupta thinks that by this he can locate *Gaṅgā sametambudhau* (of the inscription), i.e. confluence of Ganges with the sea commonly known as *Gaṅgā sāgara* in the area of Kapilavastu and then dexterously show that Dharmapāla on his return journey came to West Nepal Terai to carry his expedition to the Nepal Valley. But I seek in vain in the *Swayambhū Purāṇa* the story of Kāsyapa's visit to the Gaṅgā sāgara of Kapilavastu (Chapter VII). The story narrated talks of Kāsyapa's visit to Nepal, where he goes to pay his respects to Lord Swayambhū.<sup>72</sup> There is an artificial lake, now almost dry, of the name Niglihavā sāgara which is situated about 3 miles north east of Kapilavastu. The name sāgara is given sometimes to artificial ponds of a big size. But

<sup>71</sup> Calcutta, 1882, pp. 249-58.

<sup>72</sup> R. L. Mitra, p. 255.

I do not know of any tradition the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Sāgara in the area. How Hodgson came to know of this tradition is a puzzle to me. It would be wrong to draw an inference of the kind done by Das Gupta on the basis of Hodgson's statement about Gaṅgā sāgara in Kapilavastu without verifying its source.

It is my feeling that Das Gupta had never assessed the real usefulness of the later chronicles. If he had done so he would not have surely quoted Wright's chronicler to establish his facts of the case. Anybody relying on the later chronicles must be prepared to accept many imaginative and fanciful stories of kings from India ruling over Nepal. We shall have a long and unending line of kings and visitors, dignitaries, the seven mortal Buddhas, Mauryan emperor Aśoka, Vikramāditya of Ujjain, Dharmakara of China, Mañjuśri Bodhisatva of China, Dharmapāla of Gauḍa, etc. I do not think any historian with his understanding who was intimately conversant with the history of Nepal would accept these names in the way the later chronicles presented them to us.

In f. 22-b the V<sup>1</sup> has a passage to say that after the grandson of Amśuvarman (600—620 A.D.) had reigned, there came Mahīpāla, lord of Gauḍa and with his high grace ruled Nepal. The same passage states that Devapāla ruled 10 years and then the Sūryavarṁśis were restored. Who is this Mahīpāla? The time given does not coincide with the regnal period of Mahīpāla, nor it shows to tally with that of Dharmapāla. But the information might be used in support of the hypothesis of the Pāla conquest of Nepal in the 9th and 10th centuries. However, the V<sup>1</sup> has not proved itself correct in the matter of chronology in so far as it is related to the time before the Nepal era of 879 A.D. Like the modern chronicles, the V<sup>1</sup> introduces fictitious kings and dynasties, and confuses the genealogy and regnal arrangement. As such its statement about the lord of Gauḍa cannot be accepted without proper examination of the problem. We know that no Pāla records ever mention Nepal as a country under the emperors of the dynasty. I think that the evidence of V<sup>1</sup> by itself will hardly suffice to establish the fact of Pāla

imperial hegemony over Nepal. Although it may go to show that the legend of the Pāla king ruling Nepal was known as early as the 14th century, we are unable to take it seriously unless authoritative documents confirm the authenticity of the story.

I now come to the last part of my contention refuting Das Gupta's argument. Why after all Devapāla does not say that his father went to Nepal to visit Gokarṇa? Even if Dharmapāla had just gone to pay respect to the shrine, because it was an ancient country he visited, he would have mentioned the name of the country. This would have added to his stature as a pilgrim and a traveller.

But nowhere the location of this Gokarṇa has been shown to be in Nepal. The man who carried expedition to Nepal and worshipped a shrine at a subsidiary *tīrtha* there would not have forgotten to display by name his conquest of so important a country. We have seen how military adventurers were prone to claim conquest of territories far removed from their own kingdom and this they did just by a flight of imagination when given to exaggerate their glories in a fit of exhilaration. We know what value to attach to such tall talks of glories and conquest which are put forth without any basis. But even this tall talk of the conquest of Nepal is absent in the inscription because the conqueror's son does not name the country.

In the Khalimpur inscription Dharmapāla himself mentions several countries, which are subdued by him. But he has not included Nepal with them.<sup>73</sup> Nor any records of his descendants, which show the extension of his conquest, speak of Nepal anywhere. It is also incomprehensible that the most important Śaiva shrine in the Nepal Valley, the Paśupatinātha, does not figure in the account while the comparatively less important *tīrtha*, like Gokarṇa, is so gloriously mentioned as one of the centres visited by the Pāla Emperor. If Dharmapāla was in

<sup>73</sup> EI, IV, pp. 243 ff; JASB, LXIII, Pt. I, pp. 39 ff.

the Nepal Valley he or his son could omit to mention neither Nepal nor Paśupatinātha.

This is no doubt that the writer of the article '*Dharmapāla and Gokarṇa tīrtha*' has stretched his imagination too far in identifying the Gokarṇa of Devapāla's inscription with the Gokarṇa of Nepal. He has also tried to connect this wrongly identified Gokarṇa with the so-called Dharmapāla tradition of the *Swayambhū Purāṇa* without looking into the original documents. Further it can also be suggested that he had not given proper thought to the assessment of the values of the later chronicles and unlike a historian had readily accepted their story as it suited his convenience.

Das Gupta discards Maitra's identification for the reason that Orissan Gokarṇa lacks a living tradition of or a monument to Dharmapāla's march over that area. But in accepting a tradition artificially incorporated in a chronicle of doubtful veracity written only a hundred and fifty years ago from now to interpret the event of the early ninth century A.D. he himself betrays weak reasoning and adopts quite an unsound basis of argument; while dismissing the claim of the Gokarṇa of North Kanara as put forward by Kielhorn, Das Gupta betrays the same attitude. Das Gupta pleads on the basis of the order the three sites appear in the verse of the inscription that Dharmapāla could not go so far south west as North Kanara once he returned to his native land. Of course, the passage is straight if it could be made to run through a line from Garhwal to west Nepal Terai and then to the Valley of Nepal and thence with a descent down the hill back home to Gauḍa in Bengal. But as we have seen it was not possible to create Gaṅgāsāgara in the landmass of West Nepal Terai. However, nothing can prevent us from envisaging a position like the one, which according to Das Gupta is admitted in the verse; for a conqueror would not hesitate to take a route however circuitous if the contingency so dictates. But the order of names in the verse by itself should not be construed to mean that the conqueror had marched accordingly. This may only show that he had visited

the three places as named without meaning exactly which place was visited in what order.

In view of the fact that Dharmapāla himself was defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors' Dhruva Dharavarṣa (780-93) and Govinda III (793-814) both of whom enjoyed the suzerainty over the whole of Deccan while they lived, it does not appear that he had ever carried his expedition to so far a place within the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire as North Kanara.<sup>74</sup> Das Gupta and others who accept his proposition think that in these conditions the identity of the Gokarṇa of Devapāla's inscription with the Gokarṇa of North Kanara is ruled out. But a modern historian of Bihar, B. P. Sinha, thinks otherwise. To him 'it is more logical to assume that Gokarṇa in Kanara would mark the western limits of Dharmapāla's expedition'.<sup>75</sup> In a Sanskrit work of the 11th century A.D., the *Udayasundarikathā*,<sup>76</sup> one Dharmapāla is called the lord of Uttarāpatha. B. P. Sinha is of the opinion that while Dharmapāla could have carried his expedition to North Kanara, a fact which led his son to mention Gokarṇa in his record, it may also be true that he had conquered the whole of North India including Nepal. But I do not think that B. P. Sinha's assumption is valid in any way for the simple reason that the mere fact of a title of 'the Lord of Uttarāpatha' is insufficient to prove the conquest of Nepal by Dharmapāla. Uttarāpatha, as we know, can never be a synonym for the expression of a territorial concept which might show a territory stretching far and wide to include a country like Nepal.

I am sure as suggested earlier that Dharmapāla did never visit Nepal in course of his expedition because if he had ever turned his conquest to the north of Bihar, he would have included Nepal in the list of kingdoms, whose kings 'bowed down respectfully with their diadems to him'. But Das Gupta

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<sup>74</sup> EHD, I, pp. 262-75.

<sup>75</sup> *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha* by B. P. Sinha, Patna, 1954, p. 343.

<sup>76</sup> ABORI, XII, pp. 197 ff.

seems to think that Dharmapāla could go to Nepal to invade the country as if it was vulnerable to external attacks.

In finale, it may be argued that if it is not the Gokarṇa of North Kanara or the Gokarṇa of Nepal, which was visited by Dharmapāla 'in course of his expedition', then it might be that he had carried his army to Kalinga and paid his respects to the deity Gokarṇeśvara at Mt. Mahendra. The same Monghyr inscription attributes to Gopāla the extension of his frontier to the south as far as the sea. Probably it was not as much difficult for Dharmapāla to proceed onwards from Gauḍa to as far south as Kalinga even while he had returned from his expedition to Kedār. And we should not forget that there was no strong local ruler in that area to checkmate Dharmapāla's triumphant march at the time.

However, I do not think there is any ground to connect Dharmapāla's pilgrimage to Kedār, Gaṅgāsāgara and Gokarṇa to his military movement. The verse in question as suggested by Das Gupta is introduced not 'so much with the object of extolling Dharmapāla's valour or power or of determining the limits of his conquest as of demonstrating one of the excellent traits of his character by his regard for his followers'.<sup>77</sup> To me it looks that the verse in question is solely interposed to convey the information of Dharmapāla's performing holy rites in Kedār, Gaṅgāsāgara and Gokarṇa and nothing more than that. There is no expression here to show that he was carrying his military expedition to these places and performing holy rites at the same time. The expression *sakalānudhṛtya duṣṭān* might have led Kielhorn to read a meaning of 'in course of expedition'. But as the passage stands this is quite apart from the statement mentioning his pilgrimage. The expression along the line means that 'to the virtuous king who had the welfare of his people at heart, and who destroyed the wicked, the success (*siddhi*) of the future life also was available.' Kielhorn joins the two different passages by the word 'because'. But this kind of rendering is not admitted by the verse as it stands. Even if we follow

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<sup>77</sup> Op. Cit., p. 264.

Kielhorn, the passages together do not mean that any idea of expedition was intended while Dharmapāla had visited the sacred sites.

I am definite that Dharmapāla had not visited Nepal Gokarna even for the purpose of holy rites. As we have already suggested, if he was in the Nepal Valley for any purpose, he would not have failed to mention it. Because there is a Gokarna in the Valley, people are tempted to try to identify this site with the one of Devapāla's inscription. But they do not know that it is not a very ancient site. Furthermore the Valley has almost as many holy centres of importance as there are in the whole of the Indian sub-continent and all these bear the same names as are given to the respective holy sites by the Indians. The Nepalese pilgrims satisfy themselves by performing rites in these centres to feel that they have visited the holy places of Bhārata-varṣa. In the Nepal Valley we can count holy sites like Prayāga, Godāvāri, Gokarna, Kāśī, and even Badri and Kedāra. In various texts composed by the Nepalese, these sites are often lauded to the skies and their importance is stressed to equal these with their namesake *tīrthas* in India. In many cases the praise bestowed on them makes the Nepalese counterparts superior to the latter. If all these sites were as important as the original sites in various centres of India, then it will be not only Gokarna but also Godāvāri, Prayāg and Kāśī which will have to be sought inside the Nepal Valley. But this will be a venture not worth trying. The Nepalese themselves do realise the shortcoming of their *tīrthas*. In practice they are treated just as substitutes of the original *tīrthas* of India but not as much important and holy. These were visited by those who were physically unfit to undertake the arduous journey to original sites. Again these do not command comparatively as much respect as the shrines of important Nepalese deities like Paśupatinātha, Jalāsayana Viṣṇu, Chāngu Nārāyaṇa, Lokeśvara Matsyendranātha, and the *Stupa* of Swayambhū. There is no living tradition around Gokarna, which would establish that this was as important as Gokarna of North Kanara. The Nepalese themselves do not regard their Gokarna as the real one. To them it is just a convenient



substitute of the real Gokarna that is in South India (as the saying goes).

Returning to Dharmapāla's pilgrimage, we shall not be wrong to state that if he had maintained friendly relation with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas at any time in his career he might have availed of the opportunity to visit the shrine, and probably his son later preserved the memory in his records where he eulogises the virtuous and religious acts done by his father.

If the Gokarna of Kalinga is as ancient and important, it might be that Devapāla might have referred to this site. But this is for the scholars of Orissa to decide.

But on no account Dharmapāla can ever be presented as the overlord of Nepal. Das Gupta's argument is strained too far to give any substance to the proposition he has tried to establish in that course.

It is not only R. C. Majumdar who has found it convenient to use Das Gupta's conclusions to support his hypothesis but there are many more writers who have tried to present Dharmapāla as the emperor of Nepal on that basis. Very recently L. Petech expressed an opinion that the story of Dharmapāla's visit to Nepal Gokarna might be true.

Petech tries to interpret a line in V<sup>1</sup> to mean that Rudradeva had driven away the Tibetans and then he says 'we may suppose with some plausibility that this event was somehow connected with a vague piece of information culled from the Monghyr copper plate inscription of Devapāla of Bengal'. The Italian scholar thinks that the story of the Gauḍa king Dharmapāla of the *Swayambhū Purāṇa* becoming king of Nepal might confirm the information as to 'Dharmapāla's performance of holy rites in Gokarna'. Petech concludes that 'this would indicate Pāla influence, if not actual and lasting suzerainty in Nepal about 800 A.D.' (p. 30).

We have already refuted the argument of Dharmapāla's expedition. So we need not write more about it here. But it is also doubtful if Pāla cultural influence came to Nepal so soon as in c. 800 A.D. Our view is that it came about 150-200 years later. Another point of consideration in this connection

is the way Rudradeva was associated with the advent of cultural influence from Bengal. We must note that this has been made without any reasonable ground.

I am sure that Petech has erred in respect of interpreting the said line in V<sup>1</sup>. He has misread the line which never says that Rudradeva drove away the Tibetans. The statement is very clear. It says that Rudradeva ruled as far as Kumbhoṭ. There is nothing to show that a ruler from Bengal or anywhere from outside Nepal came to assist the Nepalese king to expel his Tibetan enemies.

We do not need to add anything more to what we have already written on the subject of Dharmapāla's association with Nepal. Devapāla is another ruler who is concurrently mentioned to have exercised suzerain power over this country. But while scholars have dealt at length about Dharmapāla in connection with Nepal, Devapāla does not draw more than a cursory statement in that relation. As far as we know there is practically no evidence to prove the existence of Devapāla's empire in Nepal. Scholars have drawn unwarranted inference about Devapāla holding sway in Nepal as they did in regard to his father. People think that because the Pālas were masters of practically the whole of present day Bengal, Bihar and Uttara Pradesh, they might have as well reduced Nepal to submission. But as we have noticed this is an utterly wrong assumption.

#### MAHIPALA AND NEPAL

There are scholars who think that several of the Pāla emperors besides Dharmapāla and Devapāla exercised some kind of suzerainty over Nepal. R. C. Majumdar states that Mahīpāla I also was being acknowledged as sovereign of Nepal.<sup>78</sup> The evidence he produces to support his statement is the Imadpur image inscription, which, however, he misreads and misinterprets.<sup>79</sup> In the view of Dr. R. C. Majumdar the date figure in the

<sup>78</sup> JBAS, 1950 (XVI. n. 2), pp. 247-49.

<sup>79</sup> JBAS, 1950 (XVI. n. 2), p. 49.

inscription which shows Mahīpāla reigning is 148 and this can be only referred to the Nepal era of 879-80 A.D. to make the date synchronise with the regnal years of the Pāla ruler (988-1038)'. The learned doctor further observes that the first item in the figure 'is quite unlike any letter of the period of Mahīpāla so far known to us, but closely resembles the figure for hundred given in Buhler's chart Plate IX, Col. IX, the only difference being the wedge like sign instead of being attached to the top is placed at the bottom, such as we find also in the Nepal mss. (Buhler's chart, cols. XXI, XXVI)'.<sup>80</sup>

In a footnote he adds 'it may be noted that the numerical figure 4 is unlike that used in Bengal and Bihar during the Pāla and Sena periods, but closely resembles the form used in Nepalese mss. (Cambridge mss. Add 1644 dated 325 NS=1205 A.D. Bendall's Cat. Pl. V)'.<sup>81</sup>

In a rejoinder to R. C. Majumdar, another Bengali Scholar D. C. Sarkar says that 'the *akṣara* has no appreciable resemblance with the symbol for 100 in Buhler's table referred to by Dr. Majumdar'<sup>82</sup> and further 'to find any resemblance cannot but be regarded as fanciful.' He also observes that another fact is ignored by Majumdar, and this is 'when 48 has been written in ordinary numerical figures, the hundred digit was expected to be written in figure for 1 and not in the symbol for 100'.<sup>83</sup>

While fully endorsing what D. C. Sarkar has said on the subject, I like to add a few more facts to his statement.

I do not think that R. C. Majumdar has ever tried to be familiar with the Nepalese system of paleography by personally examining the manuscripts of the period, he claims to be an authority on. As far as I know the symbol used for 100 in Nepal in the early medieval period was not what is shown by Majumdar. It is always a type of symbol resembling closely one of the alphabets, the **अ**, and no separate symbol was designed.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> IHQ, 1954, p. 383.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 384.

I have well scrutinised Buhler's table and I can say that R. C. Majumdar has not closely marked it. Buhler's chart shows the symbol used in the Gupta writing which has no likeness with the so-called symbol for 100 adopted in the Imadpur inscription. But what R. C. Majumdar should have known is the fact that the figure he mentions as a symbol has been lined at the head, the way an alphabetic figure is presented and not left blank as every numerical figure or any ancient Nepalese symbolic figure was shaped. As I know a great many of the date figures in Nepalese documents uptill 185 NS or so are either expressed in words or in what is called *Akṣarapallī*. Even where symbolic figures are used, I do not think the suggestion made by Majumdar in regard to the form could in any way be accepted.

At the same time the expression in symbol was made not partially but wholly. From these two conclusions emerge: that it was never possible for any scribe in Nepal to write his 48 as in the Imadpur inscription and that even if he did he could not have 100 in symbol and the rest in numerical figures. It also appears that the script in use in Imadpur inscription is not very similar to the Nepalese script of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The script can be distinctly as non-Nepalese. Thus Majumdar's statement seems to be far removed from actual facts of the case he claims to build up.

As D. C. Sarkar also thinks, R. C. Majumdar relied on S. Levi for his statement on the subject of Mahīpāla's suzerainty over Nepal not realising that he should have made the statement only after ascertaining the sources on first hand. Neither he is justified to establish Mahīpāla's suzerainty over Nepal merely on the basis of the Imadpur image inscriptions.

In the footnotes to certain statements in his article R. C. Majumdar lists certain manuscripts, which he thinks were either copied in Nepal in the local scripts and 'refer to Indian kings in the colophons' or were written in Indian scripts but 'bear Nepalese era.' On this ground he suggested that there were many Indian rulers who exercised some kind of overlordship in Nepal. But unfortunately R. C. Majumdar does not realise

that the colophons with Indian kings always belong to manuscripts which were brought to Nepal by emigrant scholars. They were never the writings of native scribes. The *Rañjanā* script in which such manuscripts are written should not lead us to infer that these were the works of Nepalese copyists; for the same type of *Rañjanā* script was in use in those days in the cultural area from Kanauj to Gauḍa. As for the manuscripts written in Maithili and Bengali scripts, it is certain that these were the works of Maithili and Bengali scribes and we must not confuse them with manuscripts bearing the names of non-Nepalese rulers, which were definitely written outside Nepal.

If R. C. Majumdar had himself seen the original copies of the manuscripts he cited he would not have made a mistake as to the script in which the latter works were written. I would like to bring to his notice the fact that unless the era in the colophon can be ascertained as Nepalese, it would be wrong to infer anything from the character of the script. On the other hand till late 17th century the Nepalese concurrently produced works in Maithili and Bengali scripts, and these show in the colophons Nepalese era and Nepalese rulers.

Majumdar shows his poor knowledge of the epigraphy of North Bihar by his reading and interpretation of the date figure of the Imadpur image inscription. Reading his cursory writings on Nepal I can also know that he has rarely used first hand source materials to support his conclusions. I can appreciate his interest in the subject of Nepalese history. But this piece of writing which he produces to establish Mahīpāla's suzerainty over Nepal is disappointing. The main purpose of my criticising Majumdar at length on various occasions is to show to the reader how scholars of high reputation make statements in regard to important events of history without probing the materials in question.

R. C. Majumdar feels that as the date of his reading (148) added to the epoch year of the NS (880 A.D.) gives a year within the accepted regnal dates of Mahīpāla 'the necessity for assessing a long reign of about 50 years to Mahīpāla has disappeared.' But I do not think he can push ahead his hypothesis

in such an innocuous manner, for in the last analysis it must be stated that neither Majumdar's reading of the date figure is correct, nor the record by itself can be attributed to Nepal.

Any body who is conversant with the epigraphy of Mithilā will at once say that the Imadpur image inscription has a character which obtained in Mithilā in the early medieval period, and the date mentioned is the 48th year of the reign of Mahīpāla. In both the inscriptions the expression of *Śrīman Mahīpāladeva rāja Samva 48 Jyeṣṭhadivā Sukala pakṣa 2* is quite clear.

#### THE SO-CALLED THAKURI LINEAGE OF RAGHAVADEVA

The term Ṭhākuri implies a pure Kṣatriya lineage. In the eighteenth century this conveyed a sense of purity of Kṣatriya blood in a family originating from Rajputana in contrast to the mixed blood of the Khasa Kṣatriyas of the indigenous soil. Obviously, the chroniclers who composed their chronicles in the eighteenth century invariably applied this term as it was then understood to denote the superior birth of the ruling families concerned. But the word Ṭhākuri is not of Newar origin, and is not found in the vocabulary of inscriptions or ms. documents till very late and not until the 16th century. In the Paśupati copper plate of NS 561, Yaḡṣamalla's mother Sansāradevi is addressed as Ṭhākurini. This is the first time a reliable record has used the expression. The later Malla princes used Ṭhākura after their name. At the moment a class of old Kṣatriyas amongst the Newars is being called Ṭhākuju, and it is said that they were descendants of the royal Malla family. In the ancient chronicle, we find at a few places an expression of this type. But this should not be taken as to have signified the same meaning as conveyed by the later chronicles. Strictly speaking the term should not indicate more than what was intended in popular use in the 18th century.

There is further the problem of differentiating between themselves the two stocks of Kṣatriyas, the *Sūryavamśīs* and *Chandravamśīs*. We get no help from the usage adopted by the

chroniclers. Even when two stocks are mentioned, this did not show that the Ṭhākuris were divided themselves.

Of course, when the Ṭhākuri designation is given to Rāghavadeva we mean just what was being floated in practice during the eighteenth century in the *Chaubisi* area. More than this we are not in a position to say in regard to the family or clan of the rulers even for the whole of the medieval period.

About the restoration of the line by Rāghavadeva, it is also equally nothing more than a guess and the proposition is made just for reasons of convenient analogy based on the hypothesis of the later chronicles. It has been marked in the genealogies as put forward by the later chronicles that the *Sūryavamśī Lichhavis* and *Chandravamśī Ṭhākuris* alternated between themselves on the throne of Nepal. Because the Lichhavis had gone out of the scene in the 9th century, it was thought that the family now replacing might be the one which had been their rival earlier. This might not be true and a new family might have come in the picture. Then in that case the hypothesis of a restored line becomes invalid. But Rāghavadeva could as well be a member of the ruling family that alternated with the Lichhavis.

## V

### RAGHAVADEVA'S SUCCESSORS

We have following tables for the reigns of Rāghavadeva's successors.

V <sup>1</sup>	VK (Kirkpatrick)
Rāghavadeva 43,6	Rāghavadeva, 63,6
Jayadeva 10,0	Śaṅkaradeva (Seeker Deo: Kirk) <sup>84</sup> 18,6
Vikramadeva 8,9	Sahadeva (Soho Deo: Kirk) 33,9
Narendradeva 1,6	Vikramadeva (Bickrum Deo: Kirk) 1,0

<sup>84</sup> Kirk=Kirkpatrick, pp. 261-62; VK, pp. 1-2.

V <sup>i</sup>	VK (Kirkpatrick)
Guṇakāmadeva 85,6	Narendradeva (Nurrender Deo: Kirk) 1,6
Udayadeva 5,2	Guṇakāmadeva (Goonakama Deo: Kirk) 85,6
Lakṣmīkāmadeva 21,0	Udayadeva (Oodey Deo: Kirk) 6
154,5	201,9
(excluding the last reign)	

Kirkpatrick gives 88 years and 6 months for Śaṅkaradeva. But as his source is VK, 88 must be a mistake for 18.

VK shows 3 more reigns after Udayadeva before Lakṣmīkāmadeva. In the enumeration of VK the total reign period is much more (216 years) than given by V<sup>i</sup>.

Narendradeva and Udayadeva were joint rulers according to a ms. colophon (below).<sup>85</sup> Their regnal date is ascertained with reference to an absolutely reliable datum.

We find that Kirkpatrick's two names Seeker Deo (Śaṅkaradeva) and Soho Deo (Sahadeva) are missing in the list of V<sup>i</sup>. They are the second and third successors of Rāghavadeva with regnal years 18,6 and 33,9 respectively.

Petech thinks that as Kirkpatrick's authority is as much ancient as V<sup>i</sup>, the divergence of names cannot be dismissed as 'a corruption of list'. He argues that there can well nigh be two kingdoms saying 'Rāghavadeva reigned in the half kingdom for 43 years 6 months, and then ceded or lost half of it to Jayadeva, while continuing to rule over the rest for another 20 years; and the two Vikramadevas, separated as they are by an interval of half a century are not the same person'. But we do not possess any authority to take this argument seriously.

From 879 to the known date of Udayadeva there is a gap of 119 years, and there are actually five kings according to V<sup>i</sup>, their regnal years total nearly 140-150 years.

<sup>85</sup> JBORS, XXIII, p. 29 (Pt. I) ms. XIX, 1.



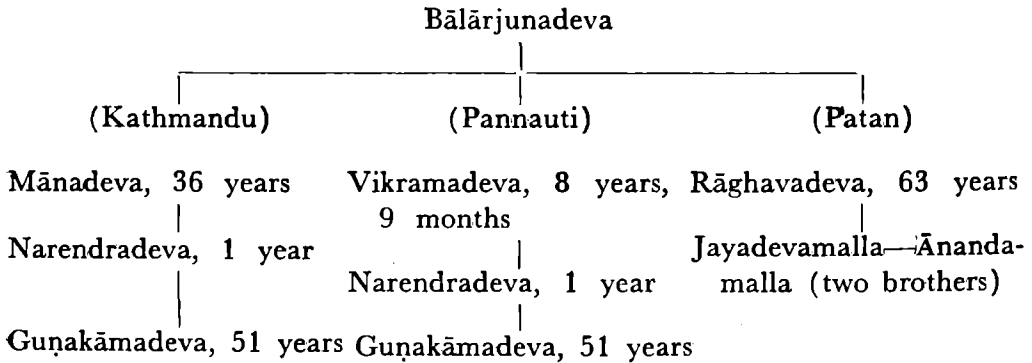
To Petech, the two lists of V<sup>1</sup> and VK represent two separate dynasties of rulers ruling over separate kingdoms but as contemporaries.<sup>86</sup>

On the basis of allocation of regnal years made by V<sup>1</sup> and VK, Petech constructs a table, which is reproduced here:

I	NS	II	NS
Rāghavadeva	1—43	Rāghavadeva	1—63
Jayadeva	43—53	Śaṅkaradeva	63—82
Vikramadeva	53—62	Sahadeva	82—116
		Vikramadeva	116—117

Guṇakāmadeva is transferred to kingdom (I) to fill up the gap between NS 62 and the first reign of Narendradeva (see below).

Quite unexpectedly, one of the later chronicles, the Group B<sup>2</sup> shows 3 kingdoms about this time.



According to this chronicle in NS 9 Nānyadeva invades and conquers Nepal. Then his dynasty ruled until the throne passes on to Jaya Sthitimalla's ancestor.

The list is confusing. The chronicle gives parallel names for the second and third generation for the Kathmandu and Pannauti kingdoms. The Patan list shows two names common to all the later chronicles. The list also on the whole does not agree with that of Petech. But considering the fact of the division of Nepal into more than one political units as brought out

<sup>86</sup> Petech, p. 37.

by Group B<sup>2</sup> this might lend support to Petech's inference. One may think that the Group B<sup>2</sup> had preserved a historical tradition of two kingdoms existing at that time. However, the story following the division is patently wrong. This renders the account of the division unreliable. At least we cannot accept it on the authority of the chronicle B<sup>2</sup>. We cannot surely over-estimate the importance of a particular statement of the chronicle while dismissing the context it is made as untrue.

But the assumption of the existence of two kingdoms by Petech might not be entirely incongruous. But is there any need to assume the existence of two kingdoms? As we have seen Petech's interpretation of VK's list carries him to 117 NS. Cannot Vikramadeva of V<sup>1</sup> be identified with the ruler of the same name of VK? Guṇakāmadeva is also common to both lists; and Petech reduces the length of his reign by 20 years to fit him in with the tenor of his recast chronology. But we offer a more logical device to get over the difficulty in regard to the chronology.

If we reduce his reign by thirty years, the total of all the reigns up to Narendradeva-Udayadeva becomes about 115 or 117 years, and thus we entirely eliminate the need of creating two kingdoms in the period.

The later chronicles (BLI in particular) award him 51 years. So this will not be a haphazard calculation.

In addition to this if we were to assume that Sahadeva was a forgotten king having a very short reign, then a separate kingdom becomes unnecessary. Further, we do little credit to Rāghavadeva, founder of the Nepal era, by making him a sovereign of only half kingdom. Even if the division of the kingdom had taken place, it was not surely in his time.

Śaṅkaradeva cannot be a forgotten king in view of a colophon datum in his name, which reads:

Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (In the possession of one Siddhinarasimha Vajrāchārya, Patan),<sup>87</sup> *Samvat* Pta (=40)  
*Bhādrapada śukla divā pūrṇamāsyām Pbh-Md-Pm Śrī*

<sup>87</sup> Unpublished.

*Śaṅkaradeva rājya Śrī Lalitabrumah Śrīmahāvātī gvālvihār-  
ādhivāsīnā Śākyavikṣunyā sthaviranī Akṣaymatyāyopādhyāya  
mātāpitripūrvanāgamena sakalasatvānāmanuttara jñānaphalā-  
ptaye Śrī Gaṅgalottara tolakādhivāsīno vārtā Divākarasīmhenā  
likhitvā iti.*

According to this colophon he ruled in NS 40 (+880=920 A.D.).

For the date of the colophon we tried to find out if it equated with some date within the range provided by the data of another ruler of the same name (189-202 NS). But the date added to any other symbols in the frame work does not show the needed date figure for such an identification. We are, therefore, inclined to attribute the colophon to the reign of Śaṅkaradeva who flourished in the tenth century A.D.

We have also a colophon data for Guṇakāmadeva. This has a date *Samvat* 104 which means that he was ruling in 984 A.D.

ms. *Sumatipañjikā Chāndravāyākaraṇa ṭikā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 32),<sup>88</sup> Colophon: *Rājnah Śrī Guṇakāmadeva Vibhunā svasyaika rāstre krite vasesmin diśamuttare śatatame divatār-  
ādhanīṣṭānvite ravikaviśāsi saumya etc. etc.* The ms. was written in the year 104, (no month and day are given) while king Guṇakāmadeva ruled the entire country by himself.

As the first ascertained date of Narendradeva-Udayadeva is NS 119, Guṇakāmadeva's place in the genealogy as their immediate predecessor can be made out on the basis of the date of the above ms. We have absolutely no ms. data for Guṇakāmadeva other than the one we have just noted. According to Levi he is a forceful personality and V<sup>1</sup> and VK give him an unusually long reign of 85 years 6 months (later chronicles assign 51 yrs.). The later chronicles antedate his reign in 723 A.D. But authors like L. Petch suggest that Nepal was then divided into two kingdoms, over one of which this monarch reigned for 65 years the other being at the same time under the suzerainty of Narendradeva and Udayadeva. Under Lakṣmīkāmadeva these two principalities had again

<sup>88</sup> Unpublished.

merged together to form a united whole. But all this is just a conjecture. On the basis of the allotment of regnal years made by V<sup>1</sup>, Narendradeva's reign must come after 61 years of the Nepal era. But this is wrong as the colophon datum shows. We also find that Udayadeva's reign is pushed to a year 150 years after the Nepal era after Guṇakāmadeva's 85 years are added. We face therefore a difficult situation as we come to arrange the chronology of these rulers.

But the colophon data of Śaṅkaradeva and Guṇakāmadeva have made our path easier. If Guṇakāmadeva's date is fixed prior to Narendradeva's both the questions, the one of a hypothesis of two kingdoms and the other of apportioning regnal years for the rulers of the period are automatically solved. It may be suggested that both these dates of the colophons cited above may not be final. But there is also no reason to dismiss the authenticity of the dates shown in them. Therefore until other data are forthcoming we accept the dates as these of Śaṅkaradeva I and Guṇakāmadeva.

Both V<sup>1</sup> and VK place Guṇakāmadeva before Udayadeva but after Narendradeva. This is patently wrong, because the ms. colophon above referred to shows Narendradeva and Udayadeva ruling together. Probably Petech thought that he should resolve the anomaly by a recourse to creating two kingdoms, in one of which Guṇakāmadeva was ruling as distinct from the other where the joint rule prevailed. But both V<sup>1</sup> and VK have no word to say that the kingdom was divided as they do while coming to describe the situation in the time of Vijayadeva said to have been reigning from Lalitpur over the half of the kingdom. To my mind there is no need to bring out two kingdoms and a fairly satisfactory solution can be obtained by making Guṇakāmadeva as the predecessor of Narendradeva. It may be remembered in this connection that as no dates are shown by the ancient chronicles, it becomes much difficult to adjust regnal years in terms of the date of the Nepal era.

We shall recast the order of genealogy as follows in the light of the above discussion.

	NS
Rāghavadeva	1-30
Jayadeva	30-40
Śaṅkaradeva	40-60
Sahadeva	60-61
Vikramadeva	61-70
Guṇakāmadeva	70-115

In this arrangement Rāghavadeva's total reign period has had to be curtailed from 43 to 30 years. But thus we eliminate the need to assume the existence of the two kingdoms for the period.

In the list of the *Thākuri* dynasty Guṇakāmadeva is given a prominent place by the later *Vaṃśāvalī*s.<sup>89</sup> He is also said to be the founder of Kantipur.<sup>90</sup> The date for this event is wrongly given by later chronicles nearly 200 years before, i.e., in *Kali-yuga* 3824 (724 A.D.). According to Levi's authority, two other towns, Patan and Sankhu also came into existence about this time. Levi (II, p. 185) infers from the founding of the towns in this period that a particular stage of progress was visible in the economic life of the people. The development took the line as noted in the T'ang history (I, p. 164) for the earlier period and the populace was gradually being moulded to follow commercial profession and industries and manual arts, like painting, modelling, etc. The traditions of fine arts were preserved in a prosperous condition as late as the 18th century.<sup>91</sup>

Levi says 'Guṇakāmadeva was a vigorous personality in the series of phantom kings'.<sup>92</sup> V<sup>1</sup> and VK give him the credit of making a gift of eleven treasures to God *Paśupati*nātha. Mainly due to him the roofs of the temple of *Vāsuki* lying to the north-east of Paśupati's shrine were turned from copper

<sup>89</sup> Wright, p. 154; Levi, II, pp. 185-86.

<sup>90</sup> Kantipur is the old name of the town of Kathmandu, Patan was then the capital. Most of the present towns and cities owe their origin in this period.

<sup>91</sup> II, pp. 185-86.

<sup>92</sup> II, p. 187; Wright, Second Edition, p. 92.

into those of gold. He also performed *Kotyāhuti* sacrifice in honour of his lord. The later chronicles say that he brought wealth from the four quarters of the earth and used the same 'to cause Paśupati to be bathed with golden water, poured from golden *dhāras*, for a fortnight. The rest of it worth Rs 52 crores he stored in a room in Indrachal mountain in the protection of *Vāsuki Serpent*.'

I do not think that Guṇakāmadeva becomes so important just because of the donations he made to the coffers of Lord Paśupati. Nor the story of his founding Kantipur and other towns can be taken as literally true. The V<sup>1</sup> and VK do not say anything about his founding the towns. But they say 'he made an offering of 11 treasures to Lord Paśupati, and reconstructed the roof of Vāsuki's temple with gold, he also completed the *Koṭi homa sacrifice*.'<sup>93</sup>

#### NARENDRADEVA—UDAYADEVA

Amongst the five successors of Rāghavadeva the fourth rule to have been ascertained with reference to a reliable document is that of Narendradeva and Udayadeva. Since this date we enter the realm of positive history as attested by the date of colophons. They ruled jointly and this is noted in a ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*, dated 100+10+9 *Mārgasira śukla 15* and with *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrī Narendradeva bhāṭṭāarakasya Śrī Udayadeva bhāṭṭāarakayo ubhaya-rājye likhitamiti*.<sup>94</sup> For Narendradeva V<sup>1</sup> gives a reign of a year and half, but Udayadeva enjoys 5 years 5 months (see above).<sup>95</sup> These regnal data may be correct or may be wrong. But the order of succession of V<sup>1</sup> has got to be rearranged on the basis just laid down in the preceding page.

<sup>93</sup> V<sup>1</sup>, f. 23 b; VK, p. 2.

<sup>94</sup> *Gandigulmaka nivāsinah suvarṇakara etc.*; JBORS, XXIII (Pt. I), p. 29. Verified for December 6, 998 A.D. (Sā-skyā monastery in Tibet).

<sup>95</sup> Kirkpatrick's authority gives 6 years.

## NIRBHAYADEVA

It is not possible to determine a date for the end of the joint rule or even of the single rule of Narendradeva or Udayadeva. But there is an inscription of the year 125, which shows a new king on the throne at the time. This king is Nirbhayadeva who as will be seen later functioned as a joint ruler with Rudradeva according to a ms. colophon. The inscription has four lines and reads<sup>96</sup>: *Śreyostu Samvat 100+20+5 Chaitra śukla trayodaśyām Mā Śrī Nirbhayadevasya vijayarājyeh // Śrī Khvapu Śivagvalottaradhenaka vāstavya Jayachatupakana Sriyadhara davakaparaka devasyārtham dvādaśamani dhāni prajñātayāti tilamakam tilikamara.*

So far Nirbhayadeva was regarded as a co-ruler with Rudradeva, but this record establishes the fact that he was a sole ruler before Rudradeva appeared in the scene. However, after sometime Nirbhayadeva had to share his reign with Rudradeva according to the ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*,<sup>97</sup> which shows in the colophon: *Abde śate sāṣṭakavimśayute (=128) māse subhe Phālguna śukla pakṣe somavāre nakṣatra ramyottarabhādra (=February-March, 1008 A.D) samjñe atodyatapātra varge rājye pari . . kativa vairi sanghe Śrī Lhun vihāra . . . Kirtipange Nepālaraṣṭra Śrī Nirbhaya nṛpateh surasannivasya Śrī Rudradeva vasudhādhipaścha ramye evam dvairājyakam.*

## RUDRADEVA

We do not know how long the joint reign of Nirbhayadeva and Rudradeva lasted. But Nirbhayadeva's name does not

<sup>96</sup> On the pedestal of a deity (uprooted) now being used as a staircase to put the foot on at the northern side of a well inside a courtyard near the temple of Bhairava at Taumadhitol, Bhatgaon. No. 3 of our series in the Appendix.

<sup>97</sup> Catalogue of Buddhist manuscripts in Cambridge Library, pp. 1-4 *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*, Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 868.22. Doc 1 of Petech. According to Levi and Petech the date is irregular.

appear in the Patan inscription of NS 132 where Rudradeva and Bhojadeva are jointly ruling. The inscription belongs to a site in a quarter known as Ganchanani in Patan, which reads: *rājye punnyamālaṅkṛtayāsati Śrī Rudradevo nṛpāḥ sadhubhrātrjaputra* (brother's son's son) *dharmanirati Śrī Bhojadevo pi rat.*<sup>98</sup> The lines (seven altogether) are inscribed on the socle of the image of *Umā-Maheśvara* and give the date 100+30+2 *prathamāsāḍha śukladivātrayadaśyām vṛhaspati dine māitra nakṣatre*. The record commemorates the occasion of the setting up of the image at the date given in the place (letters indistinct) within the city of Lalitpur.

Another copy of the ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1643)<sup>99</sup> gives a rule under three monarchs, Rudradeva, Bhojadeva and Lakṣmīkāmadeva in the year 135 NS *Chaitra śukla 10*. The colophon of this ms. reads: *Pañchatrīṃśādhike 'bde śatataya yusate Chaitra māse himābhe vikhyātesmin dasamyām* (=Thursday, March 3rd, 1015 A.D) *ditija ripu gurauvāsare* (=Thursday) *samprasaste rājñe Śrī Bhojadevapyamita gunaganālabdha Śrī Rudradeva Śrī Lakṣmīkāmadeve rarijagatakulisai rardharājyepabhukte || yah pūrva bhūpatikulaih samudāprasriṣṭa| Nepalamaṇḍala svalankaraṇāya samyak Śrī Lhaṅ vihāra iti sarvajānānurāgo yasmin bibhāti vachanam sugatasya sāsvat tasmin vihāre tapaso rambusāgare sujanabhadra samalikhāt sudhīh.* etc. This colophon is followed by another passage giving the reign of Mānadeva of NS 259 (See Levi, II, p. 190) for the discussion of *prasate* and *pragate* with reference to metrical arrangement. In the colophon the word *api* (also) must convey associateship and not succession. Therefore the contention of Levi (II, 190-91) that Bhojadeva

<sup>98</sup> Doc. 2 of Petech. The date is verified for 5th June, 1012 A.D. n. iv. in our Appendix.

<sup>99</sup> CBMC, pp. 151-52. Doc. 3 of Petech. For the verification of dates he writes 'The objections of Levi (II, p. 190) based on the fact that *Chaitra* was intercalary and ought to have been based as such, are now groundless; according to the Bhāradvāja system the intercalary month of that year was *Pauṣa* and not *Chaitra*'.



was his successor in NS 135 is rejected. The expression *ardharājye prabhukte* means ruling over half the kingdom. Perhaps as Petech suggests '*ardharājye* did not merely indicate one half of *dvairājye* but a somewhat subordinate position'. It seems that Lakṣmīkāmadeva was not a joint ruler for the whole as was suggested by some people. He enjoyed authority over half the kingdom without sharing powers with another person but he was a subordinate ruler. Bhojadeva obviously enjoyed a higher status but probably not as august as that of Rudradeva. Rudradeva must have reigned for fairly a long time as he figures as the one common factor in all the three combinations, with Nirbhayadeva (c. 1008 A.D.), then with Bhojadeva who was his grand nephew (c. 1012 A.D.),<sup>100</sup> and last with Bhojadeva and Lakṣmīkāmadeva (c. 1015 A.D.).<sup>101</sup>

Bhojadeva seems also to be the sole king as his name alone is mentioned in a ms. work (date lines lost).<sup>102</sup> It writes . . . *śukla trayodaśyām Śrīmat Bhojadeva rāje Yambukramayām*. The ms. was written in Kathmandu known at the time as Yambukrama.<sup>103</sup>

The order of names according to V<sup>1</sup> and VK since Udayadeva to Bhāskaradeva is as follows:

V <sup>1</sup> (f.24)	VK (P.2)
Lakṣmīkāmadeva, 21 years	Nirbhayadeva, 5 years
Vijayadeva, 31 years, who ruled half the kingdom, from Lalitpur	Bhojadeva-Rudradeva, 9 years 6 months
Bhāskaradeva, 3 years.	Lakṣmīkāmadeva, 21 years
	Jayadeva, ruling over half the kingdom from Lalitpur, 20 years
	Bhāskaradeva, who ruled for 7 years jointly with Jayadeva.

<sup>100</sup> Read Doc. 1 above of his reign.

<sup>101</sup> Doc., 3.

<sup>102</sup> Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 2191.1; Levi, II, p. 192; Petech, p. 37. At the end *Mādhavajīva mātā putrayoh*.

<sup>103</sup> For the first time we find a reference to Kathmandu by the name Yambukrama.

In view of the above cited colophons V<sup>1</sup> is wrong in not showing several joint reigns of the period. But it also omits Nirbhayadeva, Rudradeva and Bhojadeva. VK gives all these names but quite wrongly omits the reign of Nirbhayadeva and Rudradeva, which, however, is attested by a ms. colophon as above cited. Although it very rightly shows the joint reign of Rudradeva and Bhojadeva (in the reverse order), there is another significant omission which it reveals in not showing Rudradeva, Lakṣmīkāmadeva and Bhojadeva as ruling simultaneously as co-rulers, a fact which is evident from another ms. colophon.

As in the inscription of 132 Rudradeva and Bhojadeva, only two of them, figure as rulers we presume that Nirbhayadeva had died by that time and Lakṣmīkāmadeva was yet out of the picture. The five years of Nirbhayadeva might cover a period between 125 to 129 (both years inclusive). This must include the time while he reigned together with Rudradeva.

We have seen that Bhojadeva was Rudradeva's grand-nephew. But what was Rudradeva's relation with Nirbhayadeva and Lakṣmīkāmadeva is not known from any records. Nirbhayadeva might have been his elder brother whose grandson probably was Bhojadeva. Lakṣmīkāmadeva might have been related to Nirbhayadeva's predecessor Udayadeva. Lakṣmīkāmadeva ascended the throne as the sole ruler in about the year 1024 A.D. after Bhojadeva's death, as this is the date of the first available document of his reign. Later chronicles give to Bhojadeva a reign of 8 years. As we have seen Nirbhayadeva and the rest up to Bhojadeva are not noted by the chronicler of V<sup>1</sup> and after Udayadeva he brings Lakṣmīkāmadeva and then Vijayadeva (31 years).

Later chronicles mention Bhojadeva as the successor of Guṇakāmadeva. They omit all intermediate names. The next ruler is Lakṣmīkāmadeva. His son Vijayakāmadeva is the last ruler of the line. The regnal years allotted are 8 years, 22 years and 20 years respectively. If Guṇakāmadeva's date be 115 or so, then fifty years would take the dynasty to 165 (= 1046 A.D.).

This almost agrees with the colophon date of the next reign but his immediate successor would be Bhāskaradeva.

#### LAKSMIKAMADEVĀ

From the ms. colophon it appears that Lakṣmikāmadeva was the sole survivor since 1024 A.D. and he ruled till 1040 A.D. (=160 NS) or so.

Levi's authority thinks that he was the grandson of Guṇakāmadeva. Levi suggests that 'the analogy of names reveals some kind of relationship'. But in the present state of our knowledge we cannot definitely say that he was related to Guṇakāmadeva.

The line of Rāghavadeva ended with Jayadeva,<sup>104</sup> according to Bendall. The later chronicles take Anśuvarman's line to have ended with Jayakāmadeva whose predecessor was Lakṣmikāmadeva. But both VK and V<sup>i</sup> continue to give royal names in the list as one long whole. From the way the royal names occur in the list it does not appear that there was a break in the line and a new family had come to the throne, therefore, we should not believe the statement of later chronicles that a new dynasty had come to power.

The joint regime of Bhojadeva and Lakṣmikāmadeva probably ended before 1024 A.D. for in that year Lakṣmikāmadeva is shown in a colophon to have ruled singly according to ms. *Bhagavatīsyedāmayathalabdha tantra rāja*, with date NS 144 (अस) *Śrāvaṇa śukla 2*.<sup>105</sup> The date is verified for 10th July, 1024 A.D. In this ms. and in the other one ms. *Śivadharmā*<sup>106</sup> with date 156 *Śrāvaṇa śukla 12* Lakṣmikāmadeva gets full royal titles (Md-Pm and Pbh-Md-Pm respectively). The second part of the ms. colophon of *Śivadharmā* reads: *Śri Taittiriya salayadhivāsina kulaputra Ratnasimhena likhitam Śri Yambu-*

<sup>104</sup> He is known as Vijayadeva in Bhagwanlal Indraji's chronicle.

<sup>105</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 359.1 written by Sri Gāṅkotalaṅgādhi-vasinah Karuṇākaradatta etc. (CPMDN, II, 5). This is Doc. 1 of Petech.

<sup>106</sup> As. Soc. Bengal, No. 4077 CSMASB, V, n. 4084, p. 721. This is Doc. 2 of Petech. This ms. is wrongly listed as Lalita-vistara by Petech.

*kramāyām Śrī Mānigvalake paśchimarathyām nivāsinah rajaka Gadādharaśimhena karaniyam pustakam Śivadharmmam.* Another ms. *Saddharmapūṇḍarika*, is dated 159 *Vaiśākha śukla 3, śukradine* (March 30, 1039 A.D.).<sup>107</sup> We have one more document for his reign; this a ms. *Kulalikāmnāya* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 877) with '*Aṣṭapañchaśatādhika samvatsare gate (=158) Śrī Lakṣmīkāmādevasya rājye niṣkaṇṭaka yāte likhitam Saptarṣajīvena*'.<sup>108</sup> These data shows that this king ruled definitely as the sole ruler for 15 years within the dates of the ms. works. V<sup>1</sup> (supported by VK) says that he brought peace to the country (*rāṣṭra śānti kritavan*). But in a ms.<sup>109</sup> of the year 159 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 10* the expression used to qualify the time is *mahāyuddha pravartamāne kāle dustara saṁsāre nistāraṇārthena likhitam*. This suggests that Lakṣmīkāmādeva left behind him a much disturbed situation as he died or it might be he had to face a crisis during the end of his regnal career.

Lakṣmīkāmādeva himself is credited by V<sup>1</sup> (f. 23-b) and VK (p. 3) with having brought peace to the nation.

Lakṣmīkāmādeva is given a rule of 21 years by V<sup>1</sup> and VK and 22 years by the later chronicles. He was a ruler enjoying the reign of half the kingdom in NS 135 (=3rd March, 1015) according to the ms. colophon above cited (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1643). Although both V<sup>1</sup> and VK do not suggest joint rule in his case, the period of 21 years for his reign may include the time while he ruled as a junior king over half the kingdom, which the colophon attests. But by this way we do not cover the other three years upto 159 as shown by the dates of the colophons. So these 21 years of V<sup>1</sup> and VK cover only the period, when Lakṣmīkāmādeva ruled alone. If his reign ended

<sup>107</sup> Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1683, CBMC, p. 172. But here the expression is only *Śrī Lakṣmīkāmādevasyarājye*. The date verified by Kielhorn (Bendall, Table I) and Levi (II, p. 193) agrees with that of Petech.

<sup>108</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>109</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1976. *Hamsayāmala* written in later Gupta script. The ms. was copied in Khrimprimbrumayam, the ancient name for Bhatgaon.

in NS 159, he surely succeeded to the throne in NS 138. But nothing definite can be said about these dates at the moment.

It is very difficult to fix in this case as in others a reign period beyond what the colophons have indicated. An addition of a few years before and after the first or last of the colophon dates in cases where there is an interregnum can very well be hazarded, but it will not wholly clear the confusion.

Bendall said that Lakṣmīkāmadeva ruled in different capacities between NS 135 and 169.<sup>110</sup> His reign seems to have terminated in about 1041 or 42 A.D. Bendall's estimate is quite incorrect because we have a ms. colophon of the year NS 165 (=1045 A.D.) in the name of Bhāskaradeva. And then we have to deal with Jayadeva whom the chronicles call Lakṣmīkāmadeva's successor.

### JAYADEVA

Both V<sup>1</sup> and VK have Jayadeva as the successor of Lakṣmīkāmadeva. They say that he enjoyed *ardharājya* in *Lalitāpuri*. V<sup>1</sup> gives him a reign period of 31 years.<sup>111</sup> According to VK he ruled for 20 years as king (*rājā*), then he enjoyed 10 years of *ardharājya* in *Lalitapātan* and last he was a joint ruler with Bhāskaradeva for 7 years and 4 months. Petech thinks that '*ardharājya* ranked below full kingship and that *dvairājya* consisted of a superior and subordinate king, and only the regnal years of the former are counted'.<sup>112</sup> He adds that in about 1030 A.D. (NS 150) Jayadeva was appointed by Lakṣmīkāmadeva as the junior king of Patan only but later on the latter's death he became the senior king of Nepal in c. 1041 A.D. (=160-61). According to Petech, VK has counted his regnal years since 1041 and V<sup>1</sup> did so since 1030 A.D. The Italian historian thought that Jayadeva ruled till 1061 A.D. (NS 181). As we know, we get the information from VK that he ruled jointly with Bhāskaradeva for 7 years and 6 months. The latter's first

<sup>110</sup> Bendall, CPMDN, I, Intro., p. 6.

<sup>111</sup> f. 23b., Petech, p. 40.

<sup>112</sup> Petech, p. 40.

available document a ms. colophon (see below), dates 165 Śrāvāṇa. He has one more ms. colophon, which dates 167. But nowhere a sense of joint reign or sharing of power with another individual is implied. Similarly it is doubtful if Jayadeva was a co-ruler, even a junior one, with Lakṣmīkāmadeva. The utmost we might say of him is that he ruled over half the kingdom from Lalitāpurī (whatever be the area) for sometime. We do not know when he ascended the throne either as a co-ruler or as a sole king. We shall return a little after to the question of determining Jayadeva's regnal years. Meanwhile let us proceed to deal with the next king in the chronology, Bhāskaradeva.

#### BHASKARADEVA

From a statement in the chronicle of Wright and Bhagwanlal, we have a new line of the Noakot Ṭhākuri in the scene.<sup>113</sup> Levi's authority is of opinion that the founder of this line, Bhāskaradeva, was formerly a Governor in Patan,<sup>114</sup> and a vassal of Jayadeva. As was entrenched in power he refused to pay homage to the king whom he later ousted. According to Wright's *Vamśāvalī* (p. 157) Bhāskaradeva obtained power after being elected by his own kinsman, the Ṭhākuris of Noakot. According to some scholars the king seems to have retired to a private life in Palpa on the invasion of Noakot Ṭhākuris. It was suggested that Bhāskaradeva's rise to power had driven him to that end. In 1040 A.D. Atisha Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna had passed through Nepal to go to West Tibet. Tārānāth tells us that Atisha met only a local ruler in the Valley in 1040 A.D. and as the sovereign was residing at Palpa in the West of the Valley of Nepal he had proceeded thither. I do not know if Atisha had undertaken the journey to Palpa just to meet the king. Tārānāth says that Atisha was given a rousing welcome at Palpa. The king provided him an escort of 425 people to reach him to the frontier of Tibet.

<sup>113</sup> Wright, p. 157; Levi, II, p. 193. IA, XIII, p. 413.

<sup>114</sup> Levi, Ibid.

His name is given as Ananta Kīrti (Grag-pa-mtha-yas).<sup>115</sup> Could this king be an immediate successor of Lakṣmīkāmadeva, whom Bhāskara had expelled? There is no identity between the two names, Ananta Kīrti and Jayadeva, as apparently considered. But Ananta Kīrti's existence may be established by identifying him with Yaśodeva, the father of Vāṇadeva of Bendall's ins. V.<sup>116</sup> S. Levi considers that Yaśodeva was not in any way connected with the throne in Nepal.<sup>117</sup> Bhūnāth according to him does not signify kingship. But Bendall and others identifying Vāṇadeva with Vāmadeva of NS 204 accept Yaśodeva as the king of Nepal.<sup>118</sup> We will consider the latter factor a little later on the particular occasion as we deal with the subject matter, but here one thing will have to be borne in mind while considering the history of this period and that is the view of the later *Vaṃśāvalīs* are regards the origin of a new line under Vāmadeva.

But is Vāmadeva the same person as Vāṇadeva of the Saugaltol inscription, who is a son of Yaśodeva? The chronology of this prince i.e. Yaśodeva is not known from any source; while the inscription is a proof of his existence, he is not noted in the chronicles. It is, however, likely that Yaśodeva might have been a de jure ruler on exile in Palpa, when Atisha met him in Palpa. Though the later chronicles have taken an unanimous stand in noting Jayakāmadeva as having no legal successor, we may take him to have a brother of the name of Yaśodeva who had to remain on exile in Palpa, when Bhāskaradeva who was the governor of Kantipur uprooted the dynasty of his brother. This fact also coincides with the evidence of Palpa genealogy that there was no king of his name in the list given by Bhava-

<sup>115</sup> *Life of Atisha*, translated by Sarat Chandra Das in *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, I, pp. 25-30; Levi, I, pp. 166-67.

<sup>116</sup> Saugaltol (Patan) inscription of NS 203. Read n. V in our Appendix.

<sup>117</sup> Levi, II, p. 196.

<sup>118</sup> Bendall, *Journey*, p. 79; CPMDN, I (Intro.), p. 6. The notices in *J. Buddhist. Text S. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 27.

datta.<sup>119</sup> Much, however, will depend on how far the identity between Vāmadeva and Vāṇadeva is tenable. Vāmadeva's succession might have been a restoration of the old dynasty. But all this is suggested without evidence of any kind. It might even be that Vāmadeva had established his power as a usurper having not even a remote claim to the throne, and he is not the person figuring in the inscription as Vāṇadeva.

V<sup>1</sup> and Kirkpatrick's authority do not introduce a new line. They have Bhāskaradeva as the immediate successor of Jayadeva. According to VK Bhāskaradeva was a co-ruler with Jayadeva and both ruled for 7 years 4 months.<sup>120</sup> V<sup>1</sup> gives Bhāskaradeva a reign of 3 years. V<sup>1</sup> (f. 23-b) has the expression *tena pitṛ mālitavikritam suvarṇamayī Śrī Māneśvarī bhṛtṭarakā vinaśītā taddoṣena andho bhavati mahākaṣṭha prāpta*. The VK has more or less a similar expression. Translated into English this meant that Bhāskaradeva had sold the crown of his father and destroyed the gold image of the goddess, *Māneśvarī* (*God Manohara-VK*), and in consequence had become blind and got into great troubles. Bendall (CPMDN, I, Intro., p. 6) read the expression as *mauli navikrita* meaning that he destroyed and renewed the crown. But this interpretation is wrong. There is nothing like the expression *navikritam* in the passage. Bendall had misread the letters.

We have two mss. for his reign, 1) *Chatuṣpīṭhanibandha* of 165 *Śrāvaṇa śukla 10 śukradine*<sup>121</sup> and 2) *Viṣṇudharma* of 167

<sup>119</sup> They have noted Vāmadeva, but he cannot be identified with the king of that name in the Nepal Valley as the time Palpa's Vāmadeva lived is different.

<sup>120</sup> Kirkpatrick had wrongly translated the passage to say that Jayadeva had reduced the refractory tributary of Patan, Bhaskaradeo. He had confused his own source with the statement of later *Variśāvalis*.

<sup>121</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 359.3; CPMDN, II, p. 7. Date verified for 26 July, 1045 (Petech's Doc. 1). *Rājye Śrī Bhāskaradev-asya Śrī Guṇakāmadeva kārīte, Śrī Padmachakra Mahāvihāre Śakyavikṣu Kumāra*, etc.



*Āśvin kṛṣṇa saṣṭamyām budhadine.*<sup>122</sup> The former has only *Śrī Bhāskaradevasya rājye*, but the latter uses the epithet *Paramabhattāraka Mahārajādhirāja Parameśvara*. The first ms. gives the name of the scribe as one *Sākyavikṣu Kumārachandra*, one who resided in *Padmachakra Mahāvihāra* built by *Guṇakāmadeva*.

Petech suggests that the colophon of the first ms. very well indicated the fact of Bhāskaradeva ruling in the old capital of Guṇakāmadeva, 'of which the only certain thing is that it was not Patan'. Probably, it was Bhatgaon; but this is mere guess. He further said that Bhāskaradeva was a hereditary ruler and 'the reasons for admitting a change of dynasty are very weak'.

Indeed the idea of a new dynasty coming into power after Jayadeva is not supported by an authoritative evidence. In all probability the old dynasty had continued in power for several generations further. Levi's interpretation of the passage of the *Mañjuśrī tantra* applying to this period is not backed up by authoritative documents.<sup>123</sup> But a situation of chaos and disorder cannot be ruled out.

The fact of a disturbance in 1039 A.D. is gathered from the colophon of the ms. *Harṁsayāmala* above cited. It is quite likely that the opponents of the ruling dynasty had attempted to disturb the peace of the country with the objective of bringing about their downfall. But the dynasty survived.

However, there is nothing to stand in the way of accepting Bhāskaradeva as not the only rightful heir to the throne. He certainly belonged to the dynasty of his predecessor, but his title to kingship was probably based more on might which he displayed to oust the de jure successor than on right which he did not enjoy as such on his own. But all this will appear a superfluous guess if the hypothesis of two kingdoms as put forward by Petech is accepted. According to this scholar,

<sup>122</sup> CPMDN, I, pp. 29-30. Date verified for 14 October, 1047 (Petech, Doc. 2), Kielhorn has 24 September, 1046. But this is wrong.

<sup>123</sup> Levi, I, p. 64.

Bhāskaradeva had only succeeded to the throne of one of the two kingdoms in Nepal.

Now, if we are to clear the confusion we shall have to first determine Jayadeva's position in the chronology.

Because of the total lack of other data the V<sup>1</sup> and VK are the sole guide to determine Jayadeva's position in the chronology of the period. Petech to whom the V<sup>1</sup> and VK carry deep significance, thought that two lines of kings functioned in two different kingdoms of the Valley.

The table he has framed to indicate the fact of two kingdoms is as follows:

Patan	Bhatgaon
Jayadeva (c. 1030-1061)	Bhāskaradeva (c. 1043-1050)
Pradyumnakāmadeva (c. 1061-1067)	Baladeva (c. 1050-1062)
	Nāgārjunadeva (c. 1062-1065)

Petech must be wrong to carry Jayadeva's reign to 1061 A.D.=NS 181. According to VK, the last 7 years of his reign were spent as a co-ruler (*ubhaya rāja*) with Bhāskaradeva. But already on January 12th, 1052 (=NS 172 *Māgha śukla 8 Sunday*), a ms. colophon shows another personage as a ruler.<sup>124</sup> If Baladeva was Bhāskara's successor, then surely Jayadeva's reign also had ended along with Bhāskara's. I believe that by '*ubhayarājya*' we do not mean the same thing as '*ardharājya*' but '*ubhayarājya*' might have been a synonym for '*dvairājya*.' Referring to the joint rule of Narendradeva and Udayadeva described as *ubhayarājya* by the colophon, Petech says that they were joint kings (over one of the two kingdoms).<sup>125</sup> He implies that they were equal in status. The expression *Ubhayarājya* often appears in colophons and inscriptions of later medieval period since the time of Jaya Sthitimalla, where two brothers or father and son figure as rulers. In such

<sup>124</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 370.

<sup>125</sup> Op. Cit., p. 32.

instances we find that the de jure sovereign is the father or the elder brother as the case may be, and a status of a junior partner is reserved to the other person. *Ubhayarāja* also may mean joint sharing of powers. It may mean equally a position of regency to the younger brother or the son. But it may also indicate courtesy reference to the junior partner. I think that when two persons are referred to as *ubhayarājā*, it conveys the same meaning in terms of status as *dvairājya* unless the latter expression did also signify the fact of a territorial division. *Ardharājya* definitely conveyed the sense of half-kingdom, and also a junior status. Here, what we should bear in mind, is the fact of VK mentioning Bhāskaradeva as Rājā and placing him before Jayadeva, while it has to present their joint rule. This fact suggests that Bhāskaradeva had precedence over Jayadeva. The statement of Petch that Jayadeva ruled as full king can thus be challenged. Bhāskaradeva and not Jayadeva was a 'full king' at least for the time the joint rule lasted, if at all there was a joint rule of these persons.

I do not think we should take seriously the statement of the ancient chronicles as to Jayadeva's long regnal career so as to envisage the existence of two kingdoms. Nor 'the conflict between the apparent thrustworthy regnal periods of VK and the shorter spans of time implied by colophons'<sup>126</sup> has necessarily to be taken to be resolved with 'two parallel lines of kings reigning at the same time in the two kingdoms (Patan and possibly Bhatgaon).'<sup>127</sup> As colophons do not support Jayadeva's rule, the utmost we could say of him is that he might come as a co-ruler with Bhāskaradeva for the time of chaos between the date of Lakṣmīkāmadeva's death in 159 and the date of Bhāskaradeva's functioning as the sole ruler in 165. The period covers approximately 7 years. I think that V<sup>i</sup> counted Bhāskara's reign since the latter date, while VK by mistake omitted this period. VK committed another mistake by presenting Jayadeva as full king for ten years before he became a

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

junior king with Bhāskaradeva. It is likely that he might have ruled also as a junior king in Patan for all the years since Lakṣmikāmadeva became sole king in NS 137-38 (=1018 A.D.). But his position was too important to attract the notice of the scribes. We can also realise how V<sup>1</sup> had actually measured this position, although the period given is stretched to excess by 2 or 3 years. It appears that Bhāskaradeva was the de jure successor of Lakṣmikāmadeva over the entire kingdom. But he might have encountered some difficulty at the time of succession.

As we have suggested a little earlier that in about 159 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa* 10 (=20 April, 1039 A.D.) the date of the ms. *Harṁsayāmala*, (see above) the circumstances obtaining in the place of writing (*khriprimbrumāyām*) were those of a war (*mahāyuddha pravartamānakāle*) and the copying of the ms. was undertaken with a view to relieve the unhappy world of distress (*dustarasamsāre nistāraṇārthena*).

This colophon does not give the name of the ruler, and the omission of the ruler in the colophon might suggest a situation of anarchy, where there was no central authority in the country. As the ms. was written in Bhatgaon (*Khriprimbrumāyām*), this applies more to that place. It is possible that Jayadeva might have reigned in Patan during this period of disturbance until Bhāskaradeva got himself crowned as the senior king.

It is difficult to say categorically with reference to the *Padmachakravihāra* of the colophon that Bhāskaradeva was not ruling over Patan. It is true that a modern list of Patan monasteries does not show that name. But how many vihāras have retained their true names at the moment? At any rate in view of VK we do not see any reason to reject Bhāskaradeva as the ruler of Patan, because it shows him a co-ruler along with Jayadeva. If Jayadeva had ruled previously as a junior ruler over the half kingdom of Patan, he ruled in the same capacity with Bhāskaradeva as senior king for the seven years of his life at the end.

We shall see in the next few pages that we do not need to

produce two parallel lines of the kings to reduce the divergence of regnal periods allegedly to have been shown by the colophons and ancient chronicles.

As Atisha Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna had entered Nepal en route to West Tibet about this time, let me introduce the account of his visit before I take up the consideration of regnal dates following Bhāskaradeva.

### CULTURAL INFLUENCE OF ATISHA'S VISIT

It was said that towards 1040 A.D Nepal as already narrated was visited by Atisha who had responded to the desire of the king of West Tibet, Lha Lāma Jnāna Racmi that he should preach in his domain.<sup>128</sup> Atisha is credited to have introduced novel features in Mahāyāna form of Buddhism and it is not unlikely that his presence in Nepal would have influenced the type prevailing there. Perhaps, the Tāntric form of Mahāyāna in Nepal dates from his visit, to which the form of Lamaism he founded in Tibet further added its own to introduce greater lustre and revolutionary changes in matters of rituals and sacraments. Tibet and Nepal had mutually exerted at this stage to influence each other in cultural matters through a common medium. And Nepal then had become the channel through which the Pāla kings propagated their Vajrayāna doctrines all over Central Asia.

Atisha's visit to Nepal according to some people, is noted under the mythical story of Matsyendranātha, a Vajrayāna cum *Nātha* cult teacher of that century.<sup>129</sup> But this is mere conjecture. It is quite likely that Lokeśvara was already a popular deity at the time. An undated inscription, in Gupta script, of

<sup>128</sup> See Historical Records Commission Report, XIII, p. 62; Levi, II, p. 194; Tārānāth, *Ibid.*, pp. 253-55. A contemporary of Atisha, Vag Išvara Kīrti, spends in Nepal second half of his life busy with magical rites (Levi, II, p. 187).

<sup>129</sup> Wright, p. 151. The account mentions that Ārya Avalokiteśvara, the third Buddha took the shape of a fish. Wright's authority puts him back during Narendradeva's reign.

Manigupta commemorates the setting up (*pratiṣṭhāpita*) of an image of Aryāvalokiteśvaranātha (in Kathmandu). The portion of the inscription giving the name of the ruler and date is illegible but the record might be referred to the later Lichhavi period.<sup>130</sup> Atisha's visit is noted neither in the chronicles nor in the ms. and inscription records of Nepal. There is not even a legend about this visit. But Dharmasvāmin, a Tibetan monk, who visited Nepal in 1224–36 A.D. corroborates in his account the story of Atisha's visit and stay in the Valley of Nepal (vide below, the section on religion). So also does the Blue Annals.<sup>131</sup>

### BALADEVA

Baladeva had in all certainty begun his reign since the year NS 170. His first document, ms. *Brahmayāmala*,<sup>132</sup> is dated *Māgha śukla* 8 of 172 ( अचू २ ). He was already a monarch at that date. V<sup>1</sup> gives him a reign of 12 years, but there his name is Balavantadeva. This estimate of regnal years is supported also by Kirkpatrick who spells his name Bul Deo, the same as Baladeva of VK.<sup>133</sup> Baladeva reigned for 12 years also according to VK.

The following document of Baladeva's reign is newly traced. Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 76).<sup>134</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 173 Pauṣa śukla ṣaṣṭhi budhavāra revatidīne Baladeva vijayarājye samvatsara śate khyāte trayasaptati samyute Pauṣa śukla dīne ṣaṣṭhi revati budha samyute dīpta Śrī Baladeva rāja vijaya Lakṣmīpanāmaṇḍale Śrīmat paśchima-*

<sup>130</sup> This inscription is traced in Kathmandu at a site near the Bhimsen Tower. The first line is *Om Svasti Bhaṭṭāraka mahārāja . . . . . devasya sāgram varṣa śatam samajñyāpayati*. (See the first Volume of our series)

<sup>131</sup> I, p. 260.

<sup>132</sup> CPMDN, II, p. 60; Darbar Library Catalogue, III, p. 370. Doc. 1 of Petech. 100+70+2 *Māgha śukla aṣṭamyām ādityadīne*, written by one Sri Paśupativastavya Jayākarajīva.

<sup>133</sup> V<sup>1</sup>, f. 24-b; VK, p. 3.

<sup>134</sup> Unpublished.

*vāhanavareyo hemakārovasana Śrī Dāmodarasimha etyabhita etc. Jananīm nava pratiṣṭhāpita.*

His first ms. was written in the Paśupati area and gives him full royal titles (*Rd-Pm*). Another ms. *Saddharmapūṇḍarika*<sup>135</sup> mentions only *Baladevakhye kṣitim rakṣati kṣamādhipe*. The writing was inspired by Vārtta Kalyāṇagupta. I do not know how to accept Petech's statement that king Baladeva ruled only over half the kingdom as Bhāskaradeva's successor.<sup>136</sup> V<sup>i</sup> says that the country was prosperous in his time (V<sup>i</sup>, f. 24-a). It was, however, said by a later chronicle that after Bhāskaradeva the country was dismembered for sometime and there were two parallel lines of rulers in Patan and Bhatgaon, each with its own sphere of influence.<sup>137</sup> But we cannot take this statement seriously. Wright, BLI and Sanskrit chronicle have Baladeva as the son and successor of Bhāskaradeva. The last ms. of his reign is dated NS 180 (*asītiyukte saśate samvatṣare*) *Māgha site śubhe tṛtīya vāsare* (14 January, 1060 A.D.) and has the expression *nrpānvaye Śrī Baladevarājake trivargadharmodayalokapālake*.<sup>138</sup> Beginning his reign in 1048 (=168) or so, he must have died in 1060 or 61 (=NS 180-81). The regnal years of the ancient chronicles are correct.

The chronicles V<sup>139</sup> and VK<sup>140</sup> state that his reign gave peace and plenty to the people and he also founded Haripur.

#### PRADYUMNAKAMADEVA AND NAGARJUNADEVA

Baladeva's successor was Pradyumnakāmadeva. Levi's authority has Pradyumnakāmadeva and Nāgārjunadeva as joint rulers (II, p. 194). V<sup>1</sup> gives Nāgārjuna as the successor

<sup>135</sup> JBORS, XXIII, Pt. I., p. 29 (Sa-skya monastery in Tibet). Also Petech, p. 43, the wording of the date figure is confusing, Doc. 2 of Petech.

<sup>136</sup> Petech, p. 47..

<sup>137</sup> Chronicle Group B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>138</sup> *Nisvasakhyamahātantra*, Darb. Lib. Cat. I., p. 279 (Doc. 3 of Petech) and CPMDN, I., p. 11. H. P. Sastri reads *lokapālāne*.

<sup>139</sup> f. 23-b.

<sup>140</sup> P. 3.

of Kāmadeva. In the text the letters of the royal name have faded before Kāma and there has been a confusion about the name. One reading is Mānadeva. But as is attested by colophon data of the time it must be Pradyumnakāmadeva. Kirkpatrick has Puddiem Deo (Padmadeva of VK) so have Wright and BLI. The Sanskrit chronicle has Pradyumnadeva. H. C. Ray says that between Bhāskaradeva and Bālārjunadeva also there must be one more ruler. But in view of the colophons I do not think that Ray would be correct. In the name of Pradyumnakāmadeva we have 3 ms. works and one inscription; (1) ms. *Pañcharakṣā*<sup>141</sup> 183 (अब ३) *Jyēṣṭha kṛṣṇa* 11 (=26 May, 1063) written in Patan under (*viṣṭhārājye*) *Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhṭṭāraka Pradyumnakāmadeva*. We have an additional passage in the colophon, *kritāni hanāni prasanna mānasah Śrī Śaṅkaradevasya vijaya Nepāla maṇḍale vijitā śatru saṁghāte janānāṁcha nirākule*, (2) *Saddharmapūṇḍarikā*<sup>142</sup> 185 *Vaiśākha śukla ekādaśyām* with *Paramabhṭṭāraka Pradyumnakāmadevasya viṣṭhārājye viśudhachakraśu nirmala . . . pīrākhye nivasinyā Manikā etc.* and (3) a copy<sup>143</sup> of the same with the date 186 *Māgha kṛṣṇa diva daśamyām budhadine Śrī Pbh-Rd-Pm Śrī Pradyumnakāmadevasya (rājye) tatrevakeyuke kośalatolakādhivāsini kulaputrī kanhunavayīnāmynaa etc. etc. Śrī . . . . Mahāvihāre*. After this there is a vacant space and then follows at the bottom, *pramathayoge samaśva divase agastavāre Śrī Pradyumnakāmadeva rājo Śrī Udayapurādhipati mahāsāvanta Śrī Janārdanaṅgīvasya pravarttamāne*. We shall have more of the Jīva feudatories henceforth, but this record is the first to bring one to our notice. The last ms. shows that Udaipur was being ruled by a feudatory, while the first has Śaṅkaradeva, the devotee of Śiva, (who

<sup>141</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 688 (Doc. 1 of Petech).

<sup>142</sup> CBMC, p. 173 (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1684), Doc. 2 of Petech.

<sup>143</sup> Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 2197. Doc. 3 of Petech. Kielhorn and Petech verify the date for Wednesday, 25 January, 1066 A.D. Mentioned by Bendall, History (CPMDN, I, p. 20).



later on built a chapel and an image of the Ísvara) as 'a destroyer of enemies and maker of peace'. We have also an inscription of the reign of Pradyumnakāmadeva.<sup>144</sup>

(4) Inscribed on the pedestal of the Sun God in the courtyard of a water conduit (Thapahiti), Patan, which reads, *Pañchasītinīyuktavatsare śatam prāptēsūpūrṇam subhā mūlādityayutādhiścha dhabalāśādha trayodaśyāpi Śrī Pradyumna mahipateścha sukhavadrājyam prathīṣṭhāpita tatrācharya vare-nasa pratikṛti ratnakarasvaminā*. In the reign of Pradyumna (kāmadeva) on *Aṣāḍha śukla trayodaśī*, 185 the image of the Sun God was set up.

V<sup>1</sup>'s enumeration of regnal years cannot be assessed because of the fading, but VK gives him 6 years as Kirkpatrick does, while Wright has 11 years. The colophons show him to be ruling from 183-186 NS. The next ascertained reign has a document dated 188 NS. We can easily accept Kirkpatrick and extend Pradyumnakāma's reign to 186 or 187 NS from the year NS 180-81.

According to Petech Śaṅkaradeva was acting as a Regent or Commander-in-chief in the time of Pradyumnakāmadeva. He reads the passage in the colophon of the first ms. with the expression *Kritānihanāni prasanna mānasah Śrī Śaṅkara-devasya vijaya Nepalamaṇḍale vijita śatrusanghāte janānāncha nirākule* to interpret the position. But the relationship subsisting between the two is not known. According to Petech Śaṅkaradeva was Pradyumnakāmadeva's immediate successor who had united under him the two kingdoms existing during his predecessor's time. As Pradyumnakāma's mss. were copied in Patan, the author of the book 'Medieval Nepal' thinks that he was Jayadeva's successor and ruled over half of the kingdom with the capital city under him.

Kirkpatrick (p. 263) says "this prince revived the custom of wearing crowns, which was discarded by Bālārjunadeva". We hear nothing more about Pradyumnakāmadeva from chronicles either V<sup>1</sup> or VK.

<sup>144</sup> Unpublished. See below n. VI. in our Appendix.

In all the later chronicles Padmadeva is followed by Nāgārjunadeva and then by Śaṅkaradeva. V<sup>1</sup> gives Nāgārjunadeva a reign of 2 years. VK and Kirkpatrick have 3 years. Both give his name next to Pradyumnakāmadeva. In view of this he cannot be a direct successor of Baladeva as Petech suggests. According to the Italian Scholar he ruled only over half the kingdom for sometime between NS 182-185 (1062-1065 A.D) and 'was defeated and dethroned' (Petech, p. 44). We have only one document for his reign, which Petech had missed.

Ms. *Svachchhandalalitabhairavam* (Darb. Lib. Cat I. 224).<sup>145</sup> Colophon: *Samvat अन्न्य* (100+80+8) *Śrī Mahārājā Nāgārjunadevasya rājye kulaja Śrī Mādhasimhasya pustakam lekhaka kulodbhava Bhīmasimhena likhitam.*

The character is *Bhujimo*, therefore, in spite of the absence of details the datum must belong to Nepal. Now from this record there is no suggestion as to his being a ruler of only half the portion of the Valley. He surely ruled over the whole state for some time in between the reigns of Pradyumnakāmadeva and Śaṅkaradeva.

We have already rejected the attempt to make Jayadeva continue to rule after 165. For Nāgārjunadeva we have at least two years in between the last document of Pradyumnakāmadeva, NS 186 *Māgha* and the first of Śaṅkaradeva, NS 189 *Aṣāḍha*. Similarly, while Pradyumnakāma's documents follow Baladeva's there is no reason to make the former as the ruler of Patan only. We can take it that Pradyumnakāmadeva did rule not only in Patan but his rule had extended to the whole of Nepal. We have seen that the dates of the colophons supplement one another. There is no crossing and overlapping. The dates of the chronicles (V<sup>1</sup> and VK) are also complementary to one another except in the case of Jayadeva.

It looks to me that Petech had to imagine the existence of two kingdoms not that this was made out by documents but that he found it necessary to explain his own interpretation of

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<sup>145</sup> Unpublished.

the statement of VK as to Jayadeva's regnal years. Of course, if Jayadeva's reign is to be extended to 1061 A.D. (=NS 181) the other two reigns made out by the colophons as extending within his dates must belong to another kingdom. But I do not think that we have any reason to extend Jayadeva's reign to 1061 A.D.

I mark some discrepancies in Petech's statement. He thinks that in *ardharājya* only the senior king is given regnal years, but he does not tell us how the kings whom he mentions as junior partners, more specially Bhāskaradeva and Baladeva, enjoy regnal years both in V<sup>i</sup> and VK. As we have already said, these are the names which figure also in colophons with full royal epithets unlike Jayadeva who does not have a single colophon in his name. I do not think that we can read more than the meaning of *ardharājya* in the statement of V<sup>i</sup> and accepting Petech's own conception of this term we may suggest that Jayadeva was a junior king most of the time he lived. It might be that he began his rule in c. 1030 A.D. though the idea of his being appointed to the place by Lakṣmīkāmadeva is against the conventional rules in that regard. We cannot doubt that he succeeded in the *ardharājya* by his own right. If we accept VK, we shall have to regard Jayadeva as the sole king in the first stage of his career. Petech wrongly yet deliberately reverses the order and he also does not take notice of the fact that in VK Bhāskaradeva precedes Jayadeva while their joint reign is mentioned. Bhāskaradeva's precedence over Jayadeva is further stressed by the fact that all particulars given in that connection are about him and not about Jayadeva. As Jayadeva's position as sole or senior king was incompatible with the title Lakṣmīkāmadeva enjoyed during the time he reigned, Petech further holds that Jayadeva came to occupy that position after the latter's death in c. 1041 A.D. According to Petech Jayadeva ruled altogether for 31 years. Although his reasoning is based on the statement of VK, he does not seem to have accepted the 37 years (20 years as sole king, 10 years as ruler of *ardharājya* and 7 years 4 months as *ubhayarājya*

with Bhāskaradeva) and 4 months given to Jayadeva as regnal years by that chronicle. If he had strictly followed VK, Petech would suggest 1067-68 as the last date of Jayadeva. But there are colophons in the name of four rulers covering the entire period claimed by Petech for Jayadeva. So the Italian scholar took recourse to making a case for *dvairājya*, in which Jayadeva was to be the senior king until 1061 A.D. Why he stopped at this date is not very explicit, but we think that this he did because he had to give room for Pradyumnakāmadeva simply for the reason that the latter's documents belonged to Lalitapatan. He has, however, failed to take into account the fact of full royal titles adopted in the colophons by Bhāskaradeva and others, nor he seems to have ascertained if the places of issue of these data could be identified with sites in Patan. But all his conclusions are arbitrary and it is clear that he has indulged in mere guess about the position of Jayadeva. A guess of this kind was possible because Jayadeva did not enjoy the datum of a colophon and V<sup>1</sup> and VK made divergent statements about his reign.

We have no reason to be very serious about the 31 years of Jayadeva as given in V<sup>1</sup>, for we know that the ancient chronicles are not very reliable for the chronology until we come to the third century of the Nepal era. We have seen that at times they omit even those royal names whose existence is established by colophons. More than that only in a few instances their allocation of regnal years proved correct. Therefore, irrespective of the regnal years he gets in the chronicles we may just call Jayadeva a junior king. If he was a full king at any time, this must have been during the interval of crisis following Lakṣmikāma's death prior to Bhāskaradeva's accession. Because he precedes Bhāskaradeva in the ancient chronicles, it is not unlikely that he was a sole king for that time. But nothing in the nature of a *dvairājya* making Jayadeva a senior king can be envisaged in the circumstances which we have just reviewed.

Let us now sum up the results of our discussion by drawing a genealogy, for the period under consideration.

Lakṣmīkāmadeva	c. 138 to 159 NS
Jayadeva	c. 159 to 165 NS
Bhāskaradeva	c. 165 to 168 NS
Baladeva	c. 168 to 180 NS
Pradyumnakāmadeva	c. 180 to 186 NS
Nāgārjunadeva	c. 186 to 188-89 NS

### ŚANKARADEVA AND VAMADEVA

Now we come to the reign of Śaṅkaradeva who ruled for 15 years<sup>146</sup> according to V<sup>1</sup>, and 17 years according to Kirkpatrick, probably from NS 189 to 203, the first date of Vāmadeva as it comes from the Saugaltol inscription, which precedes *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*.<sup>147</sup> It is suggested that Vāmadeva had been restored to power at a later date in supercession of the Noakot Thakuri line, and the later *Vamśāvalīs* say that it came about with the help of the nobility of the kingdom.<sup>148</sup>

We have five documents in the name of Śaṅkaradeva. All these are given by Petech in the following order.

1. ms. *Dharmaputrikā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 393).<sup>149</sup> Colophon: *Navottarasīti yute sate 'bde Āṣādha śuklasya tithau tṛtiye Śrī Śaṅkarākhye jayati kṣtindre Śrī Yangalasyottara tol-lakeyah* etc. (H. P. Sastri read *Yajjvalasya*). Date verified for May 24th, 1069 by Petech.

2. ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (Nor Monastery, Tibet).<sup>150</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 100+80+9 Bhādrapada ... (diva)se Śrimachchhaṅkaradevarājye Śrī Lamjugunke*<sup>151</sup> *vāstavya Gangaranakena lekhitamidam.*

<sup>146</sup> V<sup>1</sup>, f. 24-b. Other chronicles assign to him a period of eleven years.

<sup>147</sup> St. Petersburg Collection, S. 200; JRAS, 1891, p. 687.

<sup>148</sup> Wright, p. 160.

<sup>149</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 92; also in II, p. 87. Doc. 1 of Petech.

<sup>150</sup> JBORS, XXI, p. 33 (with wrong dating). The date was corrected by Prof. Tucci according to Petech. Doc. 2 of Petech.

<sup>151</sup> R. Sankrityayana reads Lajalunke.

3. ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (As. Soc. Bengal, A. 15).<sup>152</sup> Colophon: *Ekādhika navatikānugate prāyate samvachchhare tapasi (=Māgha) māse tithau daśamyām samvardhamānaśāsitāddayitānvitāyām vāchaspatāu ... sobhana yoge yukte sribhuṣane Śaṅkaradeva sanjne vikhyāta kīrtaujītavarivṛnde sūryanuyā pravaraadaivadeva samrāji samrakṣite sarvaloke ... Śreyostu samvat 100+90+1 Phālguna śukla daśamyam tithau rohiṇī nakṣatre śobhana yoge vṛhaspativāsare. Petech verified the date for 13th January, 1071 except for the yoga.*

4. ms. *Bodhichāryāvatāra pañjikā* (As. Soc. Benngal, n. 3830. CSMASB, I, n. 49, pp. 49-50).<sup>153</sup> Colophon *Aṣṭānavatisamyukte śata samvati vatsare kṛṣṇe Śrāvaṇa pañchamyām vāsare kuja-sāhvaye .. Śrimachchhrankaradevasya rājno vijaya sālinah etc. Śrī Lalitāpuraramye, Śrī Māniglake samjnāke yachchhri Rāghavanāmnasya vihāre Sugatālaye etc. Petech verifies the date for Tuesday, July 31st, 1078.*

5. ms. *Saddharmapūṇḍarikā sūtra* (Sa-skyā monastery, Tibet).<sup>154</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 200+2 Chaitra śukladiva pūrṇamāsyām vṛhaspati dine hastā nakṣatre Pbh-Md-Pm Śrīmat Śaṅkaradevasya vijayarājye varttamāne. Written by one Amātya Bhalloka Guṇakārajiva of Indramulasthāna for Śrī Chakavati Mahādevī mahāvihāryā sākyabhikṣuṇī Yemendranāthāthāyamadatra.*

According to the later chronicles Śaṅkaradeva was the last ruler of the Noakot Ṭhakuri dynasty, who with Vāmadeva's restoration were said to have been exiled to western hills (Wright and Levi). At least four of his ms. works were written in Patan. This leads some people to think that Patan once more became the seat of the Government and the territories were united.<sup>155</sup>

Śaṅkaradeva must have been an illustrious ruler as the epithet used in the document of his predecessor shows. His beginning

<sup>152</sup> Doc. 3 of Petech.

<sup>153</sup> Doc. 4 of Petech.

<sup>154</sup> JBORS, XXIII, p. 28 (Pt. I); Doc. 5 of Petech.

<sup>155</sup> Petech, pp. 46-47.

is very humble as the first two colophons show. He uses only *vijayarājye* in them. In the third the expression used in *vikhyā-takirttau jītavairi vṛnde sūryānuṣṭhāpavaradaivadeva samrājī samrakṣite sarvvaloke*. All this may mean to indicate his gradual rise to a consolidated position. It is, however, difficult to believe that he was a colleague of his predecessor during the two years of his reign in the beginning. Petech thought that they ruled jointly for sometime, and he argues accepting the figures (17 years) of VK.

V<sup>i</sup> and Kirkpatrick's authority speak of him to have built a temple at Naksal<sup>156</sup> (*Nandisālā*) and there set up an image of Śaṅkara. He also built a shrine of the Manoharā Bhagavatī. Under him the country was peaceful (*rāṣṭra śānti bhavati*).

All the later chronicles talk of a ms. *Prajñāpāramitā*<sup>157</sup> having been copied in his reign in 245 *Samvat*. But the date is wrong. Śaṅkaradeva's reign had ended much earlier.

In regard to his regnal years, we do not see any reason not to agree with V<sup>i</sup>. From 188-189 to 203 he ruled for nearly 15 years as made out by V<sup>i</sup> and this seems to be a correct estimate of his regnal years.

We do not know how far to take their statement seriously when the later chronicles say about Śaṅkaradeva that he was a weak monarch and in his time the *Buddha mārgīs* has wrecked vengeance on the *Śivamārgīs* for the harm the former had received at the hands of Śaṅkarāchārya. At this time a large number of Brahmans had been killed, according to the Sanskrit chronicle.

#### VAMADEVA

Śaṅkaradeva was succeeded by Vāmadeva. Vāmadeva had a reign of a few years.<sup>158</sup> It is not yet settled whether this monarch is the same as *bhūnātha Yośodeva tanaya Vānadeva*

<sup>156</sup> North-east suburb of Kathmandu.

<sup>157</sup> Read V<sup>i</sup>, 3 years.

<sup>158</sup> Wright, p. also V<sup>i</sup> (f. 24-b). Levi, II, p. 196.

of Ins. V of Bendall,<sup>159</sup> dated NS 203 (Saugaltol, Patan) with date *tribhi varṣaih samayukte samvātsare śatadvaye Vaiśākha saptamyām budha puṣyodaye subhe* verified for 26 April, 1083,<sup>160</sup> though the dates for both, if the inscriptions were to be referred to the Nepal era, tally wonderfully well. Levi takes these two names, Vāṇa of the inscription and Vāma of the chronicles as having absolutely no connections.<sup>161</sup> Levi can be right. The designation *bhūnātha* has been adopted by *Gogga* and his ancestor *Jaula*, both feudatories of the *Gurjara Pratihāra kings*.<sup>162</sup> There are several more instances of the feudatories in India assuming this title. So it could not be that Yaśodeva, had he been a sovereign ruler of Nepal would be called by his own son unassumingly just *bhūnātha*. But we do not see how this prevents his son from declaring himself a sovereign ruler. However, unless there is a more substantial evidence to the effect we cannot identify Vāṇadeva of the inscription with Vāmadeva of the chronicle. Vāṇadeva might have been another personage and probably a governor of Patan, as Levi also hazards a conjecture, because the latter was not adopting full royal titles. But we cannot say the same thing about Vāmadeva who is mentioned in the ancient chronicles. V<sup>i</sup> has nothing to say about his lineage. His name comes just in continuation in one list. V<sup>i</sup>, VK and Kirkpatrick give him a reign of 3 years.<sup>163</sup> This may be correct. About his suc-

<sup>159</sup> On the pedestal of the Sun God to the right of the door of the temple of Nārāyaṇa. Finding that the script in this inscription was of the same nature as those of the Palm leaf ms. (Camb. Univ. Lib. Addl. 1864, Cat., p. XXV, 173) Bendall was led to stick to that identification. Bendall, *Journey*, pp. 79-80. Also see Petech, pp. 48-49.

<sup>160</sup> Petech, op. cit., p. 49. Kielhorn agrees with this verification, but Levi says that the day of the week should be Thursday, 27 April. Inscription n. VII in our Appendix.

<sup>161</sup> II, p. 196.

<sup>162</sup> B. N. Puri *Gurjara Pratihāras*, Bombay, 1957, pp. 110, 122.

<sup>163</sup> In *Himavatsanskṛti*, VS 2016, I, the reading is 13 years. But this is wrong.



cessor the reign period given is 14 years, but a particular date 219 (*ūnavimśati śata dvaya parivartamāna*) is also mentioned (V<sup>1</sup>, f. 24-b). This may be the last year of his reign. In that case the estimate of the chronicle is verified, because to rule for 14 years before 219 he must have succeeded in 204 NS.

We have a ms. of his reign already noted, which, however, gives a doubtful date figure. Without going into a controversy we adopt Petech's reading and verification (=204, verified August, 1084). The ms. *Sekanirdēśapañjikā* has a line *Vijaye* of Vāmadeva in addition to *Śrī Udayapuriya ramye mahāsāvanta Śrī Nāgārjunajīvasya rakṣite*.<sup>164</sup> Several questions come up before our mind apart from the fact of Vāmadeva being supported by the *Mahāsāmanta*. Who was this *Nāgārjunajīva*? Later we hear of also other *Jīvas* of Udaipur, who appear as high feudatories. Where is Udaipur, the seat of their power and glory? These *Jīvas* are not at all mentioned by chronicles, old and later. But in manuscript colophons they appear off and on since the time Pradyumna-kāmadeva (see back page).

More than that, the ms. in question provides a ground to substantiate the fact of his reign. If it were not for this colophon data the confusion as to his name and status would not have cleared.

Although V<sup>1</sup> and VK do not support the statement of the later chronicles that Vāmadeva had restored with himself the old dynasty of the *Vaisya Thakuris*, the fact that Vāmadeva had ruled with the support of the powerful feudatories of Udaipur shows that his ascendancy had not occurred in normal course. Śaṅkaradeva's son Śivadeva comes to rule after nearly 37 years of interregnum and he ascended the throne at a very

<sup>164</sup> L. Petech, *ibid.*, p. 48. Leningrad Public Library Published by N. Mironov, Katalog indijskikh rukopisej rossijskoj publichoj biblioteki, I, Petrograd 1918, n. 283, pp. 264-265. The ms. is a copy of the one with the above date. The scribe gives the date *chaturmasādhika śatadvaya etc.*, which Petech rightly puts as *Chaturvarṣādhika etc.*

advanced age. If it was a case of normally conducted succession then Śivadeva and not Vāmadeva would have succeeded him. So there is every probability of an interruption in the line of succession and of a new family capturing power either after Śaṅkaradeva or overthrowing him. It might be as well a case of restoration of the family ruling earlier.

### HARSADEVA

The following colophons copied in the reign of Harṣadeva are available to us:

(1) Ms. *Viṣṇudharma* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I)<sup>165</sup> colophon: *Varṣānām daśa śatayute Jyesthāsya māsesitapakṣe śukradine lithan cha navame Śrī Harṣadeva nr̥pe. . . . . Śrī Vinnṛlakṣmyākhyām Rulajayā samyak partisthāpitamī*. Petech verifies the date for Friday, May 10th 1090.

(2) Ms. *Kubjikāmata* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1077.4)<sup>166</sup> Colophon: *Samvat आगे २ (200 + 10 + 2) Phālguṇa śukla divā aśvinī nakṣatra śukla divā Śrīmad Harṣadevasya rājye Śrī Phallapīṅga viṣaye Kochchhakutolakādhivasinā kulaputra vajavarokaṣya puṣārtham puṇyārthinā parama rahasya pustakamīdam likhitamīti*. According to Petech the date corresponds to the last hours of Friday, February 13th, 1092.

(3) The second colophon of the ms. *Saddharmapuṇḍarikā* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 2197):<sup>167</sup> *Varṣānamdvīśatetrayodaśa Chaitra māse kṛṣṇa pakṣa trayodaśi Śrīmad rāja Harṣadeva asina Śrī Lalitakramanagvala Yachchhutolakanvasate Kulaputriyadatra puṇyam*. Petech verifies the date for March 27th, 1093.

(4) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (Sa Skya monastery, Tibet).<sup>168</sup> Colophon: *Samvat आतो ३ (200 + 90) Śrī Harṣadeva-*

<sup>165</sup> Doc. 1 of Petech.

<sup>166</sup> Doc. 2 of Petech.

<sup>167</sup> Doc. 3 of Petech. Bendall just mentions the datum in his journey, p. 46 and *History*, p. 22.

<sup>168</sup> JBORS, XXIII, p. 24-25. Doc. 4 of Petech.

*rāja Śrī Gandigulma Viṣaye kulaputra kāyastha Śrī Jivadhara Simhasya pustam.*

(5) Ms. *Śrītantrasadbhāva Bhairavaṣṇātatantra* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 445).<sup>169</sup> Colophon: *dviśate samvatsaretite Saptadaśasapuratah Phālguṇasyatu śuklasya uttamesu trayodaśī tārakā pūrva phālguṇyā śukragraha suśobhane sumurtepujya satkāra. Siddhi hetu varārthina Śrī Nepālasya Vijayarājye mahān Śrī Harṣadevarājasu Paśupatisthāna sajnā Govardhanānkita.* Petech verified the date for 27 February, 1097.

The colophon occurs in CPMDN, II (p. 113) with *Śrī Nepālasya Vijayarājye mahā Śrī Harṣadevarājesu lekhaka Śrī Paśupatisthānāsanno Govardhanānkiteh.* The ms., however, could not be traced in the Darbar Library. I think this is the same copy as appears under a separate designation (*Śrītantra sadbhāvabhairavasnātatantra*) in the Government National Library, the colophon of which we have reproduced as our document 5. The colophon as given by H. P. Sastri agrees totally word by word with the colophon in this manuscript.

Vāmadeva's successor was Harṣadeva who ruled for about fourteen years between NS 204-05 and 218-19 as we have already made out. While V<sup>i</sup> gives him a reign of 14 years,<sup>170</sup> VK has 16 and later chronicles 15. His first available document is ms. *Viṣṇudharma*<sup>171</sup> (*Varṣānāndaśa samyute śatayuge Jyeṣṭhe sitapakṣe śukradine tithau cha navamī Śrī Harṣadeva nrpe*). Kielhorn and Petech verified the date for Friday, May 10, 1090 A.D. This ms. is only listed in CPMDN (I. p. 30) without the name of the King. The last document of his reign, a ms. is dated 217 *Phālguṇa Śukla 13 (dviśate samvatsare tite saptadaśa prapuritah Phālguṇa śukla uttama 13 tarakāpūrvvaphālguṇyam śukragraha suśobhane)*. The date is quite close to the year of his death as given by the ancient chronicle. According to Bendall, the expression in the chronicle (V<sup>i</sup>, f. 24-b) "*Rājā Śrī Harṣadeva Varṣa 14 ūnavim-*

<sup>169</sup> Doc. 5 of Petech.

<sup>170</sup> Petech reads 13.

<sup>171</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I, 1002.i. (Doc. 1 in Petech).

*śati Samvachchhare śatadvaye parivartamāne*” ‘gave good sense if we take it to mean that he died in NS 219 current after reigning for 14 years’.<sup>172</sup>

As Petech rightly observes, this date 219 ‘cannot refer to the accession, because it is later than all of Harṣadeva’s colophons. So most probably it refers to the death.’ This means, if he had succeeded in 204-05 he died in 218-19 just after 14 years. In all certainty Harṣadeva’s reign ended sometime in 219. Bendall’s interpretation fits in with the position as determined by the colophon data and V<sup>1</sup>’s estimate of regnal years.

Harṣadeva’s mss. mention only *rājye* or *āśina* when referring to his reign. They also do not give him full royal titles using simple expression like *nṛpa* or *rājā* or even only *Śrī*. Only his last document employs the epithet *viṣayarājye* and calls him *mahā (rājā)*. Petech thought that he never assumed full royal titles either because ‘he felt himself an usurper or recognised the formal overlordship of some other ruler’ (p. 51). Because VK allots 16 years for the reign of Harṣadeva Petech is also inclined to argue that he reigned as well concurrently with Vāmadeva since the beginning of the latter’s reign ‘probably as a colleague or a rival and then remained sole ruler’. As there is no colophon data for these years in the name of any other ruler except for himself it is hard to believe that Harṣadeva played a subservient role for that time. In the colophon of the *Bhairavasnātatantra* both expressions *viṣayarājye* and *Mahā (rājā)* are used. The *mahā* before his name can only be *Mahārājā*, and it is clear that the scribe while copying had omitted to put the letters, *rājā*. It is also improbable that he ever ruled as a colleague or a rival of Vāmadeva, because for this position the colophon data of the two monarchs must collide, but they do not.

Harṣadeva’s death left a void in the political arena of Nepal. Even if there was a king, he had become impotent enough to exercise his control. Obviously it was a period of distress for Nepal. A weak regime provides indirectly sufficient encourage-

<sup>172</sup> CPMDN, I, Intro., p. 6.

ment for internal dissention. Harṣadeva could not have been a strong ruler, and his feudal subordinates must have asserted in their respective spheres of influence. Now the worst was to come in the wake of Harṣadeva's death. For ten years the sovereign was eclipsed and the High Feudatories dominated the scene. They also might have quarrelled amongst themselves. Naturally in this context the unity of the country was impaired and it is not unnatural if Nepal had been subjected to external raids carried on in many parts of its territory.

Some scholars believe that taking advantage of the situation as it emerged after his death, Karnāṭa Nānyadeva invaded Nepal from Simraongarh and conquered the country. It was, however, said that his occupation lasted only for a short time. The later chronicles not only record the event of the invasion of Nepal by Nānyadeva but they show also a series of royal names of chronological order, all of them Nānyadeva's descendants, as the rulers of Nepal. The story of Nānyadeva's descendants ruling over Nepal has now been on all sides settled as a myth. But there is still some credence given to his invasion and conquest of Nepal.

We shall deal with the subject of Nānyadeva's conquest a little later. Before we come to discuss this event, we intend to consider another topic of foreign domination of Nepal, which had supposedly preceded Nānyadeva's attack in the same period.

It has been suggested that Nepal was placed for some time within the orbit of political suzerainty of the Pāla dynasty in the time of Rāmapāla about the end of the 11th century A.D.

#### THE SO-CALLED DOMINATION OF RAMAPALA

There is a ms. *Kubjikāmatam* (date figures missing), a *Tāntric Mahāyāna* work, now preserved in the Darbar Library, which gives the following in the colophon,<sup>173</sup> . . . . . *yoginīputra*

<sup>173</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 54; Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1363. S. Levi (II, pp. 188-89) and H. C. Ray (DNI, I, p. 197) think that Mahīpāla and Nayanapāla had also extended hegemony over Nepal. Petech, pp. 53-54. K. P. Jayaswal JBORS, XXII, Pt. III. pp. 256-57.

*Rāmadevasya Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Paramasau-gata Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmad Rāmapāladevasya pravardhamāna (vijayarājye)*, etc.

This colophon datum has become the basis of speculation by some scholars to suggest that the Pāla kings, more particularly Rāmapāla (1077—1120 A.D.),<sup>174</sup> must have exercised some kind of suzerainty over Nepal. However, other kinds of evidence in support of the contention are lacking. We are of the view that the above noted colophon with *Yoginīputra Rāmadeva* has in reality no connection with the history of Nepal.

Of course, we know that the name Rāmadeva figuring in the colophon along with the expression signifying 'the victorious reign of Rāmapāla' had led to a surmise of the kind we have just above mentioned. But what we should bear in mind is the context in which this Rāmadeva finds himself placed. The folio giving the colophon is partially damaged, and the words preceding *Yoginīputra Rāmadeva* have been lost. But the writing does not by itself suggest that it has anything to do with the question of Rāmapāla's reign over Nepal. It appears that Rāmadeva of the colophon was either the scribe or the owner of the ms. but never anybody associated with the government of Nepal as *Mahāsāmanta* or king.

S. Levi is the first authority to propound a hypothesis of Pāla hegemony over Nepal.<sup>175</sup> According to him the existence of two kings in some instances as indicated by colophons presupposes a state of dominance by a foreign power, and this power must be 'that of the Pālas in Bengal, who dominated the lower Ganges Valley at the time'. H. C. Ray, however, regards Levi's statement as 'though not possible, yet far from conclusive'. He thinks that it is 'going too far to infer from the mss. copied under the Pālas hegemony of the latter over Nepal'. We have already commented on the suggestion that Dharmapāla and Devapāla had Nepal within their empire.

<sup>174</sup> Levi, II, pp. 188-89; I, p. 197; DNI, I, p. 197; JBORS, XXII, Pt. III, pp. 256-57.

<sup>175</sup> Levi, Ibid.

But K. P. Jayaswal accepts Levi's proposition of Pāla suzerainty over Nepal. He regards the colophon of the ms. *Kubjikāmatam* as a positive proof of Rāmapāla's suzerainty. "The portion in front of *Parameśvara* is read as *Rāmādevasya* which if it refers to the Nepal king has to be read as *Vāmādevasya* whose time as ascertained from manuscripts of his reign and his predecessor and successor is between 1077 and 1090 A.D (Bendall, *Nepal Catalogue*, Intro., p. 22). We have thus positive proof of the fact that at least in the time of Rāmapāla Nepal was under Pāla suzerainty. It is very likely that under Dharmapāla and Devapāla a similar state obtained".<sup>176</sup>

I fail to understand how Rāmādeva could be read as Vāmādeva and most of all how *Yoginīputra* (this word Jayaswal missed to read) Rāmādeva be identified with Vāmādeva (c. NS 204=1084 A.D.). Vāmādeva is a sovereign ruler noted by V<sup>1</sup>. He can never be a subsidiary king under some foreign ruler as Jayaswal tries to make out. Moreover the colophon bring out the name as Rāmādeva so prominently that it is impossible to identify the name with Vāmādeva.

There are more writers who have assumed the existence of Pāla suzerainty over Nepal. But of late Luciano Petech has repeated the contention on a new source material which, however, has no relation with the Pāla ruler.

From a colophon of another ms. it appears that about NS 220, there was one High Feudatory in Nepal, whose name was Rāmādeva and about whose rule the scribe uses the expression *vijayarājye*.

Ms., a fragment of *Aryoṣṇiṣavijayanāmadhāriṇī* colophon:<sup>177</sup>  
*Mahāsāmantādhipati Mahāsāmanta Śri Rāmādevasya vijayarājye samvat 220 Kārtika dine 24 dhavalasrottryamaṇi likhitamayam lekhaka Kamalāpāṇinā.*

We know nothing more about this High Feudatory Rāma-

<sup>176</sup> JBORS, XXII (1936), Pt. III, p. 256.

<sup>177</sup> Also reproduced by Petech, p. 53.

I have verified the date from the copy shown to me by Pūrṇaharṣa Vajrāchārya, the owner of the ms.

deva except that he ruled over Dhulikhel (*Dhavalasrottryam*) as suggested by the scribe who says that he wrote the work there.

But L. Petech reads more than an ordinary meaning in the colophon. He identifies Rāmadeva of *Kubjikāmatam* with the *Mahāsāmanta*. He then goes to argue that in special circumstances then obtaining in Nepal, Rāmadeva would have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pāla Emperor. There is little doubt that on Harṣadeva's death Nepal was confronting a situation of chaos and there was a squabble over the title to succession. But we do not think that there were any local supporters of the Pāla kings in Nepal at the time. The identification between *Yoginīpura Rāmadeva* and *Mahāsāmanta Rāmadeva* is untenable. One surely appears to be a different person from the other as is evident from the two epithets *Yoginīputra* (son of a female ascetic) and *Mahāsāmanta* (High Feudatory).

The second colophon as given above certainly testifies to the extremely powerful position of the *Mahāsāmanta* in that year of the Nepal era.<sup>178</sup> But why should he be dubbed as one of the Nepalese supporters of Rāmapāla, while no evidence of the latter's reign over Nepal exists. All the same Petech says that 'Rāmadeva, the High Feudatory, may have put himself voluntarily under the suzerainty of Rāmapāla—and deemed it prudent—as an insurance against any threat from Nāyana-deva'. There is, however, not even a faint idea of acceptance of such a suzerainty implied in any expression of the ms. colophon, nor anywhere the name of any other ruler except that of Rāmadeva is mentioned. As Petech himself admits that in the commentary to *Rāmācharita* where all the 14 *Sāmantas* of his (Rāmapāla) side are mentioned not one belongs to places outside the present boundaries of Bihar and Bengal.<sup>179</sup> Rāmapāla

<sup>178</sup> In CPMDN (II, p. 85). We have the same Dhavalasrotapura in another manuscript. H. P. Sastri says that this place was now known as Dhulikhel about 16 miles from Kathmandu in the east. Dhulikhel is about 11 miles east of Kathmandu.

<sup>179</sup> H. C. Ray, *Op. Cit.* p. 338 ff.



has not even anywhere made a boastful claim of the conquest of any part of Nepal by him as some others have done.

It seems that Petech has gone out of his way to draw an inference of Rāmapāla's suzerainty over Nepal, which is absolutely unwarranted. In the face of the evidence before us there is little ground to believe that any one in Nepal had accepted at the time any outside authority as a suzerain for any reason whatsoever.

We shall say more about Rāmadeva a little later.

The *Kubjikāmatam* is not the only document of the type available in Nepal. We have several more such in manuscripts standing in the name of kings who ruled countries other than Nepal. We list the following as they appear to us from local deposits.

(1) ms. *Buddhakapālamahātantram* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 21). The colophon has at the end of a verse 'rājyabde Rāmapālasya pañchaviṃśakarodimam'; which means, it was done in the 25th year of the reign of Rāmapāla.

(2) ms. *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* of Maitreya-nātha with a commentary (*Śaṣṭrayākhya*) by Āchārya Vimuktisena (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 55) Colophon: *Pm Pbh Md Paramasaugata Śrīmat Rāmapāladeva pravardhamāna rājya 33-Aśvina dine 5.*

(3) ms. *Kriyakāmarava* (in the possession of one Brahman in Bhatgaon), colophon: *Samvat 1209 Aṣādhavadi Sanau Śrīmad Govindachandradivā kalayāna vijayarājye.*

(4) ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 58) colophon: *Govindapāla vijayarājye samvat 15 Kārtika kṛṣṇa dine 13.*

(5) ms. *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 772) Colophon: *Pm Pbh Md Śrīmad Madanapāladevasya pravardhamāna vijayarājye saptame samvatsare abhiliḥyamāne yātrāṅke 7 sūrya gatyā agahana dine 19 bhagavatpāda paṇḍita Śaivyāchārya Śrī Kumārasganena likhāpita Śrī Vikramāṅka nṛpa kāla samudbhavesu pañchahata trisugatesu śaratchhatesu ekādaśāseha (1135 VS) mamaśāstramidam samāptam.*

(6) ms. *Harivaṃśa* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 448) Colophon: *Śrīmad Vārāṇasyām Govindachandra vijayarājye samvat 1201 Agrahaṇa māse śukla pakṣe paurṇamāsyām, etc.*

We have many more of such documents, some in the names

of the kings of Gorakhpur and some belonging to various reigns in Tīrhut. In the list we have produced above, we mark that two of them belong to Rāmapāla's reign.<sup>180</sup>

Any one who reads the colophon data must be aware of the fact that all these documents were brought to Nepal by outsiders. Not one of them was copied in Nepal. On no accounts these could be treated along with the manuscripts of Nepalese origin.

If on the basis of these data we are to suggest the possibility of Rāmapāla being acknowledged as the\* sovereign in Nepal, then we shall have to make room for similar positions to others also as they figure in the colophon data. But there shall not be a more absurd proposition.

In *prākṛitapaingalam* a literary work, Nepal is included as one of the several countries such as Gauḍa, Vaṅga, Talaṅga, Mahārāṣṭra, Gujerāta, Champāraṇa, Bhoṭa, Chīna, Lohavara (Lahore), Odra and Mālava, with which Govindachandra Gāhadvala (1114—1155 A.D.)<sup>181</sup> fought successful wars. But as D. C. Ganguly says, Govindachandra's claim to have waged war against Tibet, China and Nepal is not substantiated and can be just an exaggeration.\*

#### NANYADEVA'S INVASION

Nānyadeva's conquest is altogether omitted by the ancient chronicle<sup>182</sup> while Wright and BLI's authorities push the event

<sup>180</sup> For Rāmapāla in Indian History read R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal* (Dacca 1943) Vol. I, pp. 155-56; H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of North India*, I, pp. 337-48 (Calcutta, 1931); IHQ, XIII, 1937, pp. 37-43 (an article by P. L. Paul).

<sup>181</sup> *The struggle for Empire*, Vol. V, of the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1957, p. 53.

\* Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> This was unknown to the main portion of VK. But there is an additional passage at the end which gives a chronology of Tīrhut rulers from Nānyadeva to Harasimhadeva. This, however, seems to be a later addition as here the hand writing is different from those occurring in earlier folios. It gives the initial year of Nānyadeva's reign as 1019 Śakavarṣa (1097 A.D.).

to a later date towards the reign of the last king of Vāmadeva's dynasty second time restored (see below). The Sanskrit chronicle states that Nānyadeva invaded Nepal while Vāmadeva was ruling. Wright's authority (p. 167) credits him to have introduced Śaka era in Nepal and with setting up a court at Bhatgaon to rule over the whole kingdom. The contestants in Nepal are said to be the Mallas. But all these statements are wrong in as much as evidences at our disposal do not prove that the dynasty of Nānyadeva ever ruled Nepal or any part thereof. Nānyadeva seems to have seized the opportunity of advancing all around in a situation provided by the disintegration of the empire of Kanauj after the death of Chandradeva Gāhadvala. At the same time the Chedi kingdom of Kaṇa had been destroyed by Someśvara I.

The Kaṇāṭa influence in today's North Bihar had appeared along with the expedition of the Chālukya Emperors. But during the reign of Someśvara III, the hold of the Imperial Chālukyas over distant provinces had relaxed. This monarch was content to exercise nominal suzerainty in his empire. In his time the central authority was rendered almost ineffective over areas other than the proper Chālukya kingdom. This meant that the empire had disintegrated. Now cut off from the base in the South, the vassal principality of Mithilā asserted its independence. The vacuum in the West of Mithilā helped Nānyadeva to reorganise his territory and he easily extended his frontier to the Gaṇḍak. His initial date has been believed by the majority of scholars to fall sometime about 1097 A.D. on the basis of a passage occurring in *Vidyāpati's Puruṣaparīkṣā* (p. 19, Darbhanga Edition) the expression being *Nandendu Vidyū (Navendu vindu vidhu) sammito Śakavarṣe* (1019 Śaka) which was the year of his accession to the throne of Mithilā.<sup>183</sup> Levi said that this date can also be established with

<sup>183</sup> JBORS, IX, p. 304. नन्देन्दु शून्यशशि सम्मित शाक वर्षे तच्छ्रावणे सितदले मुनि सिद्ध तिथ्याम् । स्वातौ शनिश्चर युते रिपु मर्द लक्ष्णे श्री नान्य देव नृपति विदधीत राज्यम् ।

This verse is incorporated also in Sanskrit chronicle with only one change, where the last word is वास्तुम् ।

reference to *Muditakuvalayāśva*, a dramatic work of the later period of Jagajjyotiḥ reign, Śaka 1550).<sup>184</sup> But the copy of this work preserved in the Darbar Library does not say anything about Nānyadeva or his successors.<sup>185</sup> In the same bundle there is a small work of a few pages, which is not more than a fragment, in a stray page the author provides a genealogy of the Karṇāṭas, but this cannot be attributed to Jagajjyotirmalla. This is a work of a later period. According to Sanskrit chronicle Nānyadeva completed his palace at Simraongarh on this date, and he performed a ceremony. The forefathers of Nānyadeva could carve out a principality of their own somewhere in South India but they left it soon in quest of new lands and advance towards the Himalayas from that side in course of military expedition conducted by Chālukyas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Nānyadeva's father came to Mithilā probably at the head of an expedition and he must have been placed in the position of the Governor of the area at the outset. Kālāchuri Bijjala and Yādava Jaitugi were other southerners who had invaded these parts in and after Nānyadeva's time. Nānyadeva in his early career had been described as a victor (Andhratharhi Inscription).<sup>186</sup>

In the colophon of *Bhāratavartikā* he calls himself *Mahāsāmantādhipati Mithileśvara Karṇāṭa kulabhūṣaṇa dharmādhibhūpati*.<sup>187</sup> Obviously he belonged to the Karṇāṭa family. It was said that Kālāchuri Bijjala and Yādava Jaitugi had not until then proclaimed themselves fully independent sovereigns. Probably either of these owed titular allegiance to Chālukya rulers (Someśvara I, Vikramāditya VI). Nānyadeva himself

<sup>184</sup> Levi, II, p. 197 fn., 3; R. Pischel, Katalog der Bibliothéque der Deutschen Morganlandischen Gessellschaft, II, p. 8.

<sup>185</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat I. 461. 5.

<sup>186</sup> JBORS, IX, p. 305; ABORI, 1954, R. K. Chaudhary, *Select Inscriptions from Bihar*, 1958, p. 124.

<sup>187</sup> In *Bhāratavartikā* (commentary on *Nāṭyaśāstra*), Chapter XXVIII-XXXIV) Andhra Hist. Res. Soc. I (1926), p. 56. This MS. was published in the quarterly Journal by M. Ramakrisnakavi.

must have acknowledged as his overlord Chālukya emperors Vikramāditya VI and Someśvara III for sometime until he declared himself independent of them using epithets such as *Mithileśvara* and *Karṇātabhūṣaṇa*. It is now established that the first two kings above shown often raided territories in Northern and Eastern India and they also subdued the rulers of Gauḍa and Kāmrupa (Billahana's *Vikramāṅka Charita*, IHQ, VIII, p. 683). It was said, that at the time one of such expeditions reached Mithilā, the area was occupied by Kālāchuri Gāṅgeyadeva who ruled there for sometime since 1019 A.D. This view is offered with reference to the colophon of the MS. *Rāmāyaṇa* of the Nepal Library, in support (the date of which reads Samvat 1076). But the issue of the era of the colophon in question is debatable and we do not see any reason to bring Kālāchuri Gāṅgeyadeva in the scene as a predecessor of Nānyadeva. It will appear that the colophon is discussed at length in the next section where we describe the genealogy of the successors of Nānyadeva.

There is no doubt that successively for many years the Chālukya emperors had conducted military campaigns as far north as Mithilā.

In this period Mithilā had become a part of the Chālukya empire, where the Karṇāṭa commander settled down as a feudatory and later founded a ruling dynasty. Nānyadeva probably operated against the Nepalese Terai from the bases he obtained in Mithilā,<sup>188</sup> and he must have inherited the kingdom with capital at Simraongarh from his father. Nānya's was not the only family to come from the South. The Senas

<sup>188</sup> On the origin of Nānyadeva and Senas of Bengal read EI, p. 305; JASB, V, 1909, 407; Ibid, 1915, p. 411; R. D. Banerji, Bengal *Itihāsa*, Vol. I, p. 318; H. C. Ray, Op. Cit., Pt. II, p. 358; JBORS, IX, p. 302; IA, IX, p. 188; Ibid, XIII, p. 418 (Bhagwanlal). EI, XIV, 159 (Naihati group of Ballalasena); IHQ, VII (1931) pp. 679-89; ABORI (1955) pp. 92-98. Nānya is a *Karṇāṭaka* word and in Nepal the Nāniya or Nāni, an expression of endearment, is a derivative of the same. This is used often by seniors to address their pet juniors.

of Rārh in South-west Bengal, who invariably addressed themselves as *Karṇāṭa kula Lakṣmī* claimed their descent from the southern stock of rulers.<sup>189</sup> Later these two houses of Karṇāṭa rulers became bitter rivals with the decline of the Gāhadvalas; they were left sole contestants in the field for imperial struggle and expansion in the Gangetic plains.

Even if he had invaded Nepal, Nānyadeva did not have a peaceful time in this country. While he could not subjugate any part of the Nepal Valley, we find that one of the two ruling families of the country was functioning intact over its length and breadth throughout the period and this is attested by the ancient chronicle and colophon data. Nānyadeva was at the same time not permitted to enjoy undisturbed and regular occupation even of one place in the Gangetic plain falling now in Eastern Tirhut and Northern Bengal (Gauḍa). His was one of the most disturbed periods. From the very beginning Nānya had to contend against Gāhadvalas of Kanauj, who had advanced as far as Patna (Maner Inscription JASB, XVIII, p. 81).

Towards the end of 1118 A.D again his position became very weak in Mithilā owing to the rise of the Sena dynasty in Bengal, whose representative a little later defeated him in a battle (Deopara Inscription of Vijaya Sena, verses 20 and 21) and this seems to have sent its repercussion in regard to his engagement in Nepal and affected his security<sup>190</sup> here and there. R. C. Majumdar, however, thinks that Nānyadeva failed in the east turned towards the north and succeeded in conquering Nepal.<sup>191</sup> He writes to say that because of the Sena ruler consolidating his position in Rārh Nānyadeva had been unsuccessful to overwhelm Bengal. But we have seen that

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<sup>189</sup> For the intrusion of the Karṇāṭas in North India read R. C. Majumdar's article in *IHQ*, VII (1931), Pp. 682-88.

Read Levi, II, p. 196-204 for the rise of Karṇāṭaka in Mithilā and Nānyadeva's invasion of Nepal.

<sup>190</sup> *IA*, I, Pp. 309, 313; *JBORS*, XXV, Pt. IV, P. 132.

<sup>191</sup> *IHQ*, VII, P. 686.

the proposition of Nānyadeva's conquest of Nepal does not rest on a sure ground.<sup>192</sup>

About Nānyadeva's conquest of Nepal we have no records besides those of the later Nepalese chronicles which, however, are thoroughly unreliable. The inscription of Pratāpamalla, which traces his origin to Nānyadeva, does not mention anything about his conquest of Nepal, this only traces Pratāpa's ancestry to him; what is surprising is the absence of any reference to his raids into Nepal in any Mithilā records.

Levi says 'master of Tirhut and of the roads linking Nepal Nānyadeva was able to subjugate the kings of the Valley as his vassals'.<sup>193</sup> But the French author proceeds to argue his case on the basis of the statement of the later chronicles. As we have already suggested the later chronicles do not provide any kind of reliable evidence for historical event introduced into the genealogy. It is astonishing that Levi who had visited Nepal and made a search of original documents for his writing led himself to believe the story of Nānya's conquest of Nepal. It is more astonishing that some Indian authors like H. C. Ray (DNI, I, 206) writing so late in 1931 and others writing up to date subscribe to the views of Levi.

Nānyadeva no doubt showed well in the beginning of his career. But as he was entrenched in Mithilā, he could not advance beyond its confines. He had to face adversaries all around. The Pālas and Senas opposed him in the east. Govindachandra Gāhadvala clashed with his army in the west and southwest, when Nānya tried to expand, he found himself checkmated on these sides by inveterate foes.

A few years later his base kingdom in Mithilā was also threatened from Kanauj and it proved too much for him to resist military and political pressures as they came. It was said

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<sup>192</sup> For the History of Mithilā of these days read U. Thakur's book; Jayaswal's articles in JBORS, Vol. IXCX; R. C. Majumdar's article in IHQ, Vol. VIII, 1931; and S. N. Singh's *History of Tirhut*.

<sup>193</sup> Levi, II, p. 202.

that Nānya lost his dominion in Nepal as well in consequence thereof. But the idea of a loss of Nepal by him seems to have originated from the proposition of a conquest, and if this was to be doubted, any talk of a loss at this stage does not carry any meaning. We have seen how for all the dates mentioned in connection with Nānyadeva's invasions we have colophon data to establish reigns of the traditional dynasty of Nepal's own rulers. All of these rulers reigned supreme in their realm. They were not even subject to any outside authority. It is incomprehensible that Mithilā could overpower Nepal thereafter at any time, because Nānyadeva's strength was fast waning. We know that Nepal continued to remain independent even in the worst days of internal division. Besides this, Mithilā itself was much weakened, not only towards the end of Nānyadeva's reign but through and through to the end of his line (1324-25 A.D) and its ruler could have been in no position to pursue a policy of military expansion in the circumstances.

Nānyadeva's dynasty did never rule Nepal. But the later chronicles brought them to the scene as real sovereigns. From the ancient chronicles nothing about them is known. It was said that as soon as Nānyadeva's powerful hands were withdrawn, the scion of the Ṭhākuri dynasty re-established himself and began to rule from Kathmandu. But all this is just a guess. As Nānya's invasion is not proved so the question of his withdrawing does not arise. Similarly, we have no ground to believe that Nānya's descendants ever ruled Nepal. For all these years the traditional dynasty of rulers held the sway in Nepal. This is best expressed through one factor, that of absence of mss. and for that matter any reliable evidence in one case and their abundance in another. For example we have no ms. data and any kind of evidence in the name of Nānyadeva's successors proving the existence of their rule, while there are numerous of them to the credit of the Ṭhākuri rulers of the same period.

However, there is a narrow gap of ten years between NS 220 and 230 from 1100 and 1110 A.D, which is not filled up by colophon data. We have already seen that there is a ground to characterise the phase after Harṣadeva's death as "one of



feudal uprising, breakdown of central authority and chaos all over". A little later we shall see that a new line of rulers had appeared in the scene with Simhadeva, and there was also a restoration of a branch dynasty by one Śivadeva, though all this lasted just a few years, this suggests that entirely a new situation had cropped up. It seemed that the ground was set for the final extinction of the traditional ruling houses. On account of hostile background both Simhadeva and Śivadeva could not stand their full terms. For fifteen to twenty years thereafter three rulers with uncertain affiliation come into picture. There is no doubt that all these years the situation had become fluid. Of course, we do not come across any trace of alien influence for all these years of instability. It would be an error to support any idea of Nānyadeva penetrating his influence into the Valley of Nepal. But how to account for the absence of documents during the ten years before Simhadeva's first documented date?

Now a question readily arises. Did Nānyadeva who had entrenched himself "securely in Mithila just immediately on Nepal's southern border", play any part to exploit the situation? It may be suggested that the ten years between NS 220 and 230 (1100–1110 A.D.) for which period no ms. data to indicate a reign are available were probably those which witnessed Nānyadeva's raids into the Nepal Valley. A legend now preserved in the later chronicles had grown round the personality of Nānyadeva in relation to those raids. This is the utmost we can concede to those who accept the idea of Nānyadeva's conquest of Nepal. But it must be made clear that even for this concession there is little of documentary evidence.

#### RAMADEVA AND EMPEROR RAMAPALA

We have seen that in NS 220 Rāmadeva, the High Feudatory of Nepal, adopted a designation as much high sounding as that of Nānyadeva in the initial year of his reign and ruled completely ignoring the throne. The fact that the scribe of the colophon does omit the sovereign on the throne, is the evidence of Rāmadeva's all powerful position. We have not been able

to define his exact position nor we can in any way determine the extent of his hold or of the territory over which he ruled. But there is no doubt that he wielded absolute powers in some or other areas in Nepal, in a part or whole of it. Further search may reveal more evidence in this direction. In a disturbed situation following the death of Harṣadeva, the High Feudatory Rāmadeva and powerful men of his class might have undoubtedly exercised tremendous influence in the affairs of the state. But would these men have at any time permitted themselves to acknowledge the suzerainty of an external ruler? The Pāla empire in the time of Rāmapāla was not in a very flourishing state. If it was not actually tottering, its decadence also had set in since some time earlier. Rāmapāla's domain was threatened equally by rise of Nānyadeva in Mithilā and of the Sena dynasty in Rārh in S. W. Bengal. The Pāla kingdom did not certainly possess strength enough to inspire a distant neighbour with confidence to its protection to ward off the danger of a foreign attack. We could envisage a co-ordinated effort between Nepal and Pāla kingdom on the basis of mutual benefit. But this is also unthinkable in view of Nepal's geographical isolation. The kingdom of Nepal was far removed from the border of the Pāla ruler. Nānyadeva who had his capital in Simraongarh not far from the natural confines of the mountainous kingdom of Nepal could become its ally or enemy all in normal course. But the Pālas can under no circumstances be placed in that position.

We have already dismissed the story of Nānyadeva's conquest of Nepal. But even in regard to the question of accepting the probability of his military excursions into Nepal we have to bear in mind that all this is just a guess. The greatest evidence refuting the suggestion of Nānyadeva's military exploits in Nepal is provided by the state of absence of any kind of reference to this subject in documents pertaining to the history of both Mithilā and Nepal.

There is no doubt that the ten years between NS 220 and 230 were unusually full of strains for Nepal. But all this can be attributed to a situation where the monarch was either an

infant or the succession to the throne was under dispute between two rivals.

As we have made out in the following pages, the trouble rose on account of the warring factions in the ruling family. In any case because the throne had not weakened so the feudatories had grown extremely powerful. Right up to NS 266 the feudatories appear in the colophons along with the sovereign, which signifies their predominant position in the state and it is also possible that all these including Rāmadeva belonged to the principality of Udaipur, an unidentified site, in the east adjacent to the Nepal Valley. But the ten years ignore the throne altogether and therefore might have been solely dominated by the Mahāsāmantas.

#### SIMHADEVA

The earliest colophon available after the death of Harṣadeva is that of Simhadeva. We have the following documents belonging to his reign and these range between 231 and 242. All the data are listed together by Petech.

(1) ms. *Kāvyādarśa* (Nor monastery, Tibet listed in JBORS, XXI, Pt. I, p. 38 but the reading was done by Prof. Tucci) colophon: *Samvat 231 Āsvini kṛṣṇa dvādasyam Simhadevarāje*. Petech verifies the date for October 12th, 1111 A.D.

(2) ms. *Siddhasārasaṁhita* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 803) Colophon: *Samvat 200+30+4 Āsvini śukla diva navamyām | pūrvāṣāḍha nakṣatre budhadine | Śrīmat Md Pm Pbh Śrī Simhadevasya vijayarājye | Śrī Lalita Kramayam Śrī Manigvalamadyama tolake 'dhivasinā*, etc. (Wednesday, 9th September, 1114 A.D).

(3) ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (As. Soc. Bengal. 9973, CSMASB, I, pp. 4-5, n. 4). Colophon: *Pm-Pbh Md Para(ma) saugata Śrīmat Simhadevasya vijayarājye Śrī Udayapuryām mahāsāvanta Śrī Piṣujīvasya vijayarājye tasminchandrakoṣṭakādhivāsino Piṣākarachandrasya yadadta puṇyam etc. | Śrī Lalita Kramāyām Śrī Mānigvala paramagudhyām kulaputra Jayachandravarmmaṇā likhitamiti || Samvat 200+40*

*Chaitra śukla pūrṇamāsyām aṅgāradine* (Date verified by Petech for 17th March, 1120 A.D.).

(4) ms. *Nāmasaṅgīti* (Kaisar Lib. n. 118). Colophon: *Md Śrī Simhadevasya vijayarāje Samvat 200+40+2 Bhādrādina 2 lekhaka Prajñāvalena likhimitam iti.*

(5) ms. *Mūladevavākyaśāstra*, Colophon: *Samvat ३१ (200) . . . . ni śukla trīyāyām Śrīmad Md Pm Śrī Simhadevavijayarāje* (Zva-lu monastery, Tibet, JBORS, XXIII, Pt. I, p. 41).

Simhadeva, however, is unknown to all the chronicles except V<sup>11</sup>, VK and V<sup>1</sup> bring in a different person by name Śivadeva as the successor of Harṣadeva and then pass on to state the name of Yuvarāja Mahendradeva omitting Simhadeva altogether. But even V<sup>11</sup> does not seem to mention categorically the fact of the reign of Simhadeva. He is just mentioned as the father of three kings who had followed on the throne since 267 one after the other (f. 30-a). His name is spelt as Sihadeva.

Levi thought that Śivadeva and Simhadeva were identical names. But it seems that he thought so because in his time no colophon data in the name of Simhadeva were available. At the moment the five colophon data we have reproduced above do prove beyond doubt that Simhadeva was a different person from Śivadeva and that he ruled by himself between 231 and 242 NS.

Śivadeva's first document date 240 *Prathamāṣādha* (see below) and it appears that he was ruling simultaneously with Simhadeva at this date though in different areas. This document was written in Patan. This suggests an instance of conflict between the two. It seems also correct that at the end of his career Simhadeva was expelled from the capital, because otherwise the document would not have shown Patan as the place of writing. Or he was dead at the time. But there is no reason to believe that Śivadeva was not different from Simhadeva. We shall say more about this question a little later.

From Doc. 3 above we get an information that at the time while Simhadeva was ruling (NS 240 *Chaitra*) Udaipur was being ruled by a Mahāsāmanta whose name was Piṣujiva. The

scribe who writes in Patan uses the expression *vijayarājye* also for Piṣujīva but only with reference to Udaipur. This feudatory must have been related to Nāgārjunajīva of Vāmadeva's document.<sup>193a</sup> As the colophon shows, we know it definitely that Piṣujīva was a powerful personality in Nepal of the time. It is quite likely that Simhadeva had been able to succeed to the throne because of his support.

Petech thinks that Simhadeva ruled from 1110—1125 A.D., and simultaneously for these years with Śivadeva whose reign had started since 1098 A.D. He suggested that 'there was a revival of the old dynasty in the person of Śivadeva'. He added 'according to both V<sup>1</sup> and VK he reigned for 27 years and 7 months. Having been born on 177 *Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa pratipadā* he lived (for) 69 years. This would place his accession about 218 (expired) exactly the year given by V<sup>1</sup> for the end of Harṣadeva's reign. The chronology fits perfectly in all its niceties'.<sup>193b</sup> This view of Petech finds support also from the fact that Simhadeva is not noted as a sovereign anywhere.

But I do not think that the question of selecting the direct successor to Harṣadeva is so simple as that.

Simhadeva is called *Paramasaugata* in document n. 3 above. In the long line of kings in the early medieval period he is the only person to be called the follower of *Sugata*, i.e. Lord Buddha. It appears that he respected Buddhism to the extent of being recognised by the scribe who wrote in Patan. But from all this we should not suppose that he was a convert to Buddhism. His sons are all followers of Śaivism. One of them, Ānandadeva, was called *Parama Śaiva* (see Doc. below). The one thing we are certain about Simhadeva is that though primarily a Śaiva he might have with equal devotion patronised Buddhist learning and respected Buddhist deities.

In the colophon n. 3 above Mahāsāmanta Piṣujīva gets the expression *Vijyarājya* for his rule, and Petech thinks that it is a half royal position he enjoyed. He also thinks that because the

<sup>193a</sup> See above *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*.

<sup>193b</sup> P. 55.

scribe in the capital city of Patan uses it, Piṣujīva was being recognised as a power behind the throne.<sup>194</sup> But I think the scribe uses the word *Vijayarājye* to refer to his rule in Udaipur. The ms. was written surely in Patan, but the scribe who came from Udaipur wanted to tell the world that his own country was ruled by Piṣujīva. It is doubtful if he had intended otherwise and meant to give a near royal status to the High Feudatory for Nepal as a whole. Nevertheless we may have some reason to think that Siṃhadeva was supported by the Feudatory of Udaipur.

### ŚIVADEVA

Śivadeva adopted a very high sounding royal title of the *Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara*. We have two mss. of his reign including the one of the year 1120 A.D. (India Office, Hodgson Collections, 73 Ab.), which is the first document of the reign with Rd Pm as royal epithets. Śivadeva is given a total reign of 27 years by the chronicler of V<sup>1</sup> (f. 21-b). The two mss. cover, however, between themselves an unbroken period of only three years from NS 240 to 243. It was said that the chroniclers in an attempt to hide the facts of Nānyadeva's invasion enumerated his reign from the date of the death of the last reign. But this is incorrect if the statement was interpreted to mean that Nānyadeva had occupied Nepal.

Colophons:

(1) ms. *Sphotika vaidya* (India Office Hodgson Coll. 43 ARR 3C),<sup>195</sup> *Samvat 200+40 (आम) Prathamāśāḍha kṛṣṇa dvitīyāyām somadine | Śrī Rd Pm Śrīmatchhivadeva vijayarāje (CSPMIO reads rājñā) likhitamiti || Śrī Lalitakramāyām (CSPMIO reads brumāyām) || Śrī Hātīgvalkedhivāsina vaidya Śrī Thothisilasya pustakoyam iti (Bhujimola akṣara) ||* Petech verifies the date for Monday, June 14th, 1120 (2). A fragment of the ms. *Vasudhārādhārīṇī* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Or. 142).<sup>196</sup>

<sup>194</sup> P. 58.

<sup>195</sup> CSPMIO, II, p. 1502, n. 8049. Doc. 1 of Petech.

<sup>196</sup> Doc. 2 of Petech. Mentioned by Bendall in his history, p. 22. Petech verifies the date for April 28th, 1123 A.D.

Colophon: *Pm Pbh Md Śri Śivadeva rājye samvat 200+40+3 Jyestha dine śukla pratipadām likhitamidam lekhaka . . . . .*  
(letters become illegible).

V<sup>11</sup> (f. 31-a) mentions Śivadeva as the son and successor of Śakadeva and says that he died at a ripe old age of 69. He was born on *Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa 1* of 177 (=19 June, 1057 A.D.). According to V<sup>1</sup> and VK Śivadeva ruled for 27 years and 7 months. But V<sup>11</sup> does not show any regnal years for him. Wright and BLI have Harkhadeva and Sadāśivadeva as the next two rulers. The Sanskrit chronicle names Sadāśiva as Vāmadeva's son and Harkhadeva as Sadāśiva's son.

If Śivadeva had succeeded Harṣadeva in 219, then 27 years added would push his regnal years sometime to 246. It appears that the enumeration of regnal years by V<sup>1</sup> and VK and the dates of birth and death indicated by V<sup>11</sup> agree quite well.

But the colophons of Simhadeva point to a contrary direction. They establish his priority over Śivadeva. As we have noted, if colophon dates were to be the criterion, Śivadeva's regnal years are ascertained only for the years, 240 *Prathamā-ṣāḍha* to 243. But Simhadeva has colophons ranging from 231 to 242. The first colophon proves his regnal year in 231. The third shows that he ruled in Patan in 240 *Chaitra*. The last two dates of Simhadeva and the first date of Śivadeva overlap.

Simhadeva might not be the direct successor of Harṣadeva. We have the ancient chronicles saying that the succession went to Śivadeva. But Simhadeva undoubtedly came to the scene in 231 and played his part till 242 NS.

If Śivadeva was the legal successor to Harṣadeva, there were two factors which go to nullify the position. The first is the absence of colophon in his name for all the years till 240. The second is the appearance of Simhadeva in 231 even though after ten years of interregnum following the death of Harṣadeva. It is, however, possible that in the chaos reigning after the demise of Harṣadeva, the legal heir was being ignored and he himself compelled to go in hiding. Meanwhile Simhadeva, a member of one of the two houses of the royal families, was set up on the throne by a section of the nobility, and he was

permitted to reign in a limited sense as late as 240 *Chaitra*. In a ms. colophon written in the first *Āṣāḍha* of the same year Śivadeva is shown ruling in Patan. This means that Siṃhadeva's hold over Patan had ended at the time. We may suggest that a rival section of the nobility had staged a revolt and set up its own candidate for the rulership of the state. Śivadeva must have been enthroned in that process in the capital.

The last colophon datum of Siṃhadeva belongs to 242. We have a ground to believe that Siṃhadeva had not been finally liquidated until that year. He had been ruling in a corner of Nepal with the support of his barons and feudatories. But by early 243 the stage was well cleared for Śivadeva to assert himself fully in the whole of Nepal.

H. C. Ray said 'it is not impossible that the Kaṛṇāṭa chief (Nānyadeva) extended his power in the Valley by espousing the cause of Śivadeva, a successful pretender of the Nayakot branch of the Thakuris who were ousted by the Patan branch sometime before 1080-88'.<sup>197</sup> But by no stretch of imagination Nānyadeva's intervention in Nepalese affairs seems probable. Ray's suggestion came in the wake of his acceptance of the story of Nānyadeva's conquest of the Valley of Nepal. But when this very story is dismissed as untrue, his intervention on the side of Śivadeva is quite ruled out.

Who is this Śivadeva? Nothing is known about his genealogy from the V<sup>i</sup> and it puts his name in the continued list of the *Sūryavamśīs*. But V<sup>ii</sup> in starting the chronology from Śivadeva and calling him the son of Śakadeva has indicated that a break in the traditional list has taken place to give room to a person of a different family. If Śakadeva is to be identified with Śaṅkaradeva, then of course, the matter would be interpreted otherwise. Śivadeva's reign might be treated as one of the same line with Harṣadeva whose death without an heir of his own had enabled a cousin of his to succeed him.

We summarise the identical account of the VK and V<sup>i</sup> which attributes to this monarch certain acts of piety and munificence

<sup>197</sup> Op. Cit., p. 337.



e.g. covering the roof of the temple of Paśupati with gold and offering of a silver lotus to the lord, building a palace in Kīrti-bhaktapur; construction of wells, canals and tanks at different places, putting a dam across the river Balbal and introducing silver *dam* with his own image and that of a lion inscribed and gold Śivakānka with an image of Śiva (coins). V<sup>1</sup> has exactly the same story to tell about his achievements (f. 24b).

Both V<sup>1</sup> (f. 24-b) and V<sup>11</sup> (f. 31-a) name Mahendradeva as the crown prince (Jaurāja) without defining the relationship. His name comes for notice just after Śivadeva implying that he was a successor. But V<sup>11</sup> calls him a son of Śihadeva (Simhadeva) born on *Vaiśākha pūrṇimā* 199.<sup>198</sup> There is no doubt that Śivadeva's line had ended with himself. The same authority listed 3 more sons of Śihadeva, who were Ānandadeva (b. 219), Rudradeva (b. 228) and Amṛtadeva (b. 233). Mahendradeva died at the age of 65 (V<sup>11</sup>) in NS 264 without having succeeded to the gaddi. Kirkpatrick omits him. V<sup>11</sup> although calling him *dhaneśvara dātāra* and *mahābhogavān* designates him *Yuvarāja* following V<sup>1</sup>. According to V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>11</sup> he dug a tank with a pious intention and completed it paying to the labourers one *damma* each a day, to which he gave his own name. This he inaugurated on 239 *Vaiśākha śukla* 15 (V<sup>1</sup> f. 24-b; V<sup>11</sup> f. 31-a). He died after 65 years in 264 NS.

How to explain Śivadeva's suzerainty over Patan in 240 *Āṣāḍha* (= June, 1120 A.D.)? The explanation is a little difficult because we know from the colophon data that Simhadeva had not ceased to reign at this date. Of course, these two persons cannot be identical. It appears that Simhadeva who seems to have been supported by the Mahāsāmanta Piṣujīva of Udaipur was running a parallel government from Patan until he was expelled from there before *Āṣāḍha* of 240. Śivadeva's name is not mentioned by Kirkpatrick and V<sup>1</sup> V<sup>11</sup> (f. 30) does not give anything about him, but while giving dates of birth of his sons uses the word *Parameśvara* before his name.

<sup>198</sup> Verified by Petch for Thursday, 18th April, 1079 A.D.

Along with the documents, this establishes the fact of his reign as do the colophon data of the ms. of his reign. Simhadeva might also have been a brother of Śivadeva. In any case we come to a new line of rulers whether with Śivadeva or Simhadeva as V<sup>11</sup> begins with these two monarchs.

We have V<sup>11</sup> (f. 30-b) a line which is significant.<sup>199</sup> This line gives another date 219 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 8 mūla nakṣatra* and says that at this date the leader of the barons, *Varapāla*, was able to bring about peace between the two famed royal houses of Nepal. Then the expression goes on to say 'death 87 years'. I presume that this applies to a situation that obtained in NS 219. There were two royal houses that were often quarrelling between themselves. Which were these two houses? As the passage occurs after the line mentioning Śivadeva and birth of Simhadeva's son, the two houses must relate to these two personages.

If this is so then with Simhadeva's colophon dates, the internecine quarrel had again flared up after some kind of truce. Probably taking advantage of the internal conflict another house had seized power after the death of Śivadeva. Simhadeva had died at the age of 87. This was the reason that his eldest son Mahendradeva had died as crown prince. Śivadeva seems to have lost control of a big portion of his kingdom due to the uprising, which he regained only towards the end of his career; at any rate Simhadeva's career came to an end in NS 242, or it might be that Śivadeva had been an exile being overpowered by Simhadeva from the very beginning. If this assumption is correct then Śivadeva ruled within the dates of his mss. He must have scored a partial success in NS 240 and captured a portion of the kingdom; hence his ms. of that date. The fact that Śivadeva's available mss., all of them, belong to the closing period of Simhadeva's reign gives strength to this suggestion. Petech thinks that Śivadeva was the father of Mahendradeva, and takes it as a mistake of V<sup>11</sup> to call

<sup>199</sup> य थो बहार वरपाल भारोटों (डों) नायक नेपालया विक्षात महाप्रभुतः उभयराजकुल उधरण धारण समर्थ । अस्त वर्ष ८७ ॥

Mahendradeva as a son of Simhadeva. But his ground for this contention is not sound. Petech says that 'an interval of 20 years between Mahendra, and another son of Simhadeva is considerable' though a second wife could be brought in. But such a contingency is not rare in the east; an interval between births of two sons by the same wife may be as much long. So to reject V<sup>11</sup> on this hypothesis would be wrong.

### JAYENDRASIMHADEVA

A palm leaf ms. *Ekallavīratāntram* has the following colophon:<sup>200</sup> *Śreyostu samvat . . . . . Bhādrapada kṛṣṇa aṣṭamyām tithau rohiṇī nakṣatre vajrayoge somavāsare likhita sampūrṇamiti || Rd Pm Śrī Śrī Jayendrasimhadevasya vijayarājye.* The portion giving the figure for the year is torn off being at the margin of the folio. This is the only document belonging to King Jayendrasimhadeva.

Could he be the same person as Simhadeva? Probably the astronomical elements if examined might throw light on the identity of Jayendrasimhadeva.

### INDRADEVA, MANADEVA AND NARENDRADEVA

For the interval between NS 246 (1126 A.D) and Ānandadeva's reign in NS 267, we have three rulers whose names are variously mentioned as Indradeva, Mānadeva and Narendradeva. The first of them is Indradeva, direct successor of Śivadeva, who also adopted the title of *Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara* in the ms. *Nakṣatrajātaka*.<sup>201</sup> This is his second document, which dates NS 248 *Phālguna śukla 10 ādityadine* (=Sunday, February 12th, 1128). His first available document, a ms.

<sup>200</sup> Govt. Nat. Lib., n. 170.

<sup>201</sup> Ms. *Nakṣatrajātaka*, n. 2928, India Office Library (CSPMIO, II, p. 1506, n. 8062, of., p. 831, n. 6414). Another ms. *Chāndravākaraṇavṛtti*, NS 254 *Chaitra śukla 7*, Zva-lu-monastery of Tibet, JBORS, XXIII, Pt. I, p. 43 (reclaimed by Tucci). It designates Indradeva as *Paramaśaiva Pbh* besides Rd-Pm (Doc. 1 and 2 of Petech) respectively

*Yamāritantramaṇḍalopāyikā*, (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 85) is dated NS 247 *Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa aṣṭamyām* and has in the colophon *Śrī Indradevasya vijayarājye likhitam*. To Indradeva's reign belong six documents (all manuscripts), two already published, to which I have added four. The following are the newly traced mss. of his reign,

1. ms. *Yamāritantramaṇḍalopāyikā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 85),<sup>202</sup> *samvat ॐ ९ (200+40+7) Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa aṣṭamyām Śrīmad Indradevasya vijayarājye likhitamiti, etc.*

2. ms. *Aṣṭasahasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 195).<sup>203</sup> Colophon: *Svasti ekapañcha samāyukta samvatsara śatadvayam (=251) Pauṣa māse pravare chaturthyām sita tithau puṣya nakṣatra vṛhaspativāra rājā Śrī Indradevasya nṛpateḥ kīrtimaṇḍale, etc.*

3. ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 48),<sup>204</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 200+50+3 aśuni sudī tṛtīyayām Śrī Nepālamaṇḍale Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Indradevasya vijayarājye Śrī Lalitāpura Mānigvalottara vṛviharādhivasina pravara mahāyāna yayinat etc. etc.*

4. ms. *Nāmasaṅgīti* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 166),<sup>205</sup> Colophon: *Rd Pm Śrī Indradevasyaraja vijayarājye samvat | ॐ ६ (200+50+6) Kārtika śukla pañchamyām Śrī Jumalake śākya-bhikṣu Ratnaguptena likhitam, etc.*

The following are those already published: (5) ms. *Nakṣatra-jātaka* (India Office Library n. 2928 RR 12 B),<sup>206</sup> *Samvat 200+40+8 Phālgua śukla daśa(myām) ādityadine likhitamiti | Rd Pm Śrī Indradevasya vijayarājye likhitameti | Śrī Udayapurogamana Śrī Sekādhināma chittavajrādhināma ... rājapādīkrita pustakam likhitā Nakṣatrajātakoyamiti || Śrī Udayapurādhīpati Mahāsāmanta Śrī Paisānandañvasya kāle likhitamiti ||* Date verified for Sunday, February 12th, 1128.

6. ms. *Chāndravṛyākaraṇavṛtti* (Zva-lu-monastery, Tibet),<sup>207</sup>

<sup>202</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>203</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>204</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>205</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>206</sup> CSPMIO, II, p. 1506, n. 8061. Doc. 1 of Petech.

<sup>207</sup> Doc. 2 of Petech; JBORS, XXIII, Pt. I, p. 43.

*Samvat (200+50+4) Chaitra śukla saptamyām Śrīmat Rd Pm Pbh Paramāśaiva Indradevasya vijayarājye etc.* [Date corresponds to March 18th, 1134.] *mahāpaṇḍita Bhavanabhadrasya pustakoyam.*

According to Levi and also Bendall he is identical a personage with Mahendradeva, whom V<sup>1</sup> calls *yuvarāja* and not a king. The same authority, V<sup>1</sup>, puts Mahendra to have died in NS 264 while Indradeva seems to have disappeared sometime earlier.<sup>208</sup> If he was not deposed it is difficult to explain the fact of his disappearance in NS 257 or so. L. Petech is of the opinion that Indradeva was a usurper and not a recognised king. This cannot be true; V<sup>1</sup> and Kirkpatrick's authority both note his name as his king successor (*rājā*). V<sup>11</sup> omits him. V<sup>1</sup> and Kirkpatrick give him a reign of 12 years, so that if he had succeeded in 246 NS, he must have died in 257 or 258 NS. Indradeva's last available document is the ms. *Nāmasaṅgīti*, the date of which is *samvat 256 Kārtika śukla pañchamyām* (above Doc. 4). This date is close to the year of his death as given by the chronicle. The above cited ms. of his reign (*Nakṣatrajātaka*) mentions besides his reign (*Vijayarājye*) *Śrī Udayapurādhipati-Mahāsāmanta Śrī Paiṣānandajīvasya kāle*. If Indradeva was an usurper, he owed his position to the help rendered by this *Mahāsāmanta* of Udaipur (?). But the suggestion of usurpation of the throne by Indradeva can hardly carry conviction. What is possible is the fact of his being supported by Paiṣānandajīva as against the line of Simhadeva. Another factor which refutes the usurpation theory is the absence of a colophon or an inscription in the name of another royal personage for the period of his reign.

The Doc. n. 5 of Indradeva's reign is the last of such bringing out the name of a Feudatory of Udaipur. It appears that the *Mahāsāmanta* was liquidated in this area about this time. We hear of a *Mahāsāmanta* of Udaipur for the first time in a ms. colophon of Pradyumnadeva's time (Doc. n. ?). This is Janārdana-jīva who is mentioned simply as ruling, (*pravarttamāne*). The ms. was written in Udaipur. The second feudatory to

<sup>208</sup> V<sup>1</sup>, f. 24-b.

appear in the colophon is Nāgārjunajīva of Vāmadeva's time. The ms. was also copied in Udaipur while it was being protected by him. We have already made observation about Piṣujīva of Siṃhadeva's time. It appears that whatever be the place where it was copied the writer of the Doc. 2 of Indradeva also came from Udaipur and therefore mentioned his Chief's name in the colophon. Invariably the feudatories of Udaipur have come for notice in the colophons either because they were copied in Udaipur or because the scribe in each case was an inhabitant of that place.

The Jīva feudatories seem to be quite powerful in their own domain of Udaipur. But it is doubtful if they ever played any effective part in the central affairs of the kingdom of Nepal.

In the order of colophons the successor of Indradeva is Mānadeva. He is mentioned by V<sup>i</sup> and VK in their lists just after Indradeva, but no details of the reign are given.

No idea of his relationship is obtained either from the ancient chronicles or the colophons.

The chronicles BLI and Wright have Mānadeva as successor of Śivadeva or Sadāśivadeva. According to the later chronicles he abdicated in favour of his son Narendradeva (Nrisimha—Wright). Mānadeva enjoyed his royal titles, (*Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara*) and definitely ruled till 1139 A.D.<sup>209</sup> (=NS 259) or 1140 (206 NS) as the dates of the *Pañcharakṣā* (258 *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa* 13) and of the Kathmandu inscription (NS 259 *Bhādra kṛṣṇa* 7) go to show.<sup>210</sup>

Altogether Mānadeva has 3 documents.

1. ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Sa-skya monastery in Tibet). Colophon:<sup>211</sup> *Śrīmat Rd Pm Śrī Mānadevasya vijayarājye samvat 200+50+8 Pauṣa kṛṣṇa trayodaśyām soma . . . . . nakṣatre*

<sup>209</sup> Bhagwanlal and Wright's authorities write that Narendradeva was the Regent of Mānadeva. Possibly this was implied by certain overlapping (Levi, II, p. 207) of dates and names.

<sup>210</sup> JBORS, XXIII, Pt. I, p. 29. Doc. 1 of Petech.

<sup>211</sup> Bendall, Journey, p. 81, n. VI.

*yoga siddhi śubhānukulena likhitam samāptikṛtam*|| Petech verifies the date for Monday, January 10th, 1138 A.D.

2. The second colophon of the ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñā-pāramitā* (Camb. Univ. Add. 1643).<sup>212</sup> Colophon: *Samvatsare gatavati dvitīye śatasya pañchāśato parigate navamāñchitena (=259) Śrī Kārtika śaśikārarchitapañchamenhi Śrī Mānadeva nṛpate vijayacharājye etc.* Jacobi verifies the date for 10th October, 1138 A.D., which is confirmed by Petech.

3. Inscription of Kathmandu. *Samvat 259 Bhādrapada kṛṣṇa saptamyām Śrīmat Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Mānadevasya vijayarāje.* Petech verifies the date for September 16th, 1139 A.D.

But V<sup>ii</sup> omits the name of this monarch, while V<sup>i</sup> and VK (also Kirkpatrick) give him a reign of 4 years and 7 months, (later chronicles 20 years) which would carry his reign to 259 or 260 NS. We have no doubt that definitely Narendradeva succeeded him as the sovereign of Nepal with capital in Patan. Narendradeva's first document is dated 254 *Phālguna*. It was suggested that Indradeva and Mānadeva had run their own governments simultaneously at different centres in spite of Narendradeva. Mānadeva was Indradeva's legitimate successor. But it does not seem that Narendradeva had started his career earlier and ever raised his head as a rebel against Mānadeva. We have the following colophons for Narendradeva.

We have altogether seven documents of Narendradeva's reign, four of which are already published. The following are those published:

1. *Pratiṣṭhāntara*. (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1003.4).<sup>213</sup> Colophon: *Vede manmathabāṇanaranetre (=254) vatsare susamyāte Phālguna māse śukle saṣṭyām bhṛgu vāsare subhage | Śrīman Narendradeve rājendra rājarāja-saḍṛśye | Nepāle 'smin guṇavati Paśupatipadānka parivṛte | Bhaktagrāma-nivasi Vāṭaka-Mahi-*

<sup>212</sup> CBMC, p. 152; Doc. 2 of Petech. Doc. 1 of Petech, JBORS, XXIII, Pt. I, p. 29. Bendall, Journey, p. 81, Ins. n. VI. Doc. 3 of Petech. I have not been able to trace this inscription in Kathmandu. Read our n. VIII in the Appendix.

<sup>213</sup> JBORS, XXIII, Pt. I, p. 39.

*pāla putra sambharo | devyamātābhīdhana pustakamabhilikhati bhaktichittena sarvaśivamastu ||* The writer is an inhabitant of Bhatgaon. Date corresponds to Friday, February 11th, 1134 A.D.

2. ms. *Pañcharakṣā sūtram mahāmantranusariṇi mahāvidyārājñi*.<sup>214</sup> Colophon: *Śrīman Rd Pm Śri Narendradevasya vijayarājye Śrī Lalitabrume Śri Mānīgalake Śri deyadharmoyam pravara mahāyāna yāyina paramopāsikā kulaputrī Rāṇībhārī namnā yadatra puṇyeyatad etc. || Samvat आचु १ (200+60+1) Pauṣa śukla trayodaśyām somadine mṛgaśira nakṣatre yogakalyāṇa śubhān kritavali likhita samāptam ||* Date verified for December 23rd, Monday, 1140 A.D. (Doc. 2 of Petech).

3. ms. *Mitapadāpañjikā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 366.4).<sup>215</sup> Colophon: *Samvat आचु १ (200+60+1) Chaitra kṛṣṇaṣṭam-yām aṅgāradine Śri Narendradeva vijayarājye | Dakṣiṇavaiharika bhikṣurācārya suvarṇnabhadrena svaparāthayā likhitam iti ||* According to Petech the Dakṣiṇa-vihāra is probably in Patan. The date is verified for Tuesday, April 1st, 1141 A.D.

4. ms. *Nāmasaṅgīti* (Sa-skya monastery in Tibet).<sup>216</sup> Colophon: . . . . . *Śri kāṣṭamaṇḍape kelacchacche Mallanasimhasya . . . . . || Md Pm Pbh Śrī (Na)rendradevasya vijayarājye || Samvat आचु ३ (200+60+3) aśvani śukla pūrṇnamāśyām śukra dine Mallanasimhasya pustakam sampūrṇam || Sri-syaṃ Brahmamayamatigvala pūrvvatah Vidyamasthanadhivasi vaṇikaputra visudhrajijena likhitam ||* The work was written at Kathmandu. According to Petech the date is verified for the last hours of Friday, September 24th, 1143.

The following are the documents for the reign of Narendradeva, that have not been published so far.

5. *Luiṣa sādhanāṭikā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 87).<sup>217</sup> Colo-

<sup>214</sup> Doc. 4 of Petech.

<sup>215</sup> J. Filliozat, Catalogue du fonds sanscrit de la Bibliotheque Nationale, I, Paris, 1941, p. 60.

<sup>216</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 62. H. P. Sastri reads wrongly the date as 271. Doc. 3 of Petech.

<sup>217</sup> Unpublished.



phon: *Samvat आचु 2 (200+60+2) Bhādrapada śukla dvādaśyam Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Narendradevasya vijayarājye* etc.

6. ms. *Harivaṁśa* (Nepal Museum n. 48).<sup>218</sup> Colophon: *Samvat आचुस्क (200+60+4) Kārtika śukla chaturthyām Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Narendradevasya vijayarājye*.

7. ms. *Saptaśatī Chaṇḍī* (Nepal Museum n. 74).<sup>219</sup> Colophon: *Samvat आचुस्क (200+60+4) Kārtika śukla trayodaśyām vṛhaspatidīne Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Narendradevasya vijayarājye satrikuṭumbaja kulaputra Śrī Śrī Harṣachandrasya pustakamīdam Sākyabhikṣu Varmaṇā likhitamīti*.

In NS 254 (*Phālguna śukla 6 Friday*) a ms. *Pratiṣṭhātantra*, (Doc. 1 above) written in Bhatgaon mentions *Śrīman Narendradeva rājendra rājarāja sadṛśye*. There is, however, no royal title like Md or Rd attached to his name, and the expression '*rājendra rājarāja sadṛśye*' may only mean 'looking like the king!' He might have been a governor, and being a member of the royalty the post he occupied became exalted in the eyes of the people. If he was a king running a parallel government, we could have met with a familiar designation both for his person and for his reign, e.g. *Rājādhirāja* or *Mahārāja* or *Rājarājendra* and *vijayarājye*. The word *sadṛśye* has certainly altered the meaning of the preceding epithets. We shall discuss this question also a little later.

It appears that Narendradeva was a younger brother of Indradeva is put by V<sup>1</sup> to have reigned for 12 years. We find that the two documents of his reign follow the date of the first ms. of Narendradeva. The latter's first document already referred to, ms. *Pratiṣṭhātantra*, was copied in Bhatgaon, and another ms. *Pañcharakṣā sūtrāni* of the same reign (Doc. 2 above) mentions Patan as the place where it was written. Here Narendradeva is given the titles Rd Pm. In Petech, Narendradeva's last ms. dates 263 *Āśvin śukla pūrṇamāsyām śukradīne*. (Doc. 4 above) But we have recently traced a ms. of his reign dating 264 *Kārtika śukla trayodaśyām vṛhaspatidīne* (Doc.

<sup>218</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>219</sup> Unpublished.

7 above). There is a long interval between his first and second documents. The gap between the two dates is 7 years; on this and the nature of the epithet in the first ms. used for the ruler the Italian scholar L. Petech bases his argument to show that Narendradeva to begin with was a ruler in Bhatgaon and there only before he extended his sway over the entire country in 259 and ruled as such from 260 to 267. In any case the expression *the king of kings* (Rd or Md) in the later colophons is an evidence of the fact that he exercised at least a nominal suzerainty over every part of the kingdom at some stage of his career. We do not know how far to agree with Petech when he says 'henceforward when the royal authority is weakened and the unity of Nepal crumbles; it is always Bhatgaon which leads the movement of secession against the old capital of Patan'. We have also no evidence to prove that apart from Narendradeva as full king there was another monarch anywhere in the Valley ruling at the time between 260 and 267, to whom the primacy of honour belonged. His regnal years estimated by V<sup>1</sup> (6 years and 5 months) must also belong to this period.

One of Indradeva's documents, ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 48) was copied in Lalitapur. It appears that Mānadeva succeeded him as the de jure sovereign of Nepal. We mark while noticing the colophon dates of Narendradeva that there is a gap of seven years from 254 to 261 which is unfilled by his documents and thereafter the colophon data follow uninterruptedly till 264 NS. Narendradeva surely ruled in Bhatgaon as his first document shows. But he might have been a junior ruler, a governor of the place, because royal titles are denied to him. There is no substantial evidence in support of the contention that he was a sovereign ruler in Bhatgaon even of a subsidiary kingdom. So actually what appeared to us as a gap in between the dates of the first and second ms. is not a gap at all. One scribe in 254 had tendered a courtesy reference to the royal personage of the governor, which others felt no need to do. Obviously the first document of Narendradeva does not carry the mark of a document in the

name of a sovereign. So this has to be dropped from the colophon data of king Narendradeva in the consideration of his regnal period. We do not think that Narendradeva had succeeded to the throne otherwise than a legal heir. It seems that Mānadeva had died without an issue, and the crown had devolved upon the uncle.

As we have seen Narendradeva ruled from 260 to 266 for a period of seven years.

But Narendradeva also had no heir to succeed him. It is certain that the line had ended with him.

In the year of 267 we have Ānandadeva whom V<sup>ii</sup> calls the son of Jayasimhadeva (f. 31-b). No regnal date is given for him. But he is the first monarch mentioned by V<sup>ii</sup> after Simhadeva. Why did V<sup>ii</sup> omit the three rulers preceding Ānandadeva? The omission indicated that these rulers were of a line different from that of Simhadeva. Probably they belonged to the old line which ended with Śivadeva and the three kings coming after him.

Simhadeva's paternity is not noted by V<sup>ii</sup> which invariably mentions parentage of all the royal personages. This can explain the fact of his obscure origin. But why his son was chosen to rule Nepal after 20 years of eclipse? As we alluded to earlier, Simhadeva must have belonged to one of the two branches of the ruling family of the time.

## CHAPTER IV

### HOUSE OF SIMHADEVA

(1146—1200 A.D.)

After Narendradeva, the persons who sat on the throne of Nepal for four successive reigns were the 3 sons of Simhadeva, the last of whom was followed by his nephew. This period covers nearly 36 years according to the colophons from NS 267 to 302.

Ānandadeva who happened to be the seniormost surviving son of Simhadeva acceded the throne at the age of 47 years.

#### ĀNANDADEVĀ

Ānandadeva seems to have got the throne for the simple reason that he was the only choice as a royal personage belonging to one of the royal houses, because the other branch had liquidated for want of an heir. The liquidated line was that of Śivadeva.

Ānandadeva enjoys to his name 21 documents, manuscripts and inscriptions spread over a period of twenty years from NS 267 to 287. Petech has listed 16 of them and five more including the 21st and the last of the series are noticed here for the first time.<sup>1</sup>

His first document is the ms. *Sarvaprakaraṇasaṅgraha* with date 267 *Prathamāṣāḍha kṛṣṇa 5 pūrvabhādra nakṣatre śukra-dīne* and *Śrīmat Rd-Pm Śrī Ānandadevasya vijayarājye Śrī Lalitakramāyam Śrī Nogvalaka yantākṣa kuṭumbaja paramapātra Śrīvaradhara varmeṇa etc.*<sup>2</sup> His last document is ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*<sup>3</sup> of 287 *Kārtika sudi 2* (in a monastery in Patan).

<sup>1</sup> Petech, Op. Cit., pp. 62-65.

<sup>2</sup> Kaiser Library n. 36. Doc. 1 of Petech.

<sup>3</sup> Unpublished.

His documents are spread over all the twenty years he ruled from 267 to 287. These are variously dated 267, 268, 270, 272, 273, 275, 276, 278, 279, 280, 282, 284, 285, 286 and 287. As his last colophon shows, he surely ruled till 287 (=1167 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> It appears that for all these years his reign was uninterrupted. The fact is that we have a colophon for every year of the long and uninterrupted reign Ānandadeva enjoyed as long as he lived.

Ānandadeva's documents were written partly in Patan (Lalitakramāyam), partly in Bhatgaon (Bhaktapur) and some in Kathmandu (Yambukramāyam). He enjoys full royal titles in many documents. But about half of them have only *vijayarājye* and *Śrī Ānandadevasya* e.g. ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*, *Dṛg ṛtu bhujaga yukte* (=268) *vatsare Pausamāse śisirakiraṇavāre paurṇmasyām*<sup>5</sup> (As Soc. Bengal n. 4203); ms. *Chāndravyākaraṇa 276 Prathamāpauṣa kṛṣṇa 4* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 679);<sup>6</sup> ms. *Prāyaścitta samuchchaya*, 278 *Bhādra*, and *Śrīmachchhri Nepālābhhyantare Śrī Bhaktāpure* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 2883);<sup>7</sup> ms. *Smṛtimañjari*, 279

<sup>4</sup> We have excluded ms. *Kurukullakalpa* (CBMC, p. 179, Add. 1691.2) as the date figure is not clear. This is Doc. 16 of Petech. There is a ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (*Chittaprakaraṇa*) 1 leaf only by Aryadeva the date of which H. P. Sastri read 288, but Petech corrected to read 286 *Phālguna śukla 8* (=9 February, 1166). H. P. Sastri just noted and read *Śrī Ānandadevasya pravardhamāna vijayarājye*. He does not give the month and day (CPMDN, II, p. 249), Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 803.23. Petech reads . . . . . *ṭṭārakaparama Śaiva Md* before Ānandadeva. This is 14th Doc. for the reign.

<sup>5</sup> Doc. 2 of Petech. It has further *nṛpendre bhuvamavati samastam Śrīmadānandadeve*. CSMASB, I, pp. 3-4 n. 3. According to H. P. Sastri the date has to be read from left to right, so that it becomes 268. The writer of the ms. is one Tiloka who had come from Kashmir.

<sup>6</sup> Doc. 6 of Petech.

<sup>7</sup> Doc. 7 of Petech. Summarised by Bendall, JRAS, 1888, p. 551, n. 111. The date figures are 2 K.

( आचु ८ ) *Kārtika māse* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1647.11),<sup>8</sup> *Śrī Nepālamandale antare Śrī Bhaktāpurādhivāsino etc.* and two other copies of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* of date *madanāṣ-tranāga nayane* (=285) *Phālguna saptamyām bhṛgudine*<sup>9</sup> . . . . *Śrī Ānanda mahīpati gunanidhi* and of date 285 *Srāvana śukla 8 ādityadine*. The latter ms. was copied in *Mambukrama* (Kathmandu) and belonged to one who was a resident of *Phanapingavisaya*.<sup>10</sup> Phanapinga, modern Pharping, is seen for the first time in one of Harṣadeva's colophons.

The following colophon data are published for the first time. It will appear that some of these give Ānandadeva full royal titles.

ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 3). Colophon: *Samvat 200+70 Dvirāśādha kṛṣṇaikadaśyām Śrī Ānandadevasya vijayarājye*.

ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 210). Colophon: *Samvat 200+70+2 Vaiśākha śukla 15 ādityadine Pm-Md Paramaśaiva Śrī Ānandadeva pravardhamāna vijayarājye likhitam*.

ms. *Pratiṣṭhātantra* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 84). Colophon: *Samvat आचु ९ (200+70+9) Kārtika śukla aṣṭamyām śukradine Rd-Pm-Pbh Śrī Śhāndadeva nṛpatau likhitam*. It appears that the scribe had made a mistake in spelling the name of the king.

ms. *Kulalikamnāya* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 876). Colophon: *Samvat 200+80 Pauṣa kṛṣṇa chaturdaśyām Śrī Yambukramāyām Śrīvanagaladalake Śrī Ānandadevasya rājye etc.*

Inscription<sup>11</sup> on a stone pillar in front of the main door of the temple of Tilamādhava in Taumadhitol, Bhatgaon. The relevant lines are, *Prithvimnripe sakala loka hridambuhanse*

<sup>8</sup> Doc. 8 of Petech.

<sup>9</sup> Doc. 12 of Petech. Bendall, History, Intro., CPMDN, I, p. 23 (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 2190) Camb. Univ. Lib. 1693, Add. CBMC, p. 182. Doc. 13 of Petech.

<sup>10</sup> Kielhorn verifies the date for Sunday July 8, 1165.

<sup>11</sup> Inscription n. X in the Appendix.

*yuktyaprasāsati ripu dvīpakesarindrekile gunaih jagati chandra-kalā va . . . . . taih Śrīānandadevaiti śūryakula pradīpe etc. etc.* and a little later, *samaśata dvaye prāptevasubanhi samāyute (=283) kṛṣṇastamyām kṛta jyeste prasaste somavāsare, etc.*

Inscription<sup>12</sup> on a stone water conduit attached to the outerwall of the compound of Batuka Bhairava in Patan. The letters giving the particulars of the date are damaged. The name of the King is also not very clear, but Sryāna(nda)-deva can be read with some difficulty. ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (belonging to a monastery, by name, Ombahal in Patan) Colophon: *Śrīmadānandadevasya vijayarājye samvat 287 Kārtika sudi 2 likhitamidam rājaputra Śrīdhareneti.*

If it was suggested that the years since 219 till 267 were full of troubles, it would not be wrong to visualise a period of comparative quiet and progress while Ānandadeva had occupied the throne.

There is a ms. which has in the colophon 'Samvat ३१० (200+70), *Śrāvana kṛṣṇa daśamyām śukradīne Śrī Pannagavisayadhipati Śrī Mahāsāmanta Hamsadevasya vijayarājye Yūpatolakādhipati śiro Śrikulaputrasya Phulañānāyakasya dharmārthena likhitam*'.<sup>13</sup> This shows that in 270 there was a High Feudatory in some part of the kingdom, and here the monarch was being ignored. Ānandadeva does not figure in this colophon; obviously the Mahāsāmanta had become powerful enough not to take notice of the sovereign. If Pannaga is identified with the present Nagadesa, about four miles east of Kathmandu on the road to Bhatgaon, close by then it has to be noted that king Ānandadeva's influence was being challenged in places so close to his very capital (Patan). It is also possible that Hamsadeva being the master of a *visaya* was controlling the entire East Nepal Valley. We do not hear anything about Hamsadeva in chronicles. It is also difficult to say if he had defied the authority of king Ānandadeva. But he had surely wielded immense power near about NS 270.

<sup>12</sup> Inscription n. IX in the Appendix.

<sup>13</sup> Recently acquired by the Darbar Library.

Except for this, Ānandadeva's reign would pass for a period of peace and tranquility. Other colophons of Ānandadeva's reign are:

ms. *Vādanyāyatikā* (Kun-bde-glin monastery in Lhasa, Tibet).<sup>14</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 200+70+2 Srāvana kṛṣṇa ekadasyam* with *Rd Pm Pbh* etc.

ms. *Chatuṣpīthamaṇḍalopāyikamantra*, only the final leaf (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 803.12).<sup>15</sup> *Samvat 200+70+3 Asvini śukla pratipadā ādityadine* with *Md-Pm* etc.

A fragment of the ms. *Pañcharakṣā*, final leaf only (Camb. Univ. Lib. Or. 130).<sup>16</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 200+70+5 Chaitra kṛṣṇa panchamyām vrihaspatidine Śrīmad Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Ānandadevasya vijayarāje likhitavara mahāyāyina Śrī Lalita-brumayam Śrī Nhogalatotalake* etc. (letters illegible)

ms. *Svamalāsāstra* (Kaisar Lib. n. 439).<sup>17</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 200+70+9 Bhādrapada kṛṣṇāstamyām adityadine* with *Pm-Pbh-Rd-Pm* etc.

ms. *Saptaśatī* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 360.2).<sup>18</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 282 Phālguna śukla chaturdasyām somavāre Sriman Md-Pm-Pbh. Śrī Ānandadevasya vijayarājye.*

ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 713).<sup>19</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 200+80+4 Māgha śukladivāṣṭamyām ādityadine* with *Śrī Md-Pm-Pbh* etc.

ms. *Gandavyūha* (Royal As. Society, Hodgson Collection).<sup>20</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 286 Phālguna śukla ekādasyām ādityadine* with *Pm-Pbh- Mahārājādhirāja*. The date is given both in

<sup>14</sup> JBORS, XXI, pp. 3-4, n. 3; Doc. 3 of Petech.

<sup>15</sup> Doc. 4 of Petech.

<sup>16</sup> Bendall, History, p. 29 (CPMDN, I); Doc. 5 of Petech.

<sup>17</sup> Doc. 9 of Petech.

<sup>18</sup> CPMDN, II, p. 19. My reading is *chaturdasyam*, but as Petech verifies the date. I have adopted his reading. The writing must be a mistake.

<sup>19</sup> Doc. 11 of Petech.

<sup>20</sup> Bendall, History, p. 23 (CPMDN, I); JRAS, 1876, pp. 3-4, n. 2.



letters (285) and figures ( आ ० ३ ). The writer is Kayattha Paśupatisura.

King Ānandadeva is called in V<sup>i</sup> and VK as one who was protector of all lands of Nepal (*Śrī Nepāl samastamaṇḍala mahitrāta*), who stopped destruction of his subjects and who possessed virtues conforming to *Śāstra* and *tantra*. He was crowned as Rājyeśvara (Lord of the Kingdom) on 1 *Māgha kṛṣṇa* 267 (=19 January 1147 A.D.) and ruled for 20 years (V<sup>i</sup>, 25-a). He died at the age of 68 (V<sup>ii</sup>, f. 31-b) having been born on 219 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa* 5 (=May 11th, 1099). The reign period tallies with the dates shown by the documents (267-287 NS) and V<sup>ii</sup>'s date also shows him to have died in 287, which gives quite a correct date of his death. But the exact date is not ascertained.

V<sup>i</sup> and VK speak of his building a temple in Sivagla in Bhatgaon, where he had consecrated two images of Gods. The temple was roofed with copper sheets. There he founded his capital for the three cities, and built a water conduit near the Royal Palace. Also, he consecrated at Tripura the Saptaganthakuta (probably a palace). He ingratiated the people who were upbraided by fear and oppression by making them free and this he did by killing thieves and scoundrels (*chauraka dambakam*). For the whole of Nepal he also permitted high feudatories and governors (*mahāpātra*), principal officer (*pramukha*) and every one of the subjects with their sons and grandsons to dispose of their house and lands (to purchase and sell). He built in Tripura Saptaganthakuta and inaugurated it.

Ānandadeva was succeeded by his brother Rudradeva who ruled till 1176 A.D. The later chronicles call Ānandadeva (Nandadeva) as Rudradeva's father. But according to V<sup>ii</sup> he had no issues born to him. Rudradeva, as V<sup>ii</sup> put it, was surely his brother and direct successor. The chronicle had nothing much to say about him. There is, however, ample evidence in colophons about his reign. Of Rudradeva Wright's authority says that he retired to a monastery as a Buddhist monk before his death.

## RUDRADEVA

Colophons of 3 mss. of his reign were published by Levi and H. P. Sastri (1) *Dharmasamuccaya*, 293 *Vaisakha kṛṣṇa 14*<sup>21</sup> with *rājnah Rudradevasya vijayarājye* written by *Chitraviharavasthita Chitrajnāna*, (2) *Pingalamata*,<sup>22</sup> 294 *Chaitra śukla 15 somadine uttaraphālguni nakṣatre* with *Śrī Parameśvara Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja*; (3) *Bhagvatyāh prajñāpāramitāyāh ratnaguna sanchaya gātha*<sup>23</sup> 295 *Agrahana pūrnāmasyām ādityadine* with *Md Rudradevasya*.

4. Two other mss. *Kalottaratantra*,<sup>24</sup> 289 *Jyestha śukla 10 budhadine*, *Rd Pm Śrī Rudradevarājye sriyagalatolakedhivāsinah etc.* and

5. *Śivadharmasāstra*,<sup>25</sup> 290 *Pauṣa śukla 15 śukre ravivāsare* (*Akāsagrahahasta sanginigate etc. Śrī Rudradeva nṛpe*) have been noted by L. Petech, and both these are catalogued in the Darbar Library. The first with royal epithets of (*Rd-Pm vijayarājye*) is written in Banaras by one who belonged to (*Yangala-daksinatolake*).

The following documents of his reign are not available in the list of Petech:

6. An inscription<sup>26</sup> on a stone water tap behind the temple of Vajrayogini in Sankhu. This is a nine line record, which is dated NS 288 *Phālguna kṛṣṇa astamī* (February-March, 1168 A.D.).

<sup>21</sup> Levi, Notes Indiennes, in J. As. Soc. 1925, I, pp. 35-36 (Doc. 3 of Petech).

<sup>22</sup> CPMDN, II, p. 69 (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 376.1). This is Doc. 4 of Petech.

<sup>23</sup> As. Soc. Bengal, n. 10736, CSMASB, I, pp. 26-27, n. 28. Doc. 5 of Petech.

<sup>24</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. IV, 206, Doc. 1 of Petech. In this ms. the month as read by Petech is Pausya. He accordingly verified the date for Wednesday, December 11th, 1168. This ms. was written in Banaras (*Yangaladaksinatolakedhivāsinah Bhatta Śrī Śaivachārya Amritamitreṇa Vārānasyām likhyāpita*).

<sup>25</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I, 1075.7; Doc. 2 of Petech, verified for.

<sup>26</sup> Our inscription n. XI in the Appendix.

7. Two line inscription on a stone water conduit now being used as a stair case in the temple of Kumbheśvara (in Patan) at its northern side to get to the sanctuary:<sup>27</sup> *Om Samvat 291 Kārtika śuklāstamyām Rd Pm rājye Śrī Rudradevasya jagādānanda kārinah astamyām Kārtika śukle pratishhādi bidhānatah.*

8. ms. *Yogasāra samuchchaya* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 724). Colophon: *Samvat śatadvaya yate navamyāmeke samāyutam (=291 NS) ekadaśyām śukla Jyeṣṭha māse chitra tithau yute mritastyanganamallasya taddinesu vijānita rājnah Śrī Rudradevasya sthāna Bhaktāpurī vare Vaidya Govindaśilena satvānāmhita hetunā likhitam.*

9. Two line inscription<sup>28</sup> on a stone water conduit lying thrown in a very dirty area of Kathmandu at the southern end. This is dated 291 Jyeṣṭha Pūrṇimā (=May-June, 1171 A.D.).

10. A water conduit slab in the Mahadevananhitol (Patan) to the left of a small image of *Gaṇeśa* near the shrine of *Pūrṇa Chāṇḍī*.<sup>29</sup> It has 6 lines which is to read in the main: *Abdeyāti bhujagrahaksigunite (=292) māse tato kārtike Rudrāvhye nripatau cha śāsati bhuvam chandro jayārghah sudhīh pārśve pattikayā sahāmala jaladronimimām dattavān margo mārjana gosthikā sunihitam kṣetram chatriopanam tatpattikā pātalachchhādanayacha śivakā chatustayam.* It commemorates the construction of a water conduit (*Jaladroni*) by the side of a *Pati* (one room inn for the traveller). Śivakas are provided to roof the *Pati*. Date 292, *Kārtika*.

11. ms. *Dharmasamuchchaya-dharmaparāya*. (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 153). Colophon: *Samvat 293 Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa chaturthyām rājne Śrīmad Rudradeva vijayarājye svaparārtha hetoh Śrīmad Chandravihāvasthita vikṣu pūjita Śrījnānena pustamidham likhitam.*

The authority of VK puts the initial year of his reign in *Pauṣa 267 (kṛṣṇa 13)*. But this date is at least twenty years earlier as the colophon dates of the last reign prove. If it is

<sup>27</sup> Inscription n. XII in our Appendix.

<sup>28</sup> Inscription n. XIII in our Appendix.

<sup>29</sup> Inscription n. XIV in our Appendix.

a mistake for 287 *Paṣa kṛṣṇa* 13 corresponding to January 5th 1167, then this would give correct date for his accession because we know that about this time Ānandadeva had died.

Rudradeva built a court-yard at the Southern end of Panchapuri (V<sup>1</sup>, f. 25-b). Perhaps this was an additional wing in the royal palace.

Rudradeva's last document is dated 295 *Agrahāyana śukla* 15 verified for November 10th, 1174 A.D. (Doc. 3 above). His successor's first document dates 295 *Vaiśākha śukla* 3. The interval between the two dates is that of 5 months. Rudradeva surely died during this interval. According to V<sup>1</sup> he reigned for 8 years and 1 month (f. 25-b). If he had succeeded Ānandadeva on 287 *Paṣa kṛṣṇa pratipadā* as suggested earlier he died sometime in *Māgha* or *Phālguna* of 295. The date figure of his birth in V<sup>11</sup> (f. 31-a) is faded but Petech read it as 228. *Phālguna śukla* 13 (*Kla trayodasi revati nakṣatre* is clear). V<sup>11</sup> gives him a life span of 67 years (f. 31-b). If he died 67 years after the date of his birth i.e. 228 *Phālguna śukla* 13, this would place the date of his death to 295 *Phālguna śukla*. So on both counts the estimated date for his death appears to be correct.

V<sup>11</sup> calls Rudradeva a son of Sīhadeva Parameśvara (f. 31-a). According to V<sup>1</sup> (f. 25-b) he built part of the southern wing at the palace of Panchapuri. In folio (f. 32-b—33-a) there is a passage to show that to Rudradeva a son was born in 283 *dvirāṣāḍha* (other particulars are not known because of the faded letters) and he died at the age of 26. But the man to succeed him as the King of Nepal, was his brother Amṛtadeva. Probably Rudradeva's son was by-passed in the matter of succession in the same manner as the claim of Someśvaradeva, son of Mahendradeva, was being ignored earlier. It appears that the three sons of Sīhadeva-Ānandadeva, Rudradeva and Amṛtadeva had struck a deal over an agreed order of succession, which did not permit any one else other than the sons of Sīhadeva to sit on the throne as long as they survived. The agreement was probably reached on the death of their eldest brother Mahendradeva who, however, had left a son behind

him but whose (Someśvaradeva) claim was set aside because of the mutually agreed arrangement determining the order of succession.

### AMRITADEVA

Amṛtadeva succeeded Rudradeva. Later chronicles call him simply Mitradeva. Rudradeva had left no issue of his own to succeed him.

The V<sup>i</sup> depicts a scene of tense situation during Amṛtadeva's reign (V<sup>i</sup>, f. 25-b). Nepal was stricken with a great calamity, and famine and war stalked the land and the people suffered extremely on that account. The chronicle further says that the price of grain was high, food was improcurable and everywhere plunder and depredation made existence risky and miserable. Rudradeva's successors were surely forgotten in that panic to be taken into account by the chroniclers, and all of them get much little attention from them.

In the words of the Sanskrit chronicle Nanyadeva invaded Nepal in the time of Rudradeva.<sup>30</sup> But we shall see that there is little substance in this statement. We have five documents belonging to his reign, out of which two are Inscriptions:

(1) Inscription on a broken stone water conduit originally belonging to *Mrigasthali* (Paśupati locality) but now lying in a private garden at Khaumatol in Bhatgaon close to the Old Royal Palace.<sup>31</sup> *Samvat* अ × ह (200+90+5) *Vaiśākha śukla tritīyāyām Rd Śrī Amritadevasya vijayarājye Śriyuta Mrigasthalyāv Vijaikarti bhāri* etc.

(2) On the stone pedestal of a small image of Gaṇeśa to the east of the *Changu Nārāyāna* temple. Originally the pedestal belonged to an image of Viṣṇu.<sup>32</sup>

*Om svasti ritu grahasamāyukte samvatsare satadvaya (=296) Jyestha masa sitastamyām raje Sriyamtrita bhupateh bhratu*

<sup>30</sup> *Rudradevasya samaye Nanyadevadhīpoh nriṣah Nepālāt rājya-bhāgam yo nayatīmasimangadham.*

<sup>31</sup> Inscription n. XV in our Appendix.

<sup>32</sup> Inscription n. XVI in our Appendix.

*Vijayadevasya svargga sampraptihetava Sri Visakhadidevena etc.*

(1) ms. *Kulalikāmnaya* (Kaisar Lib. n. 33).<sup>33</sup> Colophon: *Śrīmat kubjikamate samastajanya bodhiścharyavid samvat आ × (200+90) Māgha śukla dvitīyāyām ravidine Rd-Pm Amritadevasya vijayarājye Śrī Syuthodhivāsina Śrī Rāmasomayāchāryasya pustikoyam.* I agree with Petech when he says 'the date is too early, the scribe has inadvertently left out the last digit; the day in the years around after NS 295 for which this date can be verified is 298 *Māgha śukla 2*, Sunday, January 22nd, 1178 A.D.'

(2) ms. *Daśakriyāpaddhati* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1536.3).<sup>34</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 296 Chaitra śukla pūrnimasyām Rd Pm Śrī Amritadevasya vijayarājye pustakoyam likhitam iti.*

(3) ms. *Kusundikarmavaidikamantra sangraha* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1583.13).<sup>35</sup> Colophon: *Samvat आ × अ (200+90+6) Jyestha śukla chaturthyām punarvasu nakṣatre vrihaspatidine idam pustakam likhitamiti Rd-Pm Śrīmad Amritadevarājasya vijayarājye.*

The first inscription provides in general the first document for the reign (*Rajadhiraja Amritadevasya vijayarājye*). As this is dated 200+90+5 आ × ह *Vaiśākha śukla 3*.<sup>36</sup> We have now a proof positive of his having begun his reign sometime in March-April, 1175 A.D., or even earlier. According to V<sup>11</sup> Amṛtadeva was born on 233 Aśvin śukla 3; he lived 66 years up to a ripe old age and breathed his last on Bhādra kṛṣṇa 9 of 299 NS. V<sup>1</sup> gives him a reign period of 3 years 11 months, others have 21 years. But the latter seems to allot more than

<sup>33</sup> Doc. 1 of Petech.

<sup>34</sup> Doc. 2 of Petech. Date corresponding to March 27th, 1176. CPMDN, I, p. 65. *Dasakarmapaddhati*, Sastri gave S. 296 *Chaitra śukla 15 Rajadhiraja Pm Sri* ————— *devasya vijayarājye*; Bendall *History*, p. 23 (CPMDN).

<sup>35</sup> Doc. 3 of Petech. Date verified for Thursday, May 13th, 1176 A.D.

<sup>36</sup> The text of the inscription is also published in *Sans. Sandesh*, II, 2, p. 85.

what is sufficient to follow up the dates indicated by the inscriptions and colophons. The estimate provided by V<sup>i</sup> comes very much near the true date. It appears that he ruled from NS 295 to 299 or thereabout (=1175—78 A.D.). Amṛtadeva was succeeded by his nephew Someśvaradeva. The latter's first available date of a ms. is 299 Marga śukla 7 (see Doc. 1 of the reign). Amṛtadeva's reign must come to an end before this date. It is certain that by that time there was left no other claimant to the throne on the line of Siṃhadeva except Someśvaradeva. As we observed earlier except Mahendradeva, none of the sons of Siṃhadeva had begotten issues. On the other hand Mahendra's eldest son Vasantadeva (b. 232 NS) had died at a very early age (21 years). He had left a child by name Yogadeva, but he too died at his eleventh year. V<sup>i</sup> (also VK) states that Amṛtadeva's reign was disturbed by a famine and outbreak of epidemics of smallpox (f. 25-b). Amṛtadeva also built at the northern end of Panchapuri a new courtyard. Probably this was an enlargement of the royal palace.

#### SOMESVARADEVA

Someśvaradeva's name had led many scholars to wrongly infer the conquest of Nepal by a Chālukya prince of his name.<sup>37</sup> He was the second son of Mahendradeva, according to V<sup>ii</sup>,<sup>38</sup> born on 239 *Phālguṇa śukla 13 māgha*. Someśvaradeva was the son of Mahendradeva, who was the eldest son of Siṃhadeva (V<sup>ii</sup>, f. 31-a). As already suggested, Mahendradeva was born on 199 *Vaiśākha pūrṇima visākhā nakṣatra dhruvajoga vrihaspativāra madhyānhavela* (Thursday noon). According to the customary law of primogeniture Someśvara was the legal heir to Siṃhadeva. Probably because of his minority his claim was set aside in favour of his uncles. In 267 while Ānandadeva was crowned, Someśvara was an infant of three years. But the agreement reached by his uncles over the

<sup>37</sup> Levi, II. pp. 198-205; Ray, (I, p. 203-04); Indian Culture, IV, 1937-38, p. 49.

<sup>38</sup> f. 32-a. Petech verifies for 25 February, 1191 A.D.

issue of succession kept him yet longer out of the throne. According to V<sup>11</sup> he lived up to the age of 57. Thus he must die any time in 302 NS. VK has a date of his coronation, which is NS 299 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa* 6. It gives him a reign of 6 years 3 months. We have no date of later chronicles for his reign. They do not even mention him. V<sup>1</sup> gives him a reign of 4 years and 3 months. This shows his last date sometime in NS 302 *Māgha*, which tallies with the evidence of V<sup>11</sup> and his documents. VK's allocation of 6 years 3 months is obviously wrong.

From VK we know that Someśvara was crowned on 6 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa* 299 NS (3 November, 1178 A.D.).<sup>39</sup> If the fact of his predecessor's death taking place on 15 September, 1180 A.D. is true, then his coronation took place before the former died. Probably Amṛtadeva was deposed. But this is just a guess. If we take the ms. date this is also not corroborated. So Amṛtadeva's reign must be taken to have ended peacefully running its full course. There was no occasion for deposition.

Someśvara has 3 ms. colophons belonging to his reign. These cover 3 years from NS 299 to 301 (*Kārtika śukla* 2). He must have certainly ruled for 3 years or 4 years till 302 or so.

(1) ms. *Prāyaschittopadeśa* (Kaisar Lib. n. 522).<sup>40</sup> Colophon: *Samvatsare navādhikānavati śatah dvāya māsa Marggaśira śukla ṣaṣtame | Rd Pm Raghukulatilaka Śrī Someśvaradevasya vijayarājye likhitamidam Triratnadāsena iti ||* Petech verifies the date for November 14th, 1178 A.D.

(2) ms. *Srimahāmanthānabhairavatantra* (Kaisar Lib. n. 592). Colophon: *Samvat 300 Phālguna śuklapūrnāmāsyām budhadine | Mahārāja Śrī Someśvaradevasya vijayarājye ||* Petech (Doc. 2) verifies the date for Wednesday, February 13th, 1180 A.D.

<sup>39</sup> Verification by Petech, p. 71.

<sup>40</sup> Doc. 1 of Petech.



(3) ms. *Śaptaśati* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1603.13). Colophon: *Samvat 301 Kārtika śukla dvitīyāyām budhadine Sri Md Someśvaradevasya vijayarājye*. This is Doc. 3 of Petech who verifies the date for Wednesday, November 11th, 1180 A.D.

All the later chronicles omit Someśvaradeva. According to V<sup>i</sup> (f. 25-b) Someśvaradeva built a big temple in Yodha (or Yogha), where he got beautiful carving done in the structure. He also reinstated the head of the learned institution known as *Dakṣiṇavidyāpīṭha*.

Petech who regards Mahendradeva as Śivadeva's son states that Someśvaradeva's accession meant a last attempt at restoring the line of Śaṅkaradeva, and this involved a violent struggle against the family of Siṃhadeva. But this does not seem to be a correct estimate (see above). According to V<sup>ii</sup> we know it for certain that Someśvaradeva was the grandson of Siṃhadeva.

Just as in the case of Bhojadeva so also in the case of Someśvaradeva some scholars, Levi and Petech in particular, think that the royal names are unusual for Nepal and these must have been introduced as a result of cultural influence from South India.<sup>41</sup> These writers draw their conclusion from the fact that about this time some South Indian monarchs have laid claim to the conquest of Nepal in their records.

#### SOME SOUTH INDIAN KINGS AND NEPAL

The first South Indian monarch to claim conquest of Nepal is Someśvara I Chālukya of Kalyāni. In an inscription of 1047 A.D. Cholatala, Dravida, Nepāla and Pāñchāla were said to have been conquered by him. According to Nilakantha Sastri 'the reference to Nepala is not easy to explain, but there were signs of fighting elsewhere in the empire side by side with the Chola wars'.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Levi II, pp. 203-04; Petech, Op. Cit., p. 70; DNI, I, pp. 205-06; Levi, II, p. 208.

<sup>42</sup> EHD, I, p. 337.

In a posthumous panegyric of an inscription,<sup>43</sup> dated 1162 A.D. Someśvara III Bhulokamalla of the Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāni (1126-38) is described by his poet to have put his feet of lotus on the heads of the rulers of Āndhra, Dravida, Magadha and Nepāla. In his Bijapur inscription (1151 A.D.) Bijjala Kālāchuri is mentioned as mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and Chālukya feudatory and to have defeated Mālava, Lāta, Nepāla, and Ghurjara.<sup>44</sup> The copper plate grant of 1191 A.D. eulogising his prowess says that 'the king of Simhala carried his tray, the Nepāla king was his perfumer etc.'<sup>45</sup>

The third reference to Nepāla is in a Kālāchuri record. In an inscription of 1200 A.D. Kālāchuri Bijjala is also credited to have disturbed Nepal's tranquility.<sup>46</sup> Lastly Jaitugi Deva I (1191-1210)<sup>47</sup> and his grandson Mahādeva (1260-70) of Devagiri boast of having defeated the kings of Pāṇḍya, Cholās, Mālavas, Lātas, Gurjaras, Turuskas, Nepāla and Pāñchāla. To quote Levi:<sup>48</sup> "Bijjala once dead the hegemony of the Deccan passess to the Yadavas, who were established at Devagiri (near Ellora E. of Bombay). The second king of the new dynasty, Jaitugi Deva I (1191-1210) subdues Gurjara, Pāṇḍya, Colā, Lāta, Gauda, whilst his general (*daṇḍanātha*) Sahadeva defeats the forces of Valava, Kalinga, Panchala, Turuska and Nepala".<sup>49</sup> And Nepal henceforth consecrated as a literary adornment reappears for the sole joy of alliteration in the panegyric of the grandson of Jaitugi, Mahā Deva.

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<sup>43</sup> The Pattakdal stone inscription of Someśvara III, Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VII, 1902, p. 157. JBAS, XI, p. 268. Also read Indian Culture, IV (1937-38), p. 49 (S. L. Katare, The Chalukyas of Kalyani and their Political Relations with Contemporary Northern States). Read EHD, I, pp. 369-71.

<sup>44</sup> EHD, I, p. 375, p. 458.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 460.

<sup>46</sup> EI, V, pp. 249-57 (Ablar Inscription).

<sup>47</sup> Mangoli Inscription, EI, V, pp. 28-33; EHD, II, p. 530.

<sup>48</sup> Pp. 202-03.

<sup>49</sup> Prof. Altekar thinks that the claim to the conquest of Nepal is unfounded. EHD, II, p. 530.

“The king himself simply boasts in these inscriptions of having vanquished Kalinga, Konkon, Karnata, Lata and of having inspired terror into the Andhras. But his minister, the erudite Hemādri, is not content with so little. At the head of one of the sections (*Dānakhaṇḍa*) of his voluminous compilation the *Caturvarga Cintamanī*, he sings in these terms the praises of his master. His glory teaches sage reasonings to the sovereigns of the seven Isles. Hear says the song, Gurjara’ win his goodwill; Prince of Nepal (Nepāla Pāla), learn to endure everything; observe his orders, king of Malava and Andhra, remember that peril is without result: evidently the grave Hemadri would have smiled this time to find himself seriously believed”.

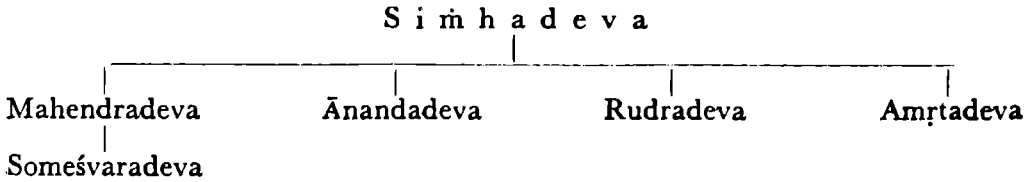
All the scholars of Nepal history and South Indian history are agreed that the claims of these monarchs to the suzerainty over Nepal is ‘geographically absurd’.<sup>50</sup> But they think that one could not refuse to accept the cultural contact which Nepal had then developed with the South to imbibe certain traits in its own.

Petech writes that some kind of religious and political influence did penetrate from the South at this time. He thinks that the close relations of southern Brahmans with Nepalese shrines dates probably from this time. According to Levi “Nepal had decidedly entered in the official poetics of South India. Also, the renaissance of Saivism could have increased at that period the real relations between South India and Nepal; the minister of Bijjala and his murderer Bāsava are the founders of a numerous sect, the Lingayats, consecrated to the fanatical worship of the divine lingas. Had Bijjala created in Nepal on the road to Gosainthan a caravansarai (inn or dharmasala) for the use of pilgrims from the Deccan? It is enough to transform in a panegyric this pious work as a symbol of suzerainty”.<sup>51</sup> I doubt if there exists any inn or *dharmasālā* on the Gosainthān route, which could be attributed to Bijjala. Nor it appears

<sup>50</sup> Petech, Op. Cit., p. 70; EHD, I, pp. 375, 458, 460; II, p. 530.

<sup>51</sup> II, pp. 203-04.

true that the Lingayats had spread their influence in Nepal during the time of Bijjala. We have some evidence to show that they carried a little influence in Bhatgaon in the 17th century A.D. Levi has indulged in sheer speculations and tried to give his own interpretation to Bijjala's claim to the account of the conquest of Nepal made in his inscription.



### CHAOS BEFORE ARIMALLA

It seems that the aftermath of the termination of Someśvara-deva's reign did not witness a normal course of events. Petech calls it a period of chaos and rightly observes 'this is reflected in the chronicles. The modern ones jump straight to the early Mallas. Of the two early ones, the text of VK seems to be in disorder'. To take only two instances:

(1) As we shall notice, the very early years of this period 303-304 go without a king. A High Feudatory, one Ratnadeva by name, comes to fill the gap with a measure of independence, he seems to have completely ignored the throne and there are colophon data showing him reigning *vijayarājye*. But we shall know that he was no more than a high feudatory. Someśvara had left much unrest and disturbances after him due to famine conditions in the land at the time and this had led to the reassertion of powers by feudal lords taking advantage of the same. There is a gap of more than two years unfilled by documents between 302 and 305. It is quite likely that the throne was left vacant.

(2) The problem of a gap is not there while we come to the second instance. But the documents show often clashing reigns; when reigns they clearly bring out clashes occur in the period between 312 and 317, sometime between two kings and sometime among three of them. It means that the kingdom was then divided between these rulers. It is for what reasons we

do not know that V<sup>11</sup> does not give any of these names in the chronology.

As for the chronicles 'getting in disorder' it is so in two respects. First it appears that of the two rulers shown by the documents, V<sup>1</sup> and VK, while V<sup>1</sup> gives regnal years, VK does so only in the case of Vijayakāmadeva (the regnal years in red ink). As Petech suggested, it might have been a critical time 'of a civil war' in the country. This suggests that the chronicles are of little value for us in regard to these reigns.

Ratnadeva, a powerful high feudatory, was not a full fledged sovereign as made out by H. C. Ray.<sup>52</sup> He did not belong to the ruling house, as the chronicles do not give his name in the genealogy. We have two colophons in his name, both of which, even though using the high sounding expression for reigning (*vijayarājye*) do not give him royal titles but call him simply *mahāsāmanta*.

ms. *Charakasamhita* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1643.1).<sup>53</sup> Colophon: *Śrīmat Dhavalasrotyam mahāsāmanta Śrīmat Ratnadeva kalyānavija vijayarājye Samvatsarānam trayādhikaśata-trayam anke pi samvat 303 Chaitra sudi panchamyām somadine | bhāro Śrī Likhapitam | Likhitamchedam Jejabhuktiya Śrīvastavya Kāyasthānvaya paṇḍita Śrī Ratnapālena.*

ms. *Triyakalagunottara* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 329.1).<sup>54</sup> Colophon: *Nepāladeśiya samvat 304 Jyeṣṭha sudi 13 gurau Dhavalasrotapura Mahāsāmanta Śrī Ratnādīva rājye | mangalam mahāśrīh | trikaśaṇvaya Śaivāchārya Śrī Śrīdhara rajagurunā likhapitam |*

We have now three more rulers for the time before the reign of Arimalla. Of all the chronicles, V<sup>1</sup> and VK mention them but not V<sup>11</sup>. But as their reign period is attested by colophon

<sup>52</sup> DNI, I, pp. 208-09.

<sup>53</sup> CPMDN, I, p. XXI, Bendall's History, p. 24. Doc. 1 of Petech. He verifies the date for Monday, February 28th, 1183 A.D. H. P. Sastri just mentions the ms.

<sup>54</sup> CPMDN, II, p. 85. Petech's document n. 2. Date verified for Thursday, May 24th, 1184.

data of the mss., there is nothing to contradict what these chronicles have said.

Guṇakāmadeva is the first royal name to appear in this period. We have several documents in his name.

(1) ms. *Jayākhyasamhitā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1633.6) Colophon: *Samvat 307 Phālguṇa kṛṣṇa ṣaṣṭamyām Śrī Guṇakāmadevasya vijayarājye likhitamidam.*<sup>55</sup>

(2) ms. *Vrihajjātakasya saṅkṣepaṭika* by *Bhaṭṭotpala* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 701).<sup>56</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 307 Prathamāśādhā śukla tṛtīyāyām ādityavāsare puṣya nakṣatre Rd-Pm-Pbh Śrīmad Guṇakāmadevasya rājye likhitam.*

(3) ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (in the possession of a monastery known as Okubahal in Patan).<sup>57</sup> Colophon: *Śaraditriṣāti. . . dhiravi gate daśamī guruvāsare Yogavāre prithuṣuṇyapāyoh . . . vāmakare—rājye Guṇakāmadeva jayino rājye etc. etc.*

(4) Two line inscription on the socle of the image of *Umā-Maheśvara* in the temple at Ko-bahāl of Patan.<sup>58</sup> These read: *Rājye Śrī Guṇakāmadeva nṛpatiḥ saptottare triṣate (=307) Śrī Māṇigvalake surālaya kritastad Śrīdharauchatmanah | pītrovanda surāścha bhakta jagata svarggapavargga etc.* (Read in the Appendix)

(5) *Pratiṣṭhāloka* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 191.6). Colophon: *Vikhyāte triṣate varāṇa bāṇa yute (=315) Nepāla samavatsare Māgha māse Śrī Guṇakāmadeva rājye etc.*<sup>59</sup> The date corresponds to January-February, 1195.

(6) ms. *Manthāna Bhairavataṅtra* (Darb. Lib. Cat. II. 218.1).<sup>60</sup> Colophon: *Śrīmad Guṇakāmadeva sambhujya Nepāla-*

<sup>55</sup> Doc. 1 of Petech who verifies the date for March 2nd, 1187. CPMDN, I, p. 76.

<sup>56</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>57</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>58</sup> Mentioned by Petech who inclines to identify the epigraph as belonging to this reign.

<sup>59</sup> Doc. 2 of Petech.

<sup>60</sup> Last document of Petech for the reign.

*deśe rājye svasti samvat 306* [Petech (doc. 3) says that the last digit could be read as 4 but he read the middle figure as 1 so that the date was rendered 316; the middle digit, however, looks definitely to be 0 and the last must be 6.] *Kāyastha Śrī Mahādevena likhitam Nāgesvara Śrī karmaśānta Vajrāchāryasya pustakamidam.*

Guṇakāmadeva is given a reign period of 3 years by V<sup>1</sup> (f. 25b). According to VK the date of his coronation was 305 *Pauṣa sudi 7 aṅgāravāra* (Petech verifies the date for Tuesday, December 11th, 1184), but this chronicle does not provide regnal years.

The same authority also introduces Yuvarāja Mahendradeva to precede Guṇakāmadeva. There is also a reference to Madanasarobara, a tank constructed by Mahendradeva. But judging from the date figures in the colophons Guṇakāmadeva ruled nearly ten years up to 315, though possibly he had a disturbed career. It appears that even while Guṇakāmadeva was ruling, there were two other princes reigning individually in places inside the Nepal Valley but this was towards the end of his career. The two rulers are Lakṣmīkāmadeva and Vijayakāmadeva. About the former no date figures are available from the chronicles. All the ancient chronicles V<sup>1</sup>, V<sup>11</sup> and VK omit him. But his name and reign are noticed in colophons of the four mss. so far traced.

(1) *Nāgānanda Nāṭakam* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 363.7).<sup>61</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 313 Kārtika kṛṣṇa ādityavāre Rd-Pm-Śrī Lakṣmīkāmadevasya vijayarājye.* According to Petech the date corresponds to Sunday, November 1st, 1192.

(2) *Piṅgalāmata* (Br. Museum Or. 2279).<sup>62</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 313 dvirāsāḍha pūrṇamāsyām || śravaṇa nakṣatre | bṛhaspativāsare || Śrī Nepālamaṇḍale Rd-Pm Śrī Ūrdhvapāṭakeḥ Śrīmat Śrī Lakṣmīkāmadevasya vijayarāje || Śrī Yambukra-*

<sup>61</sup> CPMDN, II, p. 39. Doc. 1 of Petech for the reign.

<sup>62</sup> CSBM, p. 235 n. 550. Doc. 2 of Petech. Petech verifies the date for Thursday, July 15th, 1193.

*māyām Makhanaṭolakādhivāsinaḥ dvijavaryah Śrī Anando-  
śramanasya Piṅgalamate āgama purnakoyah śubhamastu ||*

(3) ms. *Sarvalakṣaṇavivarāṇa pañjikā* (Kaisar Lib. n. 27).<sup>63</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 300+10+5 . . . . somadine punarvasu nakṣatre | Rd-Pm-Pbh Śrī Lakṣmīkāmādevasya vijayarājye |* According to Petech the date corresponds to Monday, March 20th 1195.

(4) ms. *Śrīmat Sāra Tantra Tvaritāmūla sūtre*. (Kaisar Lib. n. 70).<sup>64</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 317 Śrāvāṇa śukla tṛtīyāyām śani-  
ścharavāre | Rd-Pm Śrī Lakṣmīkāmādevasya vijayarājye | Śrī  
Jasabrahma Bhāronāmnasya pustakamidam*. The date is verified for Saturday, July 19th, 1197.

In all these mss. he enjoys the titles, like Rd-Pm. Piṅgalāmata was copied by a writer who was in Makhantola, a quarter of Yambukrama. Yambukrama was the ancient name for Kathmandu. There is no doubt that he ruled in Kathmandu which was the place where the ms. was copied. The ms. (Piṅgalāmata) has also the expression *Śrī Nepālaman-  
dale . . . . vijayarājye*. If he had ruled only a portion of Nepal this expression would not have been there. In all the documents the epithet used is Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara. As the last ms. colophon of his reign indicates, Lakṣmīkāmādeva must have ruled till the end of 317 NS.<sup>65</sup> That means he ruled a year or two more after Guṇakāmādeva's reign had terminated.

The next ruler who ruled at about the same time is Vijayakāmādeva. Five mss. dated variously NS 312 (*Vaiśākha śukla* 3), 315, 316 and 317 are available for his reign. These show that he ruled between 312 and 317. According to V<sup>1</sup> he ruled for 7 years (f. 25-b);<sup>66</sup> while VK gives him 6 years and 7 months (p. 8). Thus with reference to the dates of V<sup>1</sup> and VK his reign must come to an end in 318-19. But we have a stone inscription of his reign dated NS 320 *Māgha site soma-*

<sup>63</sup> Doc. 3 of Petech.

<sup>64</sup> Doc. 4 of Petech.

<sup>65</sup> Doc. 5 above.

<sup>66</sup> Bendall's reading 17 is incorrect.



*divase* (=January 23 or 30, 1200 A.D.).<sup>67</sup> His rule surely extended till 320 *Māgha* as against the statement of V<sup>i</sup>. Vijayakāmadeva was the sole survivor of the three kings towards the end of the interregnum.

In addition to the inscription cited above Vijayakāmadeva's documents stand as below:

(1) ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. IV. 21.4),<sup>68</sup> 312 *Vaiśa* (*kha śu*) *kla trīyā brihaspatidine* with *Rd-Pm-Pbh* titles; (2) ms. *Brahmokta saṁhitā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 380.11),<sup>69</sup> 315 *Chaitra śukla pūrṇamāsyām somavāsare chitrā nakṣatre harṣanayoge* with *Rd-Pm-Pbh* titles; (3) ms. *Saptaśatī* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 96.2),<sup>70</sup> 316 *Prathamāśāḍa śuklaikādaśyām somavāre rājña Śrī Vijayakāmadevasya* etc.; (4) ms. *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (Br. Museum Or. 3345),<sup>71</sup> *Yaṅgalottara ṭolakedhivasini . . . . bhārya Udelakṣmī Bhārī svāmi Śrī Thakurakātayortha datrapuṅya | Samvat 216 dvirāśāḍha pūrṇamāsyām bṛhaspativāsare Śrī Kāraṇḍavyūhasya pustakasya likhitam samāptam || rājye Rd-Pm-Śrīmad Vijayakāmadevasya vijayarājye*; (5) ms. *Nityānhikatilaka* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1320.9),<sup>72</sup> *Śrī Vijayakāmadevasya rājye samvat 317 Vaiśākha pūrṇamāsyām Āchārya Śrī Hariharasya* etc.

The next ruler is Arimalla of an unknown dynasty. Arimalla who started a new dynasty with Malla name ending was said to have been born in 274 (*Mārgaśira*) and as there is a ms. of his reign of early 321 NS (*Kārtika*), Arimalla must definitely begin his reign towards the end of 320 or in early 321.

<sup>67</sup> Partly published by Petech at Ichaṅgu 3 miles west of Kathmandu. It writes *rajnah Śrī Vijayakāmadevasya vijayarājye*. The inscribed lines are 23 but upto the 13th are damaged. The last two give date, *Ākāśanayanadahana* (=320). *Nepālavatsare rājyessite śauridivase*.

<sup>68</sup> Doc. 1 of Petech.

<sup>69</sup> Doc. 2 of Petech.

<sup>70</sup> Doc. 3 of Petech.

<sup>71</sup> Doc. 4 of Petech; CSBM, p. 230, n. 542.

<sup>72</sup> Doc. 5 of Petech; CPMDN, I, p. 113.

Sometime in NS 320=1199-1200 A.D. the old dynasty was completely uprooted. How Arimalla effected his ascendancy is not known from the chronicles. But there is no doubt that he started a new line.

Guṇakāmadeva, Lakṣmīkāmadeva and Vijayakāmadeva are omitted by later chronicles who make Arideva son and successor of Mitradeva. They say that he adopted the Malla name ending, as he had the habit of wrestling. Of these chronicles the Sanskrit one has Guhyakāmadeva as Amṛta's son and successor, and he in turn is the father of Arideva. Nowhere Arimalla is mentioned to have founded a new dynasty nor even in the ancient chronicles.

V<sup>11</sup>'s omission of the three predecessors of Arimalla may not have been lightly conceived. If the chronicler passes straight from Someśvaradeva to Arimalla, there must be some reason for it. Simhadeva's dynasty had ended with Someśvaradeva whose son Asuśvaradeva had died in early childhood. The throne Someśvara occupied was now without any heir. With his innate bias in favour of the then ruling family, the chronicler of V<sup>11</sup> could not certainly name those reigns which superceded the original house. Obviously, Arimalla's three predecessors were those who did not belong to either Saṅkaradeva's or Simhadeva's house. Were they in any way connected with Harṣadeva?

VK, though slightly differing, follows V<sup>1</sup>. Petech who made a thorough study of the ancient chronicles can say nothing about these rulers except that these came after an interregnum 'the cause of which is hidden to us' (p. 85).

But the interregnum had entailed complete dislocation of the old dynastic regime. We have now entirely a new ruling family in the scene. For Arimalla to have succeeded in establishing himself in power the ground was prepared by the disturbed condition of the time, and he had only exploited it to his own benefit. The interval was really a period of upheaval. It ultimately was responsible for wiping out the old order and for introducing a new one, although the content had little changed.

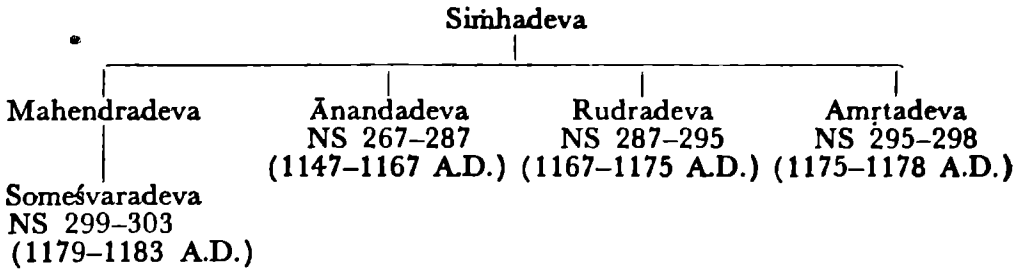
## GENEALOGY

*Bhāskaradeva to Jayadeva*

Later Chronicles* (Levi, BLI, Wright and Sans. Chron.)	Ancient Chronicles (V <sup>1</sup> , V <sup>11</sup> , VK)	Ascertained regnal dates with reference to colophons, inscriptions and ancient chronicles.
(a)		
Bhāskaradeva (13 years —Levi)	Bhāskaradeva, 3 years (V <sup>1</sup> )	NS 165–168 (1045–1048 A.D.)
Baladeva (19 years— Sans. Chron.)	Baladeva, 12 years (V <sup>1</sup> )	NS 168–180 (1048–1060 A.D.)
Padmadeva (Pradyumna —Sans. Chron.)	Pradyumnakāmadeva, 6 years (VK)	NS 180–186 (1060–1066 A.D.)
Nāgārjunadeva	Nāgārjunadeva, 2 years (V <sup>1</sup> ) 3 years (VK)	NS 186–188-89 (1066–1068-69 A.D.)
Śaṅkaradeva (11 years —Levi)	Śaṅkaradeva, 17 years (VK) 15 years (V <sup>1</sup> )	NS 189–203 (1069–1083 A.D.)
(b)		
Vāmadeva	Vāmadeva, 3 years (VK) 3 years (V <sup>1</sup> )	NS 203–205 (1083–1085 A.D.)
Harṣadeva	Harṣadeva, 14 years (V <sup>1</sup> ) 16 years (VK)	NS 205–219 (1085–1099 A.D.)
Sadāśivadeva	Śirṃhadeva	NS 231–241 (1111–1121 A.D.)
Mānadeva (10 years)	Śivadeva	NS 240–246 (1120–1126 A.D.)
Narasirṃhadeva† (22 years)	Indradeva, 12 years (V <sup>1</sup> , VK)	NS 246–257 (1126–1137 A.D.)
Nandadeva, 21 years	Mānadeva, 4 years (V <sup>1</sup> , VK)	NS 257–260 (1137–1140 A.D.)
Rudradeva, 19 years	Narendradeva, 6 yr., 5 mo. (V <sup>1</sup> ) 6 yr., 4 mo. (VK)	NS 260–266 (1140–1146 A.D.)
Mitradeva, 21 years		
Arīdeva		
Abhayamalla, 10 years		
Jayadevamalla, 19 years		

\* In *Sanskrit Chronicle* Śaṅkaradeva precedes Harṣadeva.

† The *Sanskrit Chronicle* omits Narasirṃhadeva and after Mitradeva has Guhyakāma; where there is no agreement I have inserted the name of the particular chronicle.



Simhadeva's line ends with Someśvaradeva

Guṇakāmadeva (NS 307-315 = 1187-1195 A.D.)

Lakṣmikāmadeva (NS 313-317 = 1193-1197 A.D.)

Vijayakāmadeva (NS 312-320 = 1192-1200 A.D.)

The last is followed by Arimalla (NS 321-36 = 1200-1230 A.D.)

## CHAPTER V

### ARIMALLA TO JAYANANDADEVA

(1200—1329 A.D.)

#### I

#### THE LINE OF ARIMALLA (1200—1258 A.D.)

#### MALLAS IN ANCIENT HISTORY

The chronicles introduce since about NS 320 (=1200 A.D.) certain royal personages having the name ending 'Malla'. It is for the first time that such a name appears in the chronology of Nepal. Some scholars suggest that with Arimalla, a dynasty of Mallas had come to power.

The Mallas were previously mentioned in our inscriptions very briefly in connection with a tax called *mallakara*,<sup>1</sup> and with Mānadeva's victory over them.<sup>2</sup> It is not known how they migrated to the Valley of the seven Gaṇḍaks in the mountainous region and least of all to the Nepal Valley. They might have taken advantage of the disturbed situation of the thirteenth century A.D. But anything more than that about the new dynasty cannot be guessed;<sup>3</sup> one could not even say whether the rulers we have in mind have anything to do with the historical Mallas.

The literal meaning of the Malla is a wrestler. According to Levi, the Chinese translations of the Buddhist texts regularly 'give the name of the Mallas with the equivalent of Li-cheu, the athletes'. The Mallas as a class of people, find place in several ancient treatises with identical heroic tradition. In

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<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions of Śivadeva I and Jiṣṇugupta, Gnoli: *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, Nos. XXX and LVI.

<sup>2</sup> Levi, III, Insc. No. I; Gnoli's No. I; Bhagvanlal Indraji, *Inscriptions from Nepal*, No. I

<sup>3</sup> Levi, II, Pp. 67, 102, 201.

*Mahābhārata* (II, V, 1077) they are mentioned along with Kośala 'in the account of Bhīma's conquest'.<sup>4</sup> The Manu brands them as one of the groups of fallen Kṣatriyas.<sup>5</sup> In the 6th century A.D. Varāhamihira, an astronomer of repute, records the Mallas as 'the boxers (*bāhuyuddhāśrama*) in his catalogue of peoples living between the Abhiras, Cabarasu, Pahlabas on the one hand and the Matsyas, Kurus and the Pāñchālas on the other'.<sup>6</sup> In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna* they occupy a place in Eastern India with Videhas and *Tāmraliptika* (Levi, II, P. 204).

At the dawn of history the Mallas had their own territory in Kuśinagara where Buddha breathed his last. They were a republican people and 'formed a confederacy with many others in the neighbourhood of Vaiśālī'. But this republic could not survive the fate of destruction that was meted out to them as soon as the Mauryas found their Empire. The Mallas figure prominently in the time of Buddha, and they had the honour of sharing Buddha's relics along with the Lichhavis. It is much probable that they repaired to the region in the hills along the bank of the river Gaṇḍak and settled down there in view of the proximity of Kuśinagar to that part of Nepal.<sup>7</sup> According to Levi the *Rasikaramaṇa* (a work of the 16th century) 'localizes them on the frontiers of Nepal'. It also seems that the Mallas followed a commercial profession as is evident from the tax, *mallakara*, which was surely a tax on professions. They continued to live in that condition for a long time. The later chronicle speaks of a Malla family ruling in Tirhut before and after Nānyadeva. While we have no authentic evidence to rely on the assertion of the chronicles, the existence of such a dynasty in a part of Tirhut or Mithilā appears not wholly impossible.<sup>8</sup> According to H. C. Ray the Mallas might have

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Manu, X.

<sup>6</sup> Levi, II, Pp. 211-214.

<sup>7</sup> At present Malaibam (*Malaibhūmi*), is the name applied to the area in the upper region of the Gaṇḍak basin.

<sup>8</sup> Levi, II, Pp. 210-13. H. C. Ray thinks that 'it is necessary to agree with Levi that the Mallas established suzerainty over the Bāgmati Valley in the 7th century' DNI, I, p. 211.

been promoted by sheer chance to infiltrate into Nepal when they found the country steeped in turmoil and disorder. The vast resources they had at their disposal probably enabled them to undertake a military venture of the type wanted for the invasion or a palace coup d'état.

Very recently we have discovered the existence of a kingdom in the Karnāli basin, where in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. rulers bore the Malla name-ending as a part of their name. The dynasty belonged to what is known as the *Khasa Kṣatriya*. But this was a kingdom separate from Nepal, and the two should not be confused. It cannot also be said with certainty if they had anything to do with the Mallas of Buddha's days.

As suggested by Levi and H. C. Ray, some persons with Malla name-ending might have been the masters of the territory in the 7th century A.D. in the Terai round the basin of the river Bāgmati. But I do not think if they were of the ancient Malla lineage nor it is probable that they had migrated to Nepal. We have absolutely no evidence of a migration of the Mallas from the Terai in that era.

So far we have no knowledge of the Malla dynasty of Nepal coming to power in the early 13th century except that a ruler in Nepal appears for the first time with a Malla surname.

#### MALLA AS AN EPITHET

Very often the title Malla has been borne by the Pallava ruler of Kāñchi as a mark of glory. Thus amongst usual titles Narasiṃha adopted also the one of Mahāmalla, Mahendra Varman the one of Śatrumalla, and Nandi Varman II called himself Pallava Varman.<sup>9</sup> A little later the Chālukyas of Badāmi are also seen appropriating this title as a mark of victory over their rivals. For example, Vikramāditya I 'becomes Rājamaḷla'<sup>10</sup> in that course.

The Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇi were also found of the Malla title. Taila II even as a feudatory bore the title of Āhava-

<sup>9</sup> Levi II, p. 213; Inscription of *Rājasimheśvara* (Hultzsch), *South Indian Inscriptions*. I, 12, 29, II, 342.

<sup>10</sup> IA, VI, 75.

malla.<sup>11</sup> His successors were also adopting this kind of title. Thus Jayasirinha is called Jagadekamalla,<sup>12</sup> Someśvara I adopted the name Bhuvanaikamalla, Someśvara III, Bhulokamalla,<sup>13</sup> Taila III Trailokyamalla,<sup>14</sup> and Someśvara IV Tribhuvanamalla.

The Hoysala king Ballāla I became Tribhuvanamalla.<sup>15</sup> According to S. Levi two monarchs in Ceylon had also taken to Malla surname and they were called Kittiharasihamallas and Saharaśamalla respectively.

However, the Malla appendage in the names of the Nepalese rulers is not a second name or adopted epithet. But we have also no evidence to prove that our rulers had anything to do with the historical Mallas.

In the Nepal Valley the first ruler to have used the name Malla was Arimalla. We shall discover in course of our narrative that there were two more families with Malla surname, one that of Jayatuṅgamalla and another that of Jaya Sthitimalla. Following Bendall's reading of the date figure in the ms. *Devīmahātmya* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1534) S. Levi thought that Jaya Dharmamalla whose reign is mentioned in the colophon was the earliest name bearing the Malla ending and so he must have been the very first ruler of the Malla dynasty.<sup>16</sup> But the date figure in the colophon is 518 NS. This Dharmamalla is the eldest son of Jaya Sthitimalla; so he can never be such as Levi supposed.

The Aśokan pillar at Niglihavā (West Nepal Terai) has a graffito misread by an Indian Archaeologist as *Śrī Tapu Malla Jayastu Samvat 1234*.<sup>17</sup> Levi accepted this reading and ascribed the graffito to an unidentified ruler of the Nepal

<sup>11</sup> EHD, I, 319

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, P. 329.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, P. 370

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, P. 374.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, P. 360.

<sup>16</sup> Levi, II, Pp. 212-13; H. C. Ray, DNI, I, 212 follows Levi.

<sup>17</sup> *Archaeological Report of Terai Excavation* by P. C. Mukherji 1901, Report p. 34. One Raṇamalla, author and director of a drama, ms. *Pāṇḍava vijayam* figures as a king in Banepa (CPMDN, I) but he represented an offshoot of the main dynasty ruling in the Valley in the 16th century.



Valley. Now the reading has been corrected, and the royal name is found to be Ripumalla who figures also in the graffito of the Aśokan pillar at Lumbini. Ripumalla is identified with the ruler of that name ruling over the Karnāli basin.<sup>18</sup> It is wrong to connect Ripumalla with the Malla dynasty of Nepal.

Should we call Arimalla's dynasty as the first Malla dynasty? Sylvain Levi is of the opinion that the Malla appendage does only signify the fact of the founder being a wrestler, and he, agreeing with Bhagwanlal and Wright also dismisses the contention that a new dynasty had come to power with Arideva Malla who according to some others began a new line (Levi, II, P. 213). It was said that Arideva's father was so impressed with his ability of a wrestler that he conferred on him (Arideva) the title of 'Malla'. One of the later chronicles suggests that the practice of adopting Malla surname started with Arideva's son. But this is not true. Arideva is always Arimalla in documents and ancient chronicles.

Because after Arimalla's son, the 'Malla' appendage does not appear with the name of the Nepalese ruler until we come to Jaya Sthitimalla (1382-1396) except for Jayasīhamalla who ruled for a short time and Anantamalla and his son we are apt to be cautious in giving the Malla designation to the family of Arimalla. If for reasons of convention the designation of Malla has to be given to any family it should go to the family of Jaya Sthitimalla, all of whose members invariably used the Malla surname for nearly four hundred years. But whether it is Arimalla or Jaya Sthitimalla we cannot believe that they ever started a dynasty connecting their lineage with the historical Mallas.

#### ARIMALLA (1200—1236 A.D.)

Arimalla is the first name of the king of the Malla period (so-called). We have fourteen documents of his reign, and all of them are manuscripts, of which Petech has listed 11, and

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<sup>18</sup> Petech, *Op. Cit.*, Pp. 80-81. I have personally examined the inscribed lines.

the remaining three are noticed here for the first time.

As the dates of the colophons show Arimalla ruled definitely from NS 320–21 (=1200–01 A.D.) to 336–37 (=1200–01—1216–17). The following are the colophons reproduced collectively in the work of Petech:

(1) ms. *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* (Kaisar Lib. n. 46/1). *Samvat 322 Kārtika śukla navamyām ādityavāsare rāje Śrīmadarimalladevasya vijayarājye likhitasamāpta kṛtam*. Date verified for Sunday, October 21st, 1201 A.D.

(2) ms. *Bṛhajjātaka* (Kaisar Lib. n. 40). *Samvat 322 Mārgaśira kṛṣṇa chaturthyām śukradine punarvasu nakṣatre rājne Śrīmad Arimalladevasya śubhalagne likhitam samāptamiti* etc. Date irregular.

(3) ms. *Sattvavādhā praṇāmana* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1645.14).<sup>19</sup> *Samvat 322 Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇāṣṭamyām ādityavāsare rājā Śrīmad Arimalladevasya vijayarājye likhitam* etc. Date verified for Sunday, July 14th, 1202 A.D.

(4) ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Nor Monastery in Tibet).<sup>20</sup> *Śikhinetrayute vahnau (=323) gate Nepālavatsare/rājnohyarimalladevasya khyāte sukīrtiḥ/māse māse dusthiti sitepakṣe daśamyām budhavāsare // dusthiti māse* could be *Pausa* because no sacred rites are performed in the month.

(5) ms. *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1361.15).<sup>21</sup> *Yāte 'bde triśate sa varṣa ṣaṭsahite bhūye / vimśatya Śrāvane māse dvādaśi tithau Śrī Arimalladeva nṛpe*. Date is verified for July 18th or August 3rd, 1206.

(6) ms. *Devīmahātmya*, Private possession in Nepal. Colophon:<sup>22</sup> *Sam 329 Agrahana (=Mārgaśira) śukla aṣṭamyām somadine likhitam//Rd-Pm Śrīmat Arimalladevasya rāje likhitamidam.*//The date is verified for Monday, November 17th, 1208.

(7) ms. *Mahārahasyasampradāya* (Kaisar Lib. n. 79/2). Colophon: *Śreyostu Rd-Pm-Pbh Śrīmadarimalladevasya*

<sup>19</sup> CPMDN, I, P. 83.

<sup>20</sup> JBORS, XXI, P. 32 (Pt. I).

<sup>21</sup> CPMDN, I, P. 96.

<sup>22</sup> I have not been able to check up the colophon.

*vijayarājye/Samvat 331 Śrāvāṇa śudi 7//*The date corresponds to July 18th, 1211.

(8) ms. of a commentary of Harihara on the *Mālatī-mādhava* (As. Soc. Bengal, n. 4805; CSMASB, VII, P. 243, n. 5299). *Ṣaṅvahniramage (336) varṣe Pauṣa śukleśa (=11) vāsare bhṛgujevāmṛte, (Śiva) yoge rājye hyārimalladevīye.* Date verified for Friday, January 1st, 1216.

(9) ms. *Sādhanasamuchchaya* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1648).<sup>23</sup> *Samvat 336 Pauṣa kṛṣṇāṣṭamyām bṛhaspativāsare visākhā nakṣatre Rd-Pm Śrīmad Arimalladevasya vijayarājye etc.* Date verified for Thursday, January 14th, 1216.

(10) ms. *Kriyāsaṅgraha* (Kaisar Lib. n. 109). *Samvat 336 Māgha kṛṣṇa saptamyām bṛhaspatidine Śrī Rd-Pm Śrīmad-arimalladevasya vijayarājye etc.* Date verified for Thursday, February 11th, 1216.

(11) ms. *Amṛteśvarapūjā*, copied on the 7th day of *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa* of 336 and its unusual feature is that the *Vikram* year also is marked (1273) in the colophon.<sup>24</sup> The writer, one Pandit Harihara, is a *Gujrati* (of *Chamatkārapura*) and the title of the king, unusual for this time, is pompous and pedantic. We have reproduced immediately below the passage in question to give an idea of pomposity and overstatement contained therein: *Śrīman Nepāleśvaraḥ samastarājavalīvirājita mahārājādhirāja pratāpalamkeśvara Raghuvamśakulatisarvvajanahṛdayānanvadhānādbhaktijalaprakṣālitamtaḥkaraṇa sakalaśāstraparimālita siddhāntatantrarahasyāgamārghahavida Śrīadvimalaprabodhapādaprasādāllabdhābhīṣeka ṣaḍanvayādhārya nirjītarivrāta pratāpalamkeśvara Raghuvamśakulatisarvvajanahṛdayānan-dakara dīnaduḥkhitajanāśāparipūraka anekaguṇanidhāna Śrīmad Arimalladeva pravarddhamāna vijayarājye Vikramābda gata 1273 Nepālābda gata Samvat 336 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa saptamyām tithau budhadine.* The date corresponds to Wednesday, June 8th, 1216.

<sup>23</sup> CBMC, P. 155.

<sup>24</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1365.5.

The following colophons of his reign are unpublished:

(12) ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 181), colophon: *Rājnah Śrīmadarimalladevasya vijayarājye/Samvat 321 Kārtika śukla daśamyām śaniścharavāre pūrvabhādra nakṣatre etc.*<sup>25</sup>

(13) ms. *Vṛttasārasaṅgrahadharmaputrikā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 738)<sup>26</sup> colophon: *Śreyostu samvatsare śatatraya ekaviṃśatyādhika (=321) Pauṣa kṛṣṇa trayodaśyām gurudine mūla nakṣatre vyāghata yoge Śrī Nepāla Rd-Pm-Paramamaheśvara Paśupatibhaṭṭārakasya//Śrī Arimalla devasya vijayarājye Śrī Pañchāvatadeśīya viṣayādhipati rāṇaka Śrī Śrīdharasimhasya varttamāne etc.*

(14) ms. *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* (Kaisar Lib. n. 46/2). Colophon: *Samvat 323 Pauṣa śukla pratipadi somavāsare pūrvvāśādhā nakṣatra likhitamidam pustakam.*

The epithets used in the Doc. 11 above are high sounding no doubt, but they are just hyperbolic, and do not reflect the real position of Arimalla as against what literally they express. Yet Arimalla has an importance of his own in the history of Nepal as the first ruler bearing a name-ending Malla, who had appeared in the scene after nearly two decades of chaos and confusion.

The colophon n. 12 above shows Arimalla was reigning on 321 *Kārtika śukla 10*; undoubtedly his reign began as early as this date. But it is quite likely that Arimalla came to powder even a few months earlier.

According to V<sup>11</sup> (f. 32-b) Arimalla was born in 274 *Mārga* (as the letters are faded we do not have idea of *pakṣa* and *tithi*), reigned for 15 years and died while he was 62 years and 10 months old. If V<sup>11</sup> is to be believed he died in *Bhādra* or *Āśvina* of 336. He must have started his reign in 321 *Bhādra* or *Āśvina* to have ruled for 15 years. V<sup>1</sup> gives him a reign of 25 years and 10 months,<sup>27</sup> VK has 31 years and 9 months. None of them talk of the date of his birth or death. It appears that there is a difference of a year in between the

<sup>25</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>26</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>27</sup> f. 25; Vk, Pp. 8-9.

time shown by the last document of Arimalla and first document of his son Abhayamalla; the former is dated 336 *Jyestha kr̥ṣṇa saptamī* and the latter 337 *Jyestha śukla 15*. Arimalla definitely died during this interval. Thus V<sup>11</sup> looks almost correct as far as the date of his death is concerned. As for his regnal years Arimalla's colophons cover a period of about 15 years (321 *Kārtika śukla 10*—336 *Jyestha kr̥ṣṇa 7*). So here too V<sup>11</sup> cannot be wrong, although there might be inaccuracy of some months or so. Petech thinks that the figures of V<sup>1</sup> and VK refer 'to the period between his first laying claim to the crown and his death'. He argues that in the disturbed situation preceding NS 320-21, Arimalla not surprisingly must have claimed the throne for himself as early as 305. But by what right Arimalla put forward his claim Petech does not say. There is not a shred of evidence to suggest that Arimalla was a claimant to the throne since 305. Petech himself does not concede this right to him, for he is of the opinion that during the first few years of his regnal career he 'considered himself as a regent'. Petech holds the view that Arimalla's ascendancy to power was gradual. He writes, "The first two documents of his reign go without royal titles. In doc. 3-5 he is simply *rājā* or *nr̥pa*, which was the first step. Only in doc. 6 of 331 he begins to wear the full royal title. Probably he demurred at first to assume the styles which were proper of the late dynasty and at the beginning thought of his rule more as of regency than a reign."<sup>28</sup>

But the very premise of Petech's argument is wrong. In fact Arimalla assumed full royal titles from the very beginning. Our doc. 12, which is his first according to date (321 *Kārtika śukla 10*) has the term *rājñah*. This may not be a full royal epithet. But the second one (n. 13) which dates 321 *Pauṣa kr̥ṣṇa 13* calls him *Rd Pm*, and these are full royal titles. Petech was unaware of this colophon and was led to make unwarranted assumptions about the nature of the titles Arimalla obtained in the early stage of his career. Furthermore, I do not think

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<sup>28</sup> P. 85.

that the Italian author is right in his interpretation of the word *nṛpa* or *rājā* as determining the status of the ruler. Petech must have marked that on many occasions sovereign rulers used before their name the epithet *nṛpa* singly without any other royal title. These occasions are so numerous that one has only to glance through the records listed by Petech himself. Some do have neither *nṛpa* nor any kind of royal epithets. I think that the most essential expression to denote a reign of a sovereign monarch is *vijayarājye*, which by itself or by substitute is commonly used in all the documents. For the information of the readers let me mention the documents of the type just suggested; the numerical order is from Petech: doc. 1, 2, 3, 4 of Śaṅkaradeva; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 of Harṣadeva; 2, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 16 of Ānandadeva; 2, 3 of Rudradeva; 5, 8, 11, 13, 15 of Abhayamalla; 2, 13, 15, 16 of Anantamalla; 12, 13, 22, 23, 26 of Sthitimalla; 11 of Jyotirmalla; 4, 8, 13, 16, 17, 22 of Yakṣamalla.

It appears on studying various estimates made by Petech in regard to the status of rulers that he regards *nṛpa* or *rājā* as giving a sense of subsidiary status only when the same is used in the initial records. Thus he does not find anything wrong with the expression as applied to Ānandadeva, Rudradeva, Abhayamalla, Anantamalla, Sthitimalla, Jyotirmalla and Yakṣamalla. But surprisingly he does not judge the status of Śaṅkaradeva and Harṣadeva by the standard with which he assessed Arimalla's career. This is definitely a wrong approach to the issue. All the 5 colophons of Harṣadeva and the first 4 out of the total 5 belonging to Śaṅkaradeva's reign do not bear full royal titles. But this does not prevent Petech from recognising them as sole kings, though in the case of Harṣadeva he drops a hint that the monarch was either a usurper or accepted another ruler as his overlord.

We cannot understand how in the same situation Śaṅkaradeva and Arimalla could have different status. We find it also difficult to appreciate the point that the word *nṛpa* carries a different meaning when used in documents other than the initial ones. On the whole I am inclined to believe that

Petech's opinion about Arimalla's early status is arbitrarily formed.

I think that Petech also is led to talk of Arimalla being a contestant for the throne since 305 just to accomodate VK, for the authenticity of which he holds biased and exaggerated views.

It appears that one Śrī Śrīdharasimha, the lord of the *Pañchāvata viṣaya* (see doc. Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 738 above), who is called *raṇaka* (feudatory) was a very powerful official in his kingdom. He, however, is noted in a subsidiary position as the lord of a *viṣaya* in the reign of the most illustrious sovereign, Arimalla. It is difficult to assess his position which he seems to have enjoyed as the lord of an administrative division. But it is obvious that he was strong enough to deserve being mentioned in the record copied in his area. This suggests that he held quite an impressive position in the administration of the country. But he was just a feudatory who had acknowledged the overlordship of Arimalla.

Before Arimalla began his regnal career, he had to face a chaotic situation. This chaos was engendered by warring princes and feudatories. So its aftermath surely tended not only to uproot the dynasty of the hitherto ruling houses but also to eliminate the feudal lords. The Raṇaka was probably a remnant of the old order, who accepted the situation.

Arimalla must have put up a rare show of strength to restore peace in the land. But how he could achieve the objective remains yet unknown. The ancient chronicles are silent about the event that led to his rise to power in the state.

#### ABHAYAMALLA (1216—1255 A.D.)

After Arimalla we come to the reign of Abhayamalla. From V<sup>11</sup> we learn that he is the son of Arimalla (f. 35-b). He was a legal successor of Arimalla. According to Wright's and BLI's authorities also he is the son of Arimalla. Abhayamalla figures immediately after the last available colophon data of Arimalla in a ms. *Kriyāsaṅgraha* dated *pūrṇamā somadine*

of *Jyestha śukla* 337 (Doc. 1 of Petech).<sup>29</sup> This uses the expression, *Rd Pm Pbh Śrīmat Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye*. There are in all 22 documents mentioning his reign uninterruptedly ranging from NS 337 to 375 (1217 to 1255 A.D.). He enjoyed a long reign of about 39 years according to the dates in the colophons of these manuscripts. The last document a ms. dating 375 *Chaitra śukla* 13 *somavāsare* iṣ *Saptaśatī*.<sup>30</sup> Obviously, V<sup>11</sup>'s observation on the date of his death is correct, as this date, *Āṣāḍha śukla aṣṭamī* of 375 tallies with the date calculated according to the dates of the ms. colophons. V<sup>11</sup>'s chronicler (f. 35-b) says that he was born on *tamadaśamī* of NS 303 and died at the age of 72 years 7 months on 8 *Āṣāḍha śukla* (of 375) after a reign of 39 years. V<sup>1</sup> (f. 26-a) has 42 years 6 months for his reign. But this must be wrong in view of the ms. showing another reign in 377 *Jyestha śudī*. We have an inscription of his reign of *Samvat* 368 *Māgha kṛṣṇa* 9, which has as his royal epithets *Abhayamalladeva Rājādhirāja Paramabhṭāraka*.<sup>31</sup> Abhayamalla was a patron of arts and learning, and encouraged the same and it appears that during the next two reigns cultural missions were sent to Tibet and China.<sup>32</sup> The ancient chronicles V<sup>1</sup> and VK state that there were earthquakes, famine, drought and

<sup>29</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. IV. Petech has noted several colophons to the list. Except 3 of the CPMDN all are from the new catalogue of Darbar Library. I have also added a few more colophons in this respect.

<sup>30</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1559. 1; CPMDN, I, P. 70 has *Devimahātmya*, without date with *Abhayamallasya vijayarājye*. Petech reads: *Md Pm Pbh Śrīmad Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye | Śrī Bhaktāpuri nivāsina Jayadharmasyapātha nimittena Bhalloka. . . Nepāla samvatsare bāṇa śaila harāvaka (375) māse Chaitra śukla trayodaśyām somavāsare*. Date verified for March 3rd, 1255 A.D. (Doc. 20).

<sup>31</sup> Partially published and mentioned by Petech, P. 88, our inscription n. XXII in the Appendix.

<sup>32</sup> See ante in Volume I of the present series the chapter on Art and Architecture.



epidemics of small-pox all through in Abhayamalla's time.<sup>33</sup> VK adds that the people were destroyed. According to Levi, his time was disturbed by visitation of famines and earthquakes,<sup>34</sup> which continued to hit the country also in the next reign. According to V<sup>111</sup> (f. 38-a), there was a great earthquake on Monday *Āṣāḍha śukla 3* of 375, and as a result many temples and houses collapsed and from  $\frac{1}{3}$  to  $\frac{1}{6}$  of the people died, king Abhayamalla being one of them. The Sanskrit chronicle also gives the same date for the event, and adds that Rājā Abhayamalla breathed his last due to an accident during the earthquake. V<sup>111</sup> (f. 39-b) gives another date *Chaitra vadī* 352 for the event of another equally terrible famine as a result of which the population was reduced by  $\frac{1}{3}$  to  $\frac{1}{6}$  and rice sold at the rate of 2 *Kurasa* (4 lbs) for one *damma*, salt and oil for one *pla*, etc. The famine lasted for full one year.

V<sup>1</sup> says that he performed from that date every year *Lakṣahoma* and *Mahāsnāna* in honour of God Paśupati to propitiate him to ward off the evil effects of famine and epidemics. According to V<sup>111</sup> on 362 *Māgha kṛṣṇa pañcamī*, on 364, *Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa amāvāsya* and on 366 *Mārgaśira śukla, aṣṭamī*, there were severe outbreaks of famine and epidemics, as a result of which a great many of the people and cattle died.<sup>35</sup> In 362 once again there was a severe earthquake, and a great many houses tumbled down and this time in consequence a large number of men and cattle were buried under the debris; when the dead bodies of men and cattle were taken out the crows flew over them to eat the carcass, and even on the living they made an attack.

The following nineteen colophon data and one inscription belonging to Abhayamalla are given by Petech in the following order.

#### Group A:

1. *Kriyāsaṅgraha* already treated. In the colophon the ms. is said to have belonged to *Vajrāchārya Udayaśrikasya*

<sup>33</sup> V<sup>1</sup>, f. 25b; VK, P. 9.

<sup>34</sup> Levi, II, P. 214.

<sup>35</sup> f. 37a-b.

(*pustakamiti*) and in the reign of *Rd Pm Śrīmat Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye*. *Samvat 337 Jyeṣṭha śukla 15* (Monday, May 22nd, 1217).

2. ms. *Samājatantrānusāriṇī gaṇachakrakriyā*, last leaf only (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 803). Colophon: *Samvat 338 Mārggaśira kṛṣṇa navamyām śukradine Rd Pm Śrīmad Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye pustakena likhitamidam*//The date is verified for Friday, November 24th, 1217.

3. ms. *Āryavasudhārāyāḥ Ṣoḍaśakalpa*, Private possession in Nepal.<sup>36</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 339 Māgha śukla pratipadyām śukravāsare Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Abhayamalladevasya vijayarāje likhitamiti*//The date is verified for Friday, February 1st, 1219.

4. ms. *Vajrāvalīnāma maṇḍalopāyikā* 1st leaf only (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 803.12) *Śūnyābdhi. . . 40 chāṅgadhātu sāhite yātavatsare/Chaitra kṛṣṇa kalānimāṇḍitāśāśināsachasankhyā tithau bhūpāla 'bhayamalladeva nṛpate chaṅdrabhe 'varayute*//The date seems to be Monday, March 9th, 1220.

5. ms. *Chāṇḍakauśika*, (Asiatic Society of Bengal, n. 3824).<sup>37</sup> Colophon: *Khābdhiloke (=340) gate varṣe Chaitre pañchadaśe dine bhṛgo cha Śrīmato//rājye 'bhaimallas-yāsya lekhanam*//The date is verified for Friday, March 20th, 1220.

6. ms. *Viṣṇudharma* (Darbar Library, II. 51). Colophon: *Samvat 300+40 Aśvini śukla ṣaṣṭamyām/Rd-Pm Śrī Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye*. The date corresponds to September 19th, 1220.

7. ms. *Bharatīyanātya śāstra*, (Darb. Lib. Cat. II. 215.1). Colophon: *Rd Pm Pbh Raghuvamśa (tilaka) Śrīmad Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye/Kumāra Śrī Anantamalladevasya pustakamidam likhāpitam/Samvat 344 Kārtika śukla pūrṇamāsyaṁ brhaspativāsare*//The date is verified for Thursday, November 9th, 1224.

8. ms. *Pratiṣṭhāpaddhati* (Kaisar Lib. n. 370) Colophon: *Samvat 300+40+5. Bhādrapada śukla pañchamyām*

<sup>36</sup> As reproduced by Petech. I have not checked up the reading.

<sup>37</sup> CSMASB, VII, P. 252, n. 5315.

*Śrī Māniglayāra ekogrādhivāsino Śrī Abhayamalladeva pādā-nām vijayarājye Jagatasomadattena likhitam*//According to Petech *Yoghakośasta* is the name as the *Yoghavihāra* of the time of Someśvaradeva (see p. 71). But there is no such expression as *Yoghakośasta* in the colophon. The date corresponds to August 10th, 1225 A.D.

9. ms. *Kalyāṇasaṅgraha* (University of Paris, Institute de la Civilisation Indienne, n. 49-a).<sup>38</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 351 Vaiśākha śukla aṣṭamyām śukradine Śrī Rd Pm sya Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye*//The date is verified for Friday, April 11th, 1231 A.D.

10. ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1465).<sup>39</sup> Colophon: *Samvat tri hri ske (354) Kārttika śukla tṛtīyāyām ādityavāsare Rd Pm Abhayamalladevasya rājye likhitamiti*. The reading of the date figure is rendered complicated because of the second letter being a little unusual. Bendall reads it to pass the date figure for 384 (verified for Sunday, October 7th, 1263). But this date falls nine years beyond the date of the death of Abhayamalla. Petech thinks that the middle letter should be a symbol for 70 and verifies the date for Sunday, October 26th, 1253. But a symbol for 70 at the middle, while keeping the other two just for 3 and 4 becomes a misfit. The middle figure has no resemblance to any symbol for 70. The second figure appears to me distinctly a letter standing for the number 5 (which Bendall also suggests). However, Petech finds that the day must show to be Friday. May be the writer has made a mistake in regard to this item of the date symbols.

11. ms. of a commentary (*pañjikā-tīkā*) called ... *vatī*, on the *Roṣaṇatantra*. (In private possession in Nepal.)<sup>40</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 358 Phālguṇa māsyā aṅgāradine Rd Pm Pbh Śrīmad Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye likhitamiti*. The date corresponds to February-March, 1238. (I have not been able to see the ms.)

<sup>38</sup> Levi has partially published the text, II, p. 215 fn.

<sup>39</sup> CBMC, pp. 101-02, Doc. 19 of Petech.

<sup>40</sup> Copied from Petech.

12. ms. *Saptaśatī* (Darbar Library Cat. I. 1559.10).<sup>41</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 358 Jyeṣṭha śukla pañchamī ghaṭita ṣaṣṭamyām likhita samāptamiti//Śrī Śrī Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye likhitam//*The date corresponds to May 20th, 1238.

13. ms. *Saptaśatī* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1534). Colophon: *Nepālīka Samvat 365 Mārgaśira śukla saptamyāyā aśleṣa nakṣatre aṅgāravāsare Śrī Rd Pūjya Pm Śrī Śrī Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye//*(The date is partly verified for Tuesday, November 8th, 1244, when the *nakṣatra*, however, was *dhanīṣṭhā*: Petech). H. P. Shastri (CPMDN, I. Pp. 63-64) published the datum partly.

14. *Padmanābhasaṅgraha* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 360.9).<sup>42</sup> Colophon: *Nayapāladeśīyabhilikhyamāna Samvat 366 Vaiśākha śukla 3 ravau ramye dinottame pustikāsvastikārikā || Rājā Śrī Abhayamalladevasya rājye.* (The date is irregular; the 3rd *tithi* ended on April 20th, 1246, which day, however, was a Friday and not a Sunday: Petech) *Bhaktapuryām Bhāno Śrī amukasya.*

15. ms. *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (British Museum Or. 2203).<sup>43</sup> Colophon: *Śaila rasa sāmuyuktā vahni (=367) vat-sara vaiśate Māghe site anaṅgadine (=Kāmadeva=13) jāyamātā pratiṣṭhitā|| Rd Pm Paramaśaivamayam Śrīmad Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye | deyadharmo 'yam Śrī Lalitāpurana-gare Śrī Māniglottare Śrī Mānīsthārāmakudyānivāsī Hariṣāla Thakurasya etc.* (The year is current, which is exceptional in Nepalese colophon. The date corresponds to January 31st, 1246: Petech). Written in Patan.

16. ms. *Pañcarakṣā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 367). Colophon: *Samvat 367 Phālgūṇa śukla ekādaśyām ādityadine Rājñe Śrīmadabhayamalladevasya vijayarājye* (The date is verified for Sunday, February 17th, 1247) *Śubhamastu sarvajagatām.*

17. Inscription<sup>43a</sup> on the base of an image of *Buddha Ratnasambhava* on a stupa in Guitabahil, Patan. *Samvat 368 Māgha*

<sup>41</sup> CPMDN, I, P. 69.

<sup>42</sup> CPMDN, II, P. 19.

<sup>43</sup> CSBM, P. 227, n. 536.

<sup>43a</sup> Inscription n. XXII in our Appendix.

*kṛṣṇa navamyām tithau somadine Rd Pbh Śrī Śrī Abhayamalladevasya* etc. The date is verified for Monday, January 20th, 1248.

18. ms. *Pañcharātre mahālakṣmīsaṁhitāyām Vāsudevakalpa* (Kaisar Lib. n. 420). Colophon: *Samvat 372 Chaitra kṛṣṇa dvādaśī somavāsare Śrīmat Rd Pm Śrī Śrī Abhayamalladeva vijayarājye* || (The date is irregular; the 12th *tithi* ended on April 7th, 1252, which day, however, was a Sunday and not a Monday: Petech) *Śrī Mānigalayoekāgrhādhivāsi . . . rasena likhitam* ||

19. ms. *Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā* (Leningrad Public Library, modern copy of an ancient ms.).<sup>44</sup> Colophon: *Rd Pm Śrīmat Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye likhyāte samāptikṛtamiti* || *Samvat 373 Mārgaśīrṣa śukla dvitīyāyām śukra vāsare svāti nakṣatre Śrī Nogallaka Vaiśya Śrī Divākara Varmmā Mahāvihāra bhikṣu Vajrāchāryeṇa Vīramatinā svahastena likhitamiti*. The date is irregular according to Petech.

20. *Saptaśatī*, already treated with date *Nepālasamvatsara bāṇa śaila harāmvakam* (=375) *māse Chaitra śukla trayodaśyām somavāsare*. In the colophon it is said that the ms. was written for 'Śrī Bhaktāpurinivāsina Jayatarāma by Bhalloka Udayaharṣa Varmmā.'

We have the following four documents newly discovered, which are not available in Petech's book.

#### Group B:

1. ms. *Paramārthanāmasaṅgīti* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 167). Colophon: *Śrī Kāṣṭamaṇḍapapure suraloka sāmye devālaya vasati Śrī Jīna rakhitaḥ saḥ | yo dhārmikaḥ parama śiṣyadayābhirāmo dharmendra tena kṛta pustaka śuddhaśrāddhaiḥ* || *Nepālehāyaneśuddheguṇaṣaṭvahnī vatsare (363) gate Bhādra paurṇamāyām śatvṛṣā 'dityavāsare | Rd Pm Pbh Abhayamallasya vijayarājye* || *Sākyabhikṣu Śrī Abhayasenasya likhitamidam*.

<sup>44</sup> First published by Mironov, *Katalog Indijskikh Rukopisej Rossijskoj Publicnoj Biblioteki*, I, Petrograd, 1918, n. 287, Pp. 270-71. This ms. is available in its original in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (n. B 23 G).

2. ms. *Nispandayogāvalī* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 6904). Colophon: *Nṛpati Śrīmadabhayamallasya vijayarājye | Nepālahāyēnavasu vahni itirabhi gatibahanendu . . . bhṛgu maṇḍitecha | Śrī Lalitapurām Śrī Matindriya saskārīta Śrī Jayamanohara Varmaṇa Mahāvihārāvasthita Kāyastha Vajrāchārya bhikṣu Jñānarakṣitena likhitam*. Copied in the reign of Abhayamalla, the date is 356.

3. A stone inscription attached to the wall of a *Chaitya* outside Guitabahil, Patan. This has at the end, *Śreyostu Samvat 368 Māgha kṛṣṇa navamyām tithau Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Abha (yamaladevasya vijayarājye)*.<sup>45</sup>

4. ms. *Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā* (ASB. n. B 23). Colophon: *Rd Pm Śrīmadabhayamallodevasyarāje likhyate samāpta kṛtamiti || Samvat 373 Mārgaśīra śukla dvitīyāyām śukravāsare svāti nakṣatre Śrī Nogalake etc*. I think that this is the original of the copy of the ms. in Petech's n. 18.

5. ms. *Vāsudevakalpa* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 1963), a modern copy of the original. Colophon: *Samvat 375 Chaitra kṛṣṇa dvādaśī somavāsare Śrī Rd Pm Śrī Śrī Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye likhitamidam*.

#### RAMASIMHA'S INVASION

According to V<sup>11</sup> (f. 36-b) Rāmasimha invaded Nepal in 1244 A.D., while Abhayamalla was reigning. The chronicler says 'Samvat 364 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa dvitīyā (April-May, 1244 A.D.) passing through the forest of *Khaṇḍadhāra* and taking the route of a narrow opening between two mountains Ahu Rājā Rāmasimha entered Talambanda at the head of an invading force, one Jagatbrahma Bhā of Chochhe surrendered to him. But later he (Rāmasimha) was defeated and Rājā Anarghamala was carried in a procession round the city to celebrate the victory as he came back from the expedition.'

There are two more passages in the same text showing invasion by Rāmasimha. The letters in one passage (f. 34-a), however, are so faded that except the name Rājā Rāmasimha,

<sup>45</sup> Inscription n. XXII in our Appendix.

nothing is readable. In the other passage (f. 33-b) the name of the invader is missing. But the fact of invasion is prominently shown by the chronicler. According to the information provided by this passage, one Amaru Mahath went from Palāñchok to resist the invader and after sometime he routed the enemy and he came back in a victory procession. The date given for the event is 364 *Āśvini kṛṣṇa dvitīyā* (=September-October, 1244 A.D.). It appears that Rāmasiṃha had made another attempt to invade Nepal.

Ahu must be a mistake we do not know for what title of Rāmasiṃha and as the date coincides with the regnal years of Rāmasiṃha, there cannot be any doubt about the identity of the invader.

It cannot be stated definitely if the reference in a passage of V<sup>111</sup> (f. 35-a) to the birth of Rāmasiṃha in NS 303 (*Chaitra śukla 13*) who has been called a son of Narasiṃhadeva was meant for king Rāmasiṃha of Mithilā.<sup>46</sup> If it so applies, then Rāmasiṃha was born in February-March of 1183 A.D. The Maithili historians believe that he reigned between 1225-27 and 1276 A.D.<sup>47</sup> and had lived upto a ripe old age. The text in V<sup>111</sup>, which talks of Rāmasiṃha as a son of Narasiṃha calls both of them *Thākura* (*Do Thākura*). This might mean that both of them were rulers. These certainly are not the names belonging to Nepalese history. They might have been the rulers of neighbouring Mithilā and as Petech suggests their names occurred in our chronology probably because of their intimate connections with Nepal. We shall have occasions to write more about these rulers of Mithilā, their relation with Nepal and their chronologies. Anarghamala, the Rājā, who defeated Rāmasiṃha is not known to colophons. On rare occasions a man who was not a ruling monarch is called *Rājā*. As Abhaya-malla's colophons are available for 364 we cannot suggest that there was another person ruling at the time of invasion by Rāmasiṃha. Perhaps Anarghamala was a brother of Abhaya-

<sup>46</sup> Petech thinks the reference so applies, P. 193.

<sup>47</sup> *History of Mithila* by U. Thakur, Darbhanga, 1956, Pp. 268-79.

malla. But even this cannot be stated with a measure of certainty. The name and designation certainly show him to have been a scion of the royal family. The fact that he was sent to resist an external invader might show that Anarghamala enjoyed the confidence of the palace.

The forest of *Khaṇḍadhāra* is unidentified. So is *Talambaṇḍa* where the first combat took place. However, the admission that Rāmasimha had been able to penetrate through the mountains crossing the Terai forest must go to show that he had reached the outskirts of the Valley. The route of invasion cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. Rāmasimha might have followed the course of the river Bāgmati when he made the first attack. He led the second attack by diverting his way a little towards the east following the course of the river Rosikhola and must have appeared in Pannauti. His appearance at this point necessitated despatch of force by the Nepalese authorities from Palāñchok which lies about eight miles due north.

#### RANASURADEVA

In Abhayamalla's time one Raṇasūradeva appears to have been enjoying the status of a sovereign in some part of Nepal as the following colophon shows.

ms. *Vidyāvalī* (Br. Museum Or. 2208).<sup>48</sup> Colophon: *Pbh Md Pm Śrīmad Raṇasūradevasya pravardhamāna vijayarājyeyaronkenāpi Samvat 342 Mārga vadi 2 Vātesvareṇa lekhito/likhitācha Kāyastha lekhaka Mahādeveneti* || According to Petech the date corresponds to December 2nd, 1221 A.D. It appears that Abhayamalla started his reign with his authority challenged in some quarters; perhaps there had been a rebellion in the country against the new regime of the Malla family, which, however, could not be launched in Arimalla's time.

We do not obtain any idea of Raṇasūradeva from any other sources. As the place of writing is not mentioned, it becomes difficult for us to locate the area over which he ruled. The

<sup>48</sup> CSBM, P. 214, n. 512.



colophon is not the work of Raṇaśūradeva himself. One Kāyastha Mahādeva had copied the same during his reign. This means that Raṇaśūra was regarded in popular estimation as king in some quarter. Could he be a descendant of the former ruling house of the country yet holding his own in a remote corner?

The date of the ms. is 342, and it is not followed by other documents. This suggests that he had a very short career. One does not know if he clashed with Abhayamalla. But any conflict between them must have been of a short duration. Except for this, Abhayamalla was also allowed to reign without challenge until he died.

We have no documents of Abhayamalla belonging to the year 341, 342 and 343. Could it be inferred that this represented the period of troubles and disturbances? Similarly could it be maintained that Raṇaśūradeva had been able to assert himself as sovereign of Nepal taking advantage of the situation?

But nothing can be said definitely in this connection until sufficient evidence to support the suggestion is forthcoming.

V<sup>11</sup> (f. 35b) has a line to say that on *Samvat 374 Jyestha kṛṣṇa chaturthī* was born to Śrī Jagatamaladeva a son by name Jayantamaladeva. The chronicle calls him *Yuvarāja*, and refers to him as such until 379. Thus he was a crown prince (*yuvarāja*) for five years. But the man to succeed Abhayamalla was Jayadeva. It is difficult to say how Jayantamaladeva was prevented from succeeding to the throne and how at all he was declared crown prince.

Udayapāla Bhā designated *Mahath* figures in V in connection with relief works in Palāñchok after the great earthquake of that year. For the first time the word *Mahath* as a designation of a person comes to notice in the text (f. 39b). Obviously he functioned as Chief Minister or Prime Minister during the reign of Abhayamalla.

Although Abhayamalla's reign was often disturbed by visitations of famines, epidemics of smallpox and external attack, there is no doubt that on the whole his tenure was not affected by these factors. He enjoyed a long reign of nearly 35 years,

and this is certainly to his credit he earned as a ruler of Nepal who had a normal run of career.

Petech thinks that during Abhayamalla's time Mukundasena of Palpa probably invaded Nepal.<sup>49</sup> But I doubt if there is any basis for such a statement as we have absolutely no authoritative information about this event.

### JAYĀDEVĀ (1255-1258 A.D.)

The next ruler was Jayadeva. But the name-ending Malla has disappeared with Jayadeva as far as the ancient chronicles are concerned. The later chronicles call him Jayadevamalla, a son of Abhayamalla and a brother of Ānandamalla, and also confuse his regnal dates. Their evidence leads us no where in regard to both his parentage and regnal period. Ānandamalla is often identified with Anantamalla who figures in V<sup>1</sup>, V<sup>11</sup> and VK as the ruler succeeding Jayasīhamalla. We shall know in the next few pages that Anantamalla ruled for nearly 35 years from C. 394 to 431. He was the son of Rājadeva whose father was Jagadanekamalla (b. 348 *Mārga śira prati-pada*).<sup>50</sup> In between Jayadeva and Anantamalla, there are three reigns and the first two rulers do not use the name-ending Malla. This covers a period of 15 years. As Rājadeva's parentage is not given by V<sup>11</sup>, it is difficult to say how he stood in relationship with Arimalla or Abhayamalla. Because the name-ending Malla is absent also in Jayadeva's case it can be suggested that he did not belong to Arimalla's dynasty. Unfortunately the relevant passage in V<sup>11</sup> giving the date of his birth is not complete on account of a large number of letters having faded. However, the dates of birth and death as well as the regnal years completely agree as we apply them to Jayadeva. This is sustained also in the light of ms. colophons. But his name and his father's name cannot be deciphered in the text of V<sup>11</sup>. With extreme difficulty I can make out Abhaya (अभय). But the faint trace of letters makes it open to different

<sup>49</sup> P. 89, Pp. 193, 94.

<sup>50</sup> V<sup>11</sup>, f. 34b.

reading. Therefore we are unable to say with a measure of certainty if it was really meant for Abhayamalla. But it may be that the chronicler of V<sup>11</sup> had written so. Petech calls Jayadeva a son of Abhayamalla following the later chronicles. Until a positive proof is forthcoming to contradict our suggestion we shall regard him as the son of Abhayamalla.

According to V<sup>1</sup> and VK, the successor of Abhayamalla was Jayadeva. His reign is confirmed by two mss. coming in at the interval of just a few months.

1. ms. *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (Darb. Lib. Cat. IV. 19).<sup>51</sup> Colophon: *Rd Pm Śrī Jayadevasya rājye samvat 377 Jyeṣṭha śuddhi 15 śubhamastu sarvajagatam Kāraṇḍa vyūha mahāyāna sūtra parisamāpta Rathanarājasya*. Date corresponding to May 29th, 1257 A.D.

2. BLI's ms. with date 377 *Bhādrapada* (=August-September, 1257).<sup>52</sup> According to V<sup>11</sup> he was born on *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 11* of the year 324 and died on *Māgha śukla 5* after 54 years.<sup>53</sup> The year of his death is not specifically mentioned but it must be NS 378 (=January 11, 1258)<sup>54</sup> in terms of the date of his birth and the years he lived (324+54=378). V<sup>11</sup> does not give his regnal years. But V<sup>1</sup> has 2 years and 8 months and VK has 2 years and 7 months. He must have been crowned on *Āṣāḍha śukla 8* of 375 on the very day his predecessor died. If he had ruled for 2 years and eight months, his reign surely ended in *Phālguna śukla* of 378. But VK gives 2 years 7 months and this would put the date of his death exactly on the 5th of *Māgha śukla* 378 (=January 7th, 1258). The date agrees with the one given by V<sup>11</sup> (f. 34-a).

V<sup>1</sup> says that his reign was troubled by a violent earthquake, famine and epidemics and the people suffered terribly.<sup>55</sup> One

<sup>51</sup> Doc. 1 of Petech.

<sup>52</sup> *History, Intro.* CPMDN, I, P. 25. This ms. was taken from Nepal by BLI.

<sup>53</sup> f. 34a.

<sup>54</sup> f. 34a. The reading 329 (*Himavat Sanskriti, I*) must be wrong.

<sup>55</sup> f. 26a.

author suggested that Jayadeva voluntarily retired in favour of his successor, Jayabhīmadeva, whom the chronicle V<sup>1</sup> assigns a reign of thirteen years and 3 months.<sup>56</sup> But according to V<sup>11</sup> he died in NS 378, so the hypothesis of his having abdicated the throne cannot be accepted. Jayadeva had two sons, Jaksyamalla, born 358 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 10* and died after 19 years, 1 month (V<sup>11</sup>, f. 35-a), and Jetakeśava born on NS 364 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 3* (the date of death not available). Perhaps both died in the life time of their father.

It might have appeared as we quoted various chronicles in our narrative that upto the time of Abhayamalla, the later chronicles (not Group B<sup>2</sup>) showed as Petech says 'a tolerable accord' with the ancient chronicles though in many instances they omitted factual names and gave wrong regnal years.

But at this stage, the later chronicles completely go off the track.<sup>57</sup> They say that the kingdom was divided between two brothers, Jayadevamalla ruling from Bhatgaon and Ānandamalla from Kathmandu. And again while these two monarchs were still ruling, Nānyadeva the ruler of Mithilā invaded Nepal, exterminated the second *Ṭhakuri* dynasty and founded his own *Karṇāṭa* dynasty. He reigned for 50 years. The date mentioned is 890 A.D. After Nānyadeva there were five rulers of the *Karṇāṭa* dynasty who ruled for a total of more than 178 years (see also below). The last Harideva was conquered by Mukundasena who invaded Nepal on a Magar's instigation.

Thereafter an interregnum of 8 years followed, and these were dominated by the *Vaisi (Vaiśya) Ṭhakuris* of Noakot. The chronicles state that the *Vaisi Ṭhakuri* are said to have ruled for 225 years with a *Rāja* for each *Tol* and village. In *Śaka Samvat* 1245 or NS 444 (=1323 A.D.) Harasimhadeva of the Solar dynasty invaded the country. At first he came to Simraongarh, as he was driven from Ayodhyā. From there he came to occupy Nepal. He ruled for 28 years. His descen-

<sup>56</sup> V<sup>1</sup>, f. 26a. Later chronicles omit Jayabhīma.

<sup>57</sup> Levi, II, P. 215.

Wright, Second edition Pp. 98-99, BLI, P. 39.

dants ruled for a total of 63 years for three generations in successions. Thereafter a Malla prince was elevated to the throne. He was followed by six descendants in order of succession. They together ruled for 85 years. Jaya Sthitimalla was the next sovereign.

This is how the later chronicles fill the gap between Jaya-deva's successor and Jaya Sthitimalla. They cover a period of more than 360 years. Actually, the interval is just of a hundred years. On their own statement the later chronicles have Harasimhadeva's date in NS 444. The genealogy refers to an inscription of Jaya Sthitimalla, dated NS 512 (BLI).<sup>58</sup> So here the interval seems to be almost correctly put, but the regnal date in between these is so misconstrued and lengthened that the interval appears to be of  $86+80=166$  years even for the period before the ascent of Jaya Sthitimalla (c. 478 NS) to power in Bhatgaon and since the date of Harasimhadeva.

The Sanskrit chronicle makes Harasimhadeva the fifth successor of Nānyadeva. According to this chronicle, Nānyadeva's descendants ruled over Mithilā until the time of Harasimhadeva who came to conquer Nepal. Nānyadeva, himself had been successful in snatching away a part of the Nepalese territory and absorbed into his kingdom of Simraongarh. The Sanskrit chronicle states that Mukundasena had invaded Nepal while it was also Rāmasimha's reign. Except for this the chronology follows the usual pattern. The chronicle Group B<sup>2</sup> introduces Nānyadeva right after Rāghavadeva and makes the *Karṇātas* as masters of the Nepalese kingdom until Jayabhadramalla succeeds to the *gaddi* by virtue of his marriage to Śyāmasimha's daughter. In this chronicle what we call the dynasties of Bhāskaradeva and Vāmadeva are omitted.

We have the following table for these reigns as given by the later chronicles:<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> See the Kumbheśvara inscription, n. XXXV in our Appendix.

<sup>59</sup> Levi, II, P. 215.

Wright, op. cit, Pp. 100-08; BLI, P. 39.

Jayadevamalla		Ānandamalla
10		25
		(ruled in Bhaktapur)
Nānyadeva	..	50
Gangadeva	..	41
Narasimhadeva	..	31
Śaktideva	..	39
Rāmasimha	..	58
Harideva		

The ruler of Palpa, Mukundasena, invades the Valley of Nepal.

Thereafter the *Vaiśya Thakuris* ruled for 225 years; and then Nepal was conquered by

Harasimhadeva	..	28
Matisimha	..	15
Śaktisimha	..	22
Śyāmasimha	..	15
a daughter given in marriage to Jayabhadramalla		15
Nāgamalla	..	15
Jayajagamalla	..	11
Nagendramalla	..	10
Ugramalla	..	15
Aśokamalla	..	19
Jaya Sthitimalla		

Anyone with an intimate knowledge of the history of Nepal will immediately say that what the later chronicles have stated is a fabrication pure and simple. We shall know sometime after as we deal with the subject of Jaya Sthitimalla's ancestry that all this false genealogy was created because the rulers in the mid 17th century desired to connect their descent to the illustrious *Karṇāta* family of Simraongarh. Hence the fake list of names and distortion of facts, which go directly against the evidence of colophons, inscriptions and ancient chronicles, all of which display common accord as to the chronology and history of the period.

## II

JAYABHIMADEVA (1258-1271)

and

JAYASIHAMALLA (1271-1274)

Jayadeva's successor to the throne of Nepal was Jayabhīmadeva whose ancestry, however, cannot be traced from any of the documents.

Whatever information about this ruler we have is from V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>111</sup>. VK does not mention him at all. He does not seem to have been related either to Abhayamalla or to Jayadeva.

In the words of V<sup>1</sup> (f. 26a) Jayabhīmadeva released the granary of *Pañchapurī* and made grains easily available. He also repaired the canal built by kings in the past. He constructed a copper chain to protect the treasury of *Śikharanārāyaṇa* of the east.

The relationship between Abhayamalla and Jayabhīmadeva is not defined in the chronicles. The identity of the latter's family has yet to be established. According to V<sup>1</sup> (f. 27a) Jayabhīma was crowned on *Monday Āṣāḍha śuchi 2 of Samvat 375*, while the *Chaturmāsā* was on and he reigned for 13 years 3 months. But the date of coronation as given by the chronicler does not seem to be correct. It must occur sometime in NS 378. In 377 *Mārgaśira pūrṇimā*, according to V<sup>111</sup> (f. 37a)<sup>60</sup>, we have Jayadeva alive. But at a subsequent date Jayabhīma and Jayasīhamalla are shown influential and active. Yet not before 378 Jayabhīma is called *Rājā* by the chronicler of V<sup>111</sup>.

Jayabhīma has four documents, three mss. and one inscription. Two mss. are given by Petech, which stand as follows:

1. ms. *Mahālakṣmīvrata*,<sup>61</sup> (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1320.14). Colophon: *Asītyadhikasamyāte Samvat sara śatatrāye (=380) māsi Chaitre asite pakṣe pañchamyām bhṛguvāsare* | (According

<sup>60</sup> Jayabhīmadeva is mentioned as *Rājā* for the first time in NS 378 (*Chaitra śudi 13* Wednesday, V<sup>111</sup>, f. 37a-b).

<sup>61</sup> Doc. 1 of Petech; CPMDN, I, P. 124.

to Sewell and Petech the date is verified for April 2nd, 1260 A.D.) *dhīmato Saṅkhyapālasya puṇyajñānavibṛddhaye Kāyasthodayaharṣeṇa likhitam drutam/Md Pm Paramamāheśvara Pbh Śrīmad Jayabhīmadeva rāje.*

2. *Arghakāṇḍa* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1606. 16)<sup>62</sup>. Colophon: *Nepālīka Samvat 381 Śrāvāṇa kṛṣṇa ekādaśyām puṣya nakṣatre variyāna yoge somadine | Rd Pm Śrī Rājā Jayabhīmadevasya vijaya rājye.*

We have the following newly traced inscription and ms. colophon of his reign.

3. Inscription on a stone water conduit at Pharping now attached to the wall of a *Pāṭi*. After invoking the Sun God the lines give the date and reign, *Samvat 381 Pauṣa śukla divā aṣṭamyām Śrī Śrī Pm Pbh Śrī Jayabhīmadevasya vijayarājye Śrī Phanapīṅga viṣayādhipati Mahāsāmanta Śrī Jaitarāmajīvasya etc. etc.*<sup>63</sup>

4. ms. *Mahākaravīrayāga* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 816)<sup>64</sup> Colophon: *Yadā Nepāla bhūpāla Jayabhīme bibhāvati/rasa maṅga(la) saṁyukta vahni sabannadāpayoh (=386) Kārtika māse site pakṣe pañchamyām guruvāsare kāyachhodayaharṣeṇa likhitam drutam.*

As the first ms. of the next reign dates S. 391, the assertion of the chronicle as to his reign period may be taken as correct. Jayabhīmadeva in all certainty continued to reign till the middle of 391 NS, having begun in 378 (=1258 A.D.).

Jayabhīmadeva had two sons (*sahodara*) by one wife, the elder *yuvarāja Ādityadeva* (b. 358 *Jyeṣṭha śukla*) and the younger by name Ānandadeva. But in 378 *Chaitra śudi 13* Jayasīha is mentioned as *yuvarāja* along with *Rājā Jayabhīma* (V<sup>iii</sup>, f. 36a).

But the reign of Jayasīhamalla (Jayasīmha) whose one ms. dated 391 NS (*Āśvina*) gives him a royal title introduces an anomaly. He was born on *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 9, 349 NS* to Jagatanekamalla

<sup>62</sup> Doc. 2 of Petech.

<sup>63</sup> Unpublished. n. XXIII in our Appendix.

<sup>64</sup> Unpublished.



(V<sup>111</sup>, f. 35a). Kirkpatrick's authority makes him one of the three sons of Anantamalla, who had ruled one after the other (p. 264). His name as a reigning monarch occurs in the list of only one chronicle (V<sup>1</sup>, f. 26a). The same chronicle says that he ruled for 2 years and 7 months, and under him the people were happy and free from oppression.<sup>65</sup> He also made some pious offering to God *Paśupati* and pleased the Lord with a gold waist band. He also built a chariot for the Lord, which was decorated with various gems and jewels. As opinions about his accession to the throne differ, we face a difficult task of determining his regnal career. How does he fit in here? It is possible that he was a king for a while.<sup>66</sup> His earlier appointment as a crown prince in supercession of the claims of Jayabhīma's own sons is yet one more puzzle.<sup>67</sup> *Yuvarāja* Jayasīha appears along with Rājā Jayabhīma in a trip to Palāñchok. V<sup>111</sup> (f. 40-a) gives *pratipadā* of *Mārga śukla* of the year NS. 408 (=8 November, 1287)<sup>68</sup> as the date of his death. He must have been deposed,<sup>69</sup> or he had abdicated to give room to another person, if at all Jayasīhamalla was a king. About 13 years previous to his death we have a colophon date showing Anantamalla as a reigning monarch (see below). So Jayasīhamalla must have been in the picture till 393 or 394 latest. Thereafter he was thrown into obscurity. The only extant colophon in his name is as below:

*Khadgapūjāvidhi* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1706.1).<sup>70</sup> Colo-

<sup>65</sup> *Tenaprajā apīditam rāṣṭrasukhibhavati Paśupati bhṭṭārakasya suvarṇa mekhalā pradhaukitam.*

<sup>66</sup> H. C. Ray is of the opinion that he was probably associated with his predecessor as his crown prince (DNI I, P. 214).

<sup>67</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 36a-b.

<sup>68</sup> Verified by Petech.

<sup>69</sup> Petech thinks that 'he was apparently deposed, but otherwise left unharmed' (P. 95).

<sup>70</sup> *Khadgapūjāvidhi*, S. 391, *Āsvīn ... daśamyām angāravāra Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī ... hamaladeva etc*; CBMC, P. 199. Petech identifies him with Jayasīhamalla. Bendall read 381 but this is wrong.

phon: *Samvat 391 Āsvini . . . [dā] śamyām tithau aṅgāradine likhitamiti | Rd Pm Śrī . . . hamaladeva kārīta | Śvakvevehāra Śrī Śrī bhikṣu Devamanā likhitam.*

Although there may be some doubt in identifying the name of the ruler in the colophon with Jayasīhamalla, I think that Petech is right in saying "It seems evident that the name of the king must be restored as Jayasīhamalla since it is the only name containing the letter *ha*". Because the name Jayasīha occurs in V<sup>1</sup>, the identification is rendered easier than otherwise.

According to V<sup>11</sup> (f. 35b) a son was born to Jayasīhamalla on *Samvat 386 Pauṣa śukla trayodaśī*, whose name was Jagatadeva. Earlier on 381 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa trayodaśī* one more son also was born to him by his illegal wife.<sup>71</sup> Jagatadeva lived for 33 years and 4 months. But evidently none of these sons were allowed to succeed him on the throne. Probably there was a palace coup d'état, and as a result Jayasīhamalla's son lost claim to the throne along with the deposition of his father.

It appears from V<sup>1</sup> that Jayasīhamalla was closely associated with Jayabhīmadeva before the latter became king. Both these persons figure prominently also in accounts of Abhayamalla's reign. It appears that Jayabhīma and Jayasīhamalla belonged to a common faction. But the chronicles do not provide a clue to their relationship. The fact that Jayabhīma had appointed Jayasīha as his *yuvarāja* shows that the relationship was intimate. But it might be that the appointment was made on recognition of the latter's services to the cause of Jayabhīma.

It is surprising that the ancient chronicle has nothing to say about Jayabhīma and Jayasīha for the time since NS 379. On *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 2* of that year Jayasīhamalladeva killed several noblemen who were suspected of treason (V<sup>111</sup>, f. 36b). Petech thought that Jayabhīma maintained a hostile attitude to Jayadeva. If this is so, then Jayadeva's voluntary retirement carries no meaning. But unless all the unread passages in V<sup>111</sup> in the connection are made intelligible, it is also not proper to assume that Jayadeva was deposed by Jayabhīma. At one place in

<sup>71</sup> f. 35b.

V<sup>11</sup> there is a suggestion that Jayabhīma killed a courtier in Bhatgaon with the order of Jayadeva in 376 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 3* (f. 38-b). We do not get any instance of open rupture in their relationship. I do not think that the passage in f. 38a of V<sup>11</sup> could be construed so as to make Jayabhīma occupying a place in opposition to Jayadeva.

### III

#### ANANTAMALLA (1274-1310 A.D.)

Jayasīhamalla was succeeded by Anantamalla. According to V<sup>1</sup> (f. 35-a) he was a son of Rājadeva who was in turn a son of Śrī Gaṇakāmaladeva. Rājadeva was born on S. 348 *Mārgaśira kṛṣṇa pratipadā* and died 21 years after on *Bhādrapada śudī 11*.<sup>72</sup> It appears that Anantamalla's accession to the throne was effected not in normal circumstances. He neither belongs to Arimalla's line nor to Jayabhīmadeva's line. According to Levi's authority he is a brother of Jayadeva<sup>73</sup>. But in view of the statement of the ancient chronicles this is wrong. Jayabhīma had left a *yuvarāja* by name Jayāditya who was his own son. The latter should have succeeded his father. But he does not appear as successor. Apparently he was bypassed. Did Anantamalla seize power? There is an interval of two years between Jayasīhamalla's last regnal date and Anantamalla's first. The gap could be explained if we envisage a situation of civil war. Anantamalla had appointed Jayabhīma's son as crown prince. This shows that Anantamalla's cause was backed up by Jayabhīma's family.

V<sup>1</sup> gives him a reign of 32 years and 10 months. The same authority says that the people suffered on account of his deceitful conduct. But he was devoted to Lord Paśupati, to whose temple he donated a flag staff (V<sup>1</sup>, f. 26-b). He must have at any rate a reign of about thirty-six years extending from S. 394 to S. 430 (=1278-1307-08), as the availability of the

<sup>72</sup> V<sup>11</sup>, f. 35a.

<sup>73</sup> II, P. 35.

ms. data within these dates goes to show. In view of the statement of V<sup>11</sup> Anantamalla's reign takes us to the year 1310 A.D. as his death does not seem to have occurred ere 430 *Śrāvaṇa* (= July-August, 1310 A.D.), because he is mentioned at that date by the chronicle (V<sup>11</sup>). His first document ms. *Dibyaśuddhiprakaraṇam* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 806) has the following colophon: *Iṣunāthatathā vahni* (=395) *Samvat gate satimāse Chaitra śite pakṣe navamyām budhavāsare Md Pm Pbh Śrī Śrīmadanantamalladevasya vijayarājye*,<sup>74</sup> etc. From this colophon it appears that he was ruling definitely in NS 395 *Chaitra* (=1275, March-April).

According to V<sup>11</sup> (f. 35a) Anantamalla, ruled for 35 years and 11 months.<sup>75</sup> He was born on NS 366 *Vaiśākha śukla 5*, and died on *Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa 13*. This would put his death year at 401 if *bhogavarṣa 35 ma 11* were to be interpreted as his total age. But this cannot be supported as we have a ms. colophon extending his reign to NS 428.<sup>76</sup> The V<sup>11</sup>, however, uses *bhogavarṣa* and *astavarṣa* to mean regnal years and living years respectively. The expression in all certainty conveys the suggestion of his total reign period. But to this we shall return a little later.

#### DOCUMENTS: Group A

The following documents belonging to Anantamalla's reign are so far unnoticed.

(1) ms. *Dibyaśuddhiprakaraṇam* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 806). Colophon: *Iṣunāthatathā vahni* (=395) *Samvat gate satimāse Chaitra śitye pakṣe navamyām budhavāsare/Md Pm Pbh*

<sup>74</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>75</sup> V<sup>1</sup> has 32 years 11 months (f. 26b).

<sup>76</sup> *Sanḡanasāgara*, Asiatic Society of Bengal no. 4852 (CSMASB, Pp. 38-41 n. 61). This is doc. 18 of Petech for the reign; *Samvat 428 Phālguna kṛṣṇa pratipadā chitrā nakṣatre dhruva yoga sanīścharavāsare likhitam/Rd Pm Śrīmad A(na)natamalladevasya vijayarājye. Śrī Yam...mahānagara Śrī Satigalakeyurathyāyām etc.* Petech says, the place of writing is Kathmandu and the date is verified for Saturday, March 9th, 1308 A.D.

*Śrī Śrīmadanantamalladevasya vijayarājye dvijavara Śrī dharmādhikāra Jasabrahmasya pustakayain/etc.*

(2) ms. *Mahālakṣmīvrata* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1320). Colophon: *Samvat 398 Bhādra va śukla ekādaśyā/Rd Pm Śrī Anantamalladevasya vijayarāje/ Pāñgā grāmādhivāsina dvija Śirapatikasya pustaka siddham/etc.*

(3) ms. *Mahālakṣmīvrata* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1320.13). Colophon: *Samvat 401 Kārtika kṛṣṇa saptamyāyān tithau brhaspativāsare Rd Śrīmadanantamalladevasya vijayarājye/ Pāñgāgrāmādhivasino dvija Śiropatikasya pustakam.*

(4) ms. *Mahālakṣmīcharitra* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1320). Colophon: *Samvat 402 Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa dvādaśyā pra trayodaśyām tithau likhita dine budhavāsare/Rd Pm Śrī Śrī Anantamalladeva vijayarājye Suvarṇa panālike vāstavya dvijavara Śrī Buddhanena likhitam/Pāñgāgrāmādhivāsina dvijavara Śrī Śiropatibhārokasya pustakam siddham/ anena puṇyena sarva satvānām sukhino bhavaṅtu.*

(5) ms. *Tribhūmikavidyā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 2231), a modern copy of the original. Colophon: *Śrīman Nepālikābde samvatsara 406 Mārgaśīrṣa kṛṣṇa ekādaśyām tithau śaniścharavāsare svāti nakṣatre śobhana yoge Rd Śrīmadantamalladevasya vijayarājye Paśupatidāsena likhitamidam pustakam*

(6) ms. *Kulālikānamnāya* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 875). Colophon: *Rd Pm Pbh Md Śrī Anantamalladevasya vijayarājye/ Samvat 416 Chaitra śudi dvitīyā etc.*

#### Group B:

For the same reign the following colophon data have been already published and let me list them as Petech shows.

1. ms. *Mahālakṣmīvrata* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1320.1).<sup>77</sup> *Samvat 399 Phālguna śukla chavothyāyā likhitadine Rd Śrī Śrī Anantamalladevasya vijayarājye* (Date corresponds to February 21st, 1279) *Pāñgā grāmādhivāsina dvijavara Śirapatikasya pustakamidam.*

<sup>77</sup> CPMDN, I, P. 46. partly published.

2. ms. *Ekādaśimahātmya* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1231.6).<sup>78</sup> *Samva(t) 400 Phālguṇa kṛṣṇa ekādaśyām tithau somavāsare Śrī Nepāla deśe Śrī Paśupatisthāne Śrī Anantamalladevasya rājye likhitam*. Particulars of date irregular.

3. ms. *Kaumārīpūjā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1320.3).<sup>79</sup> *Samvat 400 Vaiśākha amāvāsyām tithau Rd Pm Śrī Śrī Anantamalladevasya vijayarāje*. Date corresponds to April 30th, 1280.

4. ms. *Narapatijayāchāryāsvarodaya* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1537.3). *Samvatsare khakhābd[h]e (=400) Charavasya site pakṣage chaturthyām bhṛguvāsare sampūrṇam likhitamidam/ Śrīmat Paśupatisthāne dakṣiṇasyādiśāstrita Daivajña Jaitasihena likhitam ... / Samvat 400 Bhādrapada śukla chaturthyām śukravāsare Śrī Paśupatisthāne | Śrīmadanatamalladevasya vijayarājye Śrī Rājamaṇḍalyām daivajñasya etc*. Date verified for Friday, August 30th, 1280.

5. ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Zva-lu monastery, Tibet).<sup>80</sup> *Samvat 402 Pauṣya kṛṣṇa daśamyām somavāsare Śrī Md Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Anantamalladevasya vijayarājye*. Date verified for Monday, January 5th, 1282.

6. ms. *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* (Sa-Skya monastery in Tibet).<sup>81</sup> *Md Pm Raghuvamśatilaka Śrīmad Anantamalladevasya rājye likhāpitam iti Samvat 402 Bhādrapada śukla pañchamyām tithau iti*. Date verified for August 10th, 1282. Earlier *deyadharmoyam*. ... Sa-Skya mahāvihārasamāvāsita Sri Kīrti-dhvajasya yadatra.

7. ms. *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (IV)<sup>82</sup> (Sa-Skya monastery in Tibet). *Samvat 403 Prathamāśāḍha śukla pūrṇamāsyām śaniścharavāsare| Md Pm Pbh Śrīma(d A)nantamalladevasya vijayarājye| Śrī Nepālamaṇḍala Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapanāmādhivāsina • Upāsaka Nārāyaṇena likhitam||* Date irregular.

8. ms. *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (II)<sup>83</sup> (Sa-Skya monas-

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, P. 44.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, P. 46. Partly published.

<sup>80</sup> JBORS, XXI, P. 29. Checked on a hand copy made by Prof. Tucci according to Petech.

<sup>81</sup> JBORS, XXIII, P. 28 (Pt. I).

<sup>82</sup> JBORS, XXIII, P. 30.

<sup>83</sup> JBORS, XXIII, P. 30.

tery in Tibet). *Śrī Nepālamaṇḍala Kāṣṭamaṇḍapādhivāsinā Ratna Upādhyāyena likhitam/Śreyostu (Samvat) 403 Phāl-guṇa śukla pūrṇamāsyām sanīścharavāsare/Śrī Md Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Anantamalladevasya vijayarājye etc.* Date verified for Saturday, February 13, 1283 A.D.

9. ms. *Lakṣmyāvātārastotra* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1320. 13.4).<sup>84</sup> *Samvat 406 Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa saptamyām tithau āditayvāsare| Rd Pm Anantamalladeva vijayarājye//* Petech says that the date works out only for *dvir Āṣāḍha* to correspond to Sunday, July 8th, 1283, but he misread the figures for the year as 403.

10. ms. *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (III)<sup>85</sup> (Sa-Skya monastery in Tibet). *Śrī Lalitapuryām mahānagaryām Śrī Navamlake Śrīmadeindriyadevarājna saṁskārīta Śrī Yayamanohara varṇṇa mahāvihārādhivāśi grhāśrama bhikṣvāchārya Kāyastha Sugatarakhitena likhitam.... Śrī Nepālahāyana 404 Phālguṇī śukla pakṣe triyodaśyām tithau maghā nakṣatre dhṛtiyoge brhaspatidine likhiteti|| Śrīmataḥ Rd Raghuvamśāvatāra Śrī Śrīma [d A] nantamalla rāje etc//* Particulars of date are irregular.

11. ms. *Anantavrata* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1320.3)<sup>86</sup> *Samvat 405 Śrāvaṇa kri tr̥tīyāyā Rd Pm Śrī Śrī Anantamalladevasya vijayarājye//Pāñgāgrāmādhivāsina Śirīpatikasya/* Date irregular. Petech thinks that the date intended seems to be August 2nd, 1285 but he misread the *tithi*.

12. ms. *Kumārīpūjāvidhāna* (Kaisar Lib. n. 29/b). *Śrīman Nepālike Samvat 406 Mārgga śrīṣa kṛṣṇa ekādaśyām tithau śanīścharavāsare svāti nakṣatre śobhana yoge/Rd Śrīmat Anantamalladevasya vijayarājye//Śrīmata paramaśaivāchāryasya putra Paśupatiḍāsenā iti etc.* Date verified for Saturday, November 24th, 1285.

13. ms. *Pratiṣṭhāpaddhati* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1634.8)<sup>87</sup> *Yadā Nepāla bhūpālanantamalla bibhāvati rasa abhrasamāyukta śrutih (=406) Samvat tadā yayau/Kārttimāse kṛṣṇa pakṣe*

<sup>84</sup> CPMDN, I, P. 46. Published partly.

<sup>85</sup> JBORS, XXIII, P. 30.

<sup>86</sup> Partly published in CPMDN, I, P. 46.

<sup>87</sup> CPMDN, I, P. 78.

*dvitīyāyām kujadine*//Date verified for Tuesday, October 16th, 1285.

14. ms. *Sārāvalī* (Br. Museum Or. 1439)<sup>88</sup> *Samvat 403 Chaitra śukla tṛtīyāyām śukravāsare kṛttika nakṣatre/Md Śrī Śrī Anantamalladevasya vijayarājye likhitam etc.* Petech wrongly read 406.<sup>89</sup>

15. ms. *Lakṣmyāvatāra* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1320).<sup>90</sup> *Samvat 406 Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa saptamyām tithau addhitavāsare Rd Pm Anantamalladevasya vijayarājye.*

16. ms. *Chaṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra pañjikā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 402.3)<sup>90a</sup> *Samvat 417 Phālguna kṛṣṇa daśamyām aṅgāravāsare likhitam . . . , rājye Śrīmadanantamamalladeva seti||* Date verified for March 19th, 1297.

17. Ms. *Avadānakalpalatā* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1306)<sup>91</sup> *Netrākṣyabdhīyutābdake (=422) cha samaye rādhe site pakṣake āsāyañcha tithau divākaradine vāhadviṣaddakṣake// . . . rājye Śrīmadanantamalla nṛpater etc.* Date verified for Sunday, April 8th, 1302.

18. ms. *Prajñākaramati's* commentary on *Bodhicharyāvatāra*. (Nor Monastery in Tibet).<sup>92</sup> *Śrīmā [n A] nantamalladeva vijayarājye Samvat 423 Māgha kṛṣṇa chaturthyāyām budhavāsare etc*//Date verified for Wednesday, February 6th, 1303.

19. ms. *Sanḡanasāgara*, already treated, which has a date 428 *Phālguna kṛṣṇa 1*.

It was said that in his time one A-ni-ko from Nepal who had entered the service of the Emperor of China in Peking as an artist of repute reached the highest post of the state in that sphere. The first date which the Chinese history gives for A-ni-ko's activities in China is 1261 A.D. A-ni-ko must have left Nepal in the reign of Jayabhīmadeva (1258-1271 A.D.) in 1261 A.D.<sup>93</sup> According to the Chinese account he belonged to the royal family of Nepal.

<sup>88</sup> CSBM, P. 182, n. 440.

<sup>89</sup> Doc. 14 of Petech.

<sup>90</sup> Petech wrongly read the year as 403.

<sup>90a</sup> CPMDN, II, P. 94.

<sup>91</sup> CBMC, P. 43.

<sup>92</sup> From a hand copy of Prof. Tucci as quoted by Petech.

<sup>93</sup> Petech, Op. Cit. Pp. 99-100.



Levi is the first scholar to draw our attention to the achievements of A-ni-ko<sup>94</sup>. Levi drew his information about A-ni-ko mainly from 'the official biography in the Yuan-shi, ch. 203ff'. This biography is based on 'a summarised version of the funeral inscription in honour of A-ni-ko engraved on a stele and erected on the pathway to his tomb near the village of Hsiang-shan in the district of Yuan-p'ing, west of Peking, which was composed by Ch'eng Chufu (tzu: Wen-hai, 1249-1318) and reproduced in Hsueh lou-chi (Ming Edition) Ch. 7, ff 10a-11b'. But the summary of the biography in Yuan-shih had serious omission. The very name of our hero was misspelt as A-erh-ni-ko. Besides, some of the dates entered were irregular. It was said that the artist reached Lhasa in 1243, whereas at this date he was actually born. For the life of A-ni-ko, we have a very authentic account from the pen of M. Ishida, in his article *Gendai-no Kogeika Neparu no onoku Anika no den ni tsuite*, (biography of A-ni-ko, artist member of the Nepalese Royal family during the Yuan dynasty), which reproduces in full the text of the funeral inscription giving his life history and attainment.<sup>95</sup> In the funeral inscription his name is spelt A-ni-ko.

In 1260 A.D. Qublai Khan wanted to erect a stupa of gold in Lhasa, and therefore, he ordered P'ags-pa for it. The latter wrote to the king of Bal-po for a contingent of artists and in return he received the services of eighty artists. A-ni-ko was one of them, but though young (only 17 years) he was their leader because he had mastered the art of casting in bronze. A-ni-ko reached Sa-Skya monastery in 1261 A.D. and worked there for sometime to the supreme satisfaction of the Head Lama who later chose him to join the Imperial service in Peking. To A-ni-ko are ascribed many of the images in Peking's two monasteries, Shang-tu and Ta-tu.

By sheer hardwork and high skill A-ni-ko pushed his way to

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<sup>94</sup> S. Levi (III, Pp. 187-89). Levi put the date of A-ni-ko's visit to Lhasa at 1243. Ed. Chanvannes thinks that A-ni-ko reached Peking in 1263 (Toung P'ao, Vol. 9, P. 609).

<sup>95</sup> Petech, Op. Cit. P. 100. Moko Gakuho, II (1941) Pp. 240-60.

become 'the Chief Director of workers in bronze' in 1274. Four years later he became controller of all the art services in the Empire. The Chinese regard him as a founder of special art tradition and an author of '*an Iconometric Treatise, the Tsao-hsiang-tu-liang-ching*'. He died at the age of 62 in the 10th year of Ta-tê, intercalary 1st month, day ting-tu (=March 11th, 1306).

The funeral inscription says that his body was cremated following his country's custom. Posthumously the designation Min-hui and other insignias e.g. Duke of ILang were conferred on him.

Details about some members of his family are also available. His father's name is given as *La-K'o-na*, and his grandfather's name *Mi-ti-erh*. His first wife whom he married in his native country was named *Tsai-Yeh-ta-la-ch'i-mei*. In Peking he married another wife, a Mongol lady, and kept seven concubines as he had to conform to the practices of the court. He had eight daughters and six sons, two of whom became later artists but they were of no much worth. He had a number of Chinese pupils, of these one *Liu Yuan* became famous.

A-ni-ko is quite unknown to Nepalese source materials. Tibetan texts are also reticent about him. Whatever information we have been able to obtain in his connection is all from the Chinese annals. He belonged to the country known to Tibetans as *Bal-po*. The name *Bal-po* may create some doubts about his being a Nepalese. Similarly we face a problem as to how his father's and his grandfather's name as well as his own would be rendered in Nepalese original on transcription. A-ni-ko can be a version of *Ananga* as Petech suggested or of *Aneka*. The latter occurs as a name of a royal personage in V<sup>111</sup> (f. 35a). In the same vein *La-K'o-na* and *Mi-ti-erh* can be transcribed for Sanskrit *Lakṣmaṇa* and *Mitra* respectively. All this, however, is a mere guess. But his Nepalese wife's name cannot but be a Chinese transcription of the Sanskrit *Jayatalakṣmī*. The Chinese version *Tsai-yeh-ta-la-ch'i-mei* is too close to its Sanskrit original. *Jayatalakṣmī* used to be a name widely used by Nepalese women of the day. This is quite significant. The

Sanskrit nomenclature gives the impression that the name holder would not have been a Tibetan. Again, if he is not a Tibetan he must surely be a Nepalese. Thus we are led to accept A-ni-ko's Nepalese origin.

It may be noted that in this century as in earlier Nepal was maintaining close cultural relations with Tibet. We have a number of mss. copied in Nepal, that were transported to different monasteries in that country and now recovered by Oriental scholars. We note that six mss. of Anantamalla's time are traced from different monasteries of Tibet.<sup>96</sup>

Both V<sup>i</sup> and V<sup>iii</sup> note down invasions from the west by a Khasia ruler under date line NS 408 and following years. These chronicles also take notice of the Tirhutiyas who had entered Nepal about this date. I cannot subscribe to all that Petech says about the entry of the latter: he thinks that this involved military incursions into Nepalese territory at different dates. But even if the few years of Anantamalla's reign in mid-period had been disturbed, I do not think that Petech is justified to draw his conclusion on that basis explaining the very few numbers of colophons for 13 years including the dates noted.

Now to quote Petech for the disturbances in Anantamalla's time "Anantamalla's documents . . . are crowded between 399 and 406. Then follows a long gap of eleven years (406-17) after which four isolated colophons fill the last 13 years of his reigns. This is due to the fact that Nepal was undergoing serious invasions from the west and the south and that the troubled times were not propitious to the 'work of the pious copyists'" (p. 102).

But the invasions that were carried into Nepal during his reign cover only a period of six years from NS 408 to 414. But the ancient chronicles do not show any incident of an external attack on Nepal after NS 414. We can not surely accept Petech's version of the story for the paucity or absence of documents. But there were internal calamities, famines and civil war—equally impropitous to the scribe. We might as well

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<sup>96</sup> JBORS, XXIII, Pt. I.

hope to obtain in future more finds of the documents belonging to the latter half of his regnal period. The absence of documents for this time can not be explained solely with reference to external attacks.

In the next few paragraphs we delineate the account of these invasions as we found it in the chronicle of Jaya Sthitimalla's time. We shall also see that external invasions were not confined to Anantamalla's reign. These continued in one form or another with short intervals till 448, the year of the invasion by Ādityamalla Khasia.

As we have already suggested not only Anantamalla's reign but also reigns subsequent to his were affected by internal disorder and external invasions. It is possible that the later chronicles reflect the state of affairs while they themselves exhibit utter lack of judgement in presenting their genealogy for this time. It is true that they have attempted to bring into the scene two foreign invasions. They have also chronicled 225 years of chaotic condition. But the accounts and timing involved are fairy tale like. They cannot simply tally with the facts as we know them from the reliable documents, such as the colophons and ancient chronicles.

We have examined the statements of the later chronicles in regard to their description of internal disorder and aggression on Nepal by outside invaders. It appears that they misinterpreted the situation resulting out of the rampant court intrigues as a state of feudal anarchy involving disintegration of the territory. In fact as we shall come to know a little later the worst that had occurred in this direction was that the monarch was weak, the court nobility was uncurbed and they indulged in rapacious conduct of mutual strife and rivalry.

Similarly in place of the repeated invasions of the Khasias from the west, the later chronicles had introduced Mukundasena of Pālpā as invader. Levi thinks that the reference was to the Khasa invasions mentioned by the ancient chronicles. This is very much true. The chronicle group B<sup>2</sup> gives the date of his invasion as *Kali* 4359 = 1258 A.D. Even more than that they introduced a fictitious dynasty, that of Nānyadeva and

Harasimhadeva, for no other reason than to pamper to the desire of their rulers (Pratāpamalla and Siddhinarasimha) who had thought to enhance their lineage by connecting their family to the Karṇāṭa Kṣatriya dynasty of Nānyadeva or Harasimhadeva.

The actual history of the period is presented by the ancient chronicles. According to them, the invaders were the Khasia princes from the Karṇāli basin. They also point out that Harasimhadeva was a fugitive who had escaped to the hilly region, east of the Nepal Valley and died there. It also appears that about 26 years after the entry of Harasimhadeva, Nepal faced another invasion from outside and Sultan Shams Ud-din of Bengal had attacked Nepal. But this event is altogether omitted by the later chronicles which, however, talk of Harasimhadeva as a conqueror and founder of a dynasty ruling Nepal for another period of nearly fifty years.

#### KHASIA INVASIONS OF NEPAL IN THE TIME OF ANANTAMALLA

The *Khasias* invaded Nepal on several occasions between the years 408 and 448.

Three kings of the *Khasias* figure in these invasions. They are variously, Jayatāri (or Jitāri) malla, Ripumalla and Ādityamalla. Ripumalla led his troops to invade Nepal in NS 433 (=1313 A.D.), while Ādityamalla came in 448 (=1328 A.D.). Evidently these attacks on Nepal had occurred when Anantamalla was no more on the throne of Nepal. But Jayatārimalla had attacked Nepal during the reign of Anantamalla. As we are here dealing with the subject of Anantamalla's reign, we introduce the account of Jayatārimalla's invasion at this stage. The account of other invasions will find place according as it fits in with the context as determined by their dates.

The identity of Jayatārimalla, Ripumalla and Ādityamalla is easily established. They appear as ancestors of Pṛthvīmalla in his Dullu pillar inscription of Śaka 1279. The inscription gives a chronology of the kings of the *Khasa* dynasty, who were ruling over a large tract of land in the Himalayan region with

their capital in the Karṇāli basin (see the last chapter of the volume for further information).

Jayatārimalla's invasion of Nepal has been noticed in V<sup>1</sup>, VK, V<sup>iii</sup> and Kirkpatrick. V<sup>1</sup> (f. 26b) : *varṣa 12 ma 3 paśchāt Khasia va vaḥ//Rājā Jayatāri prathama praviṣṭaḥ samvachchara chārisaya ātha Poṣamāse/sāhmyagu sthāne Khasia abuṭhasaya pātayitvā rāṣṭra sarva vane sevitaṃ Khasia tena palāyitaṃ lokasvasthena svasthāna sthitam//tasya samvachchara pravartate Phālguna māsa śukla trayodaśi/punaḥ dvitiya Jayatāri praviṣṭaḥ //grāmādi agnidāham karoti//syēngu chaīta prasayati/Bugma Lokeśvara draśanam Śrī Paśupati prasannam/svasthena svarāṣṭra gamanam bhavati/samvachchara chārisayanava//puna Tirhutiya praviṣṭaḥ//etc.*

VK (p. 10) *Samvat 408 Pauṣa māsa Jayatāri pra(viṣṭa pra) thamam//Samvat 414 Phālguna māsa dvitīyavāra pravi(ṣṭa) Khasia praviṣṭa//Samvat 411 Māgha māsa Tirhutiya Bhagatagrāme praviṣṭa//etc.*

V<sup>iii</sup> (f. 40a) : *sa 410 Phālguna kṛsna praṭipadā Jayatāri vasya liṃ tela Navakvāthakāyā Bugāndevala payi sarapambhandāra dumtā/Gvalaṅsa pachhimadvārana dumvisyañ thavalina akālavisiyañ syaṅ svāna chhāya ngaprahātha pachhimadvāra satayā thvaliva gāma dvākomachoyā liñchhiyattamsa gatna yānga māṅgnā gattamachālva//*

We shall translate into English the above passages as below :

V<sup>1</sup> : On the expiry of 12 years and 3 months of Anantamalla's reign, the Khasias came. This was the first invasion of Rājā Jayatāri and occurred in the month *Poṣa* of the year 408 (=December-January, 1287-88). In *Sāhme* (Svayambhu area) where the Khasia king was encamping there was a raid by the entire mass of our people, who killed 800 of the invaders. Then the Khasias fled, and the people returned to their normal life in a happy mood. The year came. On *Phālguna śukla 13* Jayatāri entered once again for the second time. He burnt several villages. He went to pay respects to the *Chaitya* of Svayambhū, then to Bugamā where he enjoyed the *darśana* of Lokeśvara. Thereafter he propitiated God Paśupatinātha. He

retired to his country without any harm reaching him. It was the year 409. Again the Tirhutiyas entered.

VK: In the month of *Pauṣa* Jayatāri entered for the first time. For the second time again he entered in *Phālguna* of 414. In *Māgha* of the year 411 Tirhutiyas entered Bhagatagrāma. i.e. Bhatgaon.

V<sup>111</sup>: Jayatāri invaded Nepal on 410 *Phālguna śukla prati-padā* (=February 26th, 1290). His invasion started with the capture of Noakot. He then descended into the Valley, prayed and presented treasury to the temple of *Bugamā*, and proceeded towards *Goala* (Deopatan), which he entered by the western gate. Jayatāri showed his devotion to the shrine of Paśupati-nātha as he came to Deopatan. There also he prayed and offered flowers so that famine and distress might not touch him. He then crossed to Patan and left quietly for his home.

According to Kirkpatrick (P. 264) "In this prince's (Anantamalla's) reign, and in the Newar year 408 or Sumbuth 1344, many Khasias emigrated to Nepal and settled there; and three years after, or the Newar year 411, a considerable number of Tirhoot families also planted themselves there".

From the foregoing passages we get different dates of Jayatārimalla's invasions of Nepal; *Pauṣa* 408 (V<sup>1</sup> & VK), *Phālguna śukla 13* of 409 (V<sup>1</sup>), *Phālguna śukla 1* of 410 (V<sup>111</sup>) and *Phālguna* of 414.

Referring to the invasions other than that of 408 *Pauṣa* Petech thinks that only the account of V<sup>111</sup> is correct. It is implied in his statement that the invasions of 409 and 414 did not occur at all. It is difficult to see how an event omitted by one chronicle is mentioned by another. We must also know that not only V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>111</sup> but also VK are generally regarded to have been compiled at about the same time, and if not one author had done the compiling, it seems probable that these works were prepared under the supervision of a common patron. As such these are supposed to give informations which are in some cases supplementary in character.

Anantamalla seems to have leaned heavily on the family of Jayabhīmadeva for support to his cause. So let me now proceed

to narrate the few facts available to us about Jayabhīma's sons and grandson.

### JAYADITYADEVĀ

It appears that in this crucial time of external attacks Prince Jayāditya (born on 358<sup>97</sup> *Jyeṣṭha śukla pratipadā* and died on 413<sup>98</sup> on *Kārtikaśukla 6* after enjoying a life of 39 years 5 months under mysterious circumstances) played an important role in meeting the challenge. But he was not destined to rule, and the old chronicles do not support the story of his becoming a king. Jayāditya had earlier imprisoned the next successor to the throne, who was his own brother and kept him at Palāñchok but later Ānandadeva got himself restored to freedom 'through his own strength'<sup>99</sup>. According to the chronicle Anantamalla had appointed Jayādityadeva as his crown prince because he had no issue of his own at the time. This prince represented the dispossessed family being the son of king Jayabhīmadeva. He first figures as crown prince in V<sup>11</sup> (f. 36b) under date 396 while his son was born. But the chronicler designates him as *Yuvarāja* on his very birth. Both he and Jayānandadeva were the sons of the same father. Jayānanda was the younger. But Jayāditya died during Anantamalla's life time. Therefore, Jayānanda seems to have been placed on the throne after Anantamalla's death. The circumstances which led to Jayānanda's succession to the *Gaddi* are not explained. It appears that Anantamalla had not been able to appoint as crown prince his own son Jayārimalla born on 396 *Māgha śukla 12 punarvasu nakṣatra prītiyoga budhavāsare* (Wednesday).<sup>100</sup> It seems that he could not find it possible to bypass the claims of Jayādityadeva and his son. V<sup>1</sup> has simply the expression, *tatrāntare Śrī Jayānanda pravartate*. It does not say that he was declared king. The expression just means Jayānanda had entered.<sup>101</sup> But Jayādityadeva's son

<sup>97</sup> V<sup>11</sup>, f. 35b.

<sup>98</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 35b.

<sup>99</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 40b. (*Śrāvāṇa śukla 13*).

<sup>100</sup> V<sup>11</sup>, f. 36a.

<sup>101</sup> V<sup>1</sup> (f. 27a); VK, P. 9.



Jayaśaktideva after his father's death in NS 413 figures in the accounts of some abortive coups and conspiracies (V<sup>111</sup>, f. 41b) up till the year 432 or so.

Anantamalla had comparatively a quiet and undisturbed reign after 414 as the Khasia invasion was not repeated. But some kind of disquiet persisted on one account or another till his death.

Free from the external raids Anantamalla propitiated Lords Paśupati and Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa by various offerings and donations. On *Wednesday Āṣāḍha śukla 5* of the year 417 he made a gold chain to put as a cover round the image of the Lord Paśupati and at the four corners of the court-yard gold flag staffs were set up. During the same ceremony the bull in front of the Lord's image was also plated with gold dust. At Chāṅgu also flag staffs were presented.<sup>102</sup>

#### CHARACTER OF THE KHASA INVASIONS

These were only raids carried into Nepal with an intent to plunder the riches. The raiders were not motivated by any desire of conquest. Khasia rulers never thought of extending their frontiers and capture and absorb the Valley of Nepal into their kingdom. Such an idea was far from their mind.

It seems that they had heard of the vast wealth of the Nepal Valley and wanted to get hold of it by raiding the area.

The character of their operations can be judged from the fact that the invaders chose to leave the places they had invaded no sooner than their objective was attained. The longest seize had lasted just 18 days; this shows that they were at all not concerned with the idea of a permanent occupation of the areas of conquest.

It will be wrong to read any intention of empire building into the raids of the Khasia invaders.

#### RAJA OF GAUDA VISITS NEPAL

In a passage the V<sup>1</sup> refers to one Gavudārāja who had set

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<sup>102</sup> V<sup>1</sup>, f. 27a.

up an image of Gaṇeśa and plated with gold the flag staff and the bull holding it in the shrine of Paśupatinātha. The chronicler does not give the date for this action of piety performed by the Gavuḍarāja but says that this was done after Anantamalla had finished his own performances on Wednesday, *Āṣāḍha śukla 5 NS 417* (*paśchāt Gavuḍarājenamāgatam kapa—ya gaṇapati-kena kṛtam Vṛṣadhvaja suvarṇalepitam Śrī Paśupatisthāne*).<sup>103</sup>

Who is this Gavuḍarāja? Guvuḍa is probably how Gauḍa, a country then covering Burdwan, Murshidabad and Malda districts of Bengal was spelt by the scribe. If it is so then Gavuḍarāja must refer to the Rājā of Gauḍa. According to the chronicler this Rājā came to Nepal to offer his respects to the shrine of Paśupatinātha.

But Gauḍa as a Hindu kingdom had ceased to exist at the time the chronicler makes a reference to its Rājā. About 1202 A.D. the area then known as Gauḍa had come under Muslim rule.<sup>104</sup> If it was not some local Hindu chieftain of Gauḍa visiting Nepal in NS 417 (=1297 A.D.), the two facts cannot be reconciled. Or the Rājā might be a refugee king of Gaur. As his name is not mentioned in the chronicle it is difficult to suggest anything about his identity.

#### MORE TROUBLES AHEAD

As we have suggested the withdrawal of the Khasia invaders in 414 was not the end of the ills of Anantamalla's reign. It had to face troubles ahead on account of natural calamities and internal squabbles between the rival factions led each by Jayānandadeva and his nephew. Feudatories were also raising their heads to challenge the authority of the king. Feuds with-

<sup>103</sup> f. 27a.

<sup>104</sup> *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua* by M. Abid Ali Khan, Edited by H. Estapleton, Calcutta, 1931, P. 15.

According to D. C. Sircar 'originally the Gauḍa country seems to have comprised in a narrow sense, the present district of Murshidabad together with the southernmost areas of the Malda district of Bengal' (*Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1960, P. 113).

in the royal family and amongst the feudal centre were rampant.

Anantamalla came to occupy the throne in extraordinary circumstances. As a result he had to be lenient in dealing with Jayabhīma's family which probably had supported him. In the initial stage of his career he appeased the family by appointing the eldest son of Jayabhīma as his successor. The latter was a forceful personality and Anantamalla could little exercise his authority on his activities. The king was a silent spectator to all that happened between Jayāditya and his brother Jayānanda as they were waging a struggle for power, which ultimately led to the confinements of the latter in the fort of Palāñchok. Jayāditya died in *Phālguna*, 437. Taking advantage of the situation Jayānanda got himself freed sometime in *Śrāvana* of the same year. Jayāditya's son fought against his uncle tooth and nail but he failed in his endeavour to curb him and send him back to prison. We do not know if Anantamalla intervened in the dispute; perhaps he did not and there lay his weakness but it did a lot of harm to the cause of unity of his country. Jayānandadeva made himself safe and secure in Banepa-Palāñchok area, and probably he was helped to this end by Jyotirāma, grandfather of Jayasimharāma, who wielded considerable influence in that area. I think that since about this time Palāñchok became a separate principality, which later came to be mentioned in the colophons as such (doc. 2A of Jayārjuna, 13 and 14 of Sthitimalla). It is no wonder that Anantamalla had lost control of the area, which passed on to Jayānanda and his allies.

If Jayāditya had in his lifetime arrogated to himself a part of state duties of the king, now after his demise Jayaśaktideva began to play similar role backed by Jayatuṅgamalla. According to V<sup>111</sup> (f. 40b) on 417 *Māgha śukla* 2 both Śrī Jayatuṅgamalla and Jayaśaktideva are involved in some hostile action in Patan. The text is difficult to understand and we do not know the real import of the situation. This incident is followed by another and there is a passage, which talks of Tipura, Yala, Yaṅgala, Yaṁbu and Phanapi—this again is half-understood, and we cannot make out the sense. Again under date 420 *Pausa*, the

text also talks of destruction of some forts. We are going to see more description of the incidents of that nature as we approach the last few years of Anantamalla's rule, Jayaśaktideva and Jayatuṅga figure prominently in these. We can guess that Anantamalla was not able to check the deteriorating situation.

It is quite likely that Bhatgaon as a subsidiary principality but its ruler enjoying a dominant voice in the affairs of the kingdom of Nepal emerged in this period of turmoil with Jayatuṅgamalla as its chief. Similarly feudatories in other areas were trying to assert their authority in defiance of the central power. We shall know a little later that the general condition had worsened in the last phase of Anantamalla's life.

### IMPIOUS ACT

It appears that as a result of the Khasia invasions his financial resources were depleted, and he took recourse to meeting his requirement by laying hands on the treasury of Paśupatinātha. This was a long standing practice and in the past the riches of the temple was availed of to meet any national emergency. But Anantamalla had an unpleasant experience, which was to desist him from repeating his venture.

Anantamalla is referred to by V<sup>i</sup> (f. 27a) to have built roofs in the temple of Paśupati and plated them with gold. In 427 (V<sup>iii</sup>, f. 42b) he also took money out of the treasury of Paśupatinātha, but Gaṇabhāro, the treasurer, who had been deputed for that purpose died a little after and for four days his body was not cremated, and thereafter it was not possible for the king to visit Deopatan again. The king had done something impious. The date is 417 *Āṣāḍha śukla 5 Wednesday*. Earlier in 414 according to the same chronicle, Jayāditya's wife Virammādevī who was the mother of Jayaśaktideva built Indrakūṭa over which three years later the latter set up a flag staff, and nearby constructed a stone water conduit. Even after the death of Jayādityadeva his family seems to have been quite influential. Jayaśaktideva who was born on 396 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa*

6<sup>105</sup> (=May 5th, 1276) died at the age of 39 years 5 months on *Kārtika śukla 6* of 436 current (=October 5th, 1315).<sup>106</sup>

### JAYASAKTIDEVA AND JAYATUNGAMALLA

In V<sup>111</sup> Jayaśaktideva and Jayatuṅgamalla play prominent role during the reign of Anantamalla in the last decade of his career.

In the *Vamśāvalī* of Jitāmitramalla, Jayatuṅgamalla figures in the list of kings. The name is given twice.<sup>107</sup> But the chronicler is wrong. Jayatuṅga was never a king.

If Jayaśaktideva was not dead at the time of Anantamalla's demise he would have been the king in place of Jayānandadeva. For a long time he seems to have been a competitor of the latter. Jayaśaktideva went to Palāñchok, and quarrelled with Jayānanda to frustrate his ambition while the latter had effected his release.<sup>108</sup> Jayatuṅgamalla appears as a collaborator of Jayaśaktideva in the chronicle. He was the son of Jayasīhadeva born on 386 *Mārga śira kṛṣṇa ṣaṣṭī pūrvāśādhā nakṣatra pritiyoga chandravāra* (Monday). He died on *Jyeṣṭha śukle ṣaṣṭamī Sunday* evening of 432 after living 46 years and 5 months.<sup>109</sup>

We shall see a little later that Jayatuṅga's son Jayarudramalla functioned as the virtual ruler of Nepal from NS 432 to 446 until he died.

Jayaśaktideva's name often appears in V<sup>111</sup> since NS 424. Although we can hardly understand the meaning of the passages in classical text, all the same they suggest that he was playing an important part in the affairs of the kingdom.

As we have seen it, V<sup>111</sup> gives the date of his death in NS 436.<sup>110</sup> But we do not hear of him since 432. Probably he was exiled or imprisoned. Under date 431 *Mārga kṛṣṇa chaturdaśī* (afternoon) V<sup>111</sup> gives the description of an incident in which were arrested some high officials and priests (*Pātrāḥ* and *Brāhmaṇāḥ*) of the capital.<sup>111</sup> Next year (432 *Kārtika śukla*

<sup>105</sup> f. 36a.

<sup>106</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 36b.

<sup>107</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 367.

<sup>108</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 40b.

<sup>109</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 36a.

<sup>110</sup> f. 42b.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

*dvādaśī Sunday*) all temples are destroyed and houses of the people are burnt and the treasury in Deopatan<sup>112</sup> is also opened. But we do not know what for and who did all this. Perhaps the prince had helped the people to tide over the crisis with this money. The name Jayaśakti appears in the passages. However, the actual role he was playing is obscure. But there is nothing to suggest in it as Petch does that Jayaśakti had fled. Similarly the last few words occurring in the second passage, which follows faded letters *ङ्गलिस राजया यम पर्वा स्यं* may mean 'because could not reign'. However, I cannot say with certainty if the reference was meant for Jayānandadeva. It might as well mean that Jayaśakti was not able to seize power. There is no *Yuvarāja* after Jayāditya. So we can take it that Jayaśaktideva was not being dispossessed of his claim to the throne until Anantamalla died. It is quite likely that during the last few years of Anantamalla there was a struggle for the throne, in which Jayaśaktideva could not come out victorious. Probably he was a crown prince nominated to that position by Anantamalla. The passage might convey some idea of the situation as then developed. Earlier under date 427 *Paṣa śukla 8 V*<sup>111</sup> states that venerable (*bhvata*) Jayaśaktideva was successful in occupying Vappachheñ fort, and as a result Jayachanda escaped to Pharping; but the latter quarrelled with the governor of the fort of Pharping, one Keśa Mūlamī, and died eight days after this incident. It is therefore unlikely that Jayaśaktideva was at the head of a conspiracy. Rather it appears that Jayaśaktideva was helping Anantamalla to crush the rebellion. Local feudatories must have been raising their heads against the central authority as Anantamalla got old and conducted a soft policy of administration.

#### DEATH OF ANANTAMALLA

According to V<sup>1</sup> and VK Anantamalla reigned for 32 years and 10 months.<sup>113</sup> V<sup>11</sup> gives him a reign of 35 years and 11 months and states that he died on *Śrāvāṇa kṛṣṇa 13*.<sup>114</sup> How-

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> V<sup>1</sup>, f. 26a.

<sup>114</sup> f. 35a, VK, p. 9.

ever, all these chronicles do not mention the year of his death. This makes it difficult for us to determine when exactly Anantamalla died.

We know for certain that Anantamalla was ruling round 395 *Chaitra śudi 9*, the date on which his first colophon was completed (doc. 1 of Group A). If the regnal years of V<sup>i</sup> and VK were to be accepted then Anantamalla's reign came to an end in 426. But we have a colophon of the year 428, and therefore the estimate of V<sup>i</sup> and VK is ruled out. V<sup>ii</sup>, however, does not appear to be wrong. Adding its 35 years and 11 months to the very earliest date of Anantamalla's reign we approach 430 as the date of his death. Probably he died on 430 *Śrāvaṇa 13* (=August 23rd, 1310). This does not clash with the last colophon of his reign. This may also give us the exact date of his succession, which should be 35 years and 11 months back to *Śrāvaṇa 13* of 430. He must have thus ascended the throne in NS 394 *Bhādra* (=August-September, 1274).

Although documents belonging to Anantamalla's reign do not exist for the period after 428, this should not deter us from extending his reign to 430. No other ruler is mentioned either in colophons or chronicles to have been ruling in this period. Besides, as we have suggested earlier the calculation in terms of the dates and regnal years of V<sup>ii</sup> exactly gives us the date 430.

As from V<sup>iii</sup> we know that Rudramalla was ruling over Bhatgaon on *Mārga śukla 3* of NS 432, we shall not be wrong to place the event of Anantamalla's death occurring on *Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa 13* of NS 430. If he had started his reign in NS 394 (=1274 A.D.), this would mean that he ruled for 35 years 11 months, i.e. about 36 years. This gives an estimate conforming to what V<sup>ii</sup> has recorded about his regnal years.

I cannot accept the regnal years of V<sup>i</sup> (f. 26b) for Anantamalla because this does not agree with the years shown by the colophons. I am sure that the V<sup>ii</sup> (f. 35a) correctly puts the regnal years as well as the date of his death.

## FINAL REMARKS ON ANANTAMALLA'S REIGN

A noting in a fragment of a ms. (name not known)<sup>115</sup> has two brothers, Anantapāla Varman and Ujotapāla Varman, ruling over Patan in NS 403.

*Śreyostu Samvat 403 Māgha kṛṣṇa aṣṭamyām Śrī Lalitābrumāyām Śrī Mānigalake pradhānāṅga pātra Śrī Anantapāla Varmanasya Śrī Ujotapāla Varmanasya bharātāsahanāmanasya svakiyam svabhujya mānikam.*

Nothing more is known about these *pātras*. They were powerful enough to attract the notice of the scribe in the document. But they do not seem to have been in a position to challenge the sovereign powers of the king. They were probably joint governors of the capital city holding their post by hereditary rights. It is quite likely that they had controlled the area of Patan outside the periphery of the king's residence and its vicinity.

It appears that Anantamalla had not only to fight foreign invasions and yield concessions to rival princes by enlisting them in the order of succession but he had also to face powerful barons, and this even in localities under his very nose. He had a long reign of 36 years but there was no enduring peace while he reigned.

## INVASION OF NEPAL BY RIPUMALLA

Taking advantage of the chaos obtaining in Nepal on the death of Anantamalla, the Khasia ruler Ripumalla attacked Nepal on 433 *Phālguṇa kṛṣṇa pratipadā*. (=February, 1313 A.D.). The information is given by V<sup>111</sup> (f. 43b). It says that Ripumalla entered Bugā, performed ceremonies and feasted for eighteen days. Thereafter he left. The same authority has Rudramalla performing the usual inaugural ceremony of the *Yātrā* of Matsyendranātha on *Vaiśākha śukla* of the same year. Surely the invader had gone away before that date. The V<sup>111</sup> talks of the Khasias for the fourth time on 441 *Chaitra śudī 2*.<sup>110</sup> It says that the Khasias reached the royal palace at Tipurā. It is quite

<sup>115</sup> In the possession of Yajnananda Vajracharya.

<sup>116</sup> f. 44b.



likely that the Khasias might have been tempted to undertake an invasion in the fluid situation prevailing at the time when Rudramalla had picked up a new sovereign to supercede Jayānanda. But the V<sup>111</sup> does not mention a king to have accompanied the invaders. Details of the invasion are not known; but as we are told that the invaders had almost knocked at the gate of the royal palace, its seriousness must have been felt by the defenders.

#### IV

##### JAYANANDADEVĀ (1310-1328 A.D.)

The man who sat on the throne to succeed Anantamalla was Jayānandadeva. He was the youngest son of Jayabhīmadeva.

After Anantamalla there was certainly a period of chaos. V<sup>1</sup> introduces Jayānandadeva in the words *tatrāntare rājā Jayānandadeva pravartate*. V<sup>111</sup> directly passes onto Jayarudramalla without calling him a Rājā. As Jayānandadeva has colophons and inscriptions in his name, the fact of his succession to the throne is not doubted. But the real power came to be vested in the hands of Jayarudramalla, a member of one of the three houses of the royal family. This was probably the reason that Jayānanda was consistently being ignored by V<sup>111</sup>. Jayarudramalla must have functioned also as the Chief in Bhatgaon. But he is not acknowledged as a ruler in colophons and inscriptions. We shall describe the relative position of Jayānandadeva and Rudramalla in the next few pages.

As we shall see immediately after, the disappearance of Anantamalla brought in its wake a state of affairs characterised by internal crisis, which was engendered as a result of the monarch becoming a puppet and powers being enjoyed by the court nobility competing for supreme position in the land. This phase of internal crisis was, however, more visible while the strong hands of Jayarudramalla was withdrawn because of his death in 446 *Āṣādha*.

The years immediately following the death of Anantamalla must also have been chaotic. If there was a struggle for the

throne, I am sure that Jayarudramalla was not one of the contestants. His father was cooperating with Jayaśaktideva. But Rudramalla must have thought to go by himself, once Jayaśaktideva exhausted his resources fighting his uncle who was declared a king after the death of Anantamalla. Jayarudramalla probably inherited a situation where not only Jayaśaktideva was eliminated but the throne also had been weakened.

We have four documents of Jayānanda's reign.

1. An inscription of the reign of Jayānandadeva on a stone in the compound of the shrine of *Sarasvatī* in Kvachhe in Patan.<sup>117</sup> The stone is damaged and the date can be just guessed. The following can be read.: *Om namaḥ Sāradāyaiḥ//Śreyostu ... kṛṣṇa//aṣṭamyām ghaṭi 3 ve navamyām ... tre ghaṭi .14 pra pūrvabhādra nakṣatra ... visakambha yogāḥ budhavāsarāḥ ... horāyāḥ tadā udayāt prati ghaṭi 18 vi ... sāke pratisthā velāḥ/Vaiśākha māseḥ site tithau chatu chatu trimśa kāle somyeka vāra garakarāṇa.../Sāradā jagatāḥ mātr̥ prathithite...rājyera...ta kāmamūrti Śrī Śrīmata Jayānanda nṛpati prabhṛte...mati bharjī etc. etc.* There are three lines more and these give certain names, who were probably donors. The date is probably 434.

2. A four line inscription on the stone case of the water conduit, by the side of the *Dakṣināmūrti* temple close to the temple of Paśupatinātha at Deopatan.<sup>118</sup> The lines read: *Śreyostu Samvat 437 Phālguṇa vadi 2 Rājādhirāja Śrī Śrī Śrī Jayānandadevasyaḥ dharmavije bhavati Raghuvamśāvatāra Śrī Śrī Jaya Rudramalladevasya labdhavarīṣa rājyam bhavati etc.*

3. ms. *Nāgānanda nāṭakam*.<sup>119</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 438 Phālgunī vadḍhi 15 śukradine ... Śrī Śrī Rd Paramadhārmika Pbh Śrī Śrī Jayānandadevasya vijayarāye/Śrī Mānigalayoṭhako-*

<sup>117</sup> n. XXV in our Appendix.

<sup>118</sup> Sans. Sandesha, II. 1, 2, 3, Pp. 13-14. n. XXVI, in our Appendix.

<sup>119</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 73, Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1583. 3; Bendall, *History*, P. 26 (CPMDN, I). H. P. Sastri gives only 438 *Phālguṇa ...* and no details.

*chheñ Arabhīmasya likhitam* (Doc. 1 of Petech date verified for Friday, March 3rd, 1318).

4. ms. *Śanaīścharastotra* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 96.7). Colophon: *Śreyostu Samvat 438 Śrāvāṇa śukla pratipadyām tithau asileṣa nakṣatre variyāna yoge śukravāsare śimha rāsigate savitari karkkatarāsigate chandramasi Rd Pm Śrī Śrī Jayānandadevasya vijaya rājye iti Daśarathakṛta Śanaīścharastotram likhāpitam Kesabrahma Mūlamī kena* etc. (Doc. 2 of Petech who verifies the date for the morning of Friday, July 28th, 1318).

From Doc. 2 above we find that Jayānandadeva though enjoying sovereign status de jure as Rd had a co-partner in Rudramalla who, however, goes without a royal title. It appears that Rudramalla possessed de facto authority in the realm.

However, because of the evidence of the documents presented above there is no doubt that Jayānandadeva succeeded to the throne after Anantamalla had died and remained there for sometime as a de jure sovereign of the kingdom.

But V<sup>111</sup> makes only a passing reference to him, that also at a very late date, while V<sup>1</sup> just introduces him. No clue is provided as to his coronation year. The chronicler of V<sup>111</sup> states that Jayarājadeva was the son of Jayānandadeva (f. 45a), born on 10 *Phālguna kṛṣṇa 437 NS* by a concubine. He was living in Palāñchok before he was brought to Patan for coronation by the elder politicians of the kingdom. In all the three documents Jayānanda enjoys full royal titles. As one of the documents belonging to Patan shows (Doc. 3 above) he was surely being acknowledged as the de jure sovereign for the whole of Nepal. The last notice of him we get from V<sup>111</sup> (f. 45b) is in connection with some religious ceremonies in Deopatan and Māñigal (Patan) on *Vaiśākha śukla 13<sup>120</sup>* of 448 (=April 22nd, 1328).

Rudramalla appears to be the most powerful personality of the time. We shall have occasion to see a little later that Rudramalla had elevated another man to the throne, even though Jayānanda was yet living (V<sup>111</sup>, f.43b). It will appear that for a period of 14 years since 432 until his death Rudramalla was

<sup>120</sup> 22 April, 1328, verified by Petech.

destined to play his part as the de facto ruler of Nepal. According to the V<sup>1</sup> he had only surrendered the throne (*rājabhukti*) to the incumbent, but had retained the powers of state in his own hands to rule the entire kingdom of Nepal.<sup>121</sup> If Jayaśihadeva, the grandfather of Jayarudramalla, is the same person as Jayaśihamalla, then Jayarudramalla must have wielded his influence as a member of the royal family. Nevertheless the word *Jaya* put before his name clearly indicates his royal status.

V<sup>111</sup> has devoted some lines to Jayarudramalla and there is an expression *vijayarājye* associated with his name at one stage. The date is not clear because of the faded letters. According to V<sup>11</sup>, he was born on 416 *Mārga śukla 13* (=Tuesday, December 20th, 1295).<sup>122</sup> He lived for thirty years and 8 months, which shows he died a premature death. In NS 433 after the Khasa invaders had left, Jayarudramalla repaired the temples and houses destroyed by them. On 433 *Vaiśākha śudi 9 Friday*—he entered Chanigla in a procession (*mahāyātrā*).<sup>123</sup>

Jayarudramalla was the arbiter of the destiny of his country for nearly fifteen years. A king maker but not a king himself he made Bhatgaon the de facto centre of political activities of his country not only for the time he lived but also for a period of another half a century following his death. He was a prodigy who had attained a high level of maturity at an early age of 18. He had inherited a newly formed principality

<sup>121</sup> f. 27b.

<sup>122</sup> Petech gives 416 *Mārgaśira kṛṣṇa 13* etc. as the date for the birth of Rudramalla, and as this is verified for the early hours of Tuesday, December 20th, 1295 (P. 107), the date must be correct in all particulars. But the V<sup>111</sup> (f. 39b) has *Mārgaśira śukla* instead of *kṛṣṇa* thus showing a difference of 15 days. I had a discussion with Dr. Petech on this point and he thinks that the author of the V<sup>111</sup> has made a mistake in this regard as no other date is completely verifiable if we take the statement of the chronicle as it is.

<sup>123</sup> Other particulars of the date are *anurādhā nakṣatra ghaṭi 17 sula 37 angaravara*.

at that age and had successfully maintained it. He had also utilised the position to dominate the situation of the whole country, overshadow the throne and become the ruler in fact.

Jayānanda does not appear to have occupied the throne so soon after the death of Anantamalla. Probably he was formally acknowledged as king at the end of the period of civil war. The interregnum must have been utilised by the Bhatgaon nobility to extend its influence over an area as wide as possible. The whole of the Nepal Valley certainly came under its influence and they were also soon to dominate other parts of the kingdom. Jayānanda was there on the throne just on their sufferance enjoying no semblance of royal authority.

Jayarudramalla must have been a Regent. V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>111</sup> ignore the monarch on the throne as they talk of Jayarudramalla. V<sup>111</sup> gives different dates about his activities between 433 and 446 (f. 43b to f. 46b). The passages are difficult to understand but a few facts can be made out from the obscure texts. Jayarudramalla in his early career killed some courtiers including Tejarāma Bhāro, son of Jetarāma Bhāro, and Maṇḍala Bhāro (f. 43b). He visited the fort of Gokarṇa on 435 *Vaiśākha śukla* 5. There was some trouble in Rājagrāma fort (near Dolkhā) in the month of *Āśvina* of the year 439 (*saptamī ārdrā nakṣatra*), and he sent a force to control the situation (f. 43b). Under date 438 *Mārga śudi 11* Śrī Jayarudramalla conquered Talangupalana fort (f. 44b) unidentified so far. Perhaps he had subdued a rebellion in that area. All this shows that Jayarudramalla was the de facto ruler of the whole of Nepal, and his activities touched every part of the country from one end to the other.

As his inscriptions and colophons are available in Patan (doc. 1 & 3) and Kathmandu (doc. 2), the fact is established that Jayānanda had obtained general acceptance of his position as king. But his documents of date later than 438 are not available.

#### JAYARIMALLA AND JAYARUDRAMALLA

According to V<sup>1</sup> Jayarudramalla had crowned Jayārimalla-

deva, a relation of his, as the king of Nepal.<sup>124</sup> He could do so by virtue of his authority (*prabhutena*). Jayāri was crowned in Deopatan on 12 *Chaitra kṛṣṇa 440* (=April 5th, 1320)<sup>125</sup>, though it appears that about that time Jayānandadeva was also being acknowledged as king in the country. The crowning of Jayārimalla in Deopatan may show that this was done very surreptitiously. But ultimately Jayānanda was forced to quit. Jayārimalla was the son of Anantamalla born on 396 *Māgha śukla 12 budhavāra punarvasu nakṣatra pritiyoga*<sup>126</sup> (=Wednesday, January 29th, 1276). After Jayānanda's death Jayārimalla became the sole ruler on the throne<sup>127</sup> in about 449 or so. It appears that Jayānanda dragged his existence as a disclaimed monarch for 7 or 8 years more. Probably about 440 he shifted to Palāñchok, where he might have been regarded as the sole king. Jayarudramalla died on 446 *Prathamāṣāḍha 15* (=June 16th, 1326) leaving his daughter Nāyakadevī to succeed him.<sup>128</sup> V<sup>i</sup> gives a date which is a month earlier to this date and adds that his corpse was burnt at night in Bhaktapur and four wives of his had mounted the pyre and been reduced to ashes.<sup>129</sup> Jayarudramalla, though a subsidiary ruler was the de facto sovereign for the whole of Nepal. Jayārimalla was just a ruler in name. It was solely due to the influence of Jayarudramalla that the latter was installed on the throne (V<sup>iii</sup>, f. 44a). According to V<sup>i</sup> and VK Jayarudramalla controlled the whole of Nepal, and he ruled over portions upto Noakot (*Navakota-bhukṅti-paryanta*).<sup>130</sup>

Jayārimalla was just crowned and permitted to reign nominally (*rājabhuktimātradadau*) as V<sup>i</sup> stated.<sup>131</sup> It is possible that Rudramalla was not satisfied with Jayānanda and set up another person as king to suit his own convenience. We do

<sup>124</sup> *Tena svakuṭumba Śrī Jayārimalladevasya puṣpabhiṣekam kṛtam* V<sup>i</sup> f. 27b.

<sup>125</sup> V<sup>iii</sup>, f. 44b.                      <sup>126</sup> V<sup>iii</sup>, f. 35b.

<sup>127</sup> V<sup>iii</sup>, f. 44a; f. 45a; f. 57a.                      <sup>128</sup> V<sup>iii</sup>, f. 47a.

<sup>129</sup> f. 27b. Levi wrongly thinks that Rudramalla died while fighting the invasion of Harasiṃhadeva.

<sup>130</sup> V<sup>i</sup>, f. 27b.                      <sup>131</sup> V<sup>i</sup>, f. 27b.

not know when exactly Jayānanda was made to give up his throne.

## V

### ON THE TIRHUTIYA INVASION OF NEPAL

Jayarudramalla's last days coincided with the time of the flight of Harasimhadeva, the last ruler of Tirhut. It was a pure and simple coincidence, and the two events are absolutely unconnected.

According to V<sup>iii</sup> (f. 45b) Harasimha entered the hills of Nepal and died on his way on the 6th of January, 1326. But as we have already said the event of Harasimha's flight to Nepal is regarded as very important by modern chronicles, which attribute to him conquest of the whole country and founding of a dynasty to rule for several years to come. As the *Gopāla Varṁśāvalī* was not properly read and even when read little understood, scholars tended to take the statement of the modern chronicles very seriously. Levi, in particular, accepted in verbatim, as fact the story given by these chronicles. Bendall was an exception writing in 1903. But all others, mostly Indian historians taking interests in Nepalese history followed Levi word for word. We shall find as we come to deal with this issue that Luciano Petech has in his book tried to dispel the misunderstanding created by Levi by drawing attention to the statement of V<sup>iii</sup>. But later chronicles as supported by Levi still hold ground. This is mainly due to the writers who touch upon the subject in their works without gaining a first hand knowledge of the source materials available upto date. As we know no one with scholarly bent of mind would attempt to draw conclusion with an imperfect background of knowledge of the subject concerned. Whereas we find contrary to expectation that some prominent historians of India have done exactly the thing which was not desired of them and thus a false tradition purely emanating from the chronicler's imagination continues to be presented as the real history of the period under discussion.

Harasimhadeva has no claim to figure in the history of Nepal.

But I think it proper to examine the question of his entry into Nepal at a great length. It will appear that in this endeavour I have also tried to examine thoroughly the other hypothesis of Harasimha's ancestors holding even 'a vague kind of suzerainty'<sup>a</sup> over our country as made out by later chronicles and supported by Levi and his Indian followers.

### HARASIMHA'S ANCESTORS

A little later we shall discuss at length the question of Harasimha's conquest of Nepal. Before that, however, let us dwell on the antecedents of the event in so far as the story is related to his ancestors and their rule over Nepal.

The name of Harasimhadeva is spelt in both ways as Harasimhadeva and Harisimhadeva, Hari occurs in almost all records of Mithilā e.g.<sup>132</sup> *Puruṣaparikṣā II*, *Subuddhikathā* (Vr. XVIII, JASB, 1903 Pt. I); the *Pañjīprabandha* of Raghudeva Jha; Rahmani, 7; and Annals, XXXV 114 fn. 3. Amongst the Nepal records only one, the inscription 19 of Bhagvanlal Indrajī spells Hari (IA, 1880, P. 89). Others including V<sup>111</sup> and VK (last passage) have Harasimhadeva. We shall spell his name as Harasimhadeva in the present work.

As we have suggested there are various sources, which bring in Harasimhadeva into Nepalese scene. These are, (I) some of the inscriptions of later Malla rulers, (2) the drama *Mudita-kūvalayāśva* as cited by S. Levi and (3) the later chronicles.

Harasimhadeva's ancestry is traced to Nānyadeva. According to Pratāpamalla's inscription (Inscription, No. 18, IA, IX, P. 188) he is the latter's fifth successor being his great great grandson. The genealogy in the inscription is as follows:

Nānyadeva, his son  
Gangadeva, his son  
Nrisimha, his son

<sup>132</sup> U. Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, 1956, p. 278. In *Kṛtyarat-nākara* the author spells the name as Harasimha. Also in *Jyotirīśvara's Dhūrtasamāgama* we have Harasimha.



Rāmasimha, his son  
 Śaktisimha, his son  
 Bhūpālasimha, his son  
 Harasimha.

In the Newari text the expression used to connote Harasimha's succession is 'after Bhūpālasimha'. This may be construed to show that he might not be the son of Bhūpālasimha.

Two more inscriptions of Pratāpamalla speak of 'Harasimha' as his ancestor but they do not give the latter's genealogy (BLI. n. 19 and Taleju stella). A similar description is obtained from Siddhinarasimha's inscription (BLI, n. 17). According to Levi the *Muditakuvalayāśva* of Jagatjyotirmalla (NS 733-757) mentions Nānyadeva, his son Gaṅgadeva, his son Narasimhadeva, his son Rāmasimha, his son Bhavasimhadeva, his son Karmasimhadeva and his son Harasimhadeva.<sup>133</sup>

Bhūpālasimha is omitted by Mithilā records. One Maithili scholar, Upendra Thakur, suggested that he might be treated as the forgotten king of Mithilā, who actually did not succeed to the throne.<sup>134</sup> Except for Bhūpālasimha, the genealogy in Mithilā tradition and history tallies with the one given by Pratāpamalla. Although, Pratāpamalla's inscription does not say anything about their rule in Nepal, all the later chronicles categorically mention these names as rulers of this country reigning as descendants of Nānyadeva by virtue of that right since he left them in that position. Another name, Malladeva, predecessor or contemporary of Gaṅgadeva, is now historically established, though Nepalese sources omit him.<sup>135</sup>

According to Vidyāpati's *Puruṣaparikṣā*, Malladeva was Nānyadeva's son. Two scholars of Mithilā state that 'he ruled

<sup>133</sup> The copy I have seen at the Darbar Library does not give the genealogy.

<sup>134</sup> JBRS, XLIII Parts 3-4, 387. But R. C. Majumdar thinks that there is no ground to disbelieve Bhūpāla's rule, JBRS, XLIII. Parts 1-2. P. 2.

<sup>135</sup> Bhitha Bhagwanpur inscription with *Om Śrī Malladevasya*.

the eastern portion of Tirhut and some portions of Nepal',<sup>136</sup> while Gangadeva, another son of Nānyadeva enjoyed the possession of the main portion of the kingdom.

Now to come to the later chronicles about Harasimha's ancestors; we have earlier mentioned that these chronicles put the date of the conquest of Nepal by Nānyadeva on *Śrāvaṇa Śudī* of S 811. According to these chronicles, the two rulers of Patan and Bhaktapur were driven to Tirhut as a result of Nānyadeva's conquest of the Valley. Nānyadeva ruled for 50 years from Bhatgaon. Thereafter his dynasty ruled over Nepal in the following order.<sup>137</sup>

	<i>Wright</i>	<i>BLI</i>	<i>Levi</i>
1. Nānyadeva	41 yrs.	41 yrs.	41 yrs.
2. Gangadeva			
3. Narasimhadeva	31 „	31 „	31 „
4. Śaktideva, son of Narasimhadeva	39 „	39 „	39 „
5. Rāmasimhadeva	58 „	58 „	58 „
6. Harideva			

But Harasimhadeva who invaded Nepal in the winter of NS 444 did not belong to this dynasty. He belonged to the *Sūryavamṣī* dynasty of Ayodhyā. He was ousted from his capital by the Mahammadans and while being pushed eastward he settled in Simraongarh, from where he invaded Nepal and founded a dynasty to rule there. It was said that Harasimhadeva had taken advantage of a chaotic condition in Nepal to invade the country. His invasion of Nepal was preceded by that of the Pālpā ruler, Mukuṇḍasena who defeated and dethroned the last Karṇāṭa ruler, Harideva. Mukuṇḍasena could not stay in the Valley for long. His depredations went to offend God Pasūpati whose malediction brought ruin to his army. Later he died while he was escaping. After about '7 years or 8 years of interregnum'

<sup>136</sup> R. K. Chaudhary, *History of Bihar*, 1958, P. 104; U. Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, 1956, p. 256.

<sup>137</sup> Wright, P. 167; BLI, P. 39; Levi, II, P. 220.

and 225 years of rule by the Bais Thakuris of Noakot' king Harasimhadeva came to conquer Nepal.

In Kirkpatrick's authority the genealogy of Harasimha is entirely omitted. Kirkpatrick, however, adds a separate list in his footnote quoting a different authority which says that Nānyadeva's line might have 'a certain footing in Nepal'. According to the same source 'this establishment (whatever its extent may have been) was made in the year of Bickermajeet 901, by Nan Deo at the time, the Raja of Semaoor (as it is also sometime written Sumnum Ghur)'. This authority draws the genealogy of this dynasty as follows:

Nan Deo	
Kanuck Deo	(Gangadeva)
Nersingh Deo	(Nṛsimhadeva)
Bhad Singh Deo	(Bhavasimha)
Kurm Singh Deo	(Karmasimhadeva)
Hurr Singh Deo	

In the main portion of the chronicle Kirkpatrick speaks of 'Hurr Singh Deo, Raja of Simraogarh, and of the posterity of Bamdeb, Soorajbumsi prince of Oudh, to have entered Nepaul and completely subduing it put an end to the dynasty of the Burmahs in Pausa of Saka 1245 corresponding to the Newar year 444 or about the month of December, 1323 A.D. Hurr Singh Deo's invasion of Nepaul was occasioned by his being driven out of his own possessions by the Patans;<sup>138</sup> the reigning monarch of Delhi (who at this time was Secunder Lodi) having been incited to this measure by the news of Hurr Singh".<sup>139</sup>

A chronicle written in Sanskrit verse, which is in my possession omits Śaktisimha to make Rāmasimha a direct successor and son to Narasimha.<sup>140</sup> Harasimha is noted to have been born of Rāmasimha. He is said to have been Nānyadeva's fifth successor. Nānyadeva had succeeded in snatching away a part of Nepal. But Harasimha had come to dominate the whole country and

<sup>138</sup> Pathans. <sup>139</sup> P. 263.

<sup>140</sup> Gangadeva, Nṛsimha, Rāmasimha.

rule there. As we have said earlier, the Group B<sup>2</sup> chronicle puts uninterruptedly on the throne of Nepal one after the other, Nānyadeva and his successors right up to Śyāmasiṃha, the great grandson of Harasiṃha. In this chronicle too Harasiṃha figures as the fifth in line of the Kaṃṇāṭa ruling dynasty.<sup>141</sup> The last passage in VK also omits Śaktisiṃha as is done by Kirkpatrick.

On all evidence Nānyadeva's son was Gangadeva or Gāṅgadeva. There is a ms. colophon standing in the name of Gāṅgeyadeva, which some scholars attribute to this ruler.

ms. *Rāmāyaṇa* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1074) Colophon: *Samvat 1076 Āṣāḍha vadi 4 Mahārājādhirāja puṇyāvaloka somavamśodbhava gaṛuḍadhvaḥja Śrīmad Gāṅgeyadeva bhujyamāna Tirahutuktau kalyāṇa vijayarājye Nepāla deśiya Śrī Bhāṇḍasālīka Śrī Ānandarāja kṛte pātakāvasthita Paṇḍita Śrī Śrīkurasyaṭmaja Śrī Gopatinā lekhidam.*

According to Bendall this date is to be referred to the Vikrama era (1019 A.D.) and he thus ascribes the colophon to Kālāchuri Gāṅgeyadeva.<sup>142</sup> R. C. Majumdar thinks that the date refers to the Śaka era and in his opinion the record is of the time of Nānyadeva's son (1154 A.D.).<sup>143</sup> There are others who accepting the Vikrama epoch of the date of the colophon suggests that a new Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty was reigning in Mithilā about 1019 A.D.<sup>144</sup> Some Mithilā historians have supported Majumdar as to the epoch of the Śaka era for the date of the record.<sup>145</sup> On reading Petech I notice that he is inclined to accept Gāṅgeyadeva of the colophon for Nānyadeva's son Gangadeva, although he points out that the Lunar stock of Gāṅgeyadeva of the colophon does not agree with the Solar dynasty, to which Pratāpamalla places his ancestors of Nānyadeva's line in his inscriptions.<sup>146</sup>

I do not think that this colophon is of any importance for

<sup>141</sup> The dynasties of Vāmadeva and several others are omitted.

<sup>142</sup> Bendall, *History*, P. 18. (CPMDN, I)

<sup>143</sup> *IHQ*, VII (1931), P. 681.

<sup>144</sup> *Mirashi V. V. ABORI*, XXIII (1942) Pp. 291-92.

<sup>145</sup> *JIH*, XXXIV (1956), P. 52. <sup>146</sup> P. 192.

our purpose. It is enough that we know that Gangadeva is the son of Nānyadeva. But for this too the record is of no use until we establish the identity of the personage of the colophon with the Karṇāṭa Gangadeva. As we have already said, some modern historians of Mithilā suggest that Gangadeva was one of the two brothers who succeeded their father Nānyadeva, one ruling over Nepal and another over Tirhut. Gangadeva ruled over Tirhut.<sup>147</sup>

Gangadeva was followed by Nṛsimha or Narasimha and the latter in turn was succeeded by his son Rāmasimha. It so happens that upto this stage the chronology of the Karṇāṭa dynasty seems more or less ascertained. But hereafter confusion starts as sources differ in regard to royal names and even their total numerical strength.

The authority of Kirkpatrick introduces two more names, Bhavasimha and Karmasimha, after Rāmasimha. Harasimha (Harasimha) is mentioned as the son and successor of Karmasimha.<sup>148</sup> However, the tradition in Mithilā is unaware of Bhavasimha and Karmasimha. Śaktisimha or Śakrasimha is known as the father of Harasimha and son of Rāmasimha. Wright, BLI, Sanskrit chronicle and Kirkpatrick all of them speak of Harasimhadeva founding a dynasty in Nepal.

We know what value to attach to the chronicles we have mentioned as far as Nepal is concerned. Surely the dynastic chronology we have discussed carries no meaning for the history of Nepal. But all the same we discussed this problem at least to show how unreliable were the chronicles in this respect. As a matter of fact, it is absurd to suggest that Harasimhadeva's ancestors ever ruled Nepal. But the dynastic chronology might be important for the history of Mithilā. However, the order of names produced by several sources does not agree from one list to another. Therefore it is doubtful if even for Mithilā chrono-

<sup>147</sup> R. K. Chaudhary, *History of Bihar*, 1958, P. 106.

<sup>148</sup> VK, additional passage in the last page; Gangadeva, Narasimhadeva, Rāmasimhadeva, Bhavasimhadeva, Karmasimha, Harasimhadeva.

logy, this might be of some utility. Considering the entire issue I find it difficult even to draw a correct order from Nānyadeva to Rāmasiṃha as Petech has tried to do.

#### DID NANYADEVA'S SUCCESSORS RULE OVER NEPAL?

All the modern chronicles except the Sanskrit chronicle have the Karṇāṭa dynasty ruling for five generations over Nepal since Śaka 811 for a period of 224 (50+41+31+39+58+5) years. We have no evidence other than the one provided by these chronicles for the existence of the rule of this dynasty in Nepalese soil. But some modern writers of Indian history have suggested that Nepal proper was ruled as a part of Mithilā successively by the four descendants of Nānyadeva. One author R. K. Chaudhary writes that after Nānyadeva's death the kingdom was divided into two parts, the Tirhut proper and Nepal and Eastern Tirhut under Gangadeva and Malladeva respectively.<sup>149</sup> But he thinks<sup>150</sup> that 'the authority of the Karṇāṭa might have been slender in Nepal.'

S. Levi<sup>151</sup> thinks that 'in control of routes they might have exercised suzerainty over Nepal at least nominal. Their history is uncertain but their names are fairly well ascertained. The years of reign attributed to each one of them vary with the documents. Their irreducible divergence does not fail to surprise. But we have the surprise of a different nature if one adds them. The numbers of V give a total of 219 years; those of H, 226 years. The apparent difference is reduced to zero, because V. alone adds 7 years of anarchy which complete the total. 219+7 V-226 H. And this very total gives too symmetrical a counterpart to the feudal period of 225 years. We grapple here with the fact once again the procedure of the annalists. The Karṇā-

<sup>149</sup> ABORI, XXXV (1955), Pp. 98-100; JIH, XXXVI, Pt. I, April, 1958, Pp. 125-26.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>151</sup> II, P. 217. Also read DNI, I, 206. The author thinks that the successors of Nānyadeva exercised a loose hegemony over the local princes of the Nepal Valley.

ṭas of Tirhut had reigned for 226 years, at the same time as the indigenous princes had reigned over Nepal. The two parallel series were divided in two and placed end to end. Motives of positive order have induced us higher up to choose among the diverging dates the date of 1097 J. C. for the invasion of Nānya-deva. Our choice finds here a new justification. From 1097, invasion of Nānyadeva to 1324 invasion of Harisimhadeva the interval is of 227 years.”

Saying that altogether from 811 Śaka ‘there spreads an interval of 434 years between Nānya’s first date and 1245 Śaka’ he gives to the other dynasty a total reign period of  $434-226=218$  years while the Karṇāṭas had ruled for 226 years. I do not think that such an interpretation will help us in arriving at the truth about the Karṇāṭa rule in Nepal. The later chronicles have shown a confusion, which cannot be cleared in the fashion as Levi does. Most of all, all this has to be done in the face of the evidence of the ancient chronicles, which write with authority on the chronology of the period. And we also should remember that altogether since the Nepal era started the total of regnal years is not what is shown by the later chronicles. We cannot meet the issue because in many instances regnal years are not given. Levi, of course, has built a false hypothesis, as false as cannot lead us anywhere. We shall say more about this issue a little later.

Earlier we have said that some of the later chronicles speak of Mukuṇḍa Sena Khasa of Pālpā to have invaded Nepal, while one of the Karṇāṭa kings was ruling. The date given by them is 1088 A.D. which is absurd. But two of the chronicles mention that Mukuṇḍa Sena’s invasion took place in Rāmasimha’s time in 1258 A.D. These put Rāmasimha as the immediate predecessor of Harasimhadeva.

L. Petech in particular considers that ‘a chronological element’ is added to this theme by the event of Khasia invasion during the time of the last reign. This event is noted in every chronicle, although the time in each is different. The invader was Khasa Mukuṇḍa Sena identified by the Italian scholar with Mani Mukuṇḍa Sena of Pālpā, who was the maternal grand-

father of Jitārimalla of Dullu (1288-90).<sup>152</sup> According to the chronicles the three cities of the Valley were plundered, and the ruler against whom earlier his own subjects had revolted was dethroned. But Mukuṇḍa Sena's own army was destroyed by an outbreak of an epidemic, and he himself died. With this invasion Nānyadeva's line was totally eliminated, and the Ṭhakuri Rājā was restored.

In the two modern chronicles, BLI and Wright, as we have suggested earlier, the last ruler of the Karṇāṭa dynasty is Hari-deva. The Sanskrit chronicle does not talk of the Karṇāṭa dynasty it comes to the time of Harasiṃha who had founded a ruling Karṇāṭa dynasty in Nepal. But he is said to be fifth in line of succession since Nānyadeva. I have not seen the V.T. But I do not think that this particular modern chronicle should be more reliable than the others. The group B<sup>2</sup> chronicle has a parallel genealogy as the Sanskrit chronicle, but shows the Karṇāṭas as the sole ruling family since Nānyadeva occupied Nepal. How much reliance is to be placed on the statement of the chronicles when they say that the Ṭhakuri Rājās ruled for 225 years before the last of them was overthrown by Harasiṃhadeva who was of a different stock? Nor do the group B<sup>2</sup> and Sanskrit chronicles clear the ground, because they also insert the story of the rule of Vaisya Ṭhakuris for 225 years between Rāmasiṃha and Harasiṃha. Even if the fact of invasion be regarded as true, Harasiṃhadeva could never come 225 years after Rāmasiṃha who could again on no account be placed earlier by more than two generations in the chronology. To refer to the later chronicles for light is a fruitless venture.

Whatever that be, we do not intend to enter into the controversial ground of the history of these rulers, as on all accounts their rule was confined to Mithilā with the capital at Simraongarh. There is not a shred of evidence either in the colophons or in the inscriptions to show that they ruled over Nepal; and even Mithilā records, all of them authentic and verified, while

<sup>152</sup> BLI, P. 38; Wright, P. 170 (in Harideva's time). Tucci's *Vamśāvalī* quoted by Petech (in Rāmasiṃha's time).



clear about their suzerainty over Mithilā, have no words to show even the remotest connection of these rulers with Nepal. About Nṛsimha and Rāmasimha Petech is of the opinion that 'these maintained some connection with Nepal, because their names appear in early *Vamśāvalis*'.<sup>153</sup> They certainly appear in the ancient chronicle, the V<sup>111</sup>. Narasimha is noted as the father of Rāmasimha under date NS 303 *Chaitra śukla 13* (March 8th, 1183), which was also the time the latter was born (f. 36a). We have seen how Rāmasimha also comes in for notice in the chronicle in connection with raids he carried into areas in the vicinity of the Valley of Nepal (f. 36b). The fact of the birth of a ruler of a country outside Nepal being noted in the Nepalese chronicle is unusual. But this must have been prompted by a desire to highlight Rāmasimha's birth for the simple reason that he happened to carry raids into Nepalese territories. I do not think that we can read any other meaning in the expression of V<sup>111</sup>, which gives the information about Rāmasimha's father and the date of his birth. At any rate we are confirmed in our view that none of Harasimha's ancestors had at anytime conquered or ruled over Nepal.

#### HARASIMHA'S DATE

Now let me say a few words in regard to the date of Harasimhadeva.

It is suggested that Harasimhadeva succeeded to the throne near about 1280 A.D. It is also suggested that the colophon of the ms. *Bhaṭṭikāvya*<sup>154</sup> places his reign to 1271 A.D. (*Śrīmad Harasimhadeva rājye La. Samvat 159 Phālguna vadi śanau*). According to Petech the *tithi* corresponds to Wednesday, March 1st, 1271, and if it were not for 'Saturday' mentioned therein the verification would have been correct. Petech thinks that this date is too early. But while we talk of Harasimha's date, it is good to remember his immediate predecessor. This may help to solve the tangle of Harasimha's dates.

<sup>153</sup> P. 193.

<sup>154</sup> As. Soc. Bengal, 4795, CSMASB, VII, p. 66. n. 5067.

Leaving aside the genealogy of the unreliable chronicles we find 3 names as possible predecessors of Harasimhadeva. There are Rāmasimha, Śaktisimha and Bhūpālasimha. There is one more name Vīrasimha which is often interposed between Rāmasimha and Harasimha.

From the ms. *Kaśikāvīvaraṇaṇpanjikā* (Nor monastery, Tibet) we have the expression *Vīrasimhadevastanyamānāyām tirabhuktau . . . Lakṣmaṇadeva-Ṣatapañchāśatābḍīya rājye* (November, 1260).<sup>155</sup>—56 . . . *Mārga śudi 14*.

But this name is totally unknown to Mithilā history. Petech thinks that the 'oscillation in the name of Rāmasimha's successors seems to point to a state of civil war.' For Rāmasimha's reign we have a new colophon date from a copy of the ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*,<sup>156</sup> which runs: *Rd-Gaṇalakṣmaṇasenadevasya samvat 67 Mārga vadi 5 rabau Pbhetyādi rājāvalī pūrvat śrīmad Rāmasimhadeva bhujyamāne tirabhuktau śālmalivanapātake likhitā bhagavatī Prajñāpāramitā likhitā paṇḍita Mālādhareṇeti*. This date roughly corresponds to 1267-71 A.D. if the Lakṣmaṇa Samvat is to be regarded to have started from 1200-04 A.D. or to 1185 A.D. if its epoch year is 1118 A.D. But the equivalent date in terms of the CE will have to be determined with reference to Rāmasimha's position in the genealogy. From Mithilā records it appears that Rāmasimha had a long reign of nearly 55 or 58 years. But the various genealogies in our sources are so confusing that it is hardly possible to fix a place for Rāmasimha in the order. He might have been Harasimhadeva's father or grandfather. But accounts are conflicting and scholars have differed on the subject. But a Tibetan treatise recently published by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute seems to show the way to an authoritative approach. The treatise is the biography of Dharmasvāmin (*Chaglo tsa-ba ches-rje-dpal*) who had

<sup>155</sup> JBORS, XXI, P. 37. L. Petech, *Ibid*, P. 195. He calculated the date to correspond to November 18th, 1260.

<sup>156</sup> Recently acquired by the Darb. Library.

visited Nepal and India, 1234-46 A.D.<sup>157</sup> The Tibetan traveller has left a note where he talks of Rāmasiṃha of Tirhut, Buddha Sena of Gaya and Kublai Khan. of China as his contemporaries. Obviously these were contemporaries or near contemporaries also of one another. Dharmasvāmin also writes that he met King Rāmasiṃha of Tirhut. Dr. Altekar who wrote an introduction to the book says that the Tibetan monk must have met Rāmasiṃha about 1236 A.D.<sup>158</sup> This is just about 45-60 years previous to the accession of Harasiṃhadeva.<sup>159</sup> Thus the suggestion about the relationship between these two monarchs as we have made out in the beginning of the paragraph seems to be not so wide of the mark.

Dr. Altekar in the same place argues his case for the epoch year of the Lakṣmaṇa era. He concludes that there should be two dates for the epoch of the LE, one for the earlier documents and another for the later ones. The epoch for the LE used in documents of the earlier period should fall in 1200-04 A.D.

If all documents with LE were to be referred to the epoch year of 1118-19 A.D., the document of Rāmasiṃha belonging to LE 67 must be assigned to his early years as king. Likewise, the year given by Altekar about the meeting of Dharmasvāmin with Rāmasiṃha, 1236 A.D., must belong to the other-side towards the end of his regnal career. This controverts Altekar's suggestion that Rāmasiṃha ruled till 1285 A.D. But it can be definitely said that there is a substantive case for interpreting all the early date with LE in terms of the epoch year being started in 1200-04 A.D., while the later ones since about 100 LE all started from 1118-20 A.D.

According to our source of V<sup>111</sup> (f. 35a) Rāmasiṃha was

<sup>157</sup> Edited by A. S. Altekar (Text translation by G. Roerich) Patna, 1959.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, P. XIII.

<sup>159</sup> R. K. Chaudhary in his article (*The Karṇātas of Mithilā*, ABORI, XXXV, 1955, P. 93), wrote that according to tradition Rāmasiṃha ruled for 58 or 86 or 62 or 82 years. M. I. Rahmani, quoted by R. K. Chaudhary.

born on March 8th, 1183 A.D. The date of his attacks on Nepal is 1244 A.D. If it is true that he lived up to a ripe old age of 85 or 87<sup>160</sup> as some scholars have suggested then the end of his reign might be placed near about 1268 or 1270 A.D.<sup>161</sup> In the light of this information the equivalent in CE of the date L.S. 67 of the colophon cited in the preceding passage should be the first one i.e. 1267-71 A.D. If we interpret the same to bring out 1185 A.D., the position becomes unadjustable with reference to V<sup>111</sup> and Mithilā tradition. This evidence may sufficiently prove the correctness of Altekar's thesis. Perhaps there was one more ruler between Rāmasimha and Harasimha. This ruler might be Śaktisimha as U. Thakur suggests in his work.<sup>162</sup>

There is a wide divergence of opinion regarding the first regnal year of Harasimhadeva. Some say he succeeded anytime in the eighties of the 13th century.<sup>163</sup> Others are of the opinion that he ascended the throne not before 1300 A.D., the date of Alauddin Khilji's Ranthambhor expedition, in which Śaktisimha figures according to Mithilā tradition.<sup>164</sup>

Anyway, notwithstanding the fact that the early dates of Harasimha are uncertain we have no doubt as to his ruling over Mithilā between c. 1307 and 1324 A.D. It seems that he lost his capital to the Tughlaks in the winter of 1324-25 A.D. But we have now to see if the story of his conquest of Nepal about this date is correct.

#### THE SO-CALLED CONQUEST OF NEPAL BY HARASIMHADEVĀ

It has been a common practice with almost all the modern writers of Indian history to talk of the conquest of the Nepal Valley of Harasimhadeva of Mithilā. They suggest that Nepal was conquered by him either in 1314 or in 1324 A.D. while he

<sup>160</sup> U. Thakur *History of Mithilā*, p. 275.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*                    <sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> *CHI. Delhi Sultanate*, P. 396.

<sup>164</sup> U. Thakur, *JBRs*, XLIII, Pts. III & IV, P. 390.

sought refuge there being expelled from his capital by Ghias ud-dīn Tughlak.

References to Harasimhadeva's invasion of Nepal are common in some documents of comparatively recent origin. The date for this invasion is put in Śaka 1245. We have seen how the later chronicles have invariably brought him to the scene as a conqueror but he is represented there not as a scion of the dynasty of Nānyadeva but as 'the king of the solar dynasty of Ayodhya who was driven by the Mussalmans to the east and who had established his capital at Simraongarh and later turned to Nepal to conquer it in NS 444 Śaka 1245 (=December 7, 1323 A.D.).<sup>165</sup> The Sanskrit chronicle<sup>166</sup> and the chronicle (group B<sup>2</sup>)<sup>167</sup> are the only exceptions amongst the later chronicles to have called him a descendant of Nānyadeva and place him fifth in the line. Kirkpatrick's authority says that in NS 408 many Khasa families settled in Nepal, and 3 years after emigrants from Tirhut entered this country.<sup>168</sup> It goes on to say further that Harasimhadeva (Hurr Sing Deo) was expelled by the Pathans from his capital city of Simraongarh and he then came to Nepal in Śaka 1245 to establish his own rule there. The date is invariably mentioned by all the sources as *Pauṣa śukla 9 Saturday* of Śaka 1245.<sup>169</sup> The episode of the so-called conquest of Nepal by Harasimhadeva is also the subject of a statement by Chaṇḍeśvara in his *Kṛtyachintāmani* and therein the Minister has been mentioned to have performed

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<sup>165</sup> Wright (Second Edition), P. 105; BLI, P. 39.

<sup>166</sup> This is one of the later chronicles written in Sanskrit verses. I think this is the very chronicle which Petech calls VT (P. -93).

<sup>167</sup> This is another chronicle of the later period, which differs in some respects from Wright or Levi.

<sup>168</sup> Kirkpatrick, P. 258.

<sup>169</sup> L. Petech following Levi thinks that particulars mentioned about this date shall appear correct if the date is rendered Śaka 1247 (=December 14, 1325). The Sanskrit chronicle also has the expression.

a *tulāpuruṣa* sacrifice on the bank of the river Bāgmati.<sup>170</sup> In *Kṛtyaratnākara* he boasts of having touched the sacred feet of Lord Paśupati-nātha after his conquest of Nepal then ruled by kings of Raghu race.<sup>171</sup> In the introduction to *Kṛtyachintāmani* Chaṇḍeśvara enumerates Nepal as one of the countries conquered by Harasiṃhadeva. The passage runs: *Raṅga (Baṅga) sañjātabhanga (scha) chakita karighata Kāmaruṣa viruṣa china kuñjadichina pramuditabilasat kinkira kinkirāta Nepāla bhūmipāla bhūjabala dalita techa Nātaścha Lātāḥe Karṇātāḥ kena dṛṣṭvā prasarat samare mantriratnākaraśya*.<sup>172</sup> We have seen that the chronicles of Wright and Bhagvanlal Indraji put 1324 A.D. as the first date of occupation of the Nepal Valley by Harasiṃhadeva. Those who accept Chaṇḍeśvara's date of performing *tulāpuruṣa* suggest that Harasiṃha had conquered Nepal in 1314 A.D.<sup>173</sup>

In the second quarter of the 17th century Siddhinarasiṃhamalla and Pratāpamalla mentioned Harasiṃha in their inscriptions as their ancestor who had conquered Nepal subsequent to his flight from Mithilā.<sup>174</sup> In another inscription Pratāpamalla says that Harasiṃha came here being pursued by the Tughlak invaders. This inscription dedicated to Chaṇḍikā at the base of the Taleju's temple pavement<sup>175</sup> is dated 762 *Jyeṣṭha*, and has the line *ākrāntam yavanaiḥ bhṛśambidhibasād svopa-dravam bāndhavaiḥ sārddham tatthya bihāya chātmanagaram Nepālamatyāgataḥ*. But it adds another line saying that he

<sup>170</sup> One is not sure whether the place referred to lay in the Nepalese territory within the Valley called Nepal, or it was, somewhere in the Nepalese Terai. The *Tulādāna* was performed in Śaka 1236 *Mārga kṛṣṇa*.

These two verses also occur in *Vivāda Ratnākara* at the end. In *Kṛtyachintāmani* only the first of these finds place. But there is one more reference there, where Chaṇḍeśvara describes himself to have defeated all his opponents including the Nepalese.

<sup>171</sup> JASB, 1915, P. 410; CSMASB, III, Pp. 698-99.

<sup>172</sup> *Sanskrit Sandeśa*, I. 6, Pp.

<sup>173</sup> JBRS, XLIII, Pts. I & II, Pp. 1-6.

<sup>174</sup> BLI, n. 17, 18.

<sup>175</sup> *Sanskrit Sandeśa*, I, 2, P. 18.

conquered the local kings and became himself a sovereign of Nepal.<sup>176</sup> The story of Harasimha's taking refuge in Nepal and his subsequent defeat of the indigenous dynasty seems to have been unknown to earlier records. It appears that the story was being given currency by Pratāpamalla and Siddhinarasimhamalla in the 17th century and since then it was adopted by the chroniclers. This was a common story of the time. This is corroborated by what was being heard of Harasimhadeva in Kathmandu by Father Cassien in 1740 A.D.<sup>177</sup> The Capuchin Missionary was told that the prince had escaped from Simraongarh to settle down in the Valley of Nepal, where he could gradually gather strength to finally capture the throne and found a dynasty to rule over the kingdom for years and years.

The later chronicles were originally compiled during Pratāpamalla's reign. They were probably prepared at the instance of the rulers. Quite naturally they shape the story of Harasimhadeva to accord with the views of the patron. This was the reason that all of them invariably present Harasimhadeva as the conqueror of Nepal, who had founded a dynasty. Because the rulers willed it, so, the truth was sacrificed for expediency and thus a false genealogy came to be introduced into the general body of the Nepalese chronology.

But the idea of an invasion of Nepal by Harasimhadeva during his exile cannot be supported by any evidence whatsoever. If the story of his conquest of Nepal had become current in the early 17th century, it was not because Harasimha had conquered this country but because the then rulers of Nepal had deemed to connect their family tree to Harasimhadeva, and in that attempt had made him a conqueror of Nepal.

As we discuss Jaya Sthitimalla's parentage, we shall know that this was a spurious claim put forward by the Nepalese rulers of the 17th century.

The traditional verse of a chronicle, *tyaktvā svapattana purim Harasimhadevoḥ durdaiva deśitaḥ paṭhe girimābiveśa*

<sup>176</sup> Taleju Inscription. *Sans. Sandesh*, I, *Ibid.*

<sup>177</sup> *Italiani Missionari*, etc. Vol. I, Pt. I, P. 8.

does not suggest anything more than this. But its picture is a little confused because earlier it observes that Harasimhadeva ruled over Nepal. In Bhatgaon the temple of Tulajādevī is attributed to him by legends. A ms. *Jāṭisaṅgraha* (CSPMIO, P. 1411, n. 7767) has *Karnāṭa sañjanagarādd-Harasiṃhadevo Nepāladeśamānayatsajaleju* (Taleju). This is confirmed by a writing reproduced in *Sanskrit Sandesha* (1-5) which speaks of the distress fallen to Harasimha while in that city; the legend must have grown because of the cult being introduced by Maithili Tantrists who had fled to Nepal along with Harasimhadeva to escape the horrors of the Tughlak invasion.

No colophon or inscriptional records are available for Harasimhadeva's reign. It is said that this was so because the contemporary writers (of inscriptions or documents) regarded him as an alien approaching the country. But this is not a very convincing argument. In the history of Nepal of the same period there were many other alien invaders. Not only their invasions have been recorded but if they had ruined,<sup>178</sup> they have been acknowledged as such in the colophons and inscriptions.

What is generally missed by writers in this connection is the evidence of ancient chronicles, which definitely rules out any invasion of Nepal by Harasimha. They also conveniently forget that there is absolutely no record or tradition in Mithilā, which in any way supports the story of Harasimha's rule over Nepal. It is surprising that Maithili historians of today fall back on the testimony of Pratāpamalla to put forward the proposition of Harasimha's conquest of Nepal. We know that nothing of source materials available in Mithilā could throw light on this subject. But these people are unaware that the authoritative text of the ancient chronicles not only touched upon the escape of Harasimha from his capital but it also gives a story, which is contrary to what the later traditions said about his settlement in the Valley as a conqueror.

<sup>178</sup> Read V<sup>1</sup>, V<sup>111</sup> for the Khasia invasion. The Svayambhu and Pimbahāl inscriptions of a Muslim attack on Nepal.



The ancient chronicles compiled only 50 years after Harasimhadeva's flight from Mithilā do not say anything about this invasion. V<sup>1</sup> states that the Tirtutiyās entered Nepal in NS 409 and again in 411 (f. 26b). Levi thinks that the Tirhutiyās were the army personnel of Harasimhadeva,<sup>179</sup> who had raided some parts of the country. In the *Varṃśāvalī* of F. M. Kaisar there is yet one more invasion by the Tirhutiyās in *Māgha* 431 (=January-February, 1311 A.D.).<sup>180</sup> Like V<sup>1</sup>, the chronicle of VK does not mention Harasimha, but states that Tirhutiyās entered Bhaktagrāma in NS 411 *Māgha māsa* for the first time and for the second time in 431 *Māgha* they came to Lalitapātan<sup>181</sup> and the subsequent passage describes the condition of the country at the time saying that 'there was a great trouble; people were punished and harassed, the governor was taken prisoner.' It is not clear if all this was consequent to the invasion of the Tirhutiyās. Petech thinks that the invaders must have been the descendants of Nānyadeva. Because the date is 1310 A.D., it must have been Harasimha's men doing their job. But Harasimhadeva did not only lose his vitality towards the end of his career, but he also lost his kingdom. In the winter of 1324-25 A.D. Ghias ud-din Tughlak invaded the last independent kingdom of Hindu India, which was soon after effaced out of the map. In its place the vassal state of *Oinwār* rose. Harasimha's fate was sealed up for good and he fled but he could not go back to Tirhut. It does neither seem that he stayed in Nepal as a conqueror. The very account of invasion does not find support from reliable documents. To add to this we now know that not the Nepal Valley was the object of his visit.

We have an unambiguous passage in V<sup>111</sup> (f. 46a), which not only mentions Harasimha but also says that he died soon after his entry into east Nepal. The passage runs to say:<sup>182</sup> Collecting

<sup>179</sup> II, P. 215.

<sup>180</sup> Petech, P. 103; VK, P. 10.

<sup>181</sup> *Samvat 411 Māgha māsa Tirhutiyā Bhagatgrāme pravista. Samvat 431 Māgha māsa tirhutiyā Lalitagrāme praviṣṭah rāstre atissam̃tah danda prāchyate pātra ṣṣṭa-bandhanam mahapita.*

<sup>182</sup> V<sup>111</sup> (f. 46a).

all his troops, the Mithilā ruler met the invaders in battle fields, but he was ousted by the Turks of Delhi, Simraongarh was completely destroyed: then he entered the forest and in distress came to live in the hills on 446 *Māgha śukla 3* (= 7 January, 1326), with all his family and ministers and from there he was on his way to Dolkhā.<sup>183</sup> On the way, however, the Rājā died at a place called Tinpāṭa.<sup>184</sup> In Dolkhā his son and minister with their families were taken prisoner by one Majhibhāro of Rājāgrāma who took possession of their entire wealth.

In view of this passage I do not think that there is any ground left to speculate about Harasimhadeva as a personality playing his role in the history of Nepal. We must bear in mind that the V<sup>111</sup> was being compiled about fifty years after Harasimhadeva's flight from Simraongarh.

It is outside the scope of the book to deal with the subject of Muslim invasion of Tirhut, and Harasimha's encounter with the invaders. Confining our attention to Harasimha's entry into Nepal we find that anykind of argument to make him a conqueror of Nepal rests on a weak ground. In this context whether he conquered Nepal in 1314 "in the heydays of his power and glory"<sup>185</sup> or he did so after fleeing from the plains<sup>186</sup> is beside the point.

The utterance of Chaṇḍeśvara in *Kṛtyaratnākara* is nothing but one made in a boastful mood. For one thing he does not locate the place on the Bāgmati where he performed the *tulāpuruṣa*. Had it been in Nepal proper, he could not have omitted the locality in the reference. Probably he had a look of Paśupati-nātha while he visited Nepal on pilgrimage. But it is certain that he did not go there at the head of an army. It is possible that Chaṇḍeśvara might have scored a victory over some petty chieftains in the Terai and projected this event to celebrate the *tulāpuruṣa*. For another matter Chaṇḍeśvara seems certainly

<sup>183</sup> About 66 miles due east of Kathmandu.

<sup>184</sup> A village situated to the south-west of Sindhu Pradesh.

<sup>185</sup> R. C. Majumdar, JBORS, XLIII, Pts. 1-2, P. 5.

<sup>186</sup> U. N. Thakur, JBORS, XLIII, Pts. 3-4, P. 390.

intent to make much ado about even small events. His conquest of Nepal is imaginary. Similarly, it would be wrong to think that Harasimha's descendants ruled at any time over the Valley of Nepal. We shall observe later that the dynasty was a figment of the chronicler's imagination.

Except the statement of Chaṇḍeśvara that he had conquered Nepal, there is no other reference to Nepal in any records of Mithilā. Even Chaṇḍeśvara does not say that the conquest had led his master to occupy the country for any length of time and least of all found a dynasty to rule there. The tradition known in Mithilā about Harasimha does not connect him in any way with the story of his establishing Karṇāṭa rule in Nepal. It only says that he had escaped to the hills.

The contemporary Muslim account of Harasimhadeva's flight from Simraongarh in 1324-25 also tends to support our view in the matter. Although the statements are vague as to the circumstances of his escape, all are agreed on the point that none talks of Nepal and of its conquest by Harasimha. A little later as we discuss the date of Harasimha's flights, all these accounts find place in our narrative. It shall appear that Harasimha's so called conquest of Nepal was not known to the Muslim historians.

Very recently Prof. S. H. Askari has been able to trace the following information about Harasimhadeva's flight from his capital from a rare Persian ms. in the possession of K. P. Jayaswal Institute, which was the work of a historian accompanying Ghias ud-dīn Tūghlak in his expedition to Tīrhut. The ms. in question<sup>187</sup> is designated as *Basātin-ul-uns*, and the author's name is given as Muhammad Sadr-ula Ahmad Hasan Dabir-i-Idrisi with the title of Taj and famous as Ikhtisan. The reference occurs in folios 11A-13A, which is as follows:

"Pale faced and restless like the falling leaves he (Harasimhadeva) cited the verses of flight. In the hope of attaining freedom or deliverance, he caught hold of the skirt or declivity of the mountain and taking his abode in the central hill there-

<sup>187</sup> The original copy is lying in the British Museum.

of (Kamar-i-Koh) he concealed himself like fire in stone, in other words he fled away in the jungles of the Himalayas and was never seen again."<sup>188</sup>

If Harasimhadeva was the master of Nepal, he would not have given the impression that he had disappeared for good. He would have utilised the advantageous position offered by Nepal's strategic areas in the hills to swoop down on his enemies in the low lands or at least to resort to harassing tactics of a guerilla war-fare, which in any event might not have escaped the attention of the contemporary historians of the Tughlak invaders.

Coming as it does from the pen of a person who had participated in the invasion of Simraongarh the work *Basātin-ul-uns* provides the most authentic Indian account of Harasimha's fate in the war with the Tughlaks. The evidence of V<sup>111</sup> as to Harasimha's death in Tinpāṭa only supplements this account.

I shall have one more occasion to refer to *Basātin-ul-uns* when I discuss the date of Harasimha's flight from Simraongarh. However I have based my writing on R. K. Chaudhary's article and the reference cited therein is from the copy of the work which belongs also to the British Museum.

Because V<sup>i</sup> mentions only Tirhutiya's entry in regard to earlier dates it might have meant to introduce some raids at the most but on no account an invasion implied or it might even mean the entry of those who had fled earlier from Tirhut to escape the impending crisis.

It seems that Harasimha was not permitted to go to the Nepal Valley, and even in far off Dolkhā the refugee family could live just precariously.

From the statement of V<sup>111</sup> it appears that he did not enter the Valley of Nepal. He might have entered the hilly region through Janakpur and desired to reach Sindhuli and turn eastward with Dolkhā as destination. He, however, died at a place called Tinpāṭa between Sindhuli and Janakpur. The statement

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<sup>188</sup> From an unpublished article.

of V<sup>iii</sup> makes it clear that he had not entered the Valley of Nepal.

The same statement does also repudiate any suggestion of Harasimhadeva's conquest of Nepal. He was fleeing to save his life. In the very nature of circumstances he could not conceive of a conflict with those whose country was supposed to offer him asylum. A run away refugee would also be debarred from undertaking such a course of action as he would not possess recourses. A palace coup d'etat could have been engineered in the capital, but the fact that Harasimhadeva had not entered the Valley precludes such a possibility. If there was any court intrigue on account of Harasimhadeva, V<sup>iii</sup> would have not omitted to mention it as it refers to several other facts of that nature, which occurred at the time.

S. Levi has accepted the later chronicler's account of Harasimha's conquest of Nepal just as he did in the case of the story of Nānyadeva's invasion and conquest. He not only believed the story as true, but said that while Harasimha had returned to Tirhut his successors functioned as legitimate sovereigns of Nepal for four generations until the time of Jyotirmalla (NS 529-548).

He reproduces the genealogy given by the later chronicles as correct.

	<i>Wright</i>	<i>B.L.I</i>	<i>Levi</i>
Harisimhadeva	28		28
Matisimhadeva	15	15	15
Śaktisimhadeva	22	33	27
Śyāmasimhadeva	15	15	15

We shall see later that Levi confuses the subordinate rulers of Bhoṭṭadeśa (Banepā), Madanasimha and Śaktisimha, who had also functioned as ministers in the court of Patan overshadowing the throne with the descendants of Harasimhadeva. He thinks that these exercised effective authority from Bhatgaon compared to the indigenous princes who had occupied the other two cities. According to Chinese recognition of their position he observes 'it cannot be said that the Chinese have

allowed themselves to be beguiled by the lying pretensions of the envoys of the Siṃhas. Chinese officials have visited in person Nepal and it is on their initiative that relations had been established' (II. P. 230).

Levi adds 'the official genealogies of the Malla epigraphy ignore this lineage: they pass directly from Harasiṃha to Yakṣamalla, who reigns a century after him. Kirkpatrick and Bendall omit them altogether. Among the mss. copied there is one which mentions one of these kings. And yet the modern chronicles are not content with recording their names; they claim to associate with them the memory of events of Śakti-siṃha, they say that 'he then settled in Palāñchok (outside the Valley to the east); thence he despatched presents to China in the year 535;<sup>189</sup> the emperor felt so pleased that he addressed him a seal which bore an inscription of his name, followed by the title Rāma".<sup>190</sup>

If Levi would have access to the above quoted passage of V<sup>111</sup> about Harasiṃhadeva's death I doubt if he could make such a statement. But there are certain other flaws in his argument. Why should the Nepalese colophons ignore Harasiṃha and his descendants if they had occupied the throne? An occupation period of a year or two by a foreign adventurer can be ignored in the record. But here it is a question of four rulers who succeeded one after the other and ruled altogether, if we are to take the later chronicles seriously, for about a century. As we have suggested earlier, it was not also probable that the documents omit Harasiṃhadeva's invasion of Nepal while they record that of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn. After all both were foreigners in the eyes of a native scribe or chronicler; one was a Muslim and there was reason that the memory of his attack on Nepal was not recorded. Levi by implication seems to impress us that colophons are not important in this respect. But if they are not, how does he claim recognition to later chronicles which are full of discrepancies, and falsehood?

The later chronicles falsely state that for about 93 years the

<sup>189</sup> Levi, II, Pp. 230-31.

<sup>190</sup> Levi, II, P. 226; BLI, P. 39.

dynasty of Harasimhadeva ruled Nepal. But they conveniently ignore the fact that for the same period there are copious number of colophons and inscriptions showing reigns in continuity of those personages who belong to the traditional ruling dynasties, while there is not a single colophon or inscription in the name of Harasimha or his Karṇāṭa successors.

The ancient chronicle V<sup>111</sup> is full of description of important events occurring during these years, which wholly concerned these rulers. Not one word is uttered even as a distant reference to Harasimhadeva and his descendants. All this goes to confirm what the V<sup>111</sup> had to say about Harasimhadeva's plight while he fled to Nepal.

Authors who have written in acceptance of the account of Harasimha's conquest of Nepal have raised controversial points regarding the events of the period. I intend therefore to say more on this subject in the next few passages by way of criticism of the views expressed by such people.

I do not think that in view of the source materials available upto date there can be any doubts left uncleared in respect of the matter under discussion. But quite strangely the story of Harasimhadeva's conquest of Nepal still continues to pass as a factual history at the hands of some Indian writers who, however, repeat ad nauseam arguments which Levi offered in support of his case.

Those who write accepting Harasimhadeva as a conqueror and founder of a ruling dynasty in Nepal are not only young historians<sup>191</sup> but also some veterans in the field such as H. C. Ray,<sup>192</sup> K. P. Jayaswal and R. C. Majumdar.<sup>193</sup>

In particular R. C. Majumdar's performance has been much disappointing. He wrote so late as in 1960, yet he could not

<sup>191</sup> U. Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, Pp. 284-87; p. 284-87 JBRS, XLIII Pts. III and IV, Pp. 389-90; *History of Bihar* by R. K. Chaudhary, P. 111; B. P. Sinha, *G. D. College Bulletin*, Series n. 4 (on Bihar) P. 8.

<sup>192</sup> DNI, I, Pp. 217-18.

<sup>193</sup> JBRS, XLIII, Pts. I and II, Pp. 4-6; CHI, Vol. VI, *The Delhi Sultanate*, Pp. 401-03.

utilise the many available source materials connected with the event of the so-called invasion of Nepal by Harasimhadeva.

I do not propose to go at length into the question of R. C. Majumdar's wrong premises regarding the history of Nepal. I shall, however, point out some lapses he committed, which are easily detectable in the article he wrote for a comprehensive book of Indian History.<sup>194</sup>

Majumdar thinks that Harasimhadeva conquered Nepal in 1314 while he was 'in the heyday of his power'<sup>195</sup> and he produces as evidence the statement of Chaṇḍeśvara made in *Kṛtyachintāmaṇi* and *Kṛtyaratnākara*. But as we have already observed Chaṇḍeśvara's utterances cannot be taken at their face value. If we do so, the position would be that not only we shall believe his story of the conquest of Nepal but also of his victories over Bengal, Assam and other parts of India as well as over China. But I do not think any one would venture to suggest to carry the matter to that extent. Chaṇḍeśvara talks of his having performed *tulāpuruṣa* sacrifice on the bank of the river Bāgmatī but if it was Nepal where he did so, he would have mentioned it. We must note that the course of Bāgmatī is not confined to Nepalese territory, that it flows also through Mithilā. R. C. Majumdar brings to his support the tradition of Harasimha's conquest as preserved in the later chronicles. But a scholar of R. C. Majumdar's reputation claiming to possess intimate knowledge of Nepal's history in 1960 must have known 'what value to attach to these chronicles which no historian worth the name has thought to give serious attention to. As we have seen the ancient chronicles (V<sup>i</sup> and V<sup>iii</sup>) which happen to be contemporary records of Harasimha's time do not suggest anything of his conquest. The V<sup>i</sup> states that in NS 409 (=1289 A.D.) and 411 (=1291 A.D.), the Tirhutiyas entered Nepal (R. C. Majumdar without having

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<sup>194</sup> *The Delhi Sultanate*, Vol. VI of the *History and Culture of Indian People Series*, Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Bombay, 1960, Pp. 401-03.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, Pp. 401-02.



any idea of the text translates the expression as 'rulers of Tirhut', which is absurd).<sup>196</sup> The statement of V<sup>111</sup> about Harasimhadeva is enough to give an idea of the nature of his mission. Petech gives the texts although with a slightly wrong translation. R. C. Majumdar does not seem to have even carefully read or understood the passages relating the text. But he quite wrongly blames Petech for the identification of Madanasimharāma and Śaktisimharāma with the Nepalese personages mentioned in Ming shilu; Majumdar thinks that it is all Petech's own imagination. Petech has cited inscriptions where Madanasimha is noted as *mahāmātya*. There is another inscription (see below) but not noted in Petech, which designates Śaktisimharāma as the youngest minister '*Kaneśṭāmātya*'. R. C. Majumdar does not bother to find out all these related data.

He, neither, cares to find out if the claims of Pratāpamalla and others to their origin from Harasimha is genuine. We know that the claim was put forward by Pratāpamalla and Siddhinarasimha in mid 17th century in their respective genealogies. About the sametime the Bhatgaon ruler (Jagajjyotirmalla) also stretched his claim to his origin from Harasimhadeva. But the claim cannot be sustained by facts. It might be that they were related to Harasimha's house through a daughter's line (we shall know later that Jagatasimha, father of Rajallādevī, was a Tirhutiyā prince). But any kind of relationship direct with Harasimha had remained untraced till the middle of the 17th century. Obviously nobody until then knew of this relationship. If this was a fact, there was no reason that the claim should appear for the first time so late after three hundred years. Obviously Pratāpamalla and others had acted by this device to cover their obscure origin. In that attempt these people had so corrupted the genealogy that the founder of the dynasty, Jaya Sthitimalla himself had no place in the genealogy. We can well understand that with Harasimha, as their forefather, the Nepalese rulers Pratāpamalla and his associates, had introduced a fake ancestry for his family, on

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, fn. to P. 399 (n. 19, 20).

which so much depends for the identification. At one instance R. C. Majumdar says that Jaya Sthitimalla and his descendants trace their origin from Harasiṃhadeva.<sup>197</sup> This betrays gross ignorance of Nepalese history. No where Jaya Sthitimalla talks of his parentage. His son also is silent about the ancestors of his father who is simply styled as 'the husband of Rajallādevī' in his record (Ins. n. 16 of BLI). Harasiṃha came to be introduced in the genealogy not until the time of Siddhinarasiṃha (740-781) and Pratāpamalla (761-794) i.e. nearly three hundred years after the disappearance of Harasiṃhadeva from the scene.

Scholars forget that this was a belated attempt of the 17th century rulers of Kathmandu and Patan to connect their family with the house of the Karṇāṭa Kṣatriyas. We are aware that this had a very deep effect on the chronology of the Malla dynasty. I think that the chronicles also were influenced to that extent to incorporate the imaginary dynasty of Harasiṃha in the genealogy. But R. C. Majumdar makes a very bold statement when he says 'In any case the Chinese evidence hardly leaves any doubt that, side by side with the indigenous rulers of Nepal, the kings of Karṇāṭa family descended from Harasiṃha, exercised an effective power somewhere in the Nepal Valley and were recognised as the rulers of Nepal by the imperial court of China'. Of course, Majumdar makes this statement following Levi. But he ought to have borne in mind that he was writing in 1960 and today there was abundance of materials contradicting Levi's hypothesis. R. C. Majumdar tries to make much of the royal name ending in Siṃha as he talks of Jayasiṃharāma mentioned in the ms. colophon of 1395-96 (he does not say which ms.; probably it is the *Deśakarmapaddhati*, Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1076.4)<sup>198</sup> and says that this indirectly 'corroborates Chinese evidence that the Karṇāṭa family was not extinct in Nepal even at the beginning of the 15th century. Perhaps as Levi suggests the kings of this family lived in Bhatgaon as nominal suzerains, while the

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, P. 413.

<sup>198</sup> See below for details.

indigenous rulers reigned at the other two capitals, Patan and Kathmandu'. A scholar of R. C. Majumdar's standing should have understood that none of these statements have been proved and he should not have attempted to dispose of the important problems in this summary fashion. We have several documents in the name of Jayasimharāma. He is presented through them in no unmistakable terms as a ruler of *Bhoṭṭa* principality (*Bhoṭṭarājyādhipa*), who belonged to the Vaiśya family of the moon dynasty. But there is no evidence, on the basis of which one can identify him as a descendant of Harasimha and to call him a scion of the Karṇāṭa family just on the ground of 'Simha' surname would be absurd indeed.

Although it is a digression from the main theme, let me also point out another flaw in R. C. Majumdar's argument. How could he discover the kingdom of Kathmandu? So far we know only of one kingdom, which was the kingdom of Nepal with its capital in Patan where the king resided. Bhatgaon was for sometime (NS 430-502) a subsidiary principality, and as we shall discuss a little later its ruler was always dominating the state affairs. But he never arrogated to himself the position of the king who ruled *de jure*. For the period Majumdar speaks of I do not think there is any source to disclose the existence of a separate kingdom of Kathmandu. Not even the undependable later chronicles have a word to say about this kingdom existing at the time.

As it appears Majumdar is led to think of the kingdom of Kathmandu because of K. P. Jayaswal's wrong reading of certain lines in the Svayambhunātha inscription of NS 492. But to this we shall return sometime later while we get the occasion to trace the evolution of Sthitimalla's career.

It must be said that unlike Indian Veterans, the few European scholars who have written on the subject of Harasimha's relation with Nepal with the single exception of Levi have been persevering in their ventures and judicious in making statements. We may cite Bandall and Petech for example. Both these scholars have refused to accept Harasimha as a conqueror of Nepal. Bendall had not been able to discover the

relevant passage in V<sup>111</sup>. But on the basis of his studies of the colophon data he came to the conclusion that Harasimha had not conquered Nepal. He also does not think that Harasimha's descendants ever ruled in the Valley. Petech with his limited knowledge of the passage in V<sup>111</sup> has with more authority expressed his views on the subject.

Petech dismissed the theory of the conquest of Nepal by Harasimhadeva as improbable. Bendall, however, stated 'until more evidence is forthcoming it seems safer to regard Harasimha and his ancestors who reigned in Tirhut, Simraon and also possibly other parts of Nepal Terai as almost titular kings of Nepal, even if they claimed sovereignty over the Valley of Nepal at all'.<sup>199</sup> But even their claim to titular suzerainty over Nepal has to be rejected in consideration of the evidence available to us that we have produced in the last few pages.

Petech rightly thinks that any conclusion accepting Harasimhadeva as the conqueror of Nepal is unwarranted. But he is of the opinion that Harasimha lived in Nepal 'as a much respected refugee'. With his imperfect knowledge of the passage in V<sup>111</sup>, he also states that Harasimha 'came to Deo Patan and received many riches'<sup>200</sup>. We have seen, however, that Harasimha had not entered the Nepal Valley but had met his end at a place called Tinpāṭa on his way to Dolkhā. Obviously Petech had missed the line in the passage, purporting to give information of Harasimha's death and of subsequent events leading to the seizure of his property and the captivity of his companions. However, while 'excluding the possibility of conquest of Nepal by Harasimha', Petech has shown at least partial understanding of facts unlike the historians we have criticised earlier, for which our appreciation is due to him.

There is a line in V<sup>111</sup> occurring after three or four lines subsequent to the passage giving particulars of the entry of Harasimhadeva, which tends to suggest that Rājgrām (Dolkhā) was later occupied by Chaṇḍeśvara. The date given is 452 *Mārga sudī 12* (f.47a). But could he be Harasimhadeva's minister?

<sup>199</sup> CPMDN, I, Intro., p. 14.

<sup>200</sup> Petech, pp. 112-13.

A Nepalese author identifies this Chaṇḍeśvara as the minister of Harasimhadeva. He thinks that the Tirhutiya fugitives were able after sometime to seize a part of Nepal around Dolkhā. But there is no direct evidence of Chaṇḍeśvara accompanying Harasimhadeva in the flight to Nepal. From the wording of the preamble to *Rājanītiratnākara* it also appears that at a subsequent date Chaṇḍeśvara served the Oinwāra Rājā Bhabeśa, at whose instance the treatise was written.<sup>201</sup> In the circumstances it is difficult to say if Chaṇḍeśvara of V<sup>111</sup> could be identified with Harasimha's minister.

#### DATE OF HARASIMHA'S FLIGHT

According to V<sup>111</sup>, as we notice it Harasimhadeva was forced to abandon Simraongarh and he was also on his way to Rājagrāma near Dolkhā, while he died at Tinpāṭa. The date given to start the passage with is 446 *Māgha śudī 3* (= January 7th, 1326). It is not clear to which event this date applies, whether to his abandonment of Simraon or to his crossing over to the Nepalese territory in the hills or to his death.

Amongst the historians of Mithilā the precise date of Harasimha's flight is yet widely debated. There are conflicting accounts of Harasimha's plight as he fled after he was attacked by Ghias ud-dīn Tughlak. Firishta is the only authority to say that Harasimha was made prisoner and taken to Delhi. He writes that his information was drawn from Isāmī's *Futūh-us-Salātīn*.<sup>202</sup> The accounts of the invasion of Tirhut written by other Muslim historians either do not say anything about the flight or capture of Harasimhadeva<sup>203</sup> or when one of these does (Isāmī: *Futūh-us-Salātīn*) the same just implies a siege of the capital city in AH 724 and there is no talk of complete defeat and surrender. According to Isāmī the ruler of Tirhut had retired to his fortress with seven deep ditches encircling and all

<sup>201</sup> JBORS, Introduction (p. 23), XXII, Pt. IV.

<sup>202</sup> *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* by Firishta translated by Briggs, I, 406-07.

<sup>203</sup> *History of India* (as told by her historians) by Eliot and Dowson: Later kings of Delhi; *Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhi* of Ziyā-ud-dīn Barani, 1953 (Second edition), p. 158.

full of water, which was situated behind the forest and from there he offered stiff resistance. The situation of Simraongarh is similarly narrated by an Italian Capuchin Father and also corresponds to its geographical location at the present time.<sup>204</sup> From R. K. Chaudhary's *Early Muslim Invasions of Mithilā*<sup>205</sup> it appears that *Basatin-ul-uns* was written in the first year of Mahammad bin Tughlak's reign by its author who had accompanied Ghias ud-din in his expedition does not support Firishta but gives more or less a similar account as that of Isāmī adding that the Tirhut ruler had 'managed to escape with the help of a swift horse' (British Museum Persian Mss in Rieu's Catalogue, II-Add, 7717). None of these Mahammadan historians mention the ruler of Tirhut by name. In the Bayaz of Mulla Taquia, a 16th century writer, however, the Tirhut ruler is mentioned by name as Harasimhadeva. The account of the invasion in A.H. 724 is almost similar to that of Firishta, but it says that Harasimhadeva was restored after sometime to his old kingdom by Mahammad bin Tughlak. Later after nearly two years in 726 A.H. (=1326 A.D.) he was again forced to leave his country. This time, however, he fled in anticipation of the attack on his territory by the Tughlak emperor.<sup>206</sup>

As Petech says if we accept the date 724 A.H. (=winter of 1324-25 A.D.) for Harasimhadeva's flight from Simraongarh, this would mean that we 'suppose that he was wandering in the Terai and hills of Nepal before *Māgha śudī* 3 of 446 (=7th January, 1326).' Petech thinks that if the date of the traditional verse of inscriptions and records be corrected with '*Śaila* in place of *bāṇa*' then it would correspond to Saturday the 4th of December, 1325.<sup>207</sup> We have seen that according to the later chronicles Harasimhadeva left Simraongarh on this day to enter Nepal. If this corrected date would not be in conflict with the date given by Mahammadan historians there was no diffi-

<sup>204</sup> *Italiani Missionary*, etc., Vol. II, Pt. IV, p. 8.

<sup>205</sup> Typed script, pp. 83-84.

<sup>206</sup> As quoted by R. K. Chaudhary, typed script, pp. 85-86.

<sup>207</sup> Petech, p. 112; Levi, II, p. 224.

culty for its acceptance. But the problem of reconciling the facts of the two dates is not as easy as is made out. On the evidence of Isāmī the Bengali historian, R. C. Majumdar resolves the incompatibility by envisaging a condition of stubborn resistance to Ghias ud-dīn's attack on the part of Harasimha, which in his opinion continued for several months. He suggests that Harasimha might have held to his post till the winter of 1325 successfully defying the Mahammadan invaders and then escaped to Nepal.<sup>208</sup> R. C. Majumdar interprets the silence of Barani and others in regard to Ghias ud-dīn's engagement in Tirhut as an expression of their desire to avoid reference to the Sultan's failure to defeat Harasimha. There are some writers who accept the account of Mulla Taquia. I learn from R. K. Chaudhary's article that 'Popular traditions do not avoid mentioning the captivity of the *Rājā*', as Prof. Askari thinks (CS-P. 12). Jha mentions the arrest of the king and his consequent release and subordination of Tirhuta to the suba of Bihar (MTV-135; BMI-459).<sup>209</sup> In his preface to Chanda Jha's edition of *Panji Prabandha*, Bakshi expresses his opinion that Harasimhadeva had left while his kingdom faced a threat of attack by Mahammad bin Tughlak. I find that both R. C. Majumdar and R. K. Chaudhary think that the account of Harasimha's victory over the Sultan in the comedy of *Jyotirīśvara*, the *Dhūrtasamāgama*,<sup>210</sup> might refer to an interregnum between Ghias ud-dīn's departure after an unsuccessful attack on Simraongarh in January, 1325 and Harasimha's final escape in December, 1325. Others, however, hold that this in no case implied defeat of the Imperial army at the hands of Harasimhadeva. This may utmost be construed to mean his victories over the Mahammadan Sultāns of Tirhut's neighbouring principalities.<sup>211</sup> To me it appears that the *Dhūrtasamāgama* cannot form an authoritative source of information to determine Harasimha's engagement against Ghias ud-dīn Tughlak. I also feel

<sup>208</sup> CHI, VI, pp. 400-01.

<sup>209</sup> Typed script, p. 86.

<sup>210</sup> DLC.

<sup>211</sup> U. Thakur, JBRS, XLIII, Pts. 3 and 4, p. 389; *History of Mithilā*, pp. 282-83.

that because Muslim accounts do not support protracted siege of capital of Tirhut, it is doubtful if Harasimha was permitted to retain his sovereignty over Tirhut till December, 1325 A.D.

In particular I take note of Barani's statement that while the emperor reached Tirhut all the Ranas and Rais of the area came to pay homage to him. This might mean that Harasimha had already vacated his territories in Tirhut proper. In his absence his vassals might have pledged obedience to the Mahammadan conqueror. The V<sup>111</sup> passage says that Simraongarh was destroyed by the Turks of Delhi. So it cannot be true that the citadel was left undisturbed. Even if it was not left to Ghias ud-din Tughlak himself to demolish the fort, there was his commander who might have reduced it to ruins after the emperor had left. I do not think it is reasonable to take Harasimha to have fled just in anticipation of greater risks likely to befall him. Nor he seems to have voluntarily left for Nepal only due to his feeling that he was not in a position to challenge the invaders in the plains but could maintain his independence only in the hills and jungles of that country. Harasimhadeva was forced to escape, because his capital Simraongarh was destroyed and he could not stand the assault of his enemies as V<sup>111</sup> clearly states. There is only one date of the engagement, which must fall in December, 1324-January, 1325. No Muslim historian talks of a second engagement. Undoubtedly Simraongarh was destroyed during the siege.

As I study closely between the lines of the passage in V<sup>111</sup>, I presume to interpret the date as that of Harasimha's death. Even if he was a sick man at the time of his flight, it would not take more than a fortnight for his entourage to reach Tinpāṭa from Simraongarh. The distance covers in the north easterly direction not more than 60 miles. Just taking that he was refused permission to go to the Valley he might have been directed to go to Dolkhā. But the point is to explain satisfactorily the delay of a year which lapses between the time of his death and his escape from Simraongarh. What was he doing all this time?

It is not improbable that while the fort of Simraongarh was



raged to the ground by the Muslim invaders he escaped but lay in waiting in the vicinity for an opportunity to strike back. About 6-8 miles north of Simraongarh, the forest belt called *Chār-kos-ko-Jhādi* (eight miles in width) of Nepal begins. Simraongarh itself is approached from the south through a small but thick forest line which is hardly a mile in width. Beyond Simraongarh towards the north there is a huge expansion of an even cultivable land for another ten miles until we reach the *Chār-kos-ko-Jhādi*. Perhaps Isāmī and others refer to this line when they speak of a forest where the Tirhut ruler's capital was situated. It is quite likely that Harasimha controlled the stretch of territory south of the forest. Harasimhadeva might have been in hiding for fear that he may be persued. But the whole area is malarious and is not congenial to visitors other than the Tharus who are the original inhabitants of the place. While he lived there Harasimha might have sent his messenger to Nepal asking for assistance and failing to get a response for shelter, which, it seems was not forthcoming, he might have wandered in the jungles of the Terai. At a later stage he was probably directed to go to Dolkhā. It took months before he undertook forward journey up the mountains enroute to Dolkhā. Probably he contracted fever and other diseases. He was not a young man, and before he actually moved, he must have been very sick. The rigours of the journey involved in passing through the dreary forest might have seriously affected his health and he succumbed before he reached his destination.

I am not so enthusiastic as Petech is to reconstruct the word symbols in the traditional verse expressing the date of Harasimha's entry into Nepal. If there was a variant anywhere, the reconstruction would have been so deliberate. For another matter, the reconstructed date comes into conflict with that given by the contemporary Muslim historians. I do not think, therefore, to seek interpretation of events in this manner. This goes only to contrive a device to promote one's pet theory about the event. In the present state of our knowledge I do not suppose if anything more than what we have said in the preceding paragraph can be hazarded by way of speculation.

As far as the history of Nepal is concerned, we have no concern with Harasimhadeva, and it makes no difference to us whether he had fled from his capital in December, 1324 A.D. or a year after in December 1325. The fact that he died in Nepal at a specified date is also of little value to Nepalese history. The event cannot even be taken as a passing phase in the history of Nepal. But the image of him drawn by some scholars was that of a conqueror of Nepal, and though this had no justification, yet the account gained currency of a historical truth. Our main objective in discussing the subject so thoroughly was to present the story in the true light of facts.

#### HARASIMHA'S DYNASTIC SUCCESSORS

We had occasions in the past to examine the statement of the later chronicles that Nānyadeva's descendants ruled over Nepal until the third successor of Harasimha had died without a male heir. We have emphasised the fact that the statement was made against the evidence of the ancient chronicles and colophon data, which show a number of kings in succession from one to the other for the period allegedly covered by the Karmāṭa dynasty. We have also drawn attention to the many discrepancies in the dates and facts presented by the later chronicles which also expose their statement as absurd. Now with the problem of the so-called conquest of Nepal discussed in the preceding pages, the real nature of the Karmāṭa genealogy as it has come to be related to Nepal will have been fully understood.

Let me conclude the discussion with a criticism of the later chronicler's statement which brings out three kings in succession on Harasimha's line. There has been already some passing remarks about these rulers as we criticised Indian historians on the point. As we shall mark in the next section, the colophons and the ancient chronicles establish the reign of the indigenous dynasty. But the later chroniclers in disregard of the evidence show the son, grandson and the great grandson of Harasimha coming in succession one after the other as the rulers of Nepal. This account was not so much serious by itself

if it were not for the fact that Levi and historians of his line have given credence to the chronicler.

We have seen that according to V<sup>111</sup> Harasiṃha was accompanied on his flight by his son and minister, who were taken prisoner in Dolkhā by an influential nobleman of the place after the Simaongarh ruler died. We have no further information about the fate of Harasiṃha's son thereafter. The name of the son is also not known from any other source. The entire story is forgotten as the chronicler of V<sup>111</sup> proceeds to draw his notes on the contemporary happenings in Nepal. One prince (Kuar) Jagatasīṃha styled Tirhutia (of Tirhut) by V<sup>111</sup> belonging to Karṇāṭa family (V<sup>1</sup>, f. 25-a), about whom we shall have occasion to say more, figures in the account of court intrigues. But nothing is told about Matisīṃha (15 years), Śaktisīṃha (12 years or 27 or 33 years), Śyāmasīṃha (15 years), said to have been the successors of Harasiṃhadeva (28 years).<sup>212</sup> As suggested earlier no colophon data exist in their names. There is absolutely no evidence of any kind to prove that they ever ruled in Nepal. Even Pratāpamalla who for the first time lays claim to his ancestry to Harasiṃhadeva gives a genealogy of the Karṇāṭa dynasty starting from Nānyadeva. But he does not give any intermediate names between Harasiṃhadeva and Yakṣamalla. Jitāmitramalla and Kirkpatrick give a different list from Harasiṃhadeva downwards, where the names provided by the later chronicler as Harasiṃha's descendants are omitted. I think that there is as much ground to rule out the existence of Harasiṃha's successors as sovereigns of Nepal as to dismiss the contention that he occupied Nepal in 1314 or 1324 A.D.

An attempt is made to identify these fictitious names with the royal personages mentioned in the Chinese annals. But to this we shall return a little later while we criticise the views of Levi and others following him.

#### MAITHILI SCHOLARS TAKE REFUGE IN NEPAL

During Harasiṃhadeva's escape to Nepal hills it seems that

<sup>212</sup> Wright, pp. 179-80.

the country also received a number of ms. works from Mithilā as a result of the many Maithili scholars taking refuge in the Valley for fear of being molested by Mahammadan invaders. Since this time also we have a number of Mithilā Brahman̄s settling in the Nepal Valley.

But it is wrong to say that it had any effect in further consolidating the hitherto non-existing caste system. It is equally strengthening the forces of Śaivism in Nepal as against Buddhism.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Petech, p. 180.

## CHAPTER VI

### JAYARIMALLA, JAYARAJADEVA AND JAYARJUNADEVA

JAYARIMALLA (1320—1344 A.D.)

We have already narrated the circumstances in which Jayārimalla was crowned king. We know how much power he really enjoyed while Rudramalla was alive. It appears that he became the sole king on Jayānanda's death in NS 449 but he was never endowed with real powers of state. Jayārimalla has three colophons belonging to his reign covering however a period of 5 years since NS 457 to 462. There is not a single document except references in V<sup>111</sup> about him prior to NS 457 (=1336-37 A.D.).

(1) *Mahīrāvaṇavadhopākhyānam* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 362).<sup>1</sup> Colophon: *Pātra Śrī Jayaśīhamalla varmmaṇāmkutūhala pūranāya paṇḍita Jayatavirachitam Mahīrāvaṇavadhanātakam saptapañchaśatādihike chatuśata Samvat 457 Śrāvāṇa kṛṣṇa dvādaśyām puṣya nakṣatre parighayoge śaniścharavāsare pustakamidam samāptamiti/Paramabhṭṭāraka Parameśvara Paramavaiṣṇava Paramadevatādhideva Paramamāheśvara Raghukulatilaka bhūpālaparamparāparinamita mauliśiṣa Paśupatiṭādāravinda Śrī Paśupati devatāvaralabdha prasādaika Mahārājādhirāja saprakriya Rājarājendra Śrī Jayārimalladevānām vijayarājye Nepālamaṇḍale Uttaravihāra kuṭumbodbhava Śrī Anata vihāre Pradhānāṅga mahāpātra Śrī Jaya Śīhamalla varmmaṇaḥ* day, August 23rd, 1337.

day, August 23rd, 1337.

*Pradhānāṅga Mahāpātra Śrī Jayaśīhamallavarmā* seems to be a member of the royal family and a supporter of Jayārimalla. This man is a writer of three other mss. (1) *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*,<sup>2</sup> 470 *Bhādra kṛṣṇa* 2-3, (2) *Hariśchandropākhyāna*,<sup>3</sup> 496 *Māgha*

<sup>1</sup> CPMDN, II, p. 25, Doc. 1 of Petech.

<sup>2</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 394; CPMDN, I, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., III. 362. 4; CPMDN, II, p. 29.

*kṛṣṇa* 5 and (3) *Bhojadeva Saṅgraha* written in *Lalitapattana*, and without date.<sup>4</sup>

(2) ms. *Vināyakastavarāja* (As. Soc. Bengal, 10723).<sup>5</sup> Colophon: *Samvachchalānām grahabāna tathāyuga (=459) Phālguna tamapakṣe pañchamyām tithau somavāsare Śrī Jayārimalladevasya vijayarājye Viṣṇudāsena likhitam*. Petech verifies the date for March 1st, 1339.<sup>6</sup>

(3) ms. *Saptaśatī* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1536. 16).<sup>7</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 462 Kārtika śukla pratipadyām tithau bṛhaspativāsare Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhaṭṭāraka Parameśvara Raghuvamśāvatāra Śrī Śrī Jayārimalladevasya vijayarājye Śrī Lambatipattane, etc.*

In spite of high sounding titles Jayārimalla was no better than a puppet. No incident where he prominently figures is noticed in the chronicle. He was completely ignored by the chronicler until his very last day. It appears that Rudramalla's death in 446 did make no difference to the powers he enjoyed. He continued to be a weakling. H. P. Shastri thinks that Jayārimalla was possibly a co-regent. But in view of the colophons Shastri's suggestion is wrong. Jayārimalla was a ruling monarch; by all means, of course, he was a puppet. For all these years Devaladevī, Anekarāma Mahath, Abherāma Mūlamī and other noblemen ruled the roost in the country. It is they who figure in the annals of the time as those who played each in his own way an important historical role in the affairs of the state.

We have no colophons of Jayārimalla until we come to the year NS 457, we also find that under date 448 *Vaiśākha śukla* 13 Jayānanda is still *Rājā* (V<sup>111</sup>, f. 45b). This clearly means that he had not been wholly dethroned at the date. He appears to have been yet regarded as the sovereign but he was not living in the capital. Jayānanda must have been allowed to function

<sup>4</sup> Govt. Nat. Lib., n. 706.

<sup>5</sup> CSMASB, V, p. 438, n. 3747.

<sup>6</sup> Doc. 2 of Petech for the reign.

<sup>7</sup> Doc. 3 of Petech.

in the Banepā-Palāñchok area, though the circumstances of his leaving the capital are yet unknown. We may suggest that he had voluntarily decided to shift to Palāñchok as he saw his benefactor Rudramalla crowning another person as king. The fact of Jayārimalla being crowned in Deopatan also points that he had not been declared a king in normal course. Obviously there were two kings in Nepal, both under the thumb of Rudramalla, for this period. But why did Rudramalla create two kings? From V<sup>iii</sup> we know that Jayārimalla though a son of king Anantamalla was not declared his successor. Even after the death of Jayāditya he does not appear to us as a crown prince. Of course, he had a legitimate right to the throne by virtue of his being a son of Anantamalla. Did Rudramalla consider all these aspects of the problem, while he gave him the throne and nothing but the throne? But he had surely brought about an anomalous situation with the existence of two powerless monarchs for a show and just for a show. Perhaps Jayānanda was not agreeable to him, and because he could not depose him, he crowned another person on a new throne. The colophons in the name of Jayānanda disappear since NS 439. This suggests that about this time even though not deposed Jayānanda was thrown into the background as Jayārimalla though freshly crowned was also being ignored by the copyists because as we have already said the colophons in the name of the latter appear only since 457. I think that this blank period shows the climax of power exercised by the subsidiary royal house of Nepal, which had functioned from Bhatgaon.

Petech at one place (P. 111) says 'In practice, Bhatgaon became the seat of a secondary branch, formally subordinate but practically superior to the kings of Patan. The times of the *dvairājya* seemed to come back. But there was no possibility of that awkward polity becoming the normal rule, because of the disturbed conditions of the country, and of repeated invasions'. But actually speaking Rudramalla never usurped the sovereign authority, nor he assumed royal epithets and no scribes wrote his *vijayarājye* in the colophons. So there was no question of *dvairājya* returning. But Bhatgaon until Jaya Sthitimalla, a

relative of the royal family by marriage became the sovereign ruler of Nepal did in practice stand as a principality outside the sphere of influence of Nepal's capital. Both V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>111</sup> refer to the ruler of the principal figure in Bhatgaon at different stages to have been reigning there (*vijayarājye*). By virtue of their position in Bhatgaon, prince Jayarudramalla and his successors, the latter all regents in a way, seem to have exercised effective powers in the affairs of the state of Nepal until Anekarāma grew in strength with effective powers of the Chief Minister (Mahath) in c.467 during Rājadeva's reign. But as he died soon after in 476 the actual power came to be vested again in the regents of Bhatgaon, first Padmullādevī, then Devaladevī and then Jaya Sthitimalla.

The V<sup>111</sup> (f. 44-a) speaks of a large number of people dying in Bulalamandi. This happened during Jayarudramalla's rule in 436 *Āṣāḍha (śudi 12 Saturday)*. On 440 *Phālguna vadī 4* (f. 46-b) there was some trouble in Noakot. Earlier Jayarudramalla was prevented from entering Noakot. But on this occasion Rudramalla forcibly entered the fort and arrested the *Bhāro* by name Bhīma, who was subjected to torture.

It appears that Jayarudramalla had not only to meet the challenge of *Khasia* invasion but also had to deal with internal revolts. But up to the end he could maintain his supremacy in the affairs of his country.

#### Another Khasia Invasion

Both V<sup>1</sup> (f. 27-b) and V<sup>111</sup> (f. 46-a) speak of yet another invasion on Nepal about this time. The invader was Ādityamalla Khasia identified with the ruler of that name of the Karṇāli basin who is reported to have first captured Noakot and after sometime (five days) Pharping (*Śekharakwātha*) and entered Patan in 448 *Phālguna śukla 7* (=February 18th, 1328)<sup>8</sup> a month later and he seized the city. This story of invasion is not supported by evidence of ms. data or inscriptions much similarly

<sup>8</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 46-a.



as the other invasions of the period undertaken by the Khasa rulers of the Karnāli basin.

V<sup>1</sup> gives the date *Chaitra pūrṇamī* of the same year for the invasion and it merely states that Ādityamalla entered Nepal.<sup>9</sup> But in VK we have in addition to this information ‘*Samvat 448 Chaitra śudī 15 utraphālguṇī śukladine Lalitagrāma daṇḍena bhavati*’.<sup>10</sup> VK implies that the *Khasia* ruler had tortured the people of Patan. According to V<sup>111</sup> (ibid) Ādityamalla stayed there for 22 days praying in Pulbahi on the outskirts of the city of Patan.

Twenty years after the last Khasia attack the Nepal Valley was again disturbed and rocked by a Muslim invasion. It happened in the reign of Jayarājadeva, illegitimate son of Jayānandadeva, born in Palāñchok in 437 (*Phālguṇa kṛṣṇa 10*).<sup>11</sup> Jayarājadeva was a grandson of Jayabhīmadeva. We are going to say more about him as we come to deal with his reign, which began in NS 467 (=1347 A.D.).

#### After Rudramalla in Bhatgaon Nāyakadevī and Her Guardians

We shall return to the story of the capital city of Nepal and its king a little later. Here let us cast a side glance upon the history of Bhatgaon for the period.

After death of Rudramalla, the affairs in Bhatgaon were in the hands of his mother Padmullādevī and wife Devaladevī. They were assisted by a powerful section of the nobility, prominent of whom were Anekarāma Mahath and Abherāma Mūlamī, Jogrāma Mūlamī and Sahaja Mūlamī.

After the death of Padmullā at the age of 67 (—2 months) on 452 *Āśvina śudī 2* the widow of Rudramalla was the sole powerful figure in the royal family. As a regent she must have exercised enormous authority for the time being until Jaya Sthitimalla came to the scene.

<sup>9</sup> जत्रान्तरे आदि मल प्रविष्ट :

<sup>10</sup> VK, p. 12.

<sup>11</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 45-a (Saṅgrahanībhāryāsa).

At one instance in the pages preceding we said quoting Levi that Nāyakadevī was married to one Hariśchandra of Kāśī. Now from V<sup>111</sup> we obtain confirmation of this account and further we are told that Nāyakadevī was the only surviving child of Jayarudramalla as his two sons were dead in his life time. V<sup>1</sup> (f.28a) states that his son died after some days of his birth. V<sup>111</sup>, shows two sons of Rudramalla, one Jayavīramalla b. 441 *Phālguna kṛṣṇa* 5 d. 442 *Pausa vadī* 14 and another Tribhuvanamalla b. 443 *Māgha kṛṣṇa* 2 d. 444 *Āsvina vadī* 14.<sup>12</sup> Both of them lived less than a year. Nāyakadevī was thus the only child surviving Rudramalla. Brought up by her grandmother Padmullādevī, she was proclaimed the rightful heir of Rudramalla for the principality of Bhatgaon<sup>13</sup> on *Prathamāśāḍha pūrṇimā* 446. Her marriage with Hariśchandra of the Kāśī royal family came about subsequently after. Padmullādevī died on 452 *Māgha śukla* 2 (=January-February, 1332 A.D) at the age of 67 years and 2 months.<sup>14</sup> For sometime it appeared that Hariśchandra was in full control of powers, though his prop was no more. But on 6 *Jyeṣṭha śukla* of 455 Hariśchandra died (V<sup>111</sup>, f. 47-b) V<sup>1</sup> states that after some years of marriage he was poisoned to death as a result of court intrigue,<sup>15</sup> and Nāyakadevī became a widow.<sup>16</sup> Gopālachandra, her husband's brother served her as a guardian. For the time being the account of subsequent events also tallies with the one we have narrated earlier. Gopāla was too feeble a person for a responsibility of this type. He was not meant to exercise effective power. In no time other personalities of the court asserted their authority to undermine the one of Gopāla. Now it was the turn of the *Tirhutiyā* family to seize the reins of administration. According to V<sup>1</sup> *Karṇāṭavamśaja Śrī Jagatasimhadeva* forcibly took possession of Nāyakadevī. Thereafter Jagatasimha Tirhutiyā became all in all. Gopāladeva could not live in

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., ff. 45-a, 47-b.

<sup>14</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 47-a.

<sup>16</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 50-a.

<sup>13</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 47-b.

<sup>15</sup> कल्पिय वर्षान्तरे

Bhatgaon and soon after this he left the city as he felt that his life was threatened there. He went to Patan at the first instance. V<sup>1</sup> (f.28a) gives the following details of his flight. Gopāla fled to Lalitapuri leaving Bhatgaon. People thought that he was going back to his country, were grieved, and prayed that he should return. Thereafter he was driven from pillar to post to be murdered in cold blood by his adversary's hirelings. He could not stay in Patan for long, he had to leave his new abode the next day. He entered Sankhu in the company of Jogrāma Mūlamī of Biharkoṭ but the latter left him in the lurch the next night. He was a lone figure taking refuge in the *Koṭagrha*. He was beheaded by Jagatasimha's men while the fortress was besieged (V<sup>1</sup>, f. 28-a). V<sup>111</sup> has a parallel story to tell.<sup>17</sup> It says: Tirhutiya Jagatasimha Kuar could not tolerate that Gopālachandra should enter Māṇigal; he then drove him out. Gopālachandra was earlier in Buringā. Thereafter he took refuge in Wong (Chāpāgāon) further south. But once driven from Patan on 457 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa amāvāsyā*, he was in extreme difficulties. On 460 *Paus vadi 8* a group of armed men from Tipurā advanced to Ṭokhā where Gopālachandra and Jogrāma Mūlamī were living. They fraudulently entered Ṭokhā and after six days succeeded in killing Gopālachandra who according to V<sup>1</sup> was found alone. The V<sup>111</sup> says that his collaborator Jogrāma Mūlamī was arrested but later released probably due to intervention of Anekarāma. Jagatasimha in the beginning of his career was a close associate of Gopālachandra whom he betrayed for the hands of Nāyakadevī who was remarried to Jagatasimha. But his own rise happened to be short lived. As soon as Rājallādevī was born of marriage, misfortune befell the couple. He himself was thrown into prison where he died. Nāyakadevī died ten days after the birth of her daughter. Rājallā was born on 467 *Pausa kṛṣṇa daśamī anurādhā nakṣatre* (= Saturday 6th or early Sunday 7th January 1347). Left without her support Jagatasimha was probably killed by his enemies. According to V<sup>1</sup> (f. 28-a) Jagatasimha ruled for some

<sup>17</sup> P. 115.

days ( कतिपय दिवसे राजं भुञ्जितम् ); the date of his death is not given. V<sup>1</sup> just states: the prince (kumār) was taken prisoner, his daughter by name Rājallādevī, and her mother died on the tenth day of her birth. It is possible that Jagatasimha had died soon after the death of his wife. The date of his death is not available either from V<sup>1</sup> or V<sup>111</sup>. Devaladevī, Rudramalla's wife, took in her care the orphaned child who was in the very infancy later on married to Jaya Sthitimalla. According to V<sup>1</sup> Rājallā was brought up by Devaladevī in much difficult circumstances (f.28b). Jagatasimha was surely thrown into prison while Nāyakadevī became pregnant in about 466 *Chaitra* or *Vaiśākha*. He must have been playing an important role in the affairs of state during all this time.

All this tale of conflict between Gopālachandra and Jagatasimha is not available in VK. The occupant of the throne in Patan was a weakling while all these incidents occurred. He was just a silent onlooker of the drama who could not play any role in the enactment. We have seen how Jayārimalla with his pompous titles had only retained nominal authority. So was the case Jayarājadeva who was elevated to the throne by common consent. For all these years the court nobility was strong enough to render the throne ineffective. We have seen which elements constituted the nobility. Obviously these were Padmullādevī, Devaladevī and their associates, Anekarāma, Jayasimharāma and their family of Palāñchok, Tirhutiyā Jagatasimha Kumār of *Karṇāṭa* family and Hariśchandra and Gopāladeva of the *Kāśī* family, Meghapālavarṃmā, Jayatavarṃmā, Jogrāma Mūlamī and Sahaja Mūlamī who figure as *Mahath*, and several others whose names appear as *Pātras* and *Mūlamīs* in V<sup>111</sup>.

As long as Padmullā lived, she was the most influential person in the kingdom. She must have been well disposed towards the *Kāśī* family, hence she gave Nāyakadevī in marriage to Hariśchandra. The latter seemed to rise in eminence as time passed since the marriage and it looks that the *Kāśī* family obtained the support of the *Tirhutiyās*. But the *Kāśī* family lost its main prop by the death of Padmullā in 452 and the

*Tirhutiyās* deserted them. As we have seen, Hariśchandra was poisoned to death and his brother was killed some years after. Now the man emerging at the helm of affairs was Jagatasimha. He seems to have enjoyed considerable influence in the state affairs for some years. Because of his wife's title to the principality of Bhatgaon, he must have functioned as prince consort wielding real powers of Government. He had even overshadowed Devaladevī who must have given her consent to her daughter's re-marriage with Jagatasimha. It appears that a major section of the nobility supported the *Tirhutiyā* prince in his struggle for power. He was already a notable figure in the country for some time past, and according to V<sup>1</sup> he enjoyed kingship after marriage. Nevertheless, as it appears from V<sup>111</sup> he was not allowed to have his way after 460 *Pauṣa*. Devaladevī seems to have reasserted her rights of a regent and along with Anekarāma dominated the situation in spite of Jagatasimha. Anekarāma figures in V<sup>111</sup> (f. 47-b) for the first time under date 452 *Āśvini kṛṣṇa pratipadā Monday*, where he is mentioned to have made offering to Brahmanas at Sankhu. He is there called *Mahath*, which means he was the Chief Minister of the kingdom and as such a very influential figure.

About Jagatasimha, it is said that he belonged to Harasimhadeva's family. Petech suggested that Jagatasimha could be a son of Harasimha and 'the time the title and the form of the name certainly point to such a possibility'.<sup>18</sup> Petech further observes "In this case Harisimha would have lived as an exile at the court of Bhatgaon and died there; his son of course would have taken his place among the highest nobility of the land. This would explain why the later chronicles have made Harisimha an ancestor of the royal family and a king of Bhatgaon, although he never ruled there. It seems to me that the link between the later Mallas and Harisimha can be sought only here and nowhere else".

But reliable evidence to connect Jagatasimha with Harasimha in close relationship as father and son is lacking in documents

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<sup>18</sup> P. 230.

so far availed of. The only ascertained fact about his origin is that he was a *Tirhutiya Kṣatriya*, and belonged to the *Karṇāṭa* family (V<sup>1</sup>, f.28a) and as such he might have been related to Harasimhadeva. Petech's assumption that Harasimhadeva was a fugitive at the court of Bhatgaon cannot be sustained by facts. This was based on a passage of V<sup>111</sup> which he misread. As it is clear that Harasimha died in Tinpāṭ on his way to *Sindhu-ligarhi*, he could not have come to live in Bhatgaon. It may be more or less correct to say that through Jagatasimha, the later Mallas linked their dynasty to Harasimha and not related to have been direct descendants of Harasimha and not related to him through one of his female descendants. Even this claim was forwarded not until 250 years had elapsed since the time of Jaya Sthitimalla, the real founder of the dynasty. If this was a rightful claim, the fact of their descent from Harasimha would not have remained unknown for such a long period. But to this we shall come a little later.

#### Paśupatimalladeva

According to V<sup>111</sup> (f.51a) Jayārimalla died on the afternoon of NS 464 *Āśvina śukla 7* (=September-October, 1344 A.D.). He died in Deopāṭan the next day after a violent earthquake. Jayārimalla was a weak ruler in spite of his high sounding pompous titles. He never enjoyed effective powers of state.

Both V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>111</sup> do not mention a successor to Jayārimalla until 467 *Śrāvaṇa*. This means that the throne remained vacant for nearly three years. Why was Nepal kept without a king for this interregnum?

It appears that Jayārimalla did not leave behind him a rightful successor to the throne. The only claimant surviving at this hour was Jayānandadeva's son Rājadeva who was, however, born of an illegitimate union. It is quite likely that the Bhatgaon court raised an objection to Rājadeva's claim being entertained. Probably Devaladevī was waiting for a male issue to be born of Nāyakadevī, who could be placed on the throne in Patan. To this end the ground was being prepared. All possible contestants were being combed out and eliminated. We know

from V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>111</sup> that one Paśupatimalla met his end in that course. According to V<sup>1</sup> Paśupatimalla was taken prisoner by Devaladevī after the birth of Rājallādevī to Nāyakadevī. But V<sup>111</sup> gives a different date. It says (f.51b): on 464 *Chaitra śudī* 3 Jogrāma Mūlamī and Sahaja Mūlamī caught hold of Paśupatimalla and removed him from Tipura to the fort of Kapan, a place some 3 miles just north of Kathmandu. It is not clear how Paśupatimalla got into the royal palace of Tipura at Bhatgaon. Was he trying to seize Tipura? It was said that Devaladevī was a daughter of Paśupatimalla (Levi, II).<sup>19</sup> But both V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>111</sup> do not support this statement. They do not say anything about the parentage of Devaladevī and Paśupatimalla. Paśupatimalla died a prisoner on 469 *Mārga śukla* 12 (=3 December, 1348 A.D.). Petech thinks that he was perhaps a son and heir of Jayārimalla. But if it was so, the V<sup>11</sup> or V<sup>111</sup> should have mentioned the fact. Paśupatimalla might have presented, however, a serious threat to the claims of other parties as a legitimate contestant for the throne of the Nepalese kingdom.

#### More About Devaladevī and Anekarāma

Devaladevī and Anekarāma are the most important personages of the period. It is they who often in the ancient chronicle V<sup>111</sup>, and not Jayārimalla and his successor; we could call the two decades of the 5th century NS an age of Devaladevī and the *Mahath*. It is quite in keeping with their importance in the history of the period that we are devoting more space to describing the events connected with them.

Just as Devaladevī derived her powers because of her position as the mother of the successor of Rudramalla, so Anekarāma was placed in an advantageous situation in the country by virtue of his being a son of the Chief Minister Jyotirāma whom he succeeded. Jyotirāma as the feudatory of Palāñchok was probably a partisan of Jayānandadeva. But he came to exercise authority in the affairs of state only on the death of Rudramalla.

<sup>19</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 52-a. Date verification by Petech, p. 117.

He might have collaborated with the women regents of Bhatgaon as Rudramalla died. We do not know if he was appointed the *Mahath* in Rudramalla's time. But Jyotirāma was definitely a *Mahath* towards NS 450.

Devaladevi and Anekarāma dominated court politics between themselves since NS 450 for a period of nearly 25 years. But all these years Nepal was passing through a crisis. As we suggested earlier, it was a period of internal dissension, strifes and revolts. We shall now relate the events where singly or together they played their part in meeting the crisis. It should be borne in mind that the V<sup>111</sup> describes these events, though much briefly.

In NS 352 there was a trouble in the fort of Kapan, but Abherāma Mūlamī acted in time and recaptured the fort (f.47a). Abherāma Mūlamī was a known supporter of the regime of Devaladevī and Anekarāma. He must have surely acted in their behalf. On *Samvat 452 Aṣāḍha vadī 4* prince Hariśchandra killed Bhesadharāma Bhā and Deśapati in Bugama (f. 48-a). In *Māgha kṛṣṇa* a large number of people and cattle and domesticated birds and dogs died in Bode; Anekarāma went there to see for himself all that had happened. The doors of Phanapi were closed to a visitor from Tipurā and Māṇigal (f. 48-a); probably the feudatory disliked the idea of a visit by an officer of the court. But on 454 *Phālguna śudī 12* the fort of Talabu was suppressed; there might have been some kind of revolt by the inmates (f. 48-a). On 454 *Dvirāṣāḍha vadī 11* (= July, 1334 A.D) Jaśihadeva staged a rebellion in Noakot (f.48a). Some Khasias were murdered on 454 *Bhādra śuddhi 7* (f. 48-a). The Noakot affair dragged on. Both Tipurā and Māṇigal combined to frustrate Jaśihadeva. But Noakot was not accessible. There were further disturbances and various parts of the country were involved, and Abherāma Mūlamī and Anekarāma Mahath were active in restoring peace in the trouble affected areas (f.48b). The revolt in Noakot was crushed on *Samvat 462 Phālguna vadī 13*, and Jaya Śimhadeva was deposed or killed, the son Jagasāvanta taking charge (f.50b). Jagasāvanta came to Tipurā on *Samvat 464 Kārtika vadī 5*. This



visit probably indicated his acceptance of the sovereignty of the central authority over Noakot. On *Samvat 464 Pauṣa śuddhi 3* another fort, Kaunsana Kvātha, was destroyed. From Palāñchok fort Ajayarāma, younger Mahābhā (*Mahath*) came to Tipurā on 464 *Phālguna śuddhi 10*. The text does not say anything about the purpose which brought him to Tipurā. It appears that the Banepā-Palāñchok area enjoyed comparative quiet. In the Valley, however, even the capital could not remain unaffected by the sweep of the contrywide revolt. Māṇigal was reoccupied by Devaladevī and Anekarāma on 467 *Āśvini śuddhi 3* (=September-October, 1347). After this Murikhā, Kitapurī and Balambu also fell into their hands. Because of the obscurity of the passage it is not known how the capital city went astray. It must have occurred during the vacuum while the throne was rendered vacant.

More incidents are described under date line *Samvat 457 Kārtika śudī 2*, and subsequent days, and the places affected were Gokarṇa, Kathmandu, the forts of Yubinima, Nandola and Yamta. Under date *Samvat 456 Śrāvaṇa śudī 4*, a passage has to say a story of a fight between two rival factions, where the Tipurā Royal family and Abherāma Mūlamī were involved. As the language of the passage is partially understood, we cannot have an idea of the nature of the fight and of the different parties but at one point there is an expression to suggest that altogether 12 men were killed on both sides.

As the Mahath died in NS 476, Devaladevī had to bear the responsibility of administration all alone by herself. Under date line NS 476 *Mārgaśira vadī 3* (=November-December, 1358), the V<sup>111</sup> gives the name of the Jetapāla Mahath. Jayasimhārāma is called *Mahath* by V<sup>111</sup> only in NS 480 (=1360 A.D.). Possibly Jetapāla had acted as the Chief Minister on the death of Anekarāma and continued to play that role till Jayasimha took over.

In this period although the king resided in Patan the royal palace in Bhaktapur known as Tipura in V<sup>111</sup> was for all practical purposes the seat of the de facto authority of the kingdom. The chronicler always mentions Tipurā as the focus of all

activities for that time. It was but natural that the regents of Bhatgaon had passed as real rulers wielding considerable influence in the realm. But we do not know what prompted the feudatories of Palāñchok to side with the regents of Bhatgaon. Their intimate association continued until the death of Devaladevī.

We have a colophon in the name of Devaladevī, which gives her full royal titles. Although this is an isolated document, it is unique for the Bhatgaon rulers and regents of the period, and this fact imparts special significance to the colophon in regard to the status and powers enjoyed by the woman regent.

ms. *Nityannikatilakam* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1361). *Sreyostu Samvat 473 Asuni sukla trayodaśyāyām tithau bharagava dine Śrī Śrī Rd Pm Pbh rājābhidhavati Śrī Sri Devaladevya vijayarājye Śrī Śrī Bhavabhuteśvara Śaivāchārya Śrī Narendrapāla jīvena likhāpitam kṛtam.*

The ms. was probably copied in Bhatgaon. But it precedes the first document of Jayarājadeva (ms. *Vāmakesvārī mahātmya* of 474), a fact which suggests that even though the capital had its king on the throne, the woman regent of Bhatgaon was being regarded at the date as the sovereign of the kingdom. Of course, Devaladevī was an uncrowned monarch as we know she had no title to the throne. But the colophon provides a positive evidence of her all powerful position in Nepal at the time she was regent in Bhatgaon.

## II

JAYARAJADEVA (1347—1361 A.D.)

### EVE OF MUSLIM INVASION

According to Levi Jayarājadeva had been crowned king because of Devaladevī's successful efforts to instal him on the throne. In the account of V<sup>1</sup> (f. 28b) the chronicler speaks of Jayarājadeva to have ascended the throne on NS 467 *Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa 4* (= July 27th, 1347 A.D.) with the unanimous consent

of both the houses of rulers (*Ubhayarājakulasānumatena*) and this obtained general acceptance (*sarvvasammatena*). The two royal houses here referred to were those of Bhatgaon and Patan. By the *rājakula* of Bhatgaon the chronicler meant the family of Jayarudramalla. Belonging to the family of Patan were the lines of Jayānandadeva and Jayārimalladeva. The latter had died without a male heir, while Jayānanda had left an illegitimate son by name Jayarājadeva who ascended the throne nearly six months after the death of Nāyakadevī. Jayarājadeva's first dated document is a ms. *Vāmakeśvarīmahātāntre Tripurāhoma-vidhi* with date *Samvat* 474.<sup>1</sup>

As we have seen the VK (P. 14) and V<sup>111</sup> (f. 45b) call Jayarājadeva the son of Jayānandadeva by his kept wife (*saṅgrahaṇī bhāryā*). According to VK Jayarāja's mother was the daughter of *Pātra Rājendrapāla* of *Uttaravihāra* in *Lalita-grāma*.<sup>2</sup> He was born on *Thursday Phālguna kṛṣṇa daśamī dhaneṣṭā nakṣatra* of 437.<sup>3</sup> (= March 9th, 1317) In V<sup>111</sup> he figures several times before he was declared king of the country. Once as early as 443 *Bhādra śudī 4* Jayarājadeva accompanied by Jyotirāma Mahath leaves Banepā and makes a trip to Pharping, Māṅgal and also to the royal palace in Bhatgaon (f. 44-b). On 452 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa dvitīyā* Jayarājadeva is mentioned in connection with Noakot and Palāñchok.<sup>4</sup> The language of the passage is obscure; therefore we do not know how he was persuaded to visit these places. Again on 452 *Śrāvāṇa śudī 9* Jayarāja is said to be visiting Banepā (f. 47a).

It is not unlikely that for the three years since Jayārimalla died and Jayarājadeva acceded the throne, there was an attempt to place Nāyakadevī as the sovereign queen of Nepal. But then

<sup>1</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 71 (*Vāmakeśvarīmahātāntre Tripurāhoma-vidhi*). Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1559.6 (Doc. 1 of Petech for the reign). *Nirbādhamparirakṣati kṣīṭitalam kṣmāpālachūdāmaṇau vīra Śrī Jayarājadeva nrpatau Nepāla bhūmaṇḍalam* (H. P. Shastri reads *bhūmaṇḍalam* but Petech reads *sumaṇḍalam*). *Śaivāchāryavarasya-manmathapateḥ vikhyātakirteḥ kṛte savyākhyām vachatuḥ śatīm samalikhan Nārāyaṇākhyā kavīḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> P. 14.

<sup>3</sup> V<sup>1</sup>, f. 27-a.

<sup>4</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 46-b.

this attempt had failed and we see Jayarājadeva on the throne.

The fact that an illegitimate issue was elevated to the throne was unusual but when it is in evidence we have every reason to believe that this might have been occasioned by force of circumstances. Two factors might have facilitated Jayarājadeva's enthronement, (1) the birth of a female issue to Nāyakadevī and (2) Anekarāma's support for his cause. Anekarāma who was looking after Jayarājadeva in his own home town of Palānchok could not but look with favour his protegee's accession to the throne. Was there a state of civil war in Nepal at the time of Jayarāja's succession to the throne (*gaddi*) of Patan? The three years of interregnum may lend colour to the hypothesis of a civil war. But the ancient chronicle is silent about the state of affairs that prevailed during all this period. If there was no civil war there is, however, a possibility that initially there was some opposition to Jayarājadeva's accession to the throne on the ground of his illegitimacy. The opposition probably came from the house of Bhatgaon. It is quite likely that the decision to accept Jayarājadeva as king of Nepal might have been at last come to stay because there was no rightful male heir to the throne other than him.

We have dealt separately with the situation in Bhatgaon, which was a subsidiary principality, but whose nobility had controlled the affairs of the capital during the last thirty years. We shall know that for several years preceding the installation of Jayarājadeva on the throne. Bhatgaon's court was seething in unrest. There were two camps each fighting the other. It is quite likely that because of this uncertain and confused situation, no king had been nominated in Patan for sometime after the death of Jayārimalla. Troubles in Bhatgaon subsided only when the two parties had exhausted their strength, and the leaders around whom the controversy raged had been done away with. But the crisis of internal feuds had greatly weakened the country, which was too much even for the powerful woman Regent Devaladevī to overcome. It seems that till Jagatasīnha's death she could do very little to remedy the situation. But while she was beginning to act, the country faced the disastrous

consequences of an external invasion. This time the invader was Sultan Shamsud-din alias Hazi Illyas of Bengal.

### MUSLIM INVASION OF NEPAL

It appears that Sultān Shamsud-din Illyas of Bengal invaded Nepal by taking advantage of its internally disrupted state of affairs. We have seen how the capital was a scene of unhealthy intrigues conducted by courtiers and noblemen. And the intriguers had triumphed because of a weak king for sometime and thereafter because of no king. It seems that Jayarājadeva was only allowed to function as a nominal ruler in the beginning. His accession was a result of a compromise. He had succeeded a weakling and he was himself not allowed to be a ruling king. The fact that unlike before there was no strong ruler to put up a hard resistance against the invading enemy made the matter worse. Sultān Shams-ud-dīn had come to Nepal enjoying an unchecked and unhampered passage to his destination.

In the *Hammiramahākāvya* Ala ud-dīn Khilji also is noted to have exacted tribute from the king of Nepal at about the same time.<sup>5</sup> But this seems to be a far fetched surmise. As we know, not only Nepal but also a part of Tirhut was outside the Khilji influence. It is true that a large part of Bihar had come under Muslim domination since at least a century earlier. But Muslim influence had not extended to the region, which is now called Mithilā, although at one time during this period a ruler of this place had acknowledged Delhi's suzerainty. Therefore, the poet's statement in regard to Ala ud-dīn Khilji's domination over Nepal cannot hold ground. A coin traced in Nepal said to have been struck in the name of Ala ud-dīn Muhammad Shah Khilji (?) has *Śrī Śrīpati*, etc. in the middle circle (Ob)<sup>6</sup> and it is held by some historians that the Nepalese ruler of the time owed allegiance to the Khilji ruler. This coin is further brought as an evidence supporting the contention of the *Ham-*

<sup>5</sup> IA, VIII, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> Numismatic supplement, 1929, p. 37, JASB (an article by Durga Prasad); Landon's *Nepal* (II), *Appendix on coinage*.

*mirakāvya* but as the name *Śrī Śrīpati* is not identified with reference to the evidence of local sources this can be best set aside and the association of the coin with Nepal be deemed quite improbable. It was also said that Śrīpati was a ruler at *Pālṭā* and the kingdom being near the Oudh region must have determined the subsidiary character of his status. But even this could not be adduced in the absence of an authoritative data. At any rate there is nothing to establish the identity of Śrīpati with any royal name of the Nepalese genealogy. So the contention that 'the coinage represented an acknowledgement of overlordship just as a precautionary measure to forestall an invasion by the dreaded conqueror' (Petech, p. 104) is much disputable. Nepal was not a client state of the Khilji emperors. Shams Ud-dīn's invasion of Nepal was, however, a fact. Due to the silence of the later chronicles a belief had gained ground that Nepal was practically untouched by Muslim invasion in any period of its history. For a long time this belief gained currency also in view of the contents of the inscription at the site of Svayambhunātha not being attended to. It was curious that Bendall gives an impression of the plate of his chronicle (V<sup>1</sup>, 28-b, *Nepal Catalogue*, I. Plate 8)<sup>7</sup> which deals with the fact of Muslim invasion but he does not attend to note the contents. In 1936, however, K. P. Jayaswal correctly read the plate as well as cared to read the inscription<sup>8</sup> and also got the facts mentioned therein verified by Bendall's own find of the chronicle (V<sup>1</sup>, and V<sup>11</sup>, f. 52a). But he wrongly read the date of the Muslim invasion. He also quite incorrectly read *tadpūrvam* in place of *tadanantaram* in the passage of V<sup>1</sup> (f. 28b), and because of this wrong reading he thought that the Sultān had invaded Nepal before 469. We have three sources of information for the invasion of Nepal by Sultān Shams Ud-dīn.

<sup>7</sup> This chronicle was written in the time of Jaya Sthitimalla.

<sup>8</sup> An impression of this inscription was lying in the Darbar Library since a long time, to which Jayaswal's attention was drawn leading him to trace out the original in 1936 (April).

- (a) Svayambhunātha inscription of the time of Jayarāja's son,<sup>9</sup> dated NS 492 *Āśvina Śukla* 15.
- (b) The Patan Pimbahāl inscription of Meghapāla Varmmā bearing the date 477 *Chaitra*<sup>10</sup> *Śukla* 6 and 479 *Āśvini śukla* 13.
- (c) V<sup>i</sup> and V<sup>iii</sup> (f. 28b and f. 52a respectively).

The inscription of Svayambhunātha gives an account of the reconstruction work taking place after the invasion. It also gives the date and a few other particulars of the invasion. Thus the fact of the Muslim invasion of Nepal was fully established.

The records speak of Shams Ud-dīn to have besieged the Nepal Valley for sometime, burnt and plundered the towns and sacrileged and demolished images and temples including those of Paśupatinātha and Svayambhunātha. A few remains of the broken images are attributed to this orgy of mass demolition and incendiarism.

The Svayambhunātha inscription is dated NS 492 *Āśvina śukla pūrṇimā aśvinī nakṣatre śukarmma yoge budhavāsare*. This was set up to inaugurate the restoration ceremony of the *Stupa* (*Dharmadhātumaṇḍapa*) in the Sāmhye hill, that was severely damaged by *Sūratrāṇa* (Sultān) *Samasdina* (Shams Ud-dīn) of Bengal, who invaded Nepal at the head of a huge force (*Baṅgāla bahulairbalaiḥ*) on the 10th day of the bright fortnight in the month of *Mārgaśīrṣa* of the year 470 (November 20th, 1349 A.D.).<sup>12</sup> The donor is one Rājā Harṣa Bhalloka,

<sup>9</sup> An inscribed stone standing along with several others along the base of a Chaitya at the northern corner of the courtyard of Svayambhunātha, JBORS, XXII, Pt. II, pp.93-96; Sanskrit Sandesha, I, 10, 11, 12, pp. 13-16, n. XXIX in our Appendix.

<sup>10</sup> Attached to the wall of the main Chaitya of Pimbahāl at the bottom, n. XXVIII in our Appendix.

<sup>11</sup> 13 October, 1372. Ooc. 5 of Petech for the reign of Jayārjuna.

<sup>12</sup> नेपाल भूमण्डले ख्यातः श्रीजयराज देव नृपतिः नेनैव राजी कृते । श्रीसाम्भे शिखरे प्रसिध्य भुवने प्रस्थापितः पूर्वकैः सप्तज्यभ्य धिके श्रीमलेपालाद्वचतुः शते मार्गशिर्षे सिते पदौ ध्यम्यां गुरुवासरे । सूत्राण समस्दीनो वज्जाल बहुधै वलैः । सहागत्यच नेपालो भग्नो दाधन्तु सर्वशः (Lines 4 to 8)

son of Minister Śaktimalla Bhalloka and the reign in which the ceremony was performed was that of Jayārjunadeva, son of Jayarājadeva who had died having been burnt while asleep and at whose time the invasion took place. Along with the reigning monarch the inscription mentions Jaya Sthitimalla as the country's protector (*pālite Jaya Sthitimallena Kṣatriratnākarendunā*). According to this inscription Jayārjuna succeeded Jayarājadeva. The V<sup>111</sup> puts his birth date 12 *Māgha śukla* of 458.<sup>13</sup> He was *Yuvarāja* (Crown Prince) on 479 *Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa daśamī*, the date of the ms. *Rudrayāmale Ṣaṣṭīvidyāpraśamsā*<sup>14</sup> written at his instance. The V<sup>1</sup> gives NS 467 *Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa 4* as the initial year of Jayarājadeva's reign, and speaking about the year NS 469 adds that contributions were made to the treasury of Paśupatinātha in *Vaiśākha pūrṇimā* by Jayarājadeva. This is confirmed by V<sup>111</sup> (f. 52a), and it says that contributions were made on *Kārtika śukla pūrṇimā*. A year earlier Devaladevī also had donated her share to the Lord's treasury (468 *Kārtika śukla 15*). But about this time Sultān Shams Ud-dīn entered Nepal, and he must have laid his hand on the treasury of Paśupatinātha, to which Jayarājadeva and Devaladevī had made rich contributions so recently. The country was totally destroyed as a result of invasion by Sultān Shams Ud-dīn (*sūratrāṇa Samasdinena*) who advanced from the east.<sup>15</sup>

The fact of the invasion is also referred to in another inscription traced in Patan. It is dated NS 477 *Chaitra śukla 6* and *Aśvini śukla 13* and has the line *Srutrāṇa Samasadino yavanādhirāja Nepāla sarba nagaram bhasmī karoti*. This inscription was set up to commemorate the repairs to the *Chaitya* of *Pimtha vihāra* by Meghapāla Varman, styled *mahāpātra*. The *Chaitya* is said to have been destroyed during the invasion. According to this record the Sultān had also reduced the city of Patan to

<sup>13</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 50-a. *Śri Jayarājadevasapṛathamaputra Śri Jayārjuna-devasa jātabandha*.

<sup>14</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 361.5; CPMDN, II, p. 24. Petech verifies the date for August 18th 1359.

<sup>15</sup> *Sans. Sandesha*, I, 10, 11, 12, pp. 11-13.



ashes. According to the chronicle V<sup>1</sup>, Paśupatinātha's Phallus image was broken into three pieces and entire Nepal was reduced to ashes (*tadanantare pūrva suratāna Samasadinenāgatya Nepālam Śrī Paśupati trikhaṇḍī kṛtā, Nepāla samasta bhasmī bhavān*) and there was a deeply felt national mourning.<sup>16</sup> A part of the passage looks exactly similar also to the tail portion of VK (*tadantare pūrva Sūtānāgataḥ*).<sup>17</sup> However, VK does not give the date. But according to V<sup>1</sup> on NS 470 *Mārga śudī* 9 (=19 November, 1349 A.D.) the chronicler himself experienced untold hardship in Bhaktapur (V<sup>1</sup>, f. 28-b).<sup>18</sup> This was the day the Sultān entered Bhatgaon. The V<sup>111</sup> gives the same date 470 *Mārga śudī* 9 for the invasion, and states that the Sultān indulged in mass orgy and plundered for seven days.<sup>19</sup> It will appear that this date does not differ from the date of invasion given by the inscription. According to Petech it is possible that the Sultān had made a second attack on the Valley of Nepal in 470. He thinks that in V<sup>111</sup> we have an expression which purports to indicate that this was the second invasion. But Petech is led to this view because he misread the line in the Svayambhu inscription giving the date of invasion. The chronicle's date is a day earlier. This means that the Sultān reached Bhatgaon on *Mārga śudī* 9 and he was in Kathmandu (probably also in Patan) next day, the date given by the Svayambhu inscription. From Meghapāla's inscription it is clear that the Sultān destroyed also the capital city of Patan, and the whole of the Nepal Valley must have fallen to him.

According to V<sup>111</sup> (f. 54b) the broken image of *Paśupatinātha* was replaced, and the ceremony was performed by Jayasimhārāma Mahath in the presence of Jayārjunadeva on 480 *Vaiśākha śukla* 2 (April-May, 1360 A.D.).

The inscription does not give any details of invasion. The duration of the sieze was, however, seven days (V<sup>111</sup>, f. 52-a). Jayaswal's description of the invading forces to have operated from a base at the foot of the Svayambhunāthā hillock is equal-

<sup>16</sup> f. 28-b.

<sup>17</sup> P. 14.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> समस दिन सुरतान लिक्स्य समसा जहरपा दिन ७ माक

ly no better than a guess. About the identity of the invader, however, there is little doubt because the inscription clearly mentions Bengal, and that from the contemporary history of the same country it can be obtained that Shams Ud-dīn alias Hazi Illiyas was ruling in that period (1342—57 A.D.) independent of the Tughlaks. It is also possible that he was ultimately forced to leave Nepal because of stiff resistance from the people and this act of forced retreat back to his own country might have led the chroniclers of his court to omit all references to his Nepal adventure.<sup>20</sup>

The route he traversed to reach the Valley of Nepal is still a matter of speculation for the scholars. It was suggested by some that Tirhut was independent of Bengal till 1352 A.D.<sup>21</sup> and he would not try his passage to Nepal through Tirhut. According to Jayaswal, Firoz Shāh Tughlak had set up new family of rulers called Oinwars to rule over a part of Tirhut and they acknowledged his suzerainty but there was a feeling of rivalry between Delhi and Bengal Sultanates<sup>22</sup> over this territory and the Sultān of Bengal was ever looking for an opportunity to invade Tirhut. It is said that Sultān Shams Ud-dīn of Bengal had forestalled the event of Delhi completely dominating Tirhut by his own invasion of that country in 1345—46. This man whose original name was Hāzi Illyās styling himself as Shams Ud-dīn had made himself the master of a greater portion of Bengal in 1345.<sup>23</sup> According to R. K. Chaudhary Tirhut was then divided into two parts, which both feudatories

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<sup>20</sup> He was later defeated by Firoz Tughlak in 1354 A.D. Barani (Eliot, III. 292-94); Briggs., I. 448-51; *Al Badaoni*, I, pp. 309-317, 324; *Riyāzu-s-Salātin* by Ghulam Hussain Salim, Translated by A. Abdus Salim.

<sup>21</sup> In the year Sultān Shams Ud-dīn himself invaded but had to relinquish his hold on pressure by Tughlak (Cam. History of India, III, pp. 177 ff); Barani's *Tarikhi-i-Firoz Shahi* (Eliot, III, 234-50, 290 ff).

<sup>22</sup> JBORS, 1936, Pt. II, Read Jayaswal's article.

<sup>23</sup> *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua* by M. Abid Ali Khan, Edited and revised by H. E. Stapleton, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 20-22.

of Bengal.<sup>24</sup> Before he entered Nepal he must have visited Tirhut. From there he made a dashing march to the Valley of Nepal. We are unaware of the route he passed through to reach the Valley of Nepal.

The origin of Hāzi Illyās Shāh is obscure. He became the master of Northern and Western Bengal by killing Ali Mubārak in 1338 A.D. Later when a wide spread revolt shook the empire of Mahammad Tughlak, he declared himself independent and in course of time launched an offensive to conquer provinces as far west as Gorakhpur. The date of the conquest of Tirhut is put between 1347 and 1352 A.D. by R. K. Chaudhary.<sup>25</sup> In view of the absence of a fixed date it is difficult to say if Sultān Shams Ud-dīn had brought the whole of Tirhut under his control before he invaded Nepal. But I do not think that any invasion of Nepal was possible before he had acquired the possessions of Tirhut.

Sultān Shams Ud-dīn must have entered the Nepalese territory through Darbhanga. It appears that he passed through Janakpur to ascend the hill of Sindhuli and then proceeded due west to Bhatgaon passing Banepā en route. I revise my earlier opinion about the route. He could not have entered the Nepalese territory through Purnea. The land east of the Kōśī in the Terai might not have been accessible; all this was a dense jungle impenetrable to human efforts, and as records have it this became open to human settlement only during the 16th century A.D. Because the chronicles say definitely that the Sultān's attack was directed from the east there is little doubt that he channelled his route through Sindhuligarhi and Banepā. Probably he quit Nepal by way of the course of the river Bāgmāti reaching Hariharpur en route.

Many writers wrongly took the invasion of Nepal by Shams Ud-dīn to have occurred in 1346 A.D. (=467 NS). I am not so much surprised when scholars used to basing their con-

<sup>24</sup> *The Oinwaras of Mithilā*, JBRs, XL (1954), p. 100.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 176.

clusions on second hand information do so. But the mistake is committed by Luciano Petech who claims to have examined the original document for his writing. It seems that he did not himself read the Svayambhunātha inscription. As he quotes Jayaswal's version of reading in the footnote, it is obvious that he depended on the latter for the relevant information. If he had read the original by himself he could have detected the mistakes committed by Jayaswal regarding the date of the invasion of Shams Ud-dīn. Petech also ignores the date of Muslim invasion provided by the ancient Chronicles, V<sup>i</sup> and V<sup>iii</sup>.

On the basis of his wrong reading Petech has drawn some unwarranted conclusions in regard to certain events, which have got to be corrected:

(1) In page 120 of his book Petech says that with the Muslim invasion the 'quarrelsome Nepalese aristocracy' realised that they needed a king and then Jayarājadeva was made king after an interregnum of three years. Actually Jayarājadeva was crowned king nearly two and half years before Shams Ud-dīn invaded Nepal, which Petech failed to notice.

(2) In page 122 Petech states that Shams Ud-dīn 'carried out another raid lasting 7 days, the date of the event being November 19th, 1349'. He quotes V<sup>iii</sup> for the information. But he does not know that the V<sup>iii</sup> only supplements the information of V<sup>i</sup> and the Svayambhu inscription on the subject saying that the invasion lasted for a week.

Petech wrongly antedates the Muslim invasion by three years on the basis of his reading of the date of the invasion in the Svayambhu inscription and as he found in V<sup>i</sup> and V<sup>iii</sup> another date, *Mārga śukla* of 470, he thought that Shams Ud-dīn had made two attacks. But all what Petech has written on the dates of the invasion is wrong.

K. P. Jayaswal also incorrectly lengthens the duration of invasion for three years. He did not know that the V<sup>iii</sup> limits it to 7 days.<sup>28</sup> He did not also realise that he had misread the

<sup>27</sup> R. K. Chaudhary, JBORS, XL (1954), p. 100.

<sup>28</sup> JBORS, XXII, Pt. II, pp. 88-89.

date of the Muslim invasion as given in the inscription.

It appears that Jayarājadeva was placed on the throne as soon as Jayārimalla had died. But his fate was that of a puppet in the presence of the powerful court personages who were lording it over in Patan by their advantageous position in Bhatgaon. The circumstances of his enthronement decidedly placed him in disadvantage as to the effective exercise of his royal powers. Jayarājadeva as a nominee to the throne satisfying all parties was not destined to play yet another role. We shall be wrong to put any other meaning to the statement of the Svayambhunātha inscription save what it implied in regard to the regnal date.

The V<sup>111</sup> does not take notice of Jayarājadeva more than twice for all the years he ruled. It does not even call him a Rājā. But the chronicler gives some details of the activities of Devaladevī and others of her camp all the while. It is indicative of the fact that Jayarājadeva, though enjoying sovereign status on general consent, was being ignored as a ruler.

It appears from a contemporary dramatic work that in the time of Jayarājadeva the most important person in the capital was Anekarāma who dominated the scene with the help of his son Jayasimharāma. The work in question is *Madālasājātismaraṇanāṭakam*. In the very first passage we have *Sūtradhāra* speaking 'this country looks like the heaven. The outstanding fact about this country is that here reigns the king Jayarājadeva who is always guided by the advice of the able minister Anekarāma. Nepal is also fortunate because it enjoys the services of Jayasimharāma endowed with six qualities. There is Yuvarāja Jayārjuna'. We have no doubt that Jayasimharāma's family was the real power behind the throne during the time Jayarājadeva and Jayārjunadeva were seated on the throne. We reproduce the passage as it occurs in the documents; ms. *Madālasājātismaraṇanāṭakam* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 787)<sup>29</sup> in Sanskrit written by one Nepāliya Rāmadāsa. No colophon data occurs but we have the following two verses of interest in the

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<sup>29</sup> Unpublished.

beginning uttered by the *Sūtradhāra*. (There is also no date.):  
 ‘*Ramaṇīyamidam Nepālabhuvanam| vipraveda vido vasanti  
 dinakṛt vam(vai)syāstathā Kṣatriyā nyāyaśchāpi vidagdhasaj-  
 janakṛto yasminguṇālaṅkṛtaḥ| ramyā nīla sarojapatranayanāh  
 saundaryasarāstriyo deśo yastu bibhāti sarvaga guṇaiḥ svargai-  
 kadeśo yathā| viśeṣatosmin|| Śrīmān arinjayatinityamanekarāma  
 mantrovalambi Jayarāja Naradhirājaḥ| Nepālachakṛta vilasat  
 Jayasimharāma śātguṇyavarti yuvarāja Jayārjunaścha.*

Other colophon date belonging to Jayarāja’s reign are as follows:

(2) ms. *Chāndravyākaraṇa* (As. Soc. Bengal 3823, CSMA-SB, VI, p. 115 n. 4411).<sup>30</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 476 Phālguṇa śukla daśamyām śukravāsare ādrā nakṣatre Rd. Pm Śrī Śrī Jayarājadeva vijayarājye.. Śrī yokhachchha vihāra Vajrāchārya Śrī Kṣemendrasya likhitam.* Date verified for Friday, February 12th, 1356.

(2) ms. *Bṛhājātaka* (Kaisar Library n. 49.1).<sup>31</sup> Colophon: *Śreyostu|| Samvat 476 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa saptamyām ādityavāsare likhitamidam pva|| stakam samaptaḥ|| Rd-Pm-Pbh|| Śrī Śrī Jayarājadevasya vijayarājye||* (Date verified for the first minutes of Sunday, May 22nd, 1356) *kritiriyam vipra Śrī Viṣṇudāsasya etc.*

(3) ms. *Ratnākaraṇḍikāsmṛtisamuchchaye* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 376.2).<sup>32</sup> Colophon: *Śrī Nepālika Samvat 481 Māgha kṛṣṇaṣṭamyām tithau anurādhā nakṣatre śanaīścharavāsare pustaka siddhi idam| Śrī Lalitāpurī nagaryām Śrī Māniglake nairtyadiśastha Śrī Yambru sthānadhīpatiḥ vipra vamiśodbhavaḥ dvijavarottamah...| Rd-Pm-Pbh Śrī Śrī Jayarājamalladevasya vijayarājye.* Date verified for Saturday, January 30th, 1361 A.D.

In the circumstances he was placed on the throne Jayarājadeva had had to be looked after by Anekarāma. The latter was a feudatory of Palāñchok, where earlier Jayarājadeva’s father

<sup>30</sup> Doc. 2 of Petech.

<sup>31</sup> Doc. 3 of Petech.

<sup>32</sup> CPMDN, II, p. 105. Doc. 4 of Petech. H. P. Shastri reads the date as 473 *Jyeṣṭha śukla saptamyām etc.*

had taken refuge. It is obvious that Jayarājadeva came to the throne mainly with the help of the Palāñchok feudatory. But he was a weak ruler. It is doubtful if ever he could exercise his suzerainty over every part of the Nepal Valley. We can well understand his position in regard to areas far away from the centre. But even at the central locality he seems to have maintained a loose hold. He surely resided in the Royal Palace at Lalitapaṭṭana, but it is doubtful if the *Mahāpātras* of the different sections of the region did in fact obey him. At least one man, Mahāpātra Meghavarmā appears to ignore him. This is evident from an inscription of 477 (*Chaitra śukla navamyām puṣya nakṣatre dhṛtiyoge brhaspativāsare*). This inscription commemorates the occasion of repairing the *chaitya* of Pinthavihāra (modern Pimbahāl) by Mūrtyaṅga Mahāpātra Meghapālavarmā. There is yet one more date, 479 *Āśvinī śukla trayo-dasyām sauravāsare*, when one Amātya (minister) Chūḍāmaṇi donated money towards the expenses to be undergone in connection with certain rites in honour of the *Chaitya*.<sup>33</sup> There is no mention of the reigning monarch in this inscription, which is significant. On the otherhand Meghapāla Varmā is lauded as a conqueror and killer of all enemies (1.6). There is no doubt that this particular Mahāpātra, Śrī Meghapālavarmā, was the dominant figure in Patan at the time. We shall come to notice a little later that Meghapālavarmā joined hands with Jaya Sthitimalla as against Jayārjunadeva, the son and successor of Jayarājadeva. In the colophon of one ms. written just before Jaya Sthiti assumed powers, i.e. the ms. *Marmmakarṇikā-nāma Tantrajñānasiddhipañjikā* with date *Śāśāṅkavindu viṣayagatebde Māgha śite bhūmisute daśamyām āśāḍhapūrvam nidhāna yoge* (=501) Meghapāla is spoken of as *Pātrādhirāja*,<sup>34</sup> which means the Chief of the governors or ministers. This title suggests that he was as much powerful in his area as Jayasimhārāma in Banepā if not more.

<sup>33</sup> *Sans. Sandasha*, I, 10, 11, 12, p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> CPMDN, II, p. 46.

RAJALLA MARRIED TO JAYA STHITIMALLA

About NS 474 a new figure appears in the political firmament of Nepal. He is Jaya Sthitimalla whose origin as we shall find later is quite obscure. From V<sup>111</sup> (f. 53-b) we know that Devaladevī settled her grand daughter's match with Jaya Sthiti, whereupon the marriage was performed in Bhatgaon. Jaya Sthitimalla had entered Bhatgaon on 474 *Āsvina śudī 9* (=September-October, 1354 A.D.) and was staying in Tyamkho. He had come through the forests of Sāṅkhu. The marriage was performed after five months of his arrival. She was married at a very early age while she was only 8 (she was born on 467 *Pausa kṛṣṇa 10*). Was this marriage contrived to give Jaya Sthiti a rightful title to the throne of the kingdom?

V<sup>1</sup> (f. 28-b—29-a) brings the account of Sthitimalla's rise immediately after the passage describing the invasion of Nepal by Shams Ud-dīn. . . . *tadanantare Śrī Devaladevī samāneyāt| Budhervamśāvatāre kalijuge svayambhu kṛtata vara praśādikah aṣṭaloka pārāvatāra Śrī Jaya Sthitimalladeva vijayī bhabe, tasya vivāhaḥ kṛtam Rājallādevinām svāmī bhavān|*. The translation of the passage would read,

“Thereafter Śrī Devaladevī fetched. Śrī Jaya Sthitimalla became victorious, his marriage was performed, becomes the husband of Rājallādevī”.

From V<sup>1</sup> it is clear that Sthitimalla was invited to enter Bhatgaon by Devaladevī. He was brought to the capital as a prospective bridegroom to win the hands of the child princess. As Devaladevī was responsible for Jaya Sthitimalla's coming to Bhatgaon, we may take it that he also owed his rise to power to her. She must have lent her support to Sthitimalla for his ascendancy in the politics of the country.

Jaya Sthitimalla's marriage certainly raised his status. Because of his wife's title to the principality of Bhatgaon he became very influential at the court there. He was an energetic personality and he was tactful and he came to play a very important part in the affairs of the state of Nepal. After some years he succeeded in capturing the throne and found a dynasty,



which ruled Nepal till 1768 A.D. We shall soon return to the story of Jaya Sthitimalla's coming to power.

Anekarāma died on *Samvat 476 Dvirāṣāḍha vadī 11* (=July 24th, 1356). His son Jayasimharāma succeeded him as *Mahath*. Jayarājadeva lived a weakling throughout his life. Devaladevī still exercised real powers of state in Bhatgaon and to some extent also in Patan. It is not known what difference it made to her enjoying the same position by the appointment of Jayasimha as *Mahath*. The V<sup>111</sup> skips over the events of ten years since 476 just in 5 lines, at the end of which it says that Devaladevī died at the age of 66 and 8 months on *Samvat 486 Vaiśākha śukla 7* (=April 18th, 1366).<sup>35</sup> By that time Jayarāja was already dead and his son was seated on the throne already for five years. I think both Anekarāma and his son were Chief Minister of state quite strong in the affairs of the capital and the central Government of Nepal was probably run jointly by Devaladevī and Rāmavardhana ministers. The latter also enjoyed some sway in Patan. Naturally when Devaladevī died the joint partnership broke and the regent of Bhatgaon found himself checkmated by circumstances beyond his control in his attempt to assert his prerogatives in the central administration of Nepal. While Jaya Sthiti got himself declared as a ruler of Bhatgaon, he might have made efforts to play the role of Rudramalla. Possibly in that course he came into conflict with the powerful Chief Minister Jayasimharāma.

### III

#### JAYARJUNADEVA (1361—1382 A.D.)

##### SUCCESSION AND COLOPHONS

According to Levi's authority (II, p. 286) Jayarājadeva who in the words of a ms. (Nep. Nat. Lib.; Bendall, Intro. p. 27) was alive in NS 476=1355 A.D. died without a male heir, and was succeeded by a daughter Nāyakadevī who reigned with

<sup>35</sup> f. 54-b.

her grandmother Padmullādevī as the Regent. The chronicle further says that Nāyakadevī's husband was later on poisoned to death by certain conspirators and her person was captured by Jagatasimha of Tirhut<sup>36</sup> from the possession of Hariśchandra's own brother Gopāladeva. According to Levi, again by Tirhut the chronicle might have referred to the line of Harasimhadēva. It was true that Rājallā was born of Nāyakadevī by Jagatasimha to whom she was married while a widow. However, that part of the account relating to Jayarājadeva was disproved by V<sup>11137</sup> and the Svayambhunātha inscription. On the basis of the irrefutable evidence of the inscription it is now settled that Jayārjunadeva was the son and successor of Jayarājadeva who died of a fire accident.<sup>38</sup> In the words of VK (p. 14) he was born of Rudrammādevī, a Karnāṭa princess (*Karnāṭavaṃśajā*). We can not have a more reliable document on this theme to base our argument. Jayarājadeva must have died sometime in between the date of his last document (481 *Māgha kṛṣṇa*) and the date of Jayārjuna's first ms. (*Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 12 of 481*). Both V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>111</sup> do not provide the date of his death.

According to V<sup>111</sup> Jayārjuna was born on 458 *Māgha śukla 12 punarvasu nakṣatre āyusmānyoge somavāre (Monday) kuṃbhāsa a ah ra mithune vri cham kanyā ke vichhasa dhanu su*.<sup>39</sup> Petech writes that all the elements in the latter can be verified for Monday, February 2nd, 1338.<sup>40</sup> It seems that towards the end of his regnal career, Jayarāja was in virtual retirement. According to V<sup>111</sup> (f. 54-a) on 480 *Vaiśākha 2* (April 18th, 1360) Jayasimharāma restored the *Linga* (Phallus), of Paśupati, which was earlier destroyed and performed a sacrificial ceremony, which was attended by Jayārjuna and Śaṅkaradevī. Jayārjunadeva was declared king on this occasion. This must

<sup>36</sup> According to V<sup>111</sup>, she was brought up by her mother and grandmother.

<sup>37</sup> JBAS, 1896, I, p. 313.

<sup>38</sup> कालेन कियताधीमान् सराजात्रिदिवंगत एवभवन दग्धस्तु सुषुप्रोपि यथा स्थितः। श्रीजयार्जुनदेवेन सुनुना तस्य भूमृतः

<sup>39</sup> f. 50-a.

<sup>40</sup> P. 124.

not suggest any idea of formal crowning, because Jayarājadeva was still alive. Perhaps Jayārjuna was invested with powers and prerogatives of the king at this time. We have also a colophon in the name of Jayārjuna for 479, where he figures as crown prince (*yuvarāja*) e.g. ms. *Rudrayāmale Śaṣṭividya-praśamsā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 361.5) *likhitamidam tapodhana Śrī Viśveśvareṇa yuvarāja Śrī Jayārjunasyārthena likhitam* ||—|| *Samvat 479 Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa daśamī* (August 18th, 1359).<sup>41</sup>

For Jayārjunadeva several documents are available for the period between 1361 and 1381 A.D.<sup>42</sup> The first available ms. *Āryāmoghapāśasūtra* of his reign is dated 481 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa dvādaśyām revatī nakṣatre ādityavāsare*. This mentions *Rājā-dhirāja Parameśvara Jayārjunadevasya vijayarājye*.<sup>43</sup> The date is verified by L. Petech for May 2, 1361. We have two more mss. of the years 484 *Kārtika śukla 15 bharaṇī nakṣatre vyatipāda yoge somavāsare* and 484 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 12 svāti nakṣatre variyānayoge somavāsare* respectively.<sup>44</sup> Both give full royal titles, *Rd Pm* and *Md Pm* respectively. There is another ms. *Mudrārākṣasa* of S. 491 *Bhādra śukla tritīyā hasta nakṣtre śulayoge brhaspativāsare* copied in *Lalitāpure Mānigalottare mahāvihāre*<sup>45</sup> in the reign of *Rd Pm Pbh Jayārjuna vijayarājye Nepālamaṇḍale*. All of these belong to pre-Svayambhunātha inscription period. Altogether 15 documents including the inscription of Svayambhunātha are listed for the reign of Jayārjuna. Not one inscription or record of his reign belongs to Bhatgaon. Rather all these belong to Patan except the inscription. This has led to a supposition that Jayārjuna never ruled over Bhatgaon or it might be that he ruled there just nominally.

Apart from the above cited four colophons we have the fol-

<sup>41</sup> Also read Petech, p. 124.

<sup>42</sup> L. Petech, *Ibid.*, pp. 125-28.

<sup>43</sup> Private Library of F. M. Kaiser, n. 136 (Petech, Doc. 1).

<sup>44</sup> *Meghadūta*, CPMDN, I, p. 31; *Chāṇakyanīti*, Kaiser Library, n. 49/2. Doc. 2 and 3 of Petech.

<sup>45</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 88. (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1692.1) Doc. 4 of Petech. Date verified for Thursday, August 14th, 1371 with corrected *śukla* for *Śūlayoga*.

lowing colophons in the name of Jayārjuna. We divide them in two groups, group A as included in the work of Petech and group B as those newly added. Because our reading of the lines differs from that of Petech in some cases we also provide in full the colophons of the two mss. *Meghadūta* and *Chāṇakyanīti*, though we had had occasion to refer to them in the past.

*Group A:*

(2) ms. *Meghadūta* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I 1076).<sup>46</sup> Colophon: *Śreyostu Samvat 484 Kārtika śukla pūrṇimāsyām tithau| bharaṇī nakṣatra| vyatipātayoge| somavāsare| Śrī Śrī Rd Pm Śrī Śrī Jayārjunadevasya vijayarājye| Śrī Palāṅchokarājyasthāne Jagasimha bhārokasya pustakam|* etc. Petech has missed the last portion of the colophon which however H. P. Shastri provides in his catalogue. The date corresponds to Monday, May 13th, 1364 A.D.

(3) ms. *Chāṇakyanīti* (Kaisar Lib. n. 49).<sup>47</sup> Colophon: *Śreyostu Samvat 484 Jyeṣṭha śukla dvādaśyam tithau|| svātī nakṣatre|| variyāna yoge|| somavāsare|| sampūrṇa kṛtam|| Md-Pm-Pbh Virājamāna aneka prakriyā Śrī Śrī Jayārjunadevasya kalyāṇa vijayarājye tada mahāmahattaka Śrī Jayasimharāmasya vartamāne.* Petech wrongly read, Jayaśivarāmasya in place of Jayasimharāma (Doc. 3).

(4) ms. *Hitopadeśa* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 2564).<sup>48</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 493 Pauṣa vadī trītiyam tithau maghā nakṣatre ayuṣmān yoge śaniścharavāsare samāptam iti| Śrīmato Nepāla-maṇḍale Md-Pm-Pbh samastaprakriyābhiraṅgamāna Śrī Śrī Jayārjunadevasya vijayarājye etc. Lalitāpurī Mānigalottara sothamnimapatam adhvāsiḥ Luntarājena svahastena likhitam.* Particulars of the date are irregular.

(5) ms. *Mahāmeghasūtra* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1689).<sup>49</sup> Colophon: ... *para(ma) saugata paramakāruṇika Śrī Śrī*

<sup>46</sup> Doc. 2 of Petech.

<sup>47</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 105, H. P. Shastri reads *anekapūjīya* before the name of the king.

<sup>48</sup> Bendall, *History*, p. 29. Doc. 6 of Petech.

<sup>49</sup> CBMC, p. 176. Doc. 7 of Petech.

*Chitramahāvihārīya Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Tejachandra sthavirasya atrapuṇyam ...| Śrī Nepālīka samvatsara 494 Bhādra pada kṛṣṇa navamyām tithau ādrā nakṣatre brhaspativāsare| Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jayārjunade(va)sya vijayarājye Vajrāchārya Śrī Tumasrī nāmnena likhitam etc.* Date verified for Thursday, August 31st, 1374 A.D.

(6) ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 360.4).<sup>50</sup> Colophon: *Śrī Lalitāpure mahānagara vare Śrī Kāraṇḍa vihāra livi gṛhādhivāsitaḥ parama saugata dānapati Nāthabhārokasya yadatra puṇyam| Śreyostu Samvat 494 Chaitra śukla chaturdasyām tithau uttaraphālguṇi para hasta nakṣatre dhruvayoge somavāsare Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jayārjunadeva vijayarājye Śrī Tumaśrī nāmnena svahastena likhitamidam|* Date verified in all elements for Monday, March 27th, 1374 A.D.

(7) ms. *Mudrārākṣasa* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 2116).<sup>51</sup> Colophon: *Śrīmato Nepālamaṇḍale Md Pm Pbh samasta prakriyā virājamāna Śrī Śrī Jayārjunadevasya vijayarājye likhitam.* Writer and place of writing same as in Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 2564 (Doc. 6 of Petech). *Samvat 496 Mārgaśira śukla navamyām revatī nakṣatre variyānayoge ādityavāsare likhitam.* Date verified in all elements for Sunday, December 2nd, 1375 A.D.

(8) ms. *Ratnākaraṇḍikā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. IV. a copy written in NS 949).<sup>52</sup> Colophon: . . . . . *Pm-Pbh Sri 5 Jayārjunadevasya vijayarājye Nepālamaṇḍale Lalitāpurī nāmadheye nagare saptaphanālamkrita Śrī Mānigalake Chitra mahāvihāre lekhaka Rāmadatta| Samvat 496 Mārgaśila kṛ[ṣṇa] 9 hasta nakṣatre śobhanayoga ādityavāsare etc.* Date verified for the first half of Sunday December 16th, 1375 except for the *tithi*.

(9) ms. *Bhojadevasaṅgraha* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1692.4).<sup>53</sup> Colophon: *Sake Samvat 1297 (=NS 496) Phālguna śukla dvitīyāyām revatī nakṣatre śukradine likhitam etc.| rājye Śrī Śrī Jayārjunadevasya.* Date verified for Friday, February 22nd, 1376 A.D.

<sup>50</sup> CPMDN, II, p. 18; Doc. 8 of Petech.

<sup>51</sup> Doc. 9 of Petech.

<sup>52</sup> Doc. 10 of Petech.

<sup>53</sup> Doc. 11 of Petech.

(10) Colophon of a fragment of an unknown ms. (As. Soc. Bengal 10757. CSMASB, I, Pp. 45-46, n. 45).<sup>54</sup> Colophon: ..... *Śrī Śrī Lalitakramāyām Śrī Mānigalottaramahāvihāre vamgārachchham adhvāsita rājakanakakāra Jayatārokasya ....| Md Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jayārjunadevasya vijayarājye| Śreyostu Samvat 499 Chaitra śukla dvādaśī para trayodaśyām pūrvvaphālgunī para uttaraphālgunī nakṣatre vṛddhiyoga para dhruvayoge buddhavāre likhitam idam pustakam.* Petech verifies the date for Wednesday, March 30th, 1379.

ms. *Amarakośa* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1488).<sup>55</sup> Colophon: *Nepālika samvatsare 500 Mārga śukla śrīpañchamyām tithau revatī nakṣatre sādhyayoge somavāsare Śrīmat Lalitāpurī nivāsita mahāpātra Champusīnhadevanāmadhyārtha pustakam idam Śrī Jasachandrena likhitamiti.* Further portion of the colophon at the back page reads, *Śrī Nepāla samadhivindu vithaye Māghe site māse śrīpañchamyām tithi chitacha śaśi dīne ganda yoge tita| Nepālabhūmaṇḍaleśvara prabhupratasya kalpadrūma deva Śrī Jayārjunā hi chāgharsalokāmṛta bhūpatir Śivalokavana.*

About this colophon Petech writes, “the dates are badly mis-plet, tampered with and difficult to read. The first one is quite evidently wrongly corrected by the later hand who wrote the year and month. Jayārjunadeva died in 502, so the only years we have to consider are 500, 501 and 502, as it is impossible that the figure of the hundreds can be wrong. We can also assume with a fair degree of certainty that *Mārga* is either an abbreviation for *Mārgaśira* or a mistake for *Māgha*. Now, the only year and month, within these limits, for which the date can be completely verified (*pakṣa, tithi, nakṣatre, yoga, day of the week*) is 502 *Māgha*; it is Monday, January 20th, 1382,—the second date is hardly intelligible, but it seems to indicate the death of Jayārjunadeva (*deva . . . lokamṛta . . .*). Now, we know from V<sup>111</sup>, f. 60-b, that the king died in 502 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 5*. Thus the date in the colophon must be read as follows: *Nepāla*

<sup>54</sup> Doc. 12 of Petech.

<sup>55</sup> Doc. 13 of Petech, CBMC, p. 119.

*sam(vat)-dvibindu viṣaya (=502) Māgha site māsē Śrī pañchamyām tithi chitrā| nakṣatre śāsīdine yāte gaṇḍa yogātite; it is verified for Monday, February 3rd, 1382”.*

I also think that the first writing ‘500 *Mārga*’ is comparatively new and as Petech says that the date totally agrees with 502 *Māgha śukla 5 Monday*, it is quite likely that *Mārga* is a mistake for *Māgha*. As for the second date, it can as well be a date for Jayārjuna’s death, for at the end of the passage the expression used is *Śivaloke vana* (departed to heaven) referring to Jayārjuna. I think the reading of the date should be corrected to *dvi vindu māghesite etc.*

We shall have occasions to weigh the evidence of this ms. colophon to determine the date of Jayārjuna’s death.

#### *Group B:*

We have seen that the published documents of Jayārjuna’s reign number 13 including the ms. *Āryāmoghapāśasūtra* and the Svayambhunātha inscription. This is a sizeable number compared to the 2 colophons that remain to be noticed.

The following are newly added:

(1) ms. *Sugrīvaśāstram* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 354). Colophon: *Samvat 481 Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 12 revati nakṣatre ādityavāsare Rd Śrī Śrī Jayārjunadevasya vijayarājye puṇyamati nagarā (Pannauti) dhivāsina Tejānandena tasyārthena likhitam pustakam.*

(2) ms. *Sugrīvaśāstram* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 345). Colophon: *Śreyostu Samvat 488 Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa trayodaśyām ārdrā nakṣatre harṣaṇayoge brhaspativāsare Śrī Rd Jayārjunadevasya vijayarājye.*

### RISE OF JAYA STHITIMALLA TO POWER

It appears that Jayārjuna was not permitted to run his full term of reign as the king of Nepal. In about NS 492 Jaya Sthitimalla practically pushed Jayasimharāma out of power in the capital and extended his own sway over there. Eventually again he ousted Jayārjuna in 501 and captured the throne on the latter’s death next year.

Jaya Sthiti probably became the regent of Bhatgaon on the

death of Devaladevī 486 (see above).<sup>56</sup> The V<sup>111</sup> does not say anything about him till NS 487, in which year (*Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa pañchamī*) a four act play called *Chaturāṅkarāmāyaṇa*, was staged in his court.<sup>57</sup> The chronicle at this stage uses the expression *vijayarājye Jaya Sthitirājamalladevasa*. He was now not merely the prince consort of Bhatgaon. He had no doubt declared himself the ruler of this principality just as Rudramalla did. Patan's jurisdiction over that area did but exist in name. This, however, was not a very unusual feature as Bhatgaon's regents had been all along acting by themselves and as the guardian of the king of Nepal for the last fifty-five years. None of Jayārjuna's colophons belong to Bhatgaon. This means that he had little power to use in the affairs of the Bhatgaon principality. He was not even given formal recognition as a king in this area. Probably with the Rāma family in the ministerial office in Patan, the powers of the regents of Bhatgaon over the central affairs were very limited. But Jaya Sthitimalla was not content with this position. He cherished an ambition to declare himself the de jure monarch of the country and he was manoeuvring with tact and skill to that end.

The V<sup>111</sup> states that on *Samvat 489 Kārtika śudī 10* (March 30th, 1369) Jayārjunadeva and Jayasimharāma were received at Tipurā palace of Bhatgaon.<sup>58</sup> This means that Jayārjuna was yet being acknowledged as sovereign by the Bhatgaon court. A few months later on *Samvat 489 Māgha śudī 5* there was some disturbance in Sānkhu.<sup>59</sup> and according to V<sup>111</sup> both the rulers (*ubhaya-rājasa*) went to quell it; by using the term *ubhaya-rājasa* the chronicler gives equal status to Jayārjuna and Jaya Sthitimalla. Obviously the latter had risen quite high in stature to be equated with the sovereign of the kingdom. He was now looked upon as one of the two sovereigns of the kingdom of Nepal.

Hereafter began a period of intrigue and struggle, which ultimately ended in Jayārjuna's exit from power and his death.

<sup>56</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 54-a.

<sup>57</sup> f. 54-b.

<sup>58</sup> f. 54-b.

<sup>59</sup> f. 54-b.



It appears that a section of the nobility headed by Jayata Mūlamī supported Jaya Sthitimalla while Jayasimharāma stuck to the line of upholding the cause of Jayārjunadeva.

Jayārjuna was only 21 years of age while he ascended the throne. Jayarāja's illegitimacy had weaned away a great many nobles. Now in the circumstances of the ruler's immature age these noblemen might have turned to a new star in the horizon, which was rising in the person of Jaya Sthitimalla since 474 NS as he married Rājallādevī.

As we have suggested that Jaya Sthitimalla probably acquired full powers in Bhatgaon after the demise of Devalādevī (486 *Vaiśākha śudī* 7). After about 4 years he seems to have gained ascendancy also in the capital, which had enabled the chronicler of V<sup>111</sup> to state that he and Jayārjuna, both the rulers (*ubhayarāja*) went to Sānkhū (490 *Māgha śudī* 5) to attend a religious ceremony and to quell a revolt.

On 490 *Vaiśākha śudī* 3 (=April 28th, 1370) Jaya Sthitimalla was powerful enough to assert his position in Patan. In the words of V<sup>111</sup> (f. 56-b) he came in procession to Patan on this day and as he entered all the officers of Māṇiggala led by Jayata Mūlamī welcomed him with religious rites. According to V<sup>111</sup> (f. 55-b) again Jaya Sthitimalla succeeded in overcoming the resistance of a section of the nobility led by Jayasimharāma who is taken prisoner. On 492 *Vaiśākha vadī amāvasyā* (=May 3rd, 1372 A.D.) at night. Jayasimharāma was arrested at a place called Chatrakhuni while he was coming from his home. The attack was led by Sthitimalla's men. But the text is so obscure that it is difficult to see what had actually caused Sthitimalla to take this step. But this enraged the supporters of Jayasimha in Patan, and an open conflict for power between two rival factions appeared.

A little later on the 9th day of *Āṣāḍha śukla* of the same year, the people of Patan came to invade Bhatgaon (probably to rescue the Mahath) and the antagonists met in Thimi, four miles east of Kathmandu midway between this city and Bhatgaon; Jaya Sthiti himself led his side to meet his adversaries. Victory came to him, but not without further struggle. The

Patan invaders had been routed. In a fierce encounter both sides sustained casualties in dead and wounded. But those on the side of Sthitimalla's enemies were more severe; along with many others 53 *Pātras* had been killed, and this dealt a hard blow to those who had challenged Jaya Sthitimalla. But there was one more attempt to overwhelm Jaya Sthiti. After the defeat of the Patan invaders, there was a rejoicing in Jaya Sthitimalla's camp. Meanwhile with Jayārjuna's consent more people from Patan came to meet the challenge of Jaya Sthiti. They came out at a time considered auspicious by the astrologers. One Gomada Bhā led the advance, and he was happy but he was stopped by Jaya Sthitimalla and then pushed back; Jaya Sthitimalla now came to knock at the gate of Patan with his troops. It is suggested that after inflicting a crushing defeat on his enemies, Sthitimalla held an assembly of notables in Patan, and a proposal was mooted out in the meeting to deprive Jayārjuna of all the prerogatives of a sovereign and to vest the same in Sthitimalla's hands. Eventually he succeeded in getting control of the royal palace in Patan. Jayārjuna was also present on the occasion. The Bhatgaon ruler having given his consent to the proposal, the people felt happy. This is the noting of a chronicler whose sympathy was always with Jaya Sthitimalla. It might be also true that some overzealous men on his side might have urged him to depose Jayārjuna. But it seems he disliked the idea of usurping the throne of Jayārjuna. Accordingly Jayārjuna was not deposed, but he had lost his case; and consequently he found himself at the mercy of the regent of Bhatgaon; from this time onwards the de facto ruler for all Nepal was Jaya Sthitimalla. Jayārjuna was denuded of all royal prerogatives. The V<sup>111</sup> further says: there was universal rejoicing and on a particular auspicious day, in that year the entire capital celebrated its festival. Later on 494 *Aśvini śukla* (f. 56-b) *ṣaṣṭī prasaptamī* Tuesday. Jaya Sthitimalla returned to Bhatgaon where he invited men of the two rival parties the Mahath, all the Bharos from Pharping and Patan and resolved differences. The Mahath was defeated. I cannot make out what this defeat actually suggests. Perhaps this meant

that he eventually lost his case, and probably the issue was debated in the presence of Sthitimalla, who might have used his influence to that end. The Mahath had been already freed on the *amāvasyā* of *Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa* (*guṇilāgākva*) of 492.

The chronicle V<sup>111</sup> ignores Jayārjuna right from the year 492 *Vaiśākha*. He comes under notice only once just before his death. It is obvious that for all these years since 492 to 502 he was being overshadowed by Jaya Sthitimalla. Probably he had lost even nominal authority and ceremonial functions. But he was yet being regarded as the sovereign of the country if only in name as the colophons go to show.

V<sup>1</sup> mentions Jayārjuna for this period just once in connection with the initiation ceremony of Sthitimalla's son (f. 28-b). But V<sup>111</sup> refers to him more than once and also takes note of his incarceration and death in that condition.

Relying on the statement of V<sup>111</sup> L. Petech says that Jaya Sthitimalla might have been a co-ruler 'under the formal suzerainty of Jayārjuna until the latter died.'<sup>60</sup> In the *Svayambhu* Inscription, there is the expression *pālite Jaya Sthitimallena* obviously showing his predominant position in the realm. In another passage of the same inscription the expression used *ādāyājñām dvayo rājñah Indrapendra samānayoḥ* suggests that the two rulers were like Indra and Upendra (V. 14). Interpreting this line of the *Svayambhu* inscription R. C. Majumdar takes Jaya Sthitimalla as 'protecting the famous town of Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa' and argues that Jaya Sthiti had 'established himself in Kathmandu . . . . and practically recognised as an independent ruler by 1371-72'.<sup>61</sup> But the epithet used does not mean what he suggests. It seems well certain that Majumdar has not seen the original text of the inscription or he could not understand its meaning. Obviously he was misled to forward his own interpretation based on the reading of Jayaswal who translated the line as meaning 'a subordinate governor of Kathmandu'.<sup>62</sup> In fact the line talks of Jaya Sthiti-

<sup>60</sup> P. 129.

<sup>61</sup> Op. Cit., p. 413.

<sup>62</sup> JBORS, XXII, Pt. p. 91.

malla as having protecting Nepal along with Jayārjunadeva. Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa figures only as the home of the donor. One has only to read closely the lines 9 to 12 to catch the exact meaning.<sup>63</sup>

What happened to Jayasimharāma after release? He had surely lost hold of the person of Jayārjuna who was now absolutely in the hands of the Bhatgaon ruler. We do not hear anything about him from V<sup>111</sup> until NS 505. Probably all this while he was biding time for his bad days to end. As we suggested earlier, he did not yield to Jaya Sthiti till everything was over with Jayārjuna. He might have attempted to rescue his master out of the clutches of his adversary. But most probably he had been pushed to a situation where he was unable to frustrate Jaya Sthiti's machinations.

Jayasimharāma was a powerful personality of the time because of his lineage and office. Besides, he was the Chief of an autonomous principality in the east, the *Bhoṭṭarāja* with Banepā at the centre. This powerful stature of a feudatory added to his overall importance in the country. Now, this man was a staunch supporter of Jayārjuna and he would not have allowed his sovereign to be eclipsed by the ruler of Bhatgaon unless he himself was ousted. It appears that even under Jaya Sthiti himself his powers were maintained undiminished at least in a part of the kingdom. The Itambahāl inscription<sup>64</sup> shows that Jayasimharāma had not permitted a situation to find himself surrendering to the dictates of Jaya Sthitimalla. He suffered temporary setback in his career as it came since he was imprisoned for a while in 492. Otherwise he was not touched. I do not think if ever afterwards he found himself assailed by his adversaries. On Jayārjuna's death he was politely persuaded to recognise the new master of the kingdom of Nepal. It is quite probable that

<sup>63</sup> See below for the details:

श्रीजयार्जुन देवेन सूनुना तस्य भूसृतः । सम्पाल्यमाने नेपाले वीरनारायणेनतु  
श्रीजयस्थिति मल्लेन क्षत्रि रत्नाकरेन्दुना पालिते तत्रकालेन बुद्धपुण्योदयेन च  
श्रीकाष्ठमण्डप पुरी विमलातिरम्या तस्यां जयी बसतिवीर्य गुण रुदार मी  
राज हर्ष इति सर्व जन प्रणीतः etc.

<sup>64</sup> Inscription, n. XXX in our Appendix.

Jayasimharāma shifted to Kathmandu as he lost his powers in Patan. V<sup>111</sup> under date 497 *Pausa amāvāsyā* (f. 60-b) calls him still *Mahath*. This was the day when he performed annual *śrāddha* ceremony. His importance is yet being acknowledged by the chronicler. Jayasimha must have continued to hold ground in Palāñchok area and in Kathmandu where an inscription of his dated NS 502 calls him Chief Minister.<sup>65</sup>

The chronicler of V<sup>111</sup>, being a partisan of Jaya Sthitimalla should not be taken seriously when it ignores Jayārjuna. It is certain that Jayārjuna had not been deposed. He had just fallen under the tutelage of Jaya Sthitimalla. The former is called *Rājā* till his death in 502, though there are only two references to him for the period between 492 and 502, whereas the latter is not given any such designation. There are colophons in the name of Jayārjuna belonging to the years 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 499 and 500. These also show in no unmistakable terms that Jayārjuna was being acknowledged as the king of the country. But all these were written in Patan and therefore an impression is created that he was being ignored in other parts of the country. This might be true. But we have a reason to believe that in the areas controlled by Jayasimharāma, such as the Banepā-Palāñchok principality and Kathmandu, Jayārjuna might have continued to be regarded as a sovereign in the eyes of the people. As we know, although all his documents since 492 belong to Patan, Jayārjuna had lost control over his capital as well. So even the colophons may not provide any clue to his actual plight; in spite of them he might have been just a helpless person.

As time passed Jayārjuna's position became more and more precarious. He was cut off from his main support i.e. the family of the Rāmas in Banepā. In his own palace he was no better than a prisoner. He could hardly act on his own. A new *Mahath* took charge of the palace affairs in Patan. This was Jayata Mūlamī appointed to the post on 497 *Jyēṣṭha śukla pūrṇimā* after eight days of the ceremony of Dharmamalla's initiation

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

(*pañchamī puṣya nakṣatra dhruvayoga budhavāra*). Jayārjuna could not even go out of his palace without the Mahath's consent. About this time Jaya Sthitimalla, probably to consolidate his position, appointed Jotrāma Mūlamī of Yubilachchha as his commander-in-chief. Khu Bhā's son Tejarāma Bhāro became Mūlamī on the occasion of the staging of *Bālarāmāyaṇa* play (V<sup>111</sup>, f. 57-a). Similar appointments followed.

### DEATH OF JAYARJUNA

The last ms. of Jayārjuna's reign (the title unknown) to give a clear date is given in CSMASB (I, pp. 45-46, n. 45). This date is 499 *Chaitra śukla dvādaśī pra trayodaśyām pūrvaphālguṇī para uttaraphālguṇī nakṣatre vṛddhi yoge para dhruvayoge budhavāsare* (verified 30 March, 1379 A.D.). Jayārjuna was probably overthrown near about that date. Accordingly, Jaya Sthitimalla's assumption to full royal status must begin from the year 500 or more certainly from 502 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 5*, (= February 3rd, 1382), when according to V<sup>111</sup> Jayārjuna breathed his last<sup>66</sup> in Kwāchhe Tipura (ठयतिपुरसक्वाहैस).

According to V<sup>111</sup>, on Friday *Mārgaśīra kṛṣṇa dvādaśī svāti nakṣatre sovana yoga* of 501 King Jayārjunadeva with the consent of *Śrī Jaya Sthitimalladeva thākura* and Chief Minister (*Mahath*) Jayata entered Banepā, his own kingdom (*thava rāja*) in a grand procession. Twenty seven days after that, he secretly went to *Gokarṇa kvātha* (the fort of Gokarṇa). But then he fell into great distress as he came to Bhatgaon. The two words in the text are not intelligible. This makes it difficult to understand why he was in distress. Perhaps his whereabouts in *Gokarṇa* was known to his adversaries and he was arrested. It is quite probable that he might have attempted to engineer a revolt in *Gokarṇa* against Jaya Sthitimalla who had banished him to Banepā.

It has been suggested that the following colophon provides a clue to the state of hostility existing between Bhatgaon and Patan

<sup>66</sup> f. 60-b.

at some stage of Jayārjuna's career before NS 492.

ms. *Deśakarma*, Colophon: *Svasti Śrī Rājādhirāja Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthitimalladevasye vijayarājye likhitam pustakam tasmin samaye अपरा रāj्यास्या रājā Śrī Śrī Jayārjuna nāma rājā tripura-rāja sachivena pravāhitena mahā saṅkaṭena praviṣṭa.*<sup>67</sup> The scribe writes as if Bhaktapur was a separate state under Jaya Sthiti who had no paramount ruler above him.

L. Petech translates the passage thus:<sup>68</sup> In this time (while *Rd* Jaya Sthitimalla was ruling) the king of the other kingdom, by name Jayārjunadeva, led by the Tripura royal councillor, is advancing, causing thereby a great danger.

The colophon does not have the date. So it is difficult to determine the time of the event noted therein. It must belong to a time while Jayārjuna was active plotting against Jaya Sthitimalla.

Quite possibly this referred to the time while he had entered *Gokarna*. But the translation of the passage into English by Petech does not seem to be correct. I think that the translation should be to mean that 'the *Rājā* of the other kingdom by name Jayārjuna fell into distress being swept by the court minister of Tripurā' (Bhatgaon's royal palace). Obviously this applied to Jayārjuna who had come secretly to live in *Gokarna*, and who was then in all probability challenged by men sent from Bhatgaon. The wording of the passage in the colophon shows that 'it was Jayārjuna who was in danger' and not that 'he was causing danger'. And how could Tripurā Royal Councillor lead him unless the former had himself been a deserter and an accomplice on Jayārjuna's side? I am sure that the V<sup>111</sup> in giving us information about Jayārjuna's coming to *Gokarna* and his falling subsequently into distress makes the position quite clear and this should leave us in no doubt about the exact meaning conveyed by the colophon.

<sup>67</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1179.1. H. P. Shastri wrongly attributes the colophon to ms. *Mayūrachitra*.

<sup>68</sup> P. 129.

The circumstances of the death of Jayārjuna are intriguing. He died in a house a little far from the site of the royal palace of Bhatgaon. This suggests his being in confinement at the time of death. It is also likely that his supporters in a sullen mood might have desired to strike from Banepā and Kathmandu. They had not ceased their struggle even while Jayārjuna died. Jayasimha's Itambahāl inscription which does not mention the ruler might reveal that mood, although the time occurs 4 months after the death of Jayārjuna. It seems that the mighty arm of the Rāma family had not saved Jayārjuna. The possibility of his having been thrown into prison indicates that the Rāma family, whatever its basic resources, had not been able to cope with the situation in the capital.

But Jayārjuna had died without an heir. Jaya Sthiti seems to have been long marked as a successor to him. In the Svayambhu inscription of 492 he is presented as a co-ruler. It was difficult to organise resistance in a vacuum, while the person of even a pretender was wanting. This eventually compelled Jayasimharāma to seek conciliation with his new sovereign. But it seems he could make the best of a bad bargain, eventually securing for himself Chief Ministership of the state. Because of Jayasimharāma's all-powerful position as the High Feudatory of the Bhoṭṭa principality, Jaya Sthitimalla was also compelled to come to terms with him.

Petech thinks that the throne was left vacant for some time on Jayārjuna's death because of the defiance of Jayasimharāma. But in view of the statement of V<sup>iii</sup> (see above) it does not seem that the throne had remained vacant. Jayasimharāma had no doubt defied Jaya Sthitimalla's authority in Kathmandu for some time. But he had no control over Patan which was for all purposes in the hands of the courtiers belonging to Sthitimalla's group. As Jayārjuna died while in confinement, Sthitimalla ascended the throne in due course. Jayārjunadeva had died without a male heir. By virtue of his wife's title to the throne Jaya Sthitimalla was now accepted as the lawful sovereign of Nepal.



The first document to have used the expression *vijayarājye*<sup>69</sup> in connection with Jaya Sthiti is the ms. *Nāradasāmhita*, a commentary on Manu's work (*Mānavanyāyaśāstra*) dated *Khakhasāra pakṣe site Phālguṇe māse chāgni tithau surapatidīne* (NS 500 *Phālguṇa śukla 3* verified for 9th February, 1380).<sup>70</sup> The colophon mentions *Bhaktāpurī Pattanarājye Śrī Sthitimalla nṛpateḥ Rājallādevī pateḥ*. Jaya Sthiti was at the time not the de jure ruler for the whole of Nepal. In the ms. *Mahālakṣmīmahātyma-Samuchchaya* of 505 *Śrāvaṇa site 13*<sup>71</sup> we have as in some others also the expression *yasmin nṛpeśa Sthitirājamalla samastasāmanta bhavam bhunakti*. It may be suggested that he got full grip of the situation at that date. But we should not think that he had not been declared a king before that time. In fact he was a full-fledged king as soon as Jayārjuna died. Obviously he could now crush all feudatories who had acknowledged him as their lord, but he was not yet a full sovereign of the realm. Two more mss. *Pañcharakṣā* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1395; CBMC, pp. 84-85) and *Hariśchandropākhyāna* (Kaisar Lib., n. 67-1) of dates 505 *Kārtika śukla 8 śaniścharavāra* and 506 (*rasabhṛabānayute*) *Māgha śukla 7 ādityavāra* respectively use the simple expression *Śrī Śrī Sthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājye* without also noting the place of writing.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Because of the confusion of date figure I exclude the ms. *Yudhajayārṇava* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1634.4), dated pta (=4) XXX *Āṣāḍha śukla 7 hasta nakṣatre śivayoge ādityavāre*, H. P. Shastri wrongly reads the figure as 426 (CPMDN, I, p. 84). Petech can be right with 493. But it is difficult to say if so early Jaya Sthitimalla could enjoy such a status to become king of all Nepal. Probably the document was copied in Bhatgaon.

<sup>70</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 43. This is the same ms. *Mānavanyāyaśāstra*; Petech, p. 132 (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1231.4), Doc. 2 for the reign. The date is also in figure 500 *Phālguṇa śukla tṛtīyā guruvāsare*.

<sup>71</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 84 (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1645.4). Doc. 4 of Petech for the reign. *Samvatsarebhūtakhapañchśeṣe māse site Śrāvaṇa jīvavāre pūrvadiśādhe..... Kāma tithau dinesu sam-pūrṇam*.

<sup>72</sup> Doc. 3, 5 of Petech.

In V<sup>1</sup> (f. 29-b) the closing passage lauds Jaya Sthitimalla in eulogising terms, calls him an incarnation of Rāma, and says that when by misfortune Jayārjuna was broken, Jaya Sthiti was called upon to bear responsibility of the state after twelve years. It seems that this reckoning was done with reference to the first year of Jaya Sthiti as the vassal king of Bhatgaon.

The influential *amātya mantrīndra* (Chief Minister) Jayata Varman figures as the person to have got the ms. *Nāradasaṃhitā*, written by *Lunabhadravajrāchārya Śakyabhikṣu*. Jayatavarmā of the ms. colophons is identified with Jayata Mūlamī of V<sup>111</sup>. This feudal lord happens to be a close collaborator of Jaya Sthiti in his many activities, political or otherwise. Unlike Jayasimharāma who afterwards exerted himself to overshadow Jaya Sthiti, Jayata followed his leader faithfully until his death. He must have been surely a source of immense strength to his king. It appears that only after his death Jayasimharāma could obtain the office of the Chief Minister, which was earlier held by his father. Henceforth he figures very often in the chronicle.

What led Devaladevī to give the infant princess in marriage to Jaya Sthitimalla must have been his rise to fame and power at that time. Similarly, his acceptance of the hands of the infant was prompted by a desire to obtain sanction for the position he had acquired. The fact that in many documents including those of his own sons he was addressed as the husband of Rājallādevī establishes also the importance of the house of the ruling family of Bhatgaon, although the overall sovereignty of the kingdom lay in the hands of the person seated in Patan.

With Jaya Sthiti a different line of ruling dynasty comes into the picture. Therefore, we propose to deal with the events of his reign in a new chapter.

But before we conclude the present chapter let us sum up the circumstances, which had contributed to the rise of Jaya Sthitimalla and to the consolidation of his powers. It has been said that some of the powerful figures of the old generation were dead by the time Jaya Sthiti had started his career thus laying open before him the field without any competitors. Anekarāma

had died on *Dvirāṣāḍha kṛṣṇa* 11 of 476 and Devalādevi breathed her last on *Vaiśākha śukla* 7 in 486. But Jaya Sthiti had to face rivals amongst his own contemporaries who wielded considerable influence in the politics of the country. We shall see later that for whatever reasons it might have been Jaya Sthitimalla had found himself totally denuded of powers towards the end of his career by two sons of Anekarāma. There is no doubt that Jaya Sthitimalla had troubles on their account from the very beginning. Petech says: "The vacant throne (after the death of Jayārjuna) for a moment was left to the care of Jayasimharāma. We have a Kathmandu inscription of June 21st, 1382, which shows him as the Lord Protector of the realm (*pratipālite vijayarājye*). But although the old nobleman maintained his outstanding position in Kathmandu and Patan, he did not dare to usurp the throne, and Jaya Sthitimalla was recognised as the legitimate ruler".<sup>73</sup> But I do not think that Jayasimharāma had controlled Patan as he did Kathmandu. As V<sup>111</sup> suggests in folio 57, while informing us about the arrest of the *Mahath*, the question of Jayasimharāma continuing to maintain his position in Patan can never arise. Since 490 Jaya Sthitimalla came to control Patan with the support of Jayata Mūlamī and others of his camp. Kathmandu, however, seems to have been yet under Jayasimharāma's influence as the Itambahāl inscription shows. But as we have already suggested, the two had patched up at a later date, and therefore Jayasimharāma had actually not confronted a situation where he had to fight the Sovereign on the throne. Similarly any occasion of usurpation of the throne by him had never occurred. Jaya Sthiti came to succeed Jayārjuna on the latter's death. He was now a lawful sovereign enjoying the title to Nepalese Kingship by virtue of his wife's right. Jayasimharāma respected this title as the following events show. He never questioned this title and reconciled to the situation while Jayārjuna had died without a male heir. The Itambahāl inscription shows some time lag and

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<sup>73</sup> P. 130.

suggests that a sort of defiance was intended against the authority of Jaya Sthitimalla. But it might have been quite a temporary affair and the same came to an end as the heat of the conflict cooled down. We do not think that with Bhatgaon and Patan in Sthitimalla's hands Jayasimha might have tried to keep his hold on Kathmandu. But there was nothing to prevent him from asserting his position effectively in Banepā as against his King until the issue was settled between them.

The following colophons and inscription belong to Jaya Sthitimalla's reign prior to the death of Jayārjunadeva.

(1) The Svayambhunātha stone inscription<sup>74</sup> of NS 492 *Aśuni śukla pūrṇamāsyām tithau āsvini nakṣatre sukarmma yoge budhavāsare* (= Wednesday, October 13th, 1372). This mentions Jayārjuna as reigning over Nepal (*Sampālite*) and Jaya Sthitimalla as ruling (*pālite*). Jaya Sthitimalla is presented as junior king (*Upendra*).

(2) ms. *Yuddhajayārṇava* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1634-4). Colophon: *Samvat pta 4 . . . . Āṣādha śukla saptamyām tithau hasta nakṣatre Śiva yoge ādityavāre Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthitimalla vijayarājye likhitam*. Particulars of the elements have been already dealt with in the above pages.

(3) ms. *Nāradasaṃhitā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1231.4). Colophon: *Nepāle Sthitirājamalla nṛpatir bhūpāla chūḍāmani . . . Śrī Nepālika vatsare kha kha śāra (=500) pakṣe śite Phālguṇe māse chagni (=3) tithau surapatidine| Bhaktāpuripaṭṭane rājye Śrī Sthitirājamalla nṛpateḥ Rājallādevī pateḥ . . . Lūnabhadreṇa Vajrāchāryena dhīmatā mantrīndra Jayatasya . . .| Śrī Nepālika samvatsare 500 Phālguṇa śukra tṛtīyāyām guruvāsare Śrī Jaya Sthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājye Bhaktāpure amātya Jayata Varmaṇaḥ pustakamidamalekhi| Śrīmanamātya Jayato riṣu mantrimantra praudhāvudaprasara viṣphuranoruvāyuh Sva svāmikārya pariṣālanavāyusūnupāyat prajānnija sutāniva sarvadeva||* Date corresponds to Saturday, February 9th 1380 A.D.

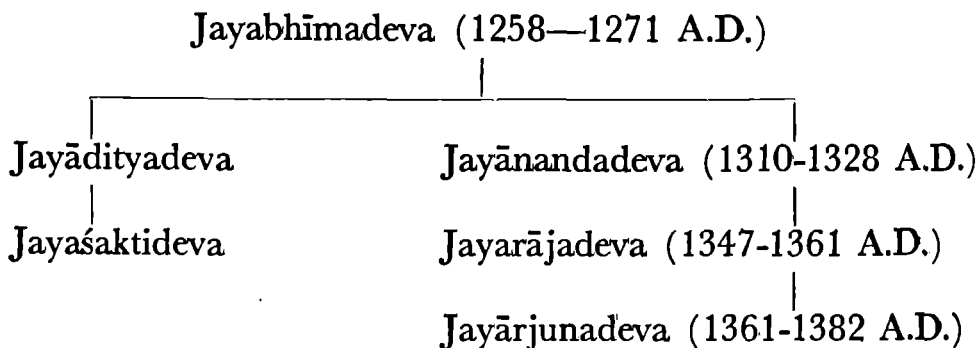
<sup>74</sup> Inscription n. XXIX in our Appendix.

*Genealogy with Regnal Dates**Arimalla to Jayārjunadeva*

- Arimalla, NS 321-36 (=1200-1216 A.D.).  
 Abhayamalla, NS 336-375 (=1216-1255 A.D.).  
 Jayadeva, NS 375-378 (=1255-1258 A.D.).  
 Jayasīnhamalla (1271-1274 A.D.).  
 Anantamalla (1274-1310 A.D.).  
 Jayārimalla (1320-1344 A.D.).

*Jayārjuna's Family*

From V<sup>i</sup>, V<sup>ii</sup>, and V<sup>iii</sup> we get the following genealogy of Jayārjunadeva:



But Jayabhīma's ancestry is not traced from the chronicles.

It seems that he was not a descendant of Arimalla whose line came to an end with Jayadeva, although an offshoot reappeared again with Anantamalla to rule only for a generation followed by another one which ruled in Bhatgaon. Perhaps the latter was a subsidiary line of the early Malla family. But Jayārjuna appears to have belonged to entirely a different line.

In the first edition of the book we had suggested that the family of Jayabhīma-Jayarāja-Jayārjuna was a branch of the main *Thakuri* dynasty restored after Vāmadeva which had lost powers on the rise of Arimalla. Although we have no more evidence to support the origin of the family from the *Thakuri* stock, the probability of Jayabhīma belonging to one of the pre-Arimalla *Thakuri* families cannot be dismissed. But we shall require better ground to confirm the position.

## CHAPTER VII

### JAYA STHITIMALLA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

#### I

#### JAYA STHITIMALLA

It is commonly agreed that Sthitimalla began his career as a chieftain and then became the subsidiary ruler of Bhatgaon in the time of Jayārjuna, by virtue of which he exercised the function of a junior co-ruler for the whole of Nepal. By no stretch of imagination it can be accepted that he at once became the king of Nepal with sovereignty over the entire Valley in supercession of the latter. It seems that initially he assumed the de facto rulership behind the de jure monarch. We have already narrated the story of Jayārjuna's imprisonment. As Jaya Sthitimalla rose in power, Jayārjuna had found himself gradually reduced to a shadow. As we have observed earlier Jayārjuna had lost control over many parts of the territories since NS 492. A few years later he lost control of affairs even in the capital city. In NS 502 (1382 A.D.) if the ancient *Vamśāvalī* were to be taken seriously Sthitimalla became the full sovereign 'Jayārjuna having been broken' (Bendall, Intro. P. 12).<sup>1</sup> This is the information given by V<sup>1</sup>, and as the date follows the death of Jayārjuna, the statement should admit of no error. V<sup>111</sup> (f. 60-b) gives the date of Jayārjuna's death, as *Samvat* 502 *Māgha śudī* 5; he died a prisoner after incarceration for a year in Kwāchhe Tipurā.<sup>2</sup> Seventh months after this event on *Āśvina śudī* 8 of 502 Jaya Sthitimalla called to audience all the noblemen of the realm; the assembly was held at the courtyard of the palace in Bhatgaon and 1700 of the *Bhāros* (noblemen) offered their allegiance to him (V<sup>111</sup>, f. 60-b). Jaya Sthiti owed

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<sup>1</sup> V<sup>1</sup>, f. 29-a.

<sup>2</sup> Kwāchhe is just adjacent to the palace of Bhatgaon.

to his wife his status and throne, a fact which was clear as seems from the way his own son addresses him with reference to his mother (husband of Rājallādevī) in the latter's *Paśupati* inscription.

Jaya Sthitimalla is being spoken of as *Daityanārayaṇa* in a drama, *Abhinava Rāghavānanda*,<sup>3</sup> by his court poet Mānika. This drama was played during the *Vratavandha* ceremony of his eldest son Dharmamalla. Levi (II, 234-35) thinks that this title indicates the parentage of the king who was a descendant of Harasimhadeva, as all his descendants had adopted the *viruda* of *Nārāyaṇa* whether in Nepal, Tirhut, Champaran or Gorakhpur. But to this we shall return a little later.

#### JAYA STHITIMALLA'S PARENTAGE

To explain the ascendancy of Jaya Sthitimalla Wright's chronicle introduces certain kings of his dynasty preceding him but gives them inferior status. Levi also agreeing with him produces a list of six kings to cover the same unfilled up gap, and opines that some of them had ruled at Bhatgaon.<sup>4</sup>

Levi, BLI and Wright give Jayabhadramalla as the ancestor from whom in the 6th generation Jaya Sthitimalla's father Aśokamalla was descended; this family according to the same sources was ruling in Bhatgaon. Jayabhadramalla 'was descended from the old royal Malla line who had fled to Tirhut on the invasion of Nānyadeva. He married the daughter of the last Karṇāṭa king Śyāmasimhadeva and as she was the only issue and heir apparent, he succeeded to the throne by right of his wife'.<sup>5</sup> According to these chronicles Śyāmasimha is the third in line of succession to Harasimhadeva. In his time in VS 1444

<sup>3</sup> Camb. Univ. Lib. 1658, CBMC, pp. 159-61. The date is missing. Bendall thinks that the approximate date is 1390 A.D. According to him this play antedates his inscription by at least 20 years. The *viruda* of *Bālanārāyaṇa* was adopted by Jyotirmalla.

<sup>4</sup> Levi, II, pp. 232-33; BLI, p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> BLI, p. 39; Wright, 1960 (Second edition) pp. 109 ff; Levi, II, p. 234.

(=1387 A.D.) there was a great earthquake. One of the descendants of Jayabhadra, by name Aśokamalla, defeated the *Bais Thakuris* of Patan and annexed it to his realm.<sup>6</sup> But all this account appears unreliable and is refuted by proved historical evidence. Having ascertained Harasimhadeva's regnal years (1324-25 A.D. is the date of his flight) we cannot imagine that his grandson had lived to rule six generations earlier to Jaya Sthitimalla whose regnal years occur between 1382 and 1396 A.D. In fact as the date of the earthquake of 1387 A.D. shows that if it was a correct date of Śyāmasimha then he must have been a contemporary of Jaya Sthitimalla. But the later chronicles separate them by an interval of time covered by the reigns of six generations of rulers. We know that the dynasty of Harasimhadeva is just a figment of the chronicler's imagination and any data relating to this dynasty are concocted.

The following is the family tree of Jaya Sthitimalla.

<i>Wright</i>	<i>BLI</i>	<i>Sanskrit chronicle</i>
Jayabhadramalla, 15 years.	Jayabhadramalla, 15 years.	Jayabhadramalla, 50 years.
Nāgamalla, 15 years.	Nāgamalla, 15 years.	Nāgamalla.
Jayajagatmalla, 11 years.	Jayajagatmalla, 11 years.	Jayamalla.
Nagendramalla, 10 years.	Nagendramalla, 10 years.	Ugramalla.
Ugramalla, 15 years.	Ugramalla, 15 years.	Maṇimalla.
Aśokamalla, 19 years.	Aśokamalla, 19 years.	Aśokamalla.
Jaya Sthitimalla	Jaya Sthitimalla	Jaya Sthitimalla, who was an illegitimate issue.

<sup>6</sup> Wright (Second edition), p. 111; BLI, p. 39; Levi, II, p. 234.



But Kirkpatrick and Jitāmitramalla connect Jaya Sthitimalla as a male descendant of Harasiṃhadeva.

(Kirkpatrick)	(Jitāmitra)
Hurr Singh Deo	Harisiṃhadeva
Bullal Sing	Ballārasīṃhadevamalla
Sri Deo Mull	
Nay Mull	Nāgamalla
Asoke Mull	Aśokamalla
Jesity Mull	Jaya Sthitimalla
(Jaya Sthitimalla)	

S. Levi says 'In fact Jaya Sthiti was well allied with the Siṃha (line of Harasiṃhadeva) but only by matrimony' referring to his marriage with Rājallādevī who was a daughter of the Tirhutiā prince Jagatasīṃha.<sup>7</sup> The French savant further argues that all the rulers belong to the dynastic offshoots of Harasiṃha had adopted the *viruda* of *Nārāyaṇa* whether in Nepal or outside and because Jaya Sthiti and his sons and grandsons have this kind of *viruda*, they must surely be related to the Karṇāṭa ruler. Levi has in his mind 'the ruling dynasties following Harasiṃhadeva in Gorakhpur and Champaran, all of whose rulers without exception bore this title'. Concluding Levi observes 'All these dynasties radiate round Harisiṃhadeva; the community of the *virudas* marked the community of extraction. Jaya Sthiti did not fall on this occasion to assert a lineage which did him honour.'<sup>8</sup>

Levi is absolutely wrong to say that the dynasties coming after Harasiṃha in Gorakhpur, Champaran and Tirhut were allied to him. That these dynasties had nothing to do with Harasiṃha's family is proved without leaving any kind of doubt. All these families were Brahmanas and not Kṣatriyas as Levi took them. A similar claim extending in behalf of Jaya Sthitimalla cannot be supported for reasons already stated. It was wrong of Levi to attempt to identify him with Harasiṃha's family solely on the ground of his *viruda*.

<sup>7</sup> II, pp. 232-34.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

In V<sup>1</sup> Sthitimalla is designated as *Rāmāvatāra*<sup>9</sup> which means an incarnation of *Rāma*. His son calls him to have been born into the family of the God Sun (*Sūryavamśa prabhava*);<sup>10</sup> the family continued to address itself as *Sūryavamśi* and traced its decent from *Raghu*.

It is very difficult to accept the contention that Jaya Sthitimalla belonged to Harasimhadeva's line. But Levi is not alone to seek to connect Jaya Sthiti with Harasimhadeva. There is also K.P. Jayaswal who argues the case in favour of this contention. He thinks that Jaya Sthiti being a subordinate of the Malla rulers had to add the Malla appendage to his name to be a favourite of the court. This, however, seems a very unconvincing argument and even the reigning monarch would not have permitted him to adopt the royal family surname if he was not one of his own kins. But the reigning monarch of the time probably did not belong to the original Malla family and obviously he had no love for the Malla designation.

Even if we admit that for expediency Jaya Sthiti adopted the Malla appendage after his name, we confront another question.

How is it that even after becoming the all powerful sovereign of the country Jaya Sthitimalla did not denounce the Malla appendage and adopt the common terminology of *Simhadeva* after his name, which he should have done to prove the *Karṇāta* parentage? It is clear that he had no sort of blood relationship with Harasimha's stock. Jaya Sthitimalla on all inference was a Malla potentate, and was acting either as a regent or a de facto ruler in the capacity of an all powerful junior co-king before he became the sovereign. It is curious indeed, that Jayaswal and others had relied on the later chronicles and on inscriptions of later Malla rulers for Jaya Sthitimalla's relationship with Harasimhadeva without, however, trying to assess the real value of the statement made by these sources.

The best proof of Jaya Sthitimalla's having no connection with Harasimhadeva is provided by his own son's *Paśupati*

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<sup>9</sup> f. 29-a.

<sup>10</sup> BLI, Ins. N. 18.1.2.

inscription of NS 533,<sup>11</sup> which does not give a genealogy of Jaya Sthiti but just mentions him as his father and husband of his mother Rājalladevī. Had he been in any way connected with the house of Tirhut, it was none of his own son's concern to omit reference of Harasimhadeva. In all the documents belonging to Jaya Sthiti and his descendants the family is addressed as the incarnation of *Raghu* and of Solar race (*Raghuvamśavatāra* and *Sūryavamśaprabhava*), and nothing more of lineage is mentioned in that connection.

Jaya Sthiti is omitted in the genealogy of both Pratāpa and Siddhinarasimha (Inscriptions 17 and 18 of BLI), though they trace their origin to Yakṣamalla who as claimed in the records was a descendant of Harasimhadeva. This is something of an anomaly as certainly anyone who claimed descent from Yakṣamalla could not omit Yakṣa's grandfather from his genealogy. This omission is inexplicable if we do not take into account the fact that it might have been prompted by a desire to escape notice of his existence for reasons of his obscure origin. But any claim to descent from Harasimhadeva is fantastic. It is probable that the later Malla rulers of Nepal claimed to have descended from Harasimhadeva of Mithilā simply to vaunt their high lineage. But all questions relating to their lineage shall be discussed at the appropriate time as we take up the narrative in the next part of the volume in hand.

In 1722 A.D. Father Desideri had heard that the rulers of Nepal claimed their descent from the Rajputs of Rajputana and they said that their forefathers had come to Nepal from Rajputana to take refuge for fear of the Muslim invasion.<sup>12</sup> This might or might not be true. But this is the utmost that we could say of the origin of Jaya Sthitimalla and his descendants.

We might assume that Jaya Sthitimalla's ancestors were probably feudatories in some remote part of Nepal. They were not as active in the court politics of the time, otherwise their names would have come for notice in V<sup>1</sup> or V<sup>iii</sup>. By good luck Jaya

<sup>11</sup> BLI, Inscription N. 16.

<sup>12</sup> *Missionari Italiani*, etc. II, Part VII, p. 8.

Sthitimalla had strayed into Bhatgaon. He must have been of a noble lineage to deserve the hands of the princess of Bhatgaon belonging to one of the branches of the royal family. The fact that he was later allowed to accede to the throne also speak of his high lineage though an obscure one. However, we should forget that he had to be accommodated as a bridegroom to the daughter of a widow princess who had married twice in her life time. Perhaps he did not belong to a very well-known stock of a *Kṣatriya* caste of acknowledged purity.

His first record to give him full royal status such as *Rd Pm Pbh* is the ms. *Amarakośa* which is dated NS 506<sup>13</sup> *Chaitra kṛṣṇa trayodaśyām buddhavāsare*. But another ms. *Hitopadeśa* of the year 505 *Āsvinaśudi navamī puṣpa nakṣatre śivayoge bṛhaspativāsare* has the expression *Rājādhirāja Śrī Yuvarāja Jaya Sthitimallasya vijayarājya* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 867). Uptill 505 the documents either have *nṛpa* or simply *Śrī Śrī* before Jaya Sthiti's name. Thereafter also except for the above noted document of NS 506, all available materials belonging to years up to 508 *Pausa* do not show full royal epithets before his name. But in the inscription of 508 *Jyeṣṭha* (copper plate at Nhaikanbahāl, Kathmandu) he is referred to as the most illustrious sovereign. This inscription is dated 508 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 10* (=May-June, 1398) and has the line *Rājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Jaya Sthitimallasya rājye*.<sup>14</sup> From the date onwards all records invariably show him with full royal titles. In the Pharping inscription of 511 *Māgha śukla śrīpañchamī tithau uttarabhādra nakṣatre siddhiyoge buddhavāsare* (= Wednesday, 11 January, 1391),<sup>15</sup> Jaya Sthiti enjoyed sovereign status (*Rd Pm*) and so he did in 512 (*Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 6 garakarāṇe viśvamuhūrte śravaṇa nakṣatre aindrayoge ādityavāsare*) as is shown by the

<sup>13</sup> Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1698, CBMC, pp. 187-88. Doc. 6 of Petech. For the first time we see the expression, *Paśupatičaraṇāravindasevita Māneśvarivarālabdhapratāpa* in the document.

<sup>14</sup> Unpublished. Read below our inscription N. XXX in our Appendix.

<sup>15</sup> Doc. 17 of Petech for the reign.

inscription of Kumbheśvara; in Patan.<sup>16</sup> His last available document is a ms. *Prajñāpāramitā* of 515 *Māgha śukla 3*. But we shall deal with the facts of his death a little later. At any rate the earliest document showing his son Dharmamalla as reigning is dated 516 *Jyeṣṭha śudī 7* (= May-June, 1396).<sup>17</sup> It is quite possible that he relinquished his duties of the throne any time in NS 515. And also we have to note that here is nothing to show that he had lived after that year.

Jaya Sthitimalla's career prior to his becoming a full king is also not yet assessed, but it is more probable that he served with Rudramalla's family in the beginning. This had enabled him to marry Rudramalla's grand-daughter and later to become the lawful sovereign of the country.

L. Petech has given 26 documents of Jaya Sthitimalla's reign, to which we add seven more. Of these total 33, seven are inscriptions; the rest being manuscripts.

The following are the documents of his reign. We have divided the list in two groups. The first provides all those produced in Petech; the second gives the new ones which are not to be found in Petech's list. We have omitted the first two documents of the first group as they have already figured in our discussion in the preceding paragraphs. We start with No. 3.

(3) ms. *Pañcharakṣa* (Camb. Lib. Add. 1395). Colophon: *Samvat 505 Kārtika śukla astamyām tithau śaniścharavāsare Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājye likhitam* Date verified for Saturday, October 22nd, 1384.

(4) ms. *Mahālakṣmīmahātmya Samuchchaya* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1645.4). Colophon: *Samvatsare bhūkhapañcha (= 505) śeṣe māse śite Śrāvaṇa jīvavāre pūrvadiśādhe ṛkṣya kāmā-tithau diṇeṣu sampūrṇamidam hi śāstram | yasmin nṛpeśa Sthitirājamallah samasta sāmanta bhuvam bhunakti | tasmin samā-likhya Vīradisimho mahādīlakṣmīm vrata rājamīsam.* Date corresponds to Thursday, July 20th, 1385.

<sup>16</sup> Journey, etc., Inscription No. IX, pp. 83-85. Doc. 21 of Petech (p. 135).

<sup>17</sup> See below Doc. 1 for the reign.

(5) ms. *Tripurasundaripūjā Paddhati* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1584).<sup>18</sup> Colophon: *Śreyostu samvat śukra saunya vaktra (= 506) Kārtika kṛṣṇa pañchamyām tithau jyeṣṭha nakṣatre sura guruvāsare | Śrī Bhaktāpurī nivāsinah Śrī Jaya Sthitimallasya vijaye Yuvilachhetolakastha Jentarāmena likhitamiti.*

(6) ms. *Hariśchandra Avadāna* (Kaisar Lib. n. 67/1)<sup>19</sup> Colophon: *Svasti Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājye tasyāmātya kwānche tolkedhivāsi Śrī Jayata brahmaṇasya mahābhilāṣā || puruṣārthena likhitamiti || Śreyostu Samvat rasābhrabānayuta (=506) Māgha māsa śukla pakṣe saptamyām tithau ādityavāsare ||* Petech verifies the date for Sunday, January 7th, 1386.

(7) ms. *Amarakośa*<sup>20</sup> with commentary in *Nepālabhāṣā*. Colophon: *Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthitimalladevasya bhūpateḥ | amātya Śrī Jayadbrahma svāmikārya parāyaṇah || . . . . . ṣattare pañchāṣate gate'bde Nepālike māsi cha Chaitra sanjñe kṛṣṇa pakṣe madanābhidāyām tithau śaśānkātmajavāsare cha || Śrī Jaya Sthiti bhūpāle Nepāla rāṣṭra śāstāri | Śrīmad Bhaktāpure deśe grathitvā likhitam tadā || . . . . . Śrīman Nepālika samvatsare 506 Chaitra śukla trayodaśyām budhavāsare Rd-Pm-Pbh Śrī Śrī Paśupati charaṇāravinda sevita Śrī Mañeśvarī varalabdhapratāpa Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājye etc.* Petech verifies the date for Wednesday, March 28th, 1386.

(8) ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 382.2)<sup>24</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 507 Kārtika śukla pratipadyāyām tithau budhavāsare veśākha nakṣatre śobhanayoge Śrī Nepālamāṇḍalādhirājyā Śrī Jaya Sthitirājamalladevasya vijasya vijayarājyesmaye etc.* Date verified for Wednesday, October 24, 1386.

(9) *Chandakauśika* (As. Soc. Bengal, 8065).<sup>22</sup> Colophon: *Śreyostu || Samvat 507 Mārgaśira śukla dvitīyāyā tithau śanī-*

<sup>18</sup> Doc. 26 of Petech.

<sup>19</sup> Doc. 5 of Petech.

<sup>20</sup> Cam. Univ. Lib. Add. 1698, CBMC, pp. 187-88; Doc. 6 of Petech.

<sup>21</sup> Doc. 7 of Petech; CPMDN, II, pp. 78-79.

<sup>22</sup> Doc. 8 of Petech; CSMASB, VII, pp. 252-53, n. 5316.

*charavāsare| vijayarājya Śrī Jaya Sthitirājamalladevasya||* etc.  
Date verified for Saturday, 24 November, 1386 by Petech.

(10) ms. *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṅgraha* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1078.17)<sup>23</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 507 Māgha śukla trayodaśyām pustamidam samāpteti| adya Śrī Bhaktāpurinagare Śrī Khupva sthāyāt Śivagalasthāne thitimukha vidyāpīṭha . . . || Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthitimalladevasya vijayarājye |* written in Bhatgaon. Date corresponds to February 1st. 1387.

(11) ms. *Mahālakṣmīvrata mahātmya* (Kaisar Lib. n. 21).<sup>24</sup> Colophon: *Rājā Śrī Sthiti rājamalla nrpatau rājādhirājopi san abde saptakhakāmabānasahite (=507) Nepālike nirgate śukla chāśvinipañchamī tithiyute chandrātmajevāsare vyākhyānam likhitam ||* Date verified for Wednesday, September 18, 1387.

(12) *Sundhārā* stone inscription of Deopāṭan.<sup>25</sup> The stone lies in the courtyard of the water conduit in front of the temple of *Jayavāgeśvarī*; date 508 *Mārgaśīra śukla daśamyām brhaspativāsare revatī nakṣatre variyāna yoge garakarane bicchharāsi gata Savitari etc.* (verified for Thursday, November 21, 1387).

The water conduit of gold was repaired in the honoured memory of Rājallādevī, the wife of the donor. This 29 line inscription mentions three sons of Jaya Sthiti, the eldest Jaya Dharmamalla, second Jaya Jyotirmalla and the youngest Jaya Kīrtimalla. According to the record, Rājallādevī had died suddenly leaving these princes behind and the entire country was plunged in grief. The record is fairly long.

(13) ms. *Vāmakeśvaratantra* (Derb Lib. Cat. I. 1075.3).<sup>26</sup> Colophon: *Nepāla Samvat vasavyomabāne (=508) sa Pauṣa kṛṣṇe tithi saptamīcha| samāpta lekhikṛta hasta ṛkṣe śukarma yoge budhavāsarecha|| nīstithi dharma dayāsthitiñcha dānasthityāga guṇastathaiva| kīrti thiti sarvavinodametata dhairyasthiti Śrī Jayathitirāma | Jayathitirāma tava Kīrtichandra praśannarūpa kṣasumāyudhasya | māpūryatesan yadikalpavrikṣa virājate Śrī*

<sup>23</sup> Doc. 9 of Petech.

<sup>24</sup> Doc. 10 of Petech.

<sup>25</sup> Doc. 2 of Petech. Inscription n. XXXI in our Appendix.

<sup>26</sup> Doc. 12 of Petech.

*Jayathitirāma | Ādityavarmanā yena likhitemiya pustake | Gokarṇasatādākoṭe sādhuḥchittena likhyate ||*

*Śrī Śrī Bhoṭarājyādhirāja Śrī śrīmat Paśupatiḥṭṭārakasthāpanāchārya Śrīmat Kanteśvariparicharaṇa parivala labdhaprasādāt Śrī Śrī Mahindreśvara prasādāyatana nirmātyaka pāka Ra [ghu] kulavaṃśabibhrājiteṣu Śrī Gopinārāyaṇetyadi sakala virudāvali samalaṅkṛitā samasta prakriyā virājamāna Pm Mahāmātya Śrī Jayaśingharāmasya vijayina|*

(14) ms. *Itihāsasamuchchaya* (Darb. Lib. Cat. IV).<sup>27</sup> Colophon: *Sadsadratnasamṛddhi nirmita mahātprottuṅga sadmāvalin xxxntanagarīncha yāmpratidinam mandādarovāsavaḥ | so xx līnapatākikā sumanasām nāthāyudhe vopamā seyam Śrī Bhaktāpuli x ya x va xx yuvanāpabhau || Aṣṭādhike tathā pañchaśate Naipāla hāyane (= 508) | Chaitra śukla dvitīyāyām asvinirḥkṣyekujehani || Śrī Jaya Sthitirājena rakṣite rājyamutamam bhūdevānvaya jātena likhitoyam samāsatah| . . . . patinājñena chetihāsa samuchchayaḥ* (Date verified for Tuesday, March 10th, 1388 A.D.). Written in Bhatgaon.

(15) ms. *Mahālakṣmīvrata* (Kaisar Lib. n. 559.3).<sup>28</sup> *Samvat 509 Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa navamyām pra daśamyām tithau uttarabhadrā nakṣatre āyusmānyoge brhaspativāsare etc. Śrī Rd-Pm-Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājya likhitam etc. Śrī Māṅglake Śrī Dakṣiṇavihāre etc.* (Date verified for Thursday, May 20th, 1389).

(16) ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1701.1).<sup>29</sup> Colophon: *Śrī Lalitakramāyām Śrī Māṅglake Śrī Vachcha vihārādhivāmta śākyaputra paramasaugata saṅgha Śrī Malekṣajajakasya . . . . Samvat 509 Jyeṣṭha śukla daśamyām tithau śukravāsare Rd Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājye śubham.* Date verified for the second half of Friday, June 18th, 1389.

(17) ms. *Tithisārasaṅgraha* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1663).<sup>30</sup> Colophon: *Mārgasīramāse'site navamī yeṣṭhañvañcha | śukrame yoge dvandvendu śara (=511) likhitamiti etc.| Rd-Pm-Pbh*

<sup>27</sup> Doc. 13 of Petech.

<sup>28</sup> Doc. 14 of Petech.

<sup>29</sup> CBMC, p. 191. Doc. 15 of Petech.

<sup>30</sup> CBMC, p. 191. Doc. 16 of Petech.



*Nepāleśvara Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthitirājamaladevasya vijayarājye.* The ms. belongs to *Daivajña Gajarāja* who is also the writer. The date according to Petech is irregular.

(18) Lines inscribed on the stair of a platform supporting a square stone on which the footprints of *Gorakhanātha* are engraved. It is a three line inscription.<sup>31</sup> *Om Śrī Gorakṣanātha pādūkābhyām namaḥ || Śreyostu Samvat 511 Māgha śukla Śrī-pañchamyām tithau || uttarabhadra nakṣatre siddhiyoge || budhāvāsare || Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthitimalladevasya vijayarājye || Śrī Śikharāpurā nagaryām Śrī Śrī Jaya Jathasimadevaiḥ sabhrātṛbhiḥ pratipālītāyām etc.* Date according to Petech corresponds to Wednesday, January 11th, 1391. *Jaya Jathasimha* appears to be a feudatory. *Jathasimha* appears in the *Svayambhu* inscription of NS 492 as *Mahārābutta* and as the nephew (*bhāgineya*) of *Rājaharṣa Bhalloka*, a minister at the time. *Jathasimha* had served *Jayārjuna* and continued to hold his post of *mahārābutta* also under *Jaya Sthiti*. He must have been the administrative head of the area.

(19) U-bā-bahi inscription<sup>32</sup> on a gold plate attached to the wall over the door of the main shrine. It records the inauguration of the image of Buddha (*Buddhavimbaka*) in the victorious reign of *Rd Pm Pbh Jaya Sthimalla* in *Lalitapaṭṭana Māṅgla*, while two *Pātras* were governing (*vartamānekāle*). It mentions date *Kalirājavarṣa 4492 Vikrama rājavarṣa 1448 Śaka rājavarṣa 1313 Nepālīka śreyostu 511 Prathamāśādha śukla daśamyām ghati 25 vela ekādaśyām tithau kapiladine vatikaraṇe śaśihorāyam svāti nakṣatre ghati 49 pratisthāpitam śivayoge ghati 15 pra siddhiyoge somavāsare mithuna rāsi gata savitari tulārāsi gata chandramasi etc.*

(20) ms. *Āryakāraṇḍavyūha* (Kaisar Lib. n. 5).<sup>33</sup> Colophon: *Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthitimalladevasya vijayarājye | Śreyostu Samvat 511 Śrāvāṇa māse kṛṣṇa pakṣe pañchamyām chetra nakṣatre dhruvayoge śaniścharavāsare likhitam etc.*

(21) ms. *Aghorapūjā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 135.9).<sup>34</sup> Colo-

<sup>31</sup> Doc. 17 of Petech. Inscription n. XXXIII in our Appendix.

<sup>32</sup> Doc. 18 of Petech. Inscription n. XXXIV in our Appendix.

<sup>33</sup> Doc. 19 of Petech.

<sup>34</sup> Doc. 20 of Petech.

phon: *Samvat 511 Śrāvaṇa śukla daśamyām Śrī Śrī Pbh Pm Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthitirājavijaya likhitam.* Date corresponds to August 9th, 1391.

(22) A stone inscription at the temple of Kumbheśvara in Patan. This commemorates the occasion of completing the new temple of Kumbheśvara on 512 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 6* in the reign of Jaya Sthitimalla (Inscription n. XXXV in our Appendix).

(23) ms. *Śalyaparvam*.<sup>35</sup> Colophon: *Om svasti trayodaśādhika pañchaśate Naiṣālavatsare (= 513) Kārtika kṛṣṇa pakṣe cha dvādaśyām kujavāre Śrī Jaya Sthitimallasya paṭṭavāddharmya bhūbhujah | rājye Nepāladeśesmin likhitam Śalyaparvakam | Naiṣāla bhūmaṇḍala rakṣaṇāya dharāvātirṇomadhukaita nā (vā)ri aśeṣa sāmanta śiromaṇi Śrī mahīpatindra Jayasimharāma sapuṇyakīrti sukṛtaikasindhuranaikarāmasyakulakarātnam | idam Mahābhārata vyalīkhat svargaphalapradamcha | Śrīman Māṇikarājena Vajrāchāryenadhīmatā likhitam Śalyaparvadevyā Mahābhāratamuttamam ||*

(24) ms. *Gadāparvam*.<sup>36</sup> Colophon: *Trayodaśādhika pañchaśate Nepālavatsare (= 513) Āśādhā kṛṣṇa khaṣṭyamī Śrī Jaya Sthitirājamalladevasya pravivadhasya bhūbhujah rājye Nepāladeśesmin likhitam Gadāparva tīkā | Nepāla bhūmaṇḍala rakṣaṇāya dharāvātirṇomadhukaitavārī | aśeṣa sāmanta śiromaṇi Śrī mahīpatindro Jayasimharāma | sa puṇyakīrtih sukṛtaikasindhuranaikarāmasya kulaikarātnam idam Mahābhāratam etadevam vyallikha svargaphalaprada.* In the very beginning of the work is another passage,<sup>37</sup> which gives the genealogy of Jayasimharāma. The passage runs: *Śrīkāntivara labdha vrimhita mahā Śrī Jaitrarāmanvayo Jyotirāma iti prasiddha bhavastasyāpi puṇyātmanah | sūnuḥ Śrīmadanekarāma iti yaḥ khyātaḥ kṣītīndroya śimādyata kopanarājadanti nivaha pronmāthi kaṅthiravaḥ tasyātmaḥ vijayate Jayasimharāma pratyanva bhūmipati*

<sup>35</sup>Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1693. Doc. 22 of Petech for Jaya Sthitimalla. Date corresponding to June 30th, 1393 A.D.

<sup>36</sup>Darb. Lib. Cat. III, 803,29; Doc. 23 of Petech (Date corresponding to June 30th, 1393).

<sup>37</sup> Unpublished.

*samkṣati kālamūrtiḥ | chintāmaṇiḥ sukṛtanām ripurāja gopi-  
nārāyaṇa nṛpaḥ guṇekanidhiḥ pravīrah tena puṇyātmanā vikṣya  
jīvitam kṣaṇabhāṅgura | idamhi lekhitam puṇya mahālochana-  
muttama ||*

(25) ms. *Guhyasiddhiśāstra* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1692.6).<sup>38</sup>

Colophon: *Samvat 514 Durāṣādha māse śukla pakṣe pañchimi  
pra khaṣṭyāyā tithau uttaraphālguṇi nakṣatre pariḥayoge śaniś  
charavāsare karkaṭa rāśi gate savitari simharāśi pra kanyārāśi  
gate chandramasi | Śrī Śrī Bhaktagrāme Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthiti-  
rājamalladevasya vijayarājye etc.* Date verified for Saturday,  
July 4th, 1394.

(26) ms. *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (As. Soc. Bengal, 4725).<sup>39</sup>

Colophon: *Samvat 515 Māgha śukla tṛtīyāyām tithau punarvasu  
nakṣatre | siddhiyoge | ādityavāsare | sampūrṇadine | dānapati  
Śrī Lalitakramāyām Śrī Māniglasthāne Śrī Puneśvara vihāragṛhā-  
divāsina Abhayamalabhārokasya pustakam idam | Rd Pm Pbh  
Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājya Śrī Nepāla-  
maṇḍale etc.* Date verified for Sunday, January 24, 1395 except  
for the *nakṣatra* which should be *pūrvabhadra* as Petech  
suggests.

All the documents above are listed in Petech. The following  
are not available in his work.

(1) A copper plate inscription at the wall of the Gorakhnātha  
temple. It reads 499 *Devo Gorakṣo dvitīya udayatithi . . . Śrī  
Śrī Jaya Sthitirājamalladeva pratisvāmi sa adeśa etc.*<sup>40</sup>

(2) ms. *Guhyakālinirvāṇapūjā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 351).  
Colophon: *Śreyostu Samvat 501 vaiśākha kṛṣṇa ṣaṣṭamyām  
somvāsare Śrī Bhavabhūteśvara kuṭumbaja . . . Jagatarāmena  
likhitam | Śrī Śrī Sthitimalladevasya vijayarājamiti.* There is  
yet another date *Samvat 723 Chaitra śudī 2*, with the expression  
*thvo kunhu Pannautiya*, etc., which shows a later addition.

(3) ms. *Hitopadeśa* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 867). Colophon:  
*Samvat 505 Aśuni kṛṣṇa navamyām tithau | puṣya nakṣatre |*

<sup>38</sup> Doc. 24 of Petech; CPMDN, I, p. 87 (Partly published).

<sup>39</sup> GMSASB, I, p. 29, n. 31. Doc. 25 of Petech.

<sup>40</sup> Sans. Sandeśa, I, 6, pp. 5-6.

*śivayoge | br̥haspativāsare | Rd Śrī Juvarāja Jaya Sthitimallasya vijayarājye || dānapati Śrī Hātiglasthāne suvarṇakāra Ratnabhārokasya etc.*

(4) ms. *Jñānadīpavimarṣinī* (In the possession of one Ananganath Paudel).<sup>41</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 503 Bhādra śukla 12 aṅgaravāsara śrāvāṇa nakṣatre etc.* Earlier, *Śrī Jaya Sthitimalladevasya Rājarājasyadhīmatah.* Written in Bhatgaon (*Bhaktāpur rājñe likhita paddhativara*).

(5) A copper plate inscription on the wall of Nhakabahil.<sup>42</sup> In the beginning, *Śrī Madanaikapuṇya nilaye Nepāladēse śubhe rājārājah guṇālayah prabiditah sarvārthikalpadrumah | samyak dharma prachāra kuśala śaddarśanāchāratah | Śrīman Śrī Sthitirājamalla iti yo | lokārti raksāvratī || tasyāvani=śasyaprihuprasādāt pravardhamāno sa yaśobibhūti | etc. etc. || aṣṭottare pañchśategatabde Nepālike (= 508) Jyeṣṭha site daśamyām tithau etc. Samvat 508 Jyeṣṭha śukla daśamyām uttaraphālguṇa nakṣatre śuddhi joge śukravāsare Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthitimallasya vijayarājye.*

(6) ms. *Vidaghdhamukhamaṇḍanam* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 833). Colophon: *Samvat 509 Pauṣa śukla pratipadyāyām likhitam | Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa Śrī Kīrtipūnyamahāvihare Śrī Luntabhadrena Amātya Śrī Jayata Varmasya puṣṭakam Śrī Jaya Sthitimallasya vijayarājye etc. etc.*

(7) ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (In the possession of one Herāmān Jyāpu at Bādegāon). Colophon: *Samvat 512 Chaitra śukla daśamyām tithau maghā nakṣatre śūlayoge jīnavāsare (= Wednesday) sampūrṇadina | Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Jaya Sthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājye Nepālamaṇḍale Śriblunkhahārāvasthita vividhividhyāgamābhava Śrīman Bodibhadrena likhitamiti ||*

We have one more colophon of his time. But it is without date. However, it provides some information.

ms. *Daśakarma* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1173).<sup>43</sup> Colophon:

<sup>41</sup> Sanskrit Sandesha, I, 10, 11, 12, pp. 84-85. I have not checked up the colophon.

<sup>42</sup> Inscription, n. XXXII in Om Appendix.

<sup>43</sup> Petech, p. 129.

*Svasti Śrī Rd Śrī Śrī Jaya Sthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājye likhita pustaka | tasmin samaye apa(ra)rājyasya rājā Śrī Śrī Jayārjunanāmarāja Tripurarāje sachivena pravāhite tena mahā-saṅkaṭenapraviṣati ||* And lastly a work of a contemporary dramatist:

ms. *Bhairavānandanātakam*.<sup>44</sup> The drama was staged by orders of *Raghuvaṃśachakra chūdāmaṇinā Rājalladevī rama-neṇa Srīmatā Jaya Sthitimallena* on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of his eldest son Jaya Dharmamalla. Jyotirmalla also is mentioned with the *viruda* of *Bālanārāyaṇa*.

Petech is of the opinion that Jaya Sthitimalla was not acknowledged as full sovereign in Bhatgaon. He was there just a prince consort. Only within Patan he enjoyed the fullest royalty. According to what L. Petech thought 'he joined in a personal union the kingdom of Patan and the principality of Bhatgaon, which, however, maintained their separate individualities'.<sup>45</sup> Bhatgaon is mentioned as a state (*rājye Bhaktapura paṭṭane*) in a ms. *Nāradasaṃhitā* of NS 500 *Phālguṇa śukla tṛtīyā guru-vāsare*. The colophon of the ms. *Amarakośa* written in Bhatgaon (*Bhaktāpure deśe grahitvā likhitam tadā*) on 506 *Chaitra kṛṣṇa 13* has *Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara* etc. before his name.<sup>46</sup> It is true that in no other documents inscribed or written in Bhatgaon available so far we have such a grandiose royal title. But full royal titles are there, and they establish that Sthitimalla was a sovereign ruler there. But is it not enough to refute any contention against the above statement? Furthermore there are several documents written not in Bhatgaon, which do not give him full royal titles e.g. documents 1, 3, 5, 7, 12 of Petech. One ms. copied in a place within the jurisdiction of Kathmandu on 508 *Pausa śukla 1* (see our Doc. IX) also follows the same course. Should this mean that Jaya Sthitimalla was not acknowledge as sovereign except in Patan? But this is not a convincing proposition. From events that followed it appears that Jaya Sthitimalla's place in Bhatgaon was much stronger than in Patan,

<sup>44</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 119.

<sup>45</sup> P. 137.

<sup>46</sup> Camb. Univ. Lib. 1698. Doc. 6 of Petech.

where the *Mahāpātras* on the side of Jayārjuna exercised extraordinary influence to checkmate the powers of any king whom they disliked.

If Jaya Sthitimalla was regarded as an all powerful monarch while his wife was living, how could we believe that the status of prince consort continued for sometime even after her death and that too in Bhatgaon?

Jaya Sthitimalla wielded absolute de jure and de facto power since the very beginning of his career in Bhatgaon. Probably his control over Patan, Banepā and Pharping was not as effective. But he was sovereign of Nepal since 502 as much de jure as any one succeeding by legal rights. Jaya Sthitimalla had begun his kingly career from Bhatgaon. His early documents issued from Bhatgaon call him a sovereign. There is no suggestion even distantly implied that he enjoyed his position there in the capacity of the prince consort.

Perhaps because he did not enjoy absolute powers in Patan, Jaya Sthitimalla continued to live in Bhatgaon and since his time Bhatgaon was made the capital of Nepal at least in practice until Yakṣamalla died in NS 602 = 1482 A.D.

We have already viewed the progress of his career. Whatever might have been the designation in the colophon, there is no doubt that he was acknowledged as the sovereign of Nepal in 502 *Āśvina* and there cannot be a better trustworthy evidence than the statement of V<sup>111</sup> in this respect. But the colophon available so far until 506 (expired) belong only to Bhatgaon. We might have seen that only in 507 *Kārtika śukla* for the first time a ms. colophon has him ruling over *Nepālamaṇḍalādhirājye* (*Pañcharakṣā*, DLC. II. 2). But as we have already suggested we should not be led to think on this basis that Sthitimalla became sovereign of Nepal only in C. 506-07 NS. Nor we think that he was fighting out the feudatories all this while since the death of Jayārjuna. The colophons probably do not offer any clue to the different stages of his career. As we scan the various colophons and inscriptions we find that full royal titles appear so late as in 507. A colophon of the year 505 (already discussed) says that he was the person to bring all the *Sāmantas* under his

control, thus suggesting that not until that year they were all controlled. In Kathmandu as already noted he is completely ignored in Jayasimharāma's inscription 502 *Āṣādha*. But the Nhaikabahil copper plate of 508 (see above) gives him full royal titles and mentions his reign. This may mean that he was recognised as a sovereign ruler not before NS 508. But there is no instance of defiance of his authority either in the information given by the chronicles or in the lines of the colophons or inscriptions. The various epithets used in the records should not be taken to reflect any status of the King, for such epithets are usual also in the period where according to other documents he was deemed to have been fully entrenched using the full royal titles to his name. Jaya Sthitimalla in all certainty became a sovereign ruler on Jayārjuna's death, and he continued to enjoy power until he died in NS. 515.

Jaya Sthitimalla had three sons. These were Dharmamalla, Jyotirmalla and Kīrtimalla. According to V<sup>111</sup> Jaya Dharmamalla was born in NS 487 on *Prathamāsādhā kṛṣṇa amāvasyā ghaṭi 53 ārdra ghaṭi 8 vyāghāta ghaṭi 31 āditavāra velā sampraghaṭi 22 bighaṭi 23* (= June-July, 1367), Jyotirmalla in 493 on *Vaiśākha śukla 10 pūrvaphālgūṇa pra uttaraphālgūṇa nakṣatra* (= April-May, 1373 A.D.) and Kīrtimalla in 497 on *Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa 2 vṛṣa nakṣatre atigaṇḍa yoga bṛhaspativāra velā rātri* (= July-August, 1381).<sup>47</sup> Dharmamalla's initiation ceremony (*vadukarṇa*)<sup>48</sup> took place on *Samvat 497 Jyeṣṭha śukla 5 puṣya nakṣatra dhruvayoga budhavāra* and the occasion was blessed by the attendance of Raja Jayārjuna (V<sup>1</sup>, f. 29a).

There are several references to the three sons of Jaya Sthitimalla in V<sup>111</sup> and the Deopatan inscription of 508 also mentions them. Dharmamalla was married on *Phālgūṇi śuddhi tṛtīya bṛhaspativāra of 503*<sup>49</sup> and on this occasion a drama in Sanskrit was staged in the palace. This drama was again staged on and a large number of people both from within the country and outside witnessed the play.<sup>50</sup> The three princes accompanied

<sup>47</sup> ff. 54-a-b, 55-b.

<sup>48</sup> V<sup>1</sup>, f. 29-a.

<sup>49</sup> 60-b—61-a.

<sup>50</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 606—61-a.

their parents to *Chāngu* to pay their respect to the *Lord Viṣṇu* on 501 *Māgha śuddhi 12 mṛgaśira aṅgāravāra*.

The sons of Sthitimalla, however, do not seem to be in picture as far as his political activities went.

As soon as he became king Sthitimalla might have been immediately concerned to deal about the attitude of his antagonists who had so long supported Jayārjuna as against himself. We shall know from the subsequent paragraphs that the most inveterate of them was Jayasimharāma, who had defied Sthitimalla's authority for sometime and was reconciled to the new situation with great difficulty. V<sup>111</sup> tells us that after eight months of his assuming kingship Jaya Sthitimalla called to audience in the royal palace all the noblemen of the country, and received their homage (f. 60b). It appears that there was not any resistance worth the name to Jaya Sthitimalla's accession to the throne except probably from Jayasimha's side. He however overcame whatever there was by adopting a conciliatory attitude towards his opponents as is seen from his treatment of Jayasimharāma. We have it from V<sup>111</sup> that reconciliation with the latter also was effected without delay under date 505 *Jyeṣṭha śukla daśamī*. V<sup>111</sup> (f. 62b) tells us that on this day Jaya Sthitimalla attended a religious rite performed by Jayasimharāma at the shrine of *Paśuṣpatinātha*. The noting mentions Jayasimha as the *Mahath*, which shows that not only difference between the two had been straightened but the king had also accepted the claim of the Rāmavardhana feudatory to Chief Ministership of the kingdom. We shall have an occasion to say more about Sthitimalla's relationship with Jayasimha.

Petech thinks that Jayasimharāma was absolute as far as Kathmandu and Patan were concerned. According to the Italian scholar his inscription of the year 502 (see above) testifies to that position over Kathmandu at the time while Jayārjuna died. The fact that he does not mention Jaya Sthiti shows that sense of ignoring the sovereign was intended. But later he respected him by referring to him as ruling in several colophons coming thereafter (see below). So although his powerful position cannot be denied, Jayasimharāma had not revolted against Jaya



Sthiti's authority at any time since the latter consolidated his position in the capital and in the Valley.

It appears that after sometime Jayasimharāma reconciled to the new situation. According to V<sup>111</sup> on 505 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 10* Jayasimharāma accompanied Jaya Sthitimalla to a ceremony at the shrine of Paśupati (V<sup>111</sup>, f. 63-a); on 507 *Pausa śudī 6* again Jayasimharāma performed a *tilapātradāna* at the instance of Jaya Sthitimalla (V<sup>111</sup>, f. 63b). Both had patched up their quarrel and were pulling together.

It might be that in the beginning there prevailed misunderstanding in their relation. But it seems that soon they patched up. Jaya Sthiti was destined to be acknowledged as the sovereign for the whole of Nepal, even though the duration of the reign is difficult to assess. About his terms with Jayasimha we shall return to the question a little later.

In the ms. *Nāradasamhitā* there is a line about the minister Jayata. This runs, *Śrīman Amātya Jayato riṇu mantriṇpraudhavadā prasara bisphuraṇoruvāyuh | svasvāmikāryaparipālana | vāyusūnu pāyāt prajān nijasutāniva sarvvadeva*. The record dates 500. Petech has omitted to include this passage while he gave the colophon of the ms. It appears from the passage that Jayata Varmā was the most trusted man of the king. He describes himself as one 'who was a mature counsellor, and in carrying out the wishes of his master he stood like *Hanumāna* to *Rāma*'.<sup>51</sup> Although V<sup>111</sup> does not mention him after 502, it appears that Jayata continued as Chief Minister till 506 as is attested by the colophon of the ms. *Amarakośa* of that date (see above). It is quite likely that Jayasimharāma was accepted as the successor to Jayata's post, when the latter expired in about 507.

It is said that Jaya Sthitimalla's advent to power 'marked with some limitations the end of a period of trouble and the restoration of order. It marks also a sustained effort at reorganisation of the shattered kingdom—he seems also to have

<sup>51</sup> Doc. 3 above.

effectively curbed, at least for a moment, the lawlessness of most of the turbulent local chieftains'.<sup>52</sup> But it is certain that troubles had continued brewing even in his time as early as NS 502 (=1382 A.D.) the year of his accession to full sovereign status, for in that year Jayasimharāma set up an inscription in Kathmandu to declare himself as Lord Protector of the realm, and he completely ignores the Malla ruler by omitting his name altogether. As it appears from the inscription, Jayasimharāma was the Chief Minister (*Mantryādhirāja mahāmantri*) as the lines were being inscribed and knowing as we do about this man that he had opposed Jaya Sthiti initially (see above), the record can provide us an evidence that Jaya Sthiti was not accepted as the sovereign in Kathmandu by Jayasimharāma at that date. Two years after in 1384 Madanasimharāma received the Chinese Mission in his own name as the sovereign of the country. What a greater proof than this could there be to refute the statement made in the quotation at the beginning of the paragraph? There is no doubt that in Banepā, the authority of Jaya Sthiti though not actually usurped was at least ignored in practice. We have colophons and inscriptions (of 514, 516 date) traced in Nālā-Banepā-Pannauti area, which show Jayasimha and Madanasimha ruling (*pratipālita*), and all this within the life time of Jaya Sthitimalla is introduced completely ignoring him (see below). It is not improbable that Jayasimha was accepted as Chief Minister against Jaya Sthiti's will much due to force of circumstances. Jaya Sthiti probably was left with no alternative. He had to accommodate his opponent by elevating him to the key post because any action directed to antagonise him would have invited 'due consequences'. There is a ms. *Nāmasaṅgītiṭṭippanī* dated NS 512 *Pausa kṛṣṇa 5*, which has in the colophon *Rājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhāṭṭāraka Śrī Gaṇḍakīvaralabdhaprasādakara lalita virājamāna Śrī Śrī Ratnajyotidevasya vijayarājye Śrīman Nepālakamalakallikopama Śrī Mullapanagaryā samāgata Navakoṣṭe mahāpaṭṭane sama-*

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<sup>52</sup> Petech, p. 139.

*vasthitena, etc.*<sup>53</sup> This shows that Noakoṭ also had defied Jaya Sthitimalla's authority sometime after he became sovereign in Nepal.

It appears that not only Noakoṭ and Banepā had challenged Jaya Sthiti's over all authority, the principality of Pharping though courteous enough to pay him homage was not as much submissive. The *Gorakhnātha inscription* (see above, Doc. 18), shows one Jaya Yūtha or Juthasimha governing the area along with his brothers at the date (NS 511). As it will appear in the next chapter Pharping continued to maintain its existence under its own hereditary ruler or rulers till 670 or so. Jūthasimha might have wielded sufficient powers to resist attempts directed to liquidate his hold of the area.

All the same Jaya Sthiti must have successfully maintained his suzerainty in all parts of the realm. Jaya Jūthasimha's acknowledgement of the reign of his sovereign shows that Pharping constituted no problem. It appears that in making Banepā accept his sovereignty Jaya Sthiti struck a deal appointing the feudatory to the post of the chief minister of the realm. Noakoṭ, however, was uncompromising as the colophon above quoted signifies.

We shall have to say considerably more above Banepā and its feudatories a little later as we deal with the powers of the collegial regime functioning on the death of Jaya Sthitimalla.

Jaya Sthitimalla is credited by later chronicles with the task of reorganising castes and customs, and standardising weights and measures. Kirkpatrick's authority, however, gives the credit for social reorganisation to Jyotirmalla. We have dwelt at length on the aspects of castes in the next chapter. It will be seen, however, that important priestly figures of the reign featuring in that context do not find mention in the chronicles of Jaya Sthiti's time (VIII), which has also nothing to say about the much publicised regularisation of castes.

<sup>53</sup> CBMC, Add. 1108, p. 30. Doc. in Petech, p. 138. *Dvādaśottara-pañchaśatam prayāte vihāyas Pauṣa śukla navamyām cha sampūrṇa guruvāsare.*

But as H. P. Shastri suggests it seems that in his time 'an attempt was made to bring the administration of justice more in unison with the *Smṛti* than before'.<sup>54</sup> This is evident from the colophon of the *Nāradasamhitā*, a commentary on the work of Manu. This work was copied through the efforts of one of Jaya Sthiti's ministers, Jayata, son of Chandana Varmā. The objective is expressed in the colophon. Therefore it cannot be denied that the system of law in Nepal was being based on the principles laid down by Manu. It was no wonder if caste rules had been enforced on the same line. But it would be a grave error to regard castes as being solely introduced by Jaya Sthitimalla. This would mean that they never existed before and this statement goes quite against facts.

In V<sup>iii</sup> (f. 59-a, f. 63-b) we have two Brāhmanas as important figures in Jaya Sthiti's reign. These are Śivadāsa Upādhyāya and Dvijarāja Upādhyāya. The former was the king's spiritual preceptor from whom Jaya Sthiti had obtained *dīkṣyā* on the day of solar eclipse in *Vaiśākha vadī amāvasyā* of 500. The V<sup>iii</sup> gives as the date Śivadāsa's death 507 *Āṣāḍha śudi 12* (f.63a).

Amongst the members of the nobility the most familiar names are those of Jayasimha Mahath, and Jayata Mūlamī. We come across these two names in inscriptions and ms. colophons. In V<sup>iii</sup> we find a few others who are much prominently figured. They are commander Padma Mūlamī, Tejarāma Mūlami, Jogrāma Mūlamī and Gaja Mūlamī. But the most important of them is Jayasimharāma who is addressed as *bhvanta* (respectable) and who is the only *Mahath* of the time.

The colophon of the *Bhairavānandanāṭakam* by a court poet and dramatist indicates that the drama was meant to be shown to the gathering on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of Prince Dharmamalla. The marriage was performed on 503 *Phālguna śukla 3*, Thursday and the play was staged two days after on Sunday.

According to H. P. Shastri 'this appears to be a secular drama,

<sup>54</sup> CPMDN, I, Preface, X.

the hero being *Bhairava* and the heroine *Madanāvati*, a celestial dancer cursed by a *Rṣi* to become a *Mānuṣī*' (Preface to Nepal catalogue p. XXXVIII ff).<sup>55</sup> Another four act play called *Bālādirāmāyana* which was composed by an unnamed author was twice staged once on the birth ceremony and next on the initiation ceremony of the Crown Prince<sup>56</sup> Jaya Sthitimalla was certainly a lover of art and literature, and gave munificent patronage to artists and literature.

Petech wrongly thinks that since Yākṣamalla's reign Newari entered the field of Nepalese epigraphy. It was actually during Jaya Sthitimalla's time that the Newari language began to be used in writing. We have seen that the V<sup>111</sup> was composed under Sthitimalla's influence. There is a Newari commentary on *Amarakośa* composed at the instance of his minister.<sup>57</sup> We have the following inscriptions with texts in Newari, that precede Yākṣamalla's reign :

- (1) Gorakhanātha temple copper plate inscription<sup>58</sup> of NS 454.
- (2) Nālā inscription<sup>59</sup> of Śaktisimharāma of NS 527.
- (3) Kumbheśvara inscription<sup>60</sup> of NS 530.
- (4) Chikambahil (Patan) inscription<sup>61</sup> of NS 536.
- (5) Gorakhanātha temple copper plate inscription<sup>62</sup> of NS 543.
- (6) Iba-bahi inscription<sup>63</sup> of NS 547.

Since Jaya Sthitimalla's time Goddess *Māneśvari* appears in the royal *praśasti* of all the Nepalese kings as one to have blessed

<sup>55</sup> R. K. Chaudhary, JBORS, XLIII, Pts. 1-2, pp. 34 ff; CPM-DN, I, pp. 119-20.

<sup>56</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 29-a.

<sup>57</sup> Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1698, CBMC, p. 84.

<sup>58</sup> Inscription n. XLI in our Appendix.

<sup>59</sup> Inscription n. XXVII in our Appendix.

<sup>60</sup> Inscription n. XLVI in our Appendix.

<sup>61</sup> Inscription n. XLIX in our Appendix.

<sup>62</sup> Inscription n. XL in our Appendix.

<sup>63</sup> Inscription n. LI in our Appendix.

them with her favours (*Māneśvarī varalabdha prasāda*).<sup>64</sup> *Māneśvarī* is the titular deity of the Malla family of Jaya Sthitimalla but we are unable to locate her temple nor her antecedents or circumstances of her being adopted as the deity of the royal family are known to us.

The expression '*Paśupati charaṇa kamala dhūli dhūsarita*' (laden with dust of the feet of Lord Paśupati) also is a part of the royal *praśasti* of the kings of Sthitimalla's line, but the epithet starts actually with Jyotirmalla.

However, Jaya Sthitimalla was extremely devoted to *Lord Paśupati* and *Lord Viṣṇu*. The V<sup>111</sup> narrates how on several occasions he undertook a trip to *Chāṅgu* to propitiate the Lord, and he offered sacrifices to *Paśupatinātha*.

According to V<sup>1</sup> (f. 28-b) Sthitimalla together with his wife worshipped Goddess *Lakṣmī* in *Bhādra kṛṣṇa* of NS 499. In 503 Sthitimalla offered his donations to the treasury of *Paśupatinātha* and became one of the illustrious donors. Two years earlier he had attended a ceremony in *Chāṅgu* performed in honour of Lord *Viṣṇu* (f.30b).

Although strictly speaking he was a follower of Śaiva-Viṣṇuite religion, Jaya Sthitimalla revered also gods of others sects. In V<sup>111</sup> (f. 63-b) Sthitimalla is mentioned to have attended the *Jātrā* of *Lokeśvara* in *Bugamā* on 507 *Vaiśākha śudī 4*.

While we come to the chapter on religion and art of the period, we shall have many things more to say about Sthitimalla and his immediate successors from religious point of view.

Sthitimalla followed the traditional policy of paying respects to deities irrespective of whether any deity belonged to Buddhist or *Śaiva-Viṣṇu* pantheon.

#### CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY OF STHITIMALLA

In popular estimation today Jaya Sthitimalla is one of our heroes of the past. He is chiefly remembered for the social organisation he is said to have set up, although the historicity of such an achievement is lacking. Sthitimalla no doubt occupies a very

<sup>64</sup> Inscription n. XXXV in our Appendix.

high place in history as the founder of the dynasty which ruled Nepal for nearly four hundred years. He emerged out of obscurity to occupy the throne of the kingdom of Nepal: this was no mean achievement and speaks for high qualities of head and heart. He was a very skilful organiser and tactful politician. He met the challenge of powerful adversaries quite successfully, and was able to maintain his hegemony throughout the length and breadth of the land. Of course, he could not wholly subdue some of them, but he was being acknowledged as the rightful ruler of Nepal by all of them. The crowning achievement of his life in diplomatic field was winning Jayasimharāma over to his side. This all-powerful feudatory of Palāñchok *rājya* could have effectively opposed him, and hinder his realisation of the attainment of sovereign status for the whole of Nepal. The fact that his descendants were to rule the country for centuries together shows that the edifice he was to rest the powers of his dynasty on was built of no ordinary bricks and mortars. It was strong enough to sustain them for at least four centuries.

Sthitimalla was a lover of poetry and drama. The court poet Māñika, the author of *Bhairavānanda*, speaks eloquently of his patron's interest in art and letters. Sthitimalla patronised literature and encouraged men of learning. He had also a broad outlook on religion and his patronage was extended to all sects. Although he was mainly a follower of *Saiva-Viṣṇu* faith, he contributed riches to Buddhist shrines and respected their deities. Sthitimalla rightly deserves a place among the few greatest kings of Nepal.

#### DEATH OF JAYA STHITIMALLA

According to Wright,<sup>65</sup> and BLI<sup>66</sup> Jaya Sthitimalla died on the 5th of *Kārtika vadī* of NS 549 (=1429 A.D.). The Sanskrit chronicle gives a date still later, 570 (*śunya śailabāna*) *Āṣāḍha* for the same event. But in view of the colophons showing a new reign since early mid 516, it is difficult to accept such late dates as 549 and 570 for the death of Jaya Sthitimalla.

<sup>65</sup> Wright, Second Edition, p. 110.

<sup>66</sup> BLI, p. 39.

It shall appear that the year NS 549 is actually the date while his son Jyotirmalla had died.

But there was no single sovereign ruler in Nepal who seems to have ascended the throne in between NS 516 and 528. All this time the three sons of Jaya Sthitimalla reigned jointly. They were running a form of collegial rule. This fact may lead us to think that Sthitimalla had retired into obscurity to allow his sons to assume the de facto government in his absence while retaining to himself the de jure authority. It may be argued that in the event of his death the eldest son Dharmamalla would have been seated on the throne, and there should have been no occasion for the joint reign. But the argument is hardly sustained, because there is nothing even to distantly suggest that Sthitimalla had retired or abdicated. Considering that the pattern of collegial rule was to be repeated on the death of Yakṣamalla in NS 602, there is nothing to cause surprise if we find Jaya Sthitimalla being succeeded on the throne by all the three sons who were to rule by common consent as collegial sovereign kings.

We have seen that his last document ms (n. 25 above) dates 515 *Māgha śukla* 3 (=January 24th, 1395). The first document of the next reign dates 516 *Jyeṣṭha śukla* 7 Sunday (=May-June, 1396).<sup>67</sup> In any case Jaya Sthitimalla was dead any time between these two dates.

But the date of his death is no longer subject to speculation on account of a noting in the ms. *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra*<sup>68</sup> available in the collection of the Government National Library, Kathmandu, which reads *Yāte kāmāsaraiḥabhūtasahite Naiṣṭhīke hāyene (=515) ṣaṣṭhyām Bhādrapade asite ravidine ṛkṣe tathā sraṣṭarī| madhyānhe sthitiṛājamalla nṛpatiḥ svarggāvarohaṃgato hāhākāra ravaḥ saśokavachana vyāptam prajānanmukham.*

At noon on Sunday the 6th of the dark fortnight of the month of *Bhādra* of the Nepal year 515, king Sthitimalla breathed his last and there was grief and sorrow all around and the people spoke in distress.

<sup>67</sup> Ms. ASB, n. 10723. See below.

<sup>68</sup> N. 323.



The noting is written on the last leaf on the opposite side of the surface which gives the closing lines of the ms. It is in a hand different from the one, in which the text appears. But the writing seems to be quite old and is in the same script as the body of the text. Therefore we do not see any reason to reject it as spurious. It is quite likely that the noting was done so soon after the death of Jaya Sthitimalla.

We have no further particulars of the circumstances of Jaya Sthitimalla's death. He was survived by his three sons, Dharmamalla, Jyotirmalla and Kīrtimalla.

## II

### JOINT REIGN OF THE SONS OF STHITIMALLA (1395—1408 A.D.)

No one son succeeded Sthitimalla on his throne after his death. Nor it seems that the kingdom was divided. By his own right Dharmamalla was to become king. But there was now a collegial regime in the name of all the three brothers. Dharmamalla had chosen to share the most supreme status of royalty with his two brothers. He continued to use the title of the *Yuvarāja* (crown prince), and the courtesy title of *Rd* or *Md* in a few instances were also given to him. But he was not reigning singly by himself. Although he enjoyed the first place, and obtained all respects due to him as crown prince and successor, he had to share his reign with his brothers. But the factors that had led to a situation of collegial rule in Nepal at this stage remain yet unknown. Could it be Jaya Sthitimalla himself who had made this arrangement?

Their joint reign lasted for full thirteen years from NS 515 to 528 (=1395 to 1408 A.D.). It seems that after NS 523 (=1403 A.D.), Dharmamalla and Jyotirmalla were the only survivors, because they alone figure as co-rulers in documents.

We have several documents of the period, both in colophons and inscriptions. They number 22. A majority of them show the single name of Dharmamalla, and in a few of these he gets

the royal epithets of *Rd*. This has led some people to infer that Dharmamalla was the ruling monarch of the time. But we shall discuss the question of his status a little later.

The following are the documents of the regime, which are published for the first time

(1) ms. *Chāṇakyaṃ Sarvvasārasaṅgrahakṛtarājanītyādivāñijye Pustakam*. (ASB, n. 107 23)<sup>69</sup> Colophon: *Samvachchhara ritu digbānah (=516) yujjyeṣṭa saptamī śukle pakṣe ravirvāre lakṣa siddhikṛte śubhaḥ Śreyostu Samvat 516 Jyeṣṭha śukla saptamī āditavāsare siddhidinam|| Svasti Śrī Md Pm Pbh Śrī Māneśvarīvaralabdha prasāda mahāpratāpavān Jaurājya Śrī Śrī Jaya Dharmamalladevasya vijayarājye, tasyānuja Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotirmalla kanesta Jaya Kīrtimalla traya mahānubhāva prītiyuktānena Śrī Nepālamaṇḍala samasta dharmamārge putravat pratipālītā*. Either one Jayaharṣva Kāyastha or Vijalachchha Tolaka is mentioned as the writer. Probably this was written in Bhatgaon.

(2) ms. *Śyāddantakośa* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 418)<sup>70</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 516 Āṣādhā śudi pratipadyāya tithau budhavāsare punarvasu nakṣatre Yuvarāja Śrī Śrī Dharmamalladevasya vijayarājye samaye| Śrī Byanappāna deśe nahyapatanabare brahmakulendra vipra Śrī Jīva Sarmaṇasya yathābhilikhitamanoṛatha pustakamidam etc*. Written in Banepā.

(3) ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Recently acquired by the Government Nat. Library).<sup>71</sup> Colophon: *Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Dharmamalladevasya vijayarājye|| Samvat 516 Bhādra va śukla dvādaśyām tithau uttrāśādhā nakṣatre saubhāgye yoge budhavāsare likhitamidam Śrī Hamulādhivāsava Vajrāchārya Śrī Manikarāja Chandrena svahastena lekhitam||*

(4) ms. *Aśvavaidyakaśāstram* (In the possession of one Eisvaradhara Sharma, Patan)<sup>72</sup> Colophon: *Svasti Śrī Naipālīka vatsaramuni mahikandarapabāne yute māse Bhādrapade site guṇatithau somātmajevāsare Śrīmat Śrī Jaya Jyotirmalla nṛpateḥ*

<sup>69</sup> CSMASB, VII, n. 5486, p. 405.

<sup>70</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>71</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>72</sup> Unpublished.

*rājñānukartālikhat lekhi lekha vidambaro Jasapati Śrī Vājisāstrot-tamam|| Sakalaguṇanidhāno dharmikīrteḥ nidāna samarava-navihāri vairidarṣapāhāri amtila karaṇibhaṅga kāmīnām anaṅgo Jayati nṛpatimallo Śrī Jaya Jyotimalla|| Om Śreyostu Samvat 517 Bhādrapada śukla ṣasthyām tithau anurādhā nakṣatre viśambha yoge budhavāsare Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Dharmama(lla) devasyavijayarājye Śrī Śrī Jyotirmalladevasya prabho Jayadatta pustakam Koligrāmasamavasthita Jasapati nāmnā likhitamiti śubhamastu.*

(5) ms. *Durgāsaptasati* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 681).<sup>73</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 521 Vaiśākha śukla pañchamyām tithau mūla nakṣatre śivayoge ādityavāsare Śrī Śrī Paśupatičaraṇakamala sevita Śrī Śrī Śrī Māneśvarīṣṭadevatā varalabdha prasāda vīra-nārāyaṇa'juvarāja Śrī Śrī Jaya Dharmamalladevasya vijayarājye| Nepālesmin mahīpatiśvaro dātā guṇagrahako dīnānām sakalārthīnāṅcha mahato saṅkalpavṛkṣopama jātaḥ sūrya kalāvataṁśatilake sarvān ripun nirjito vīra Śrī Jaya Kīrtimalla nṛpati Śrī Rūpanārāyaṇa bhūpottama sakala nītivīdām varīṣṭo nāt-yāṅga śāstraguṇa gītamahāpravīṇa satsundarī hṛdaya mohana manmatha Śrī Śrī Kīrtimalla nṛpati ripu chakramalla tasyājñām śirasādhrivā lipikarena mahātmanā Jasapatīnā samalikha Chaṇḍīmahātmya pustaka śubha.*

(6) ms. *Galavokta mahālakṣmīmahātmya* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 366).<sup>74</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 521 Kārtika kṛṣṇa śukravāsare hastā nakṣatre Rd Pm Pbh Jaya Dharmamalladevasya vijayarājye, etc.*

(7) Inscription on a slab of stone attached to the temple of *Rājarājeśvarī* about 300 yards from the shrine of *Paśupatinātha* on the bank of the river *Bāgmati*. This gives two brothers, Dharmamalla and Kīrtimalla as reigning while the date of the record is NS 528 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 8 ādityavāra* and *dhanīṣṭhā nakṣatre*. This is the last document of the joint reign.<sup>75</sup>

The following documents are published by Petech in his book.

<sup>73</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>74</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>75</sup> Inscription n. XLIV in our Appendix.

(8) ms. *Śivadharmasāstra* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 2836).<sup>76</sup> Colophon: *Rājādhirāja jeṣṭha Jaurāya Dharmmadeva madhya Śrī Jaya Jyotirmalladevaḥ kaneṣṭha Jaya Kīrtimalladeva trayo sammete rājye kṛtam | Śreyostu Samvat 516 Śrāvāṇa kṛṣṇa sapṭī śubham.* Date verified for July 27th, 1396 A.D.

(9) ms. *Saptaśatī* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1534.2).<sup>77</sup> Colophon: *Yd Pb Śrī Śrī Dharmamalladevasya vijayarājye | Samvat 518 Māgha kṛṣṇa daśamyām tithau, uttarāśādhā nakṣatre śukla yoge budhavāsare likhitamidam pustakam ||* The date is irregular.

(10) ms. *Bṛhajjātaka*<sup>78</sup> (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 2834). Colophon: *Grahaminduścha bhūtābda (= 519) Prathamakārtika suchih/āyusmān sukra svātīścha . . . . . / Bhaktāpurī nagaryāmcha trayorāja virājate Dharma Jotiścha Kīrtiścha Jeṣṭha madhya kaniṣṭake.* The writer was Daivajña Gajarāja. The date is verified for Friday, 11 October, 1398 and the ms. was written in Bhaktapur.

(11) ms. *Guhyakālitantra* (Kaisar Lib. n. 557).<sup>79</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 520 Bhādrapada śukla trayodaśyāya tithau dhanīṣṭā nakṣatre sukramāni yoge budhavāsare śubham Śrī Yd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Dharmamalladevasya vijayarājye likhitamidam // Śrī Yothovihāra Śrī Jayateja Varmaṇasya etc.* Date verified for Wednesday, September 1, 1400 A.D.

(12) ms. *Daśakriyā* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1664).<sup>80</sup> Colophon: *Pretāśaucham tathā khyātam muninām daśanādikam rākāmsayamā bhṛtāndīśuklāśvina Tithinirṇayo sāstracha likhita svalpa buddhinā / . . . . / Daivajña Gajarājena svārtha parārtha hetunā Bhaktāpurī nagaryām cha trayorāja virājate Dharmmayotiścha Kīrtiścha jeṣṭhamadhyā kaniṣṭake . . . . . Samvat 520 Aśuni śukla navamī samāptam iti ||* According to Petech the date is irregular. The ms. was written in Bhatgaon.

(13) ms. *Vivāhakaṇḍa-Ratnakośa* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III.

<sup>76</sup> Doc. 1 of Petech.

<sup>77</sup> Doc. 2 of Petech; CPMDN, I, p. 64. This is published as ms. *Devimahātmya* with date NS 118.

<sup>78</sup> Bendall, *History*, p. 28 (CPMDN, I, Intro.); Doc. 3 of Petech.

<sup>79</sup> Doc. 4 of Petech.

<sup>80</sup> Doc. 5 of Petech.

391). The same writer, and the same line about the ruling three brothers as above in No. 12. The date is *Śāsiyamabhūtabdatu (= 521) Kṛṣṇāśvini pratipadā bhṛgu revatī vyāghātam śubhalagne cha*. Verified for Friday, September 23rd, 1401 A.D.<sup>81</sup> written in Bhatgaon.

(14) ms. *Narapatijayacharyāsvarodaya* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1179.3), the same line about the three brothers, also the same writer as in No. 12. Date: *Samvat 522 Bhādrapada śukla dvādaśī śravana pra dhanīṣṭā nakṣatra śukra pra dhṛtiyoge śukravāsare śubhalagne etc.* The date is verified for Friday, September 8, 1402 A.D.<sup>82</sup> In the beginning the date is given in words, *pakṣanayana bhūtābda Bhādrecha sita dvādaśī ṛksecha sudhṛtiyoga bhṛgudineṣṭu siddhidam* written in Bhatgaon.

(15) ms. *Nityānhikatilaka* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1320.8).<sup>83</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 523 Kārtika kṛṣṇa chaturdaśyām . . . Rd-Pm Śrīmat Śrī Śrī Juvarāja Jaya Dharmamalladevasya vijayarājye*. Date corresponds to November 24, 1402 A.D.

(16) *Chaṇḍeśvara inscription*.<sup>84</sup> The beginning three lines in verse invoke the blessing of Śiva; then follows, *svasti samvatsare 523 Māgha śukla paurṇamasyām chandragrāse maghā nakṣatra śukrama yoge budhavāsare Śrī Śrī Pbh Juvarāja Jaya Dharmamallasya madhyamānuja Jaya Jyotirmalladevasya kaṇiṣṭhānuja Jaya Kīrtimalladevasya eteṣām vijayarājye*.

(17) ms. *Sumatisiddhānta Grahagaṇita* (Kaisar Lib. No. 82).<sup>85</sup> *Samvat 523 Chaitra śukla dvādaśī budhadine samāptam śubham | Rd Juvarāja Śrī Śrī Dharmamalladevasya vijayarājye // Śrī Yambukramāyām etc.* Petech verifies the date for Wednesday, April 4th, 1403 A.D.

(18) The Thabuṭol stone inscription of 523 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa daśamī etc.* with *Juvarājarāja Śrī Śrī Jaya Dharmamalla devasya vijayarājya*. Petech verifies the date for Wednesday, May 16th,

<sup>81</sup> Doc. 6 of Petech for the reign.

<sup>82</sup> Doc. 7 of Petech.

<sup>83</sup> Doc. 8 of Petech.

<sup>84</sup> Doc. 9 of Petech for the reign. Inscription n. XXXVIII in our Appendix.

<sup>85</sup> Doc. 10 of Petech.

1403, for particulars read inscription No. XXXIX in our Appendix.

(19) The Sundhārā inscription attached to a temple of Śiva. The date is *Kalivarsa* 4401 *Vikrama Varṣa* 1461 *Śakavarṣa* 1325 *Nepāla samvat* 524 *Chaitra kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī etc.* The date corresponds to Thursday April 4th, 1404. For further particulars read inscription No. XL in our Appendix. Dharmamalla is mentioned as a ruler without his brothers, and his name is qualified with the epithet *Yd.*

(20) ms. *Dharmanirṇaye Tithisārasaṅgraha* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1634).<sup>86</sup> Colophon: *Śreyostu Nepālikasamvatsara* 525 *Mārga-śirakṛṣṇa tritīyapara chaturthyām tithau punarvasunakṣatre śukla yoge brhaspati vāsare vichcharāsigata savitari mithunarāṣī gata chandramasi / Rd Pbh Pm Śrī Śrī Dharmamalla devasya vijyārājye likhitam/*

(21) The Pharping Stella<sup>87</sup> of the temple of *Jhankēśvarī*. This mentions as ruler *Nepālamaṇḍalādhipah Juarājādhirāja Śrī Śrī Jaya Dharmamallakaḥ*. Some local rulers are also mentioned in the record, all of them being designated as *bhūpati* and protecting (*sampālīte*) *Śikharāpuri*. The date 527 *Phālguṇa śukla tritīya etc.* is verified for Friday, February 11th, 1407 by Petech. For further particulars read inscription No. XLII in our Appendix.

(22) Garuḍa Pillar Inscription of Sūryamadhiṭol, Bhatgaon. The date of the record is 528 *Māgha śukla pūrṇamāsyām tithau śukra vāsare*, which is verified by Petech for Friday, January 13th, 1408 A.D. Two names those of Dharmamalla who is called *narottama* and his brother (*tasyānuja*) Jyotirmalla, appear as *reigning (taylorājye)*. In some documents out of the total 22 of the time these princes are noted as joint rulers. Six of these documents are from Bhatgaon (1, 10, 12, 13, 14, 22). Jaya Dharmamalla is singly noted as a ruler in 14 documents. (Doc. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21). The earliest document of the period of joint reign shows the three names.

<sup>86</sup> CPMDN, II, p. 246.

<sup>87</sup> Inscription n. XLIII in our Appendix.

But the next two show only Dharmamalla's name. All the twelve documents in the name of Dharmamalla are spread in between documents showing the three brothers as rulers. In two cases Dharmamalla is mentioned singly as reigning (*vijya-rājye*) while one or the other brother figures as the owner or patron of the work (Doc. 4 and 5).

Kīrtimalla's name appears only upto the document of 523 *Māgha śukla* 1, the inscription of Chaṇḍeśvara in the Paśupati area.<sup>88</sup> Jyotirmalla's name also disappears in all the documents after this date, but as we have seen it appears again in the last two of the period (Doc. 7 and 22).

In document 1 Dharmamalla has the epithet *Md Pm Pbh Jaurājya*. Although he is singly reigning, he does not enjoy any royal epithets in No. 2. In Nos. 4, 6, 15, 20 Dharmamalla is addressed as *Rd Pm Pbh*. In other documents he gets the title of either *Jaurāja* or *Yuvarāja* or *Yd* even though in some the title *Rd* is there (No. 17). The last few documents of the period call him only crown prince, (No. 21, 22, 7).

It appears that datewise Dharmamalla alone is noted from 516 to 518 except in No. 1 above and thence from 523 *Chaitra*<sup>89</sup> to 528 except at the end in 2 records to share with Jyotirmalla and the three brothers together between 519 and 523 *Māgha*. But there are 3 mss. showing only Dharmamalla also in between 520 and 523. One of these ms. *Gālavokta mahālakṣmīmahātmya* of 521 is already noted (Doc. 6).

By the title of Dharmamalla we can say that he seems to enjoy the senior most position in the state. But in any case he was just one of the three men ruling in the country. The few colophons giving full royal epithets do not sufficiently establish the fact of his accession to the throne as the sole sovereign ruler.

It may be that they had functioned like regents of a council of three to look after the throne rendered vacant by the death of Jaya Sthitimalla.

<sup>88</sup> Doc. 13 of Petech.

<sup>89</sup> Inscription n. XXXVIII in our Appendix.

Rajallādevī died on Thursday *Kārtika śudī 2 of 506* (V<sup>111</sup>, f. 62-a). It is not improbable that Jaya Sthiti retired from active life soon after. The best evidence of his retirement is offered by the ancient chronicle V<sup>111</sup> which stops at 509. Obviously, the chronicle had to be ended because the hero had become inactive since that date. Although, as we have said above we come across a few records of his reign uptill NS 515, it will not be wrong to suggest that he had ceased to be active in about NS 509 or so. He was no more now the same active man as he had been all the time earlier, a virile and dynamic ruler. We can even suggest different stages of his retirement. He began to show indifference to administrative affairs since 506 or so while his wife died. As time passed this indifference became endemic. He must have totally disappeared from the scene towards the end of 515.

It is suggested that Dharmamalla was alone regarded as the *de jure* crown prince in Patan whereas in Bhatgaon he had to share equal status with his two brothers. But I do not think that this view is supported in any way by the documents we have listed.

On the analysis of the mss. and inscriptions with reference to places where they were inscribed or copied L. Petech concludes: "all documents from Bhatgaon present us with the joint reign of the three brothers (*trayorāja*). There they ruled collegially, each with the same status and authority, without wearing the full royal title. In Patan documents Jaya Dharmamalla is just *Yuvarāja* and he alone is mentioned. Therefore, here and in the rest of the kingdom he represented all the three of them. Nepal was still divided in the kingdom proper and the family principedom of the Mallas, maintaining their separate individualities".<sup>90</sup> But not all documents also in areas outside Bhatgaon do share in common the feature attributed to them by the Italian scholar, which probably he was not aware of. At least, two sources, the inscriptions in the Paśupati area (No. 7 & 16) have

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<sup>90</sup> Petech, p. 145.



the brothers ruling.<sup>91</sup> The Paśupati area falls within the jurisdiction of Kathmandu. So the conclusion of Petech cannot be easily accepted. The Paśupati area had been ever since within Kathmandu, we also note that the ms. written at Banepā surely within Bhatgaon's jurisdiction mentions only Dharmamalla (see doc. 2).

As Jyotirmalla later on in 533 NS refers to him in eulogising terms, and takes pride in calling himself as his younger brother, we can very well imagine the position Jaya Dharmamalla occupied while he lived. But Jyotirmalla calls him *Yuvarāja* and not a monarch. So the fact of his ruling as a co-partner with his brothers. In none of the records the other two brothers are addressed in that style. Before their names only *Śrī Śrī* is added, while all the high sounding adjectives are reserved for Jaya Dharma alone. So it seems certain that in the arrangement Jaya Dharmamalla occupied the principal position. Most probably he functioned as the senior most partner even by virtue of his being the crown prince. He also figures singly in several documents of the time, and this adds to his importance and stature. It is certain that his death was followed by the accession of the second brother to the throne, who at once became king as the sole surviving brother on the demise of Dharmamalla.

For all these reasons Jaya Dharmamalla was denied the status of a sovereign. As a dutiful brother he could not usurp the throne. If he had done so, there was also the possibility of his brothers opposing him. In any case it would not have been a peaceful accession. As if the throne lay reserved for Jyotirmalla the council of Regency seems to have continued to function as long as Dharmamalla lived. It was suggested that Dharmamalla was a minor at the time of the death of his father. But this is wrong. He was a major long before the joint reign came into being.

Dharmamalla was born on *Sunday Prathamāsāḍha kṛṣṇa*

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<sup>91</sup> Doc. 9 of Petech for this reign. The expression is *Pbh juva Dharmamalladevasyānuja Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotirmalladevasya kaniṣṭhānuja Śrī Śrī Kirtimalladevasya tasya*.

*amāvaśyā* of 487 NS.<sup>92</sup> He was thirty years old while his father had died in NS 515. The other two brothers had also come of age at that time. They were 23 and 19 years old respectively. Jyotirmalla having been born on 493 *Vaiśākha śukla 10<sup>93</sup>* and Kīrtimalla on 497 *Śrāvāṇa kṛṣṇa 2* (Thursday).<sup>94</sup> Bendall mistook the date of *Vandukaraṇa* of Dharmamalla, NS 497, as the date of his birth and thought Jaya Sthiti had died in 516 while the eldest son was just a boy of 19.

This rules out the possibility of the joint reign being ineffective because of the minors as its members.

In the last available documents of the period Jaya Dharmamalla and Jyotirmalla alone are mentioned, and we can take it for granted that the youngest brother was dead at that time i.e. in 528 *Māgha kṛṣṇa aṣṭam(yām)*,<sup>95</sup> the date of the inscription. The youngest figures along with the other two upto 523 *Māgha śukla pratipada*,<sup>96</sup> which is the date of another record. Similarly, in the first available record of Jyotirmalla (ms. *Sumatisiddhānta of 529 Āśvina śukla*)<sup>97</sup> he enjoys the title of *Rājādhirāja Parameśvara* for the first time. He is also the sole ruler referred to by the scribe of this ms. This means that Jaya Dharmamalla had ceased to exist at this time. He must have died prior to this date and in between this date and the date of the *Rājyeśvarī* inscription just cited we can fix the year of his death. He must have died childless because the successor to the throne is the second brother. Jaya Dharmamalla had also no occasion to function as the sole regent. All the time he lived he had to share regency with his brothers who figure with him in that position in documents. It will not be wide of the mark to say that Dharmamalla did not enjoy the position of a sole regent singly at any time for the duration of his career. His figuring singly in some documents does not carry any more weight with

<sup>92</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 54-b.

<sup>93</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 56-a.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Rājyeśvarī stone inscription. No. XLIII in our Appendix.

<sup>96</sup> Inscription at the temple of Chaṇḍeśvara within the precinct of Paśupatiṅgātha.

<sup>97</sup> L. Petech, Op. Cit., p. 154 (Kaisar's Library n. 82).

it as the same was intended as a courtesy reference meant for the eldest member of the council. We have seen that till the last year of regency a brother of his is associated with him to share the supreme position. If, in the beginning he was *primus inter pares* amongst the three brothers, he continued in that position until he died in 528 or early 529.

But he was also not destined to be the sole ruler in practice. He enjoyed courtesy titles of the Crown Prince and Regent. One or two records might have addressed him with full royal titles just out of respect for his seniority in the council. He must have surely shared the powers of the regent with his brothers. But there is no ground to believe that Jaya Dharmamalla did enjoy more than nominal powers of a regent. Certainly as the senior most member of the joint regime he must have pulled his full weight. But it appears that not until he got rid of the two powerful ministers of the court he was permitted to exercise powers of a ruler.

We do not know when the joint reign got rid of its powerful Rāma Vardhana ministers who had overshadowed the throne since Jaya Sthitimalla's death. Probably as Madanasimha died, the hold of the ministers had slackened. As Śaktisimha's first record, dates 525, it is possible that about this date Jayasimha and Madanasimha both had died, and the joint reign of Sthitimalla's sons must have functioned independent of any overshadowing personality of a minister. But in 528-29 the regime ended with the death of Dharmamalla.

### III

#### BHOTTA FEUDATORIES : ABSOLUTE MINISTERS AND PRETENDER KINGS

At one place earlier we had suggested that Jaya Sthiti grew indifferent to worldly affairs since 507 or 508. There is a colophon of the year 506 (Doc. 13 of Jaya Sthiti), which shows Jayasimharāma as a colourful personality adopting kingly

*virudas* and being *Bhoṭṭarājyādhirāja*, Lord of the *Bhoṭṭa* principality, and *mahāmātya*, Chief Minister. Other colophons giving high sounding titles of *mahīpatīndra* (literally over lord of the chiefs of the earth) follow closely (Doc. 2, 3 below) even though these were written in Jaya Sthiti's time while he was yet effective. This is significant. Obviously Jayasimharāma as Chief Minister was wielding considerable influence in the affairs of state since the monarch was becoming inactive. We do not exactly know when he reassumed his powers as the Chief Minister. It is definite that he was chosen to succeed Jayata as the de facto Chief Minister while the latter died in 507=1387 A.D. We must understand that he was retaining the title of Mahath even while he was being deprived of his real powers.

Petech says that 'at the end of 1392 and middle of 1393 (= 513) Jaya Sthiti's authority was on the wane and the real power was once more passing into the hands of the ambitious old man'.<sup>98</sup> This might be correct. He was retiring from administrative responsibilities. As we suggested earlier Jaya Sthiti had died in 515. Because Jayasimharāma was the Chief Minister of the country at the time, he readily filled the void taking charge of his monarch's sons as well as of the administration. The Paśupati stela (see below, doc. 5) belongs to the early years of the collegial regime. From this record we have an idea of the tremendous powers Jayasimharāma had exercised in the kingdom of Nepal. According to the inscription, Jayasimharāma shared his powers and station with his brother as he did the chieftainship of the Banepā (*Bhoṭṭa*) principality. It is suggested that his ministerial authority did not extend to Bhatgaon. But if his authority was supreme in *Bhoṭṭa* principality it is certain that from Banepā he could have easily overwhelmed any forces opposing him in that city. So every guess apart, we have to admit that Jayasimharāma was functioning as Chief Minister for all parts of Nepal notwithstanding anything contained in a few documents of Bhatgaon about the de jure position of the Malla sovereigns. But his exercise of power for all Nepal must

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<sup>98</sup> P. 130.

have come after Jaya Sthiti died. But a question arises. The Chinese who are supposed to form an impression from Banepā would not ignore a monarch in Bhatgaon, situated only four miles due west, had it not been for the reason that he had ceased to be a countable entity. We shall come to discuss this anomaly a little later.

We have the following documents so far available belonging to these high personages; (1) The Itambahāl stone inscription.<sup>99</sup> The stone lies in the inner quadrangle of the *vihāra* in the city of Kathmandu. It commemorates the occasion of setting up of a gold image of Āryatārā by Jaitralakṣmī, wife of Madana-simharāma. It does not mention the ruling monarch. But the line has *Māneśvarīvaralabdha prasādasya Śrīmat Śrī Paśupati-samsthāpitasya vipakṣadhvaṃsita bhāskara Kali purandarāvātāra mahāmantryādhirāja tilaka Gopinārāyaṇa mahāmantri Śrī Jayasimharāma Vardhanasya pratipālita vijayarājye* | Madana-simhrāma is mentioned as his uterus brother (*ekodarānuja*) and is given similar titles along with the *virūḍa* of *sahajanārāyaṇa*. He is also *mahāmantri*. In the last portion Śaktisimharāma is noted as his son. The date given in *Netra* (2) *Ākāśa* (0) *isu* (5) *pūrṇeśaradi śubhagate yatra Nepāladeśe Āśādha śukla daśamī tithivare svātibhisādhyayoge vāre mārtanḍaputre*. Petech verifies the date for Saturday June 21st, 1392 A.D. The inscription in the beginning gives the name of Jayasimha's father Anekarāma who belonged to Vaiśya family.

(2) The second part of the colophon of ms. *Vāmakeśvarītantra* (above, Jaya Sthitimalla's document n. 13). The ms. was written at *Gokarna koṭa* by Āditya Varmā. Colophon: *Śrī Śrī Bhoṭarājyādhirāja Śrī Śrīmat Paśupatiḥṭṭāraka sthāpanāchāra Śrīmat Kānteśvarīparicharaṇa parivala labdha prasādāt Śrī Mahīndreśvara prasādāyatana nirmātyākāpāka Ra(Ghu) kula-vamśabibhrājiteṣu Śrī Gopinārāyaṇetyādi sakalavirudāvalī samalanḅṛta samastapṛakriyā virājamāna Pm mahāmātya Śrī Jayasimharāmasya vijayina*. The date is *vasuvyomabāne* (= 508)

<sup>99</sup> Inscription n. XXX in our Appendix.

*Pausa kṛṣṇa saptamī hasta rikṣe śukramayoge budhavāsarecha etc.*

(3) The latter part of the colophon of the ms. *Śalyaparvam of Mahābhārata* (Doc. 23 of Sthitimalla's reign, dated 513 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa dvādaśī kujavāre*). *Naipala bhūmaṇḍala rakṣanāya dharāvātīrṇomadhukaiṭavāri aśeṣa sāmanta śiromaṇi Śrī Mahipatindra Jayasimharāma sapuṇya kīrti sukṛtaikasindhuranaikarāmasya kula(ai)karatnam| idam Mahābhārata vyālilikhat| svargga phala pradañcha Śrīman Manikarājena vajrāchāryena dhimatā likhitam Śalyoparvadevya Mahābhāratamuttamam.*

(4) The first part of the colophon of the ms. *Gadāparvam* (Doc. 24 of Sthitimalla's reign date 513 *Āśāḍha kṛṣṇa khaṣṭām*). *Śrī Kāntivaralabdha vrimhitamahā Śrī Jaitrarāmānavayo Jyotirāma iti prasiddha bhavastasyāpipuṇyātmanah| sūnuḥ Śrīmadanekarāma iti yaḥ khyātaḥ kṣītīndroya śimādyata kopanarājadantinivaha pronmāthi kaṇṭhiravaḥ tasyātmajo vijayate Jayasimharāma pratyānva bhūmipati samkṣati kālamurtiḥ| chintāmaṇih sukṛtinām ripurāja Gopinārāyaṇa nṛpaḥ guṇekānidhiḥ pravīrah|| tena puṇyātmana bhīkṣvā jīvitam kṣaṇabhāngura| idam hi lekhitam puṇya mahālochanamuttamam.*

(5) Four lines inscribed on the stone pedestal of the Sun God in the court yard of a water conduit outside the western gate of the city of Banepā. The inscription commemorates the setting up of an image in stone of the Sun God (*Ādityamūrtiḥ*) by one Dvija Śrī. In the beginning the record invokes the blessing of the Sun God. Then follows: *Śrīmat Jayasimharāma rājñasyānuja Śrīmat Śrī Madanasimharāmaya pālītau Śrī Vanīkāpurīsthāne*. The last line gives date, *Chaturdaśottarabanaśate gatābde* (= 514) *Nepālike tapa* (bright fortnight) *saptamyām tithau guruvāsare revati nakṣatre siddhi yoge*. The date according to Petech is verified in all elements for Thursday, January 8th 1394 A.D.<sup>100</sup>

(6) ms. *Daśakarmapaddhati*.<sup>101</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 516*

<sup>100</sup> Petech, p. 148.

<sup>101</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1076.4; Petech, p. 148.

*Kārtika śukla dvādaśyām tithau purvāṣāḍha para uttarāṣāḍha nakṣatre dhṛti para gaṇḍa yoge | buddhavāsare likhitamidam pustakam | Nepālapañcha baṇāgni ritu (= 516) māse cha Kārtike tathā etc. | Śrī Śrī Bhoṭarājakulopādhyāya Śrī Rājapati Śarmā ārādhenā likhitam idam śāṣṭram | Śrī Śrī Md Pm Pbh Śrī Jayasimharāma Vardhanena pratipālikarāje | Śrī Pūrṇamati-deśe Śrī Śrī Indreśvara bhāṭṭarikāsthāne lekṣitamidam śāstram* (written at Pannauti, about two miles south east of Banepā). Petech fails to understand that the principality of Banepā was called *Bhoṭarāja* and wrongly calls the copyist a priest of the king of Tibet. Petech regards the date as irregular.

(7) The Paśupati stela: It is a fairly long inscription on a stone lying before a standing image of Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa in a quadrangle close to the western gate of Paśupatinātha. It has 54 lines, but only 28 lines are well preserved.<sup>102</sup> The date line is peeled off; only a part, *dviṭīya Pauṣamāse*, is visible. The beginning four lines consist of verses in honour of Nārāyaṇa and Śaṅkara. Then the reigning monarch is mentioned, whose name appears as *Rd Pm Pbh Yuvarāja Śrī Śrī Dharmamallasya vijayarājye*. This is followed by *Śrī Śrī rājakulamahāmantrēśvara Śri 3 Paśupatiṅgasthāpanāchāra Śrī 3 Indreśvara prāsāda kanaka kalaśadhvajāvarohaṅkrta suvarṇa tulā puruṣamahādāna krta rājalakṣmī samāṅgita krta mahāmantryādhirāja Śrī Jayasimharāma Vardhana tadanujasya mitrārjunopameva paramēśvara Tripurasundarivaralabdhaṅprasādita mahāmātya Śrī Madanasimharāma Vardhana saha pratipālikarāje etc.*

As the record mentions the reign of Dharmamalla, this must belong to the regency period before NS 525, the date of the first document of Madanasimharāma's son Śaktisimharāma. According to Petech there was intercalary *Pauṣa* in 1397 (= 517 NS), 1400 (= 520) and 1408 (= 528). Probably the date corresponds to 1400 A.D.

(8) ms. *Guhyakālitantra*.<sup>103</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 525 Durā-*

<sup>102</sup> Petech, p. 149.

<sup>103</sup> Petech verifies the date for Sunday, July 12th, 1405 A.D.

*ṣāḍha śukla pūrṇamāsyām tithau śravaṇa nakṣatre prītiyoge ādi-  
(tya)vāśare Śrī Pilakhachosthāne Śrī Śaktisimharāmasya vijya-  
rājye.*

(9) The last document is an inscription on the stone pedestal of the Sun God stationed at the upper platform of the water conduit at a place called Nālā about two miles north-east of Banepā. The inscription reads: *Om namoḥ Bhāskarāya| Śreyostu samvat 527 Māgha śukla saptamī tithau āsvini nakṣatre śubha yoga Āchārya Upādhyā vipra Śrī Jivajusa| Śrī Śrī Śivasīngarāma rāyasa ekachhatra| kaneṣṭa amātya Śrī Śrī Śaktisīngarāmasya ubhayasya vijaya rāja etc. etc.*<sup>104</sup> This commemorates the occasion of completing the construction of the image by certain individuals who have the surname *Mūlmi* added after their names 'under the joint reign of *Śrī Śrī Śivasīngarāmaya* holding the country under one umbrella (*ekachhatra*) and of the youngest minister *Śaktisīngarāma*'.

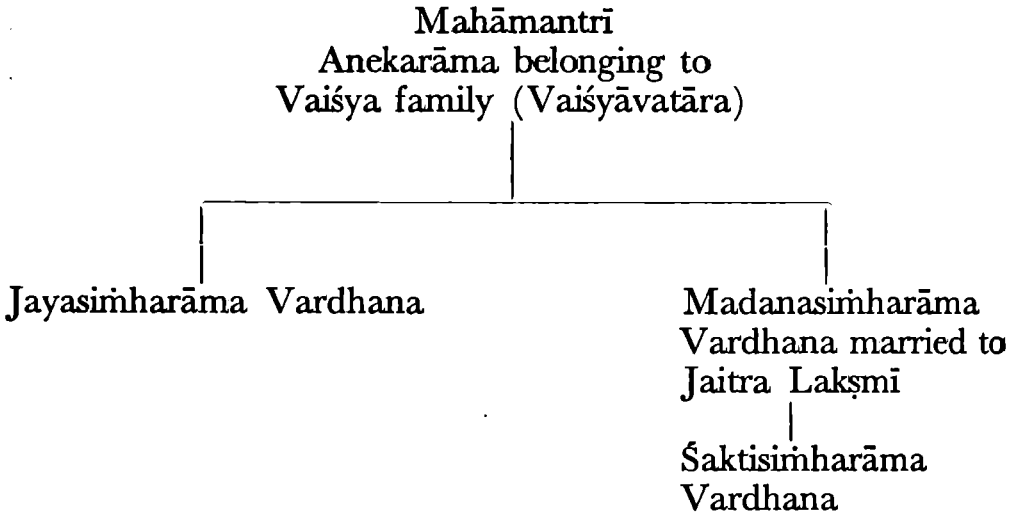
Wright's chronicle places *Matisīmha*, *Śaktisīmha* and *Śyāmasīmha* as the immediate successors of *Harasīmhadeva*, who succeeded one after the other (pp. 179-80).<sup>105</sup> We have already observed that S. Levi totally accepted the statement of the chronicle. But these names however, have nothing to do with *Rāma Vardhana* family of the inscriptions just cited.

The *Itambahāl* stone inscription of *Jayasīmharāma* gives a genealogy of this family thus,

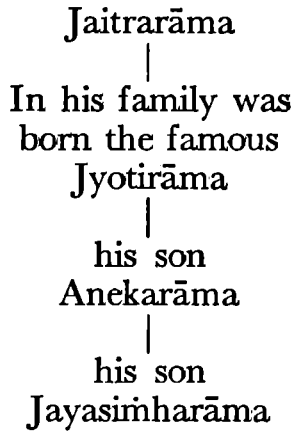
<sup>104</sup> Unpublished. Read below our inscription n. XLI in our Appendix.

<sup>105</sup> The regnal years attributed to these rulers by the chronicles of Wright, Bhagwanlal and Levi without variance are 15 years, 22 years and 15 years. Also see P. Jha, p. 144; Landon, I, pp. 37-39. Bhagwanlal's authority says that *Śaktisīmha* received a letter from the Chinese Emperor, IA, IX, p. 39. *Matisīmha* is also confused with *Madanasīmha*, son of *Śaktisīmha* of *Champāran*. This person is noted as the author of a book and ruled from VS 1511 (Bendall, *History*, p. 20).





The beginning passage of the *Gadāparva* (Doc. 4 above) traces Jayasimha's ancestry to the 4th generation.



Jayasimharāma's family belonged to the Vaiśya Kṣatriya. This is known from two records. The Itambahāl inscription calls his father to have belonged to the Vaiśya family. The Rāma Vardhana family, according to the statement of the same inscription belonged to the Vaiśya family of the lunar race (*Chandravamṣī*) of the Kṣatriyas. In the Sūtradhāra's introductory speech contained in *Madālasājātismaraṇa Nāṭakam*, Anekarāma and Jayasimha are spoken of as persons of Vaiśya Kṣatriya caste.<sup>106</sup> It appears that amongst the many clans of Kṣatriyas

<sup>106</sup> See above Doc. unnumbered of Jayarāja's reign.

in Nepal, there was one called the Vaiśya. The statement as to the surname Vardhana clan is significant. Were they descendants of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj (608-648), who also came of a Vaiśya stock of Kṣatriyas or did they use the name ending Vardhana just to claim such a descent. But no where do they talk of their family connection with Harṣavardhana.

We could not define the area over which they ruled as feudatories. But they surely had their hold on the territories round Palāñchok, Banepā and Pannauti. It appears that as long as Anekarāma was living Palāñchok had not been declared a feudal principality. But a ms. colophon<sup>107</sup> of the year NS 484 talks of Palāñchok *rājya*, which means that Jayasimha had already acquired his rights of a feudal vassal over this territory. Jayasimha had succeeded his father in 476 NS.

Anekarāma figures in V<sup>111</sup> as a leading figure in the politics of the country in the reign of Jayārimalla and Jayarājadeva (see above). He is there called *Mahath*, which means he was either himself the Chief Minister or occupying a near position. We have seen that a dramatic work<sup>108</sup> of Jayarājadeva's time calls him a minister, on whose advice the ruler ever depended. This means that he was not only the Chief Minister but acted as the main prop of the reign. Jayasimharāma, his son, stepped into his shoes when he died in NS 476. He must have been the Chief Minister since that date all through the reign of Jayarājadeva and that of his son Jayārjunadeva.

The feudal lords were powerful enough at the dates. Some of these records were composed to omit any reference to the throne altogether. Like the king they adopted their own *viruda* (*Gopinārāyaṇa* and *Sahajanārāyaṇa* used respectively for Jayasimha and his brother).<sup>109</sup> They also invoked the goddess Māneśvarī as did the Malla rulers of the time (*Māneśvarī varapratilabdhasya*).<sup>110</sup> Jayasimha had performed *Suvarṇa tulā*

<sup>107</sup> Doc. n. A3 of Jayārjuna's reign.

<sup>108</sup> *Madālasājātismaraṇanāṭakam*.

<sup>109</sup> Itambahal Inscription.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid*.

*puruṣa mahādāna*, which was a costly and prideful venture within the resources of only a sovereign ruler. He had repaired the temple of Paśupatinātha and installed a new Śivaliṅga (*phallus*). Both these activities belonged to the sphere of the royal family. Jayasimharāma also is reputed to have been instrumental for copying the colossal volumes of the classical work of the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>111</sup> In any case he and his brother and nephew had enjoyed absolute power in the state and they were de facto rulers of Nepal for at least two decades of the early 15th century.

It appears that the Rāma Vardhana family had their original seat in Banepā.<sup>112</sup> Banepā was known as *Bhoṭṭarāja* and also as Binappa. Jayasimha is noted as *Bhoṭṭarājādhirāja* in the ms. *Vāmakeśvarītantra* of Jaya Sthitimalla's time (see above).<sup>113</sup> Although Jayasimharāma does not figure in the Chinese accounts he was the most important figure in the family. We have seen that his records are available up to NS 516. But it is strange that a Chinese delegation arriving in Nepal in NS 504 (1384 A.D.) presented credentials to his brother Madanasimha. Jayasimha does not at all appear in the picture of the Chinese. We shall, however, deal with the problem a little later.

Jayasimharāma is mentioned several times by V<sup>111, 114</sup>. He was already a prominent figure before Jaya Sthiti became sovereign. This information we get from a Sanskrit drama of Jayarāja's time.<sup>115</sup> It is said that in the conflicts between the two royal houses of Patan and Bhatgaon, he supported the former. But this did not mar his prospect in the event of defeat. While Jaya Sthitimalla became sovereign, he could not dispense with the services of Jayasimha. Obviously he did not derive his sta-

<sup>111</sup> Above Doc. 23 and 24 of Jaya Sthiti's reign. See L. Petech, *Op. Cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>112</sup> See colophons of the mss. *Daśakarmapaddhati* and *Vāmakeśvarītantra*.

<sup>113</sup> *Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1075.3.*

<sup>114</sup> f. 54-a, f. 60-b, 62-b, 63-a. In 507 (*Vaiśākha śukla 4*) he accompanied Jaya Sthiti to *Bugama*.

<sup>115</sup> *Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 787.*

tion in life from the sovereign. He himself formed the source of his strength and powers. This was so because he was a chief of a principality. We have seen that in the ms. *Vāmakeśvarī-tantra* of NS 508 he is called *mahāmātya*. Obviously he was then the Chief Minister of Nepal at the time.

Two mss. *Salyaparva* and *Gadāparva* of the *Mahābhārata*<sup>116</sup> he caused to be copied by scribes in the reign of Jaya Sthiti, (*Śrī Jaya Sthitimalladevasya bhūbhūjah rājye*), for which he was highly praised. The dates mentioned are *trayodaśādhika pañchaśate Nepālavatsare* (=513) *Kārttika kṛṣṇa dvādaśi kujavāre* (Tuesday) and of the same year *Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa khaṣṭamī* respectively (dates verified November 12, 1392 A.D. and June 30, 1393 A.D.). Jayasimha is addressed as *aśeśasāmanta śīromaṇi Śrī mahīpatindra* also as *Nepālabhūmaṇḍala rakṣaṇāyadharaṅvatīrṇau madhukethavāli (kaiṭabhāri)* in these mss. The object of copying the two *parvas* of the *Mahābhārata* was to protect the whole of Nepal (*Nepālabhūmaṇḍala rakṣaṇāya*). Thus he extends his claim to speak for the whole of Nepal and this is no arrogance on the part of the Chief Minister of a country. Because the *viruda* and other titles as applied to him appear in the mss. copied in the reign of Jaya Sthitimalla, we have no doubt that Jayasimharāma himself commanded a considerably powerful position despite his monarch's colourful and virile personality.

Madanasimha is a younger brother of Jayasimha. He is also *mahāmātya* and *mahāmantrī* for the whole of Nepal, and as is evident from the wording of the records the two jointly shared powers and office in the capital as well as ruled over *Bhoṭṭa (sampālita)*.<sup>117</sup> But evidently Jayasimha with his titles, *Mahāmantrēśvara* of the royal family, and *mantryādhirāja* (Paśupati stella) enjoyed the status of a senior. Also in the Itambahāl Inscription of 1382 A.D., Madanasimha is not as intimately associated with the rule as appears from later records. No such ex-

<sup>116</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1693.1 and III. 803.29 respectively. Doc. 22 and 23 of Petech for Jaya Sthiti.

<sup>117</sup> The Banepā Sun God image pedestal inscription.

pression is used in his connection, which would go to show that he was equal to his brother. But he was all the same co-chief minister though not enjoying as high sounding titles as the former. He is simply referred to as *mahāmantrī*. All this clearly shows that Madanasimha had not enjoyed in the beginning as much importance as that of his elder brother. But later he came to occupy a position of equality with his brother.

The third personage of the *Bhoṭṭarāja*, who is Śaktisimharāma referred to as reigning (*vijayarājye*) in the ms. colophon of 525 is mentioned in the Itambahāl inscription of 502 as the son of Madanasimharāma. In the Nālā inscription of 527 he is noted to have been reigning with another personage Śivasiṅgarāmarāya and he bears a title, youngest minister (*kaṇiṣṭhāmātya*).

The fourth name Śivasiṅgarāmarāya is known only from the Nālā inscription. But while jointly ruling with Śaktisimharāma, he seems to have enjoyed a superior status as the expression *ekachhatra* used in the record might indicate. We have no further means to know of his career. Probably he was a son of Jayasimharāma. He might have been as well a titular ruler over the area, real power being vested in Śaktisimha. It is also quite likely that he had a short life. In any case he might have been dead before the Chinese mission arrived in Banepā in 1409 A.D.

In the Itambahāl Inscription the name of the sovereign does not appear. So is the case with the Banepā inscription of 514. The omission of the sovereign might have been prompted with the desire to ignore him. But it does not show that Jayasimharāma or Madanasimharāma usurped the throne. The best evidence of this is the fact that royal titles in their *praśasti* is conspicuously missing. There is one more point in favour of the proposition. This is the fact that not all records of Rāma Vardhanas miss the sovereign. We have the Paśupati stella mentioning *Yd Dharmamalla* as reigning. Even a ms. colophon copied at Banepā in 516 NS mentions him.<sup>118</sup> We shall however, note later that the Rāma Vardhana potentates had functioned as near sovereigns in their principality of Banepā.

<sup>118</sup> Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 418.

Both Jayasimharāma and Madanasimharāma have called themselves 'Paramamāheśvara'.<sup>119</sup> They were surely orthodox Śaivites. But from the Itambahāl Inscription it appears that they equally respected Buddhist deities. Amongst the pious acts performed by Madanasimharāma is noted the one setting up of an image of Buddha Dīpaṅkara in the Pārāvatavihāra. His wife consecrated the image of Tārā in the same *vihāra*. Jayasimha is said to have set up the Śivaliṅga (phallus) in the shrine of Paśupati, raised gold finial on the roof of the temple of Indreśvara and performed *tulādāna* ceremony. Madanasimha had set up a Śivaliṅga in his own name in a site on a hill, Yalakha-chogiri, a sleeping image of Nārāyaṇa in a big pond (the locality unknown) and a *Chaitya* of Svayambhu in Girivaramahāvihāra.

We shall add a few words here to emphasise the absolute powers wielded by Jayasimha and his successors in Banepā area. Above, we have a document ms. *Daśakarmapaddhati* of 516. In the colophon Jayasimha is given the royal title of *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhāttāraka* and the expression for ruling is '*pratipālita rājye*'. According to Bendall who based his estimate on the lines of this inscription he functioned as the regent or the Prime Minister. The writer of the ms. is Bhoṭṭarāja Kulopādhyāya Śrī Rājapati Śarmā, who wrote the ms. in *Pūrṇnamatī deśe Indesūra bhāttārīka sthāne* (Panauti near Banepā). Petech thinks that "the wording of the colophon is self contradictory. Although given full royal titles otherwise, the expression used for 'governance' is characteristic of a minister or regent. Probably, the expression was used to humour the patron".<sup>120</sup> But whatever may be his status in theory, the powers wielded by him were absolute and he looked no less eminent than a sovereign king in the eyes of the local people. The Banepā Sun God pedestal inscription also uses the same sort of expression (*pālita Vanīkāpurausthāne*). This expression by itself does not indicate a status lower than that of a monarch

<sup>119</sup> Itambahāl and Paśupati Inscription.

<sup>120</sup> P. 149.

because *pratipālita* and *ṣaryāyasa* are used even to indicate the reigns of sovereign rulers. But we do not need controvert the proposition that the Banepā rulers were High Feudatories. They were, however, only nominally subject to the Malla sovereign in the Nepal Valley. Ever since the time of Jayarāja, they enjoyed absolute powers over their principality. It seems that after NS 508=1388 A.D. they had become almost independent. The two documents of Śaktisimharāma use the expression '*vijayarājye*' although no royal titles appear (Doc. 8 and 9 above).

We are not surprised with the political arrangement by which the Rāma brothers had come to assume dictatorial powers. We have known several instances of ministers usurping the authority of the sovereign. But here we must be prepared to face a most unexpected situation, that of these ministers being acknowledged as the kings of Nepal by the Chinese who had exchanged embassies with this country several times between 1384 A.D. and 1427 A.D. This is something which surpasses our comprehension. Yet the facts as told by the Chinese annals are there and we shall have to find real ground in justification of the same.

This is an important subject so far not known from Nepalese sources. It shall appear that ever since Jaya Sthitimalla was seated on the throne, there was another personage in Nepal, who was being recognised by the Chinese as the king, because to him the mission was accredited. The evidence is strong and yet so puzzling that doubts arise as to the real position of Jaya Sthitimalla who generally passes as a strong and influential personality of the time. Our interest is now focussed on the events concerning Sino-Nepalese diplomatic exchanges of the period, 1384—1427, on what they implied regarding the internal politics of the country. Let us proceed to narrate what the Chinese accounts have to say.

#### FACTS OF THE NEPAL-CHINA RELATIONS OF THE TIME

The Chinese notices of the Ming period (1368—1644) give accounts of the exchange of diplomatic and cultural missions between China and Nepal (Levi, II, p. 228). There was one such mission from China visiting Nepal in 1384 A.D. A Nepa-

lese mission had arrived in China in 1387-88. In 1391 again there was one more Chinese mission, which was reciprocated followed by several others in the interval between that date and 1427.

Now to come to the Chinese account. The credit of tracing out the relevant Chinese notices goes to E. Bretschneider<sup>121</sup> and C. Imbault Huart.<sup>122</sup> These two scholars presented in translation in two European languages Chinese texts on Nepal from the Ming shih.<sup>123</sup> Levi incorporated the same in his book, but his identification of the names concerned is too laboured. Levi argues that the affix *Lo-mo* used by the Chinese after the names of the Nepalese potentates stands for the Tibetan word Lama (II, pp. 232-33) and they represented 'the dynasty of the Kar-nāṭaka king Harisimhadeva'. It shall appear that the process was just the opposite, Rāma giving rise to an impression that the suffix after the name was *Lo-mo*, which again was understood for *Lāmā*.

We now quote Sylvain Levi about the Chinese missions which came to Nepal several times in between 1384 and 1427 A.D.:<sup>124</sup> "Nepal could have served the schemes of the Chinese politics: the direct relations between the two countries had, it is true, ceased for long centuries but the Mogul pan Buddhism had drawn the attention on the last survivor of Buddhistic kingdoms of India. Just then, the rumour circulated that "their sovereigns were all bonzes", it was still rival to pit against the Lhasa regime. Sixteen years after the expulsion of the Moguls, the

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<sup>121</sup> Eastern Asiatic sources, London, s. o, II, pp. 222-23.

<sup>122</sup> *Histoire de la conquete du Nepal*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1878, 2, p. 357.

<sup>123</sup> Read Petech, p. 201-11. There is no mention of Nepal in the 'collected statutes of the Ming Dynasty (*Ta Ming hui-tien*)'. Medieval Resarches from Asiatic Sources.

<sup>124</sup> H. C. Ray also thinks (DNI, I, p. 225) that one of Harisimha's descendants had 'revived the power of his line; and this would wrongly explain the reception of embassies by Cha-ko-sin-li in the period between 1414-18 A.D.'



Emperor Hung-Wu ordered the bonze Tcheu-Koang (monk Chih-Kuang) to proceed to Nepal in order to convey to the king, a sealed sanction which conferred on him an official investiture, also a letter, a silk goods, and to also proceed to the kingdom of Ti-Young-ta, vassal of Nepal.<sup>125</sup>

“Serious and grave reasons must have been there to lead the son of Heaven to set out beforehand and honour a small potentate with a friendliness which had not been solicited. The text further says, ‘thanks to the great knowledge he had of Buddhist books, Tcheu-Koang (Chih-Kuang) was able to translate into action the intentions of the Emperor and to make manifest his virtuous thought. The king of Nepal named “Ma-ta-na Lo-mo” sent an ambassador to the court to carry presents consisting of little gold pagodas,<sup>126</sup> sacred books of Buddha, renowned horses and productions of the country.<sup>127</sup> This ambassador arrived at the capital on the twentieth year of Hung-wu (1387 A.D.). The Emperor was very much pleased and conferred on him a silver seal, a stamp made of jade, a letter (letter patent) amulets and silks”. The back-name of Hung-wu was clearly marked with the title of “Lo-mo” lama, which the annals tack on to the name of king Ma-ta-na; but the sovereign of Nepal must have been surprised, since the dynasty to which he belonged prided itself in orthodoxy and Brahmanic purity. In 1390

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<sup>125</sup> Petech, pp. 201-02 has “which borders with it”; *Texts of Ming-Shih*. The mission arrived in Nepal in 1384 A.D.

<sup>126</sup> *Stupas* in Petech.

<sup>127</sup> Petech, pp. 202-03 “Hung-wu, 20th year, 12th month, day *Kêng-wu* (=February 2, 1388). The king of Nepal (Ni-pa-la) in the western countries Ma-ta-na Lo-mo and the two indigenous chiefs (*tu-tu-hui*) of dBus-gTsan (Wu-szû-tsang; Central Tibet) and mDo-K’ams (To-kan; north-eastern Tibet) had sent envoys. They arrived at court and offered to the Emperor.... The monk Chih-Kuang and others came as messengers from the kingdom of Nepal and offered eight horses”. Veritable records of the *Ta Ming-Shih-lu* Hung-wu Ch. 187, f. 6-b(7-a).

another ambassador went to convey the tribute.<sup>128</sup> The Emperor gave him as a present a seal made of jade and a red dais.<sup>129</sup> During the last years of Hung-wu only one ambassador came for a period of several years.<sup>130</sup> (This refers to the mission of 1390-91). The Emperor Young-lo followed his grandfather's example. "He ordered the bonze T'chih-Kuang to return as an ambassador to Nepal; this country sent her tribute in the seventh year (1409).<sup>131</sup> The eleventh year, second month, day Chi-wei (=March 26th, 1413), according to dynastic history, the Emperor order Yang San-pao to go and offer as presents, to the new

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<sup>128</sup> In Petech's book (on the authority of Ta Ming Shih-lu, Hung-wu, Ch. 206, f. 8-b) we have under the date of Hung-wu, 23rd year, 12 month, day, Keng-ch'en (Jan. 27, 1391) "The veritable Records" register, among the arrivals of missions from many other states for the new year imperial audience, also the envoys of Nepal.

<sup>129</sup> An umbrella of red gauze (in Petech). According to Ming-Shih-lu (Ibid., Ch. 207, f. 1-a) we have more about this mission (in Hung-wu, 24th year, 1st month, Chi-ch'ou (February 5, 1391, New year's day). "The king of Nepal in the western countries, as well as Jasak Batur (chu-Sa Pa tu lu) etc., messengers of the 15 classes of Kuan-ting kuo-Shih in dBus gTsan, were granted a printed silk and silken robe each and documents to every one of them. A further imperial mandate was issued by which the king of Nepal in the western countries Ma-ta-na Lo-mo and the others were granted six pieces each. Again the Ministry of Rites was commanded to grant to Ma-ta-na Lo-mo and the others . . . etc.

<sup>130</sup> Ming shih, Ch. 331, f. 16-a.

<sup>131</sup> Ta Ming-Shih-lu "Yung-lo, 7th year, 12 month, day hsin-hai (=January 18, 1410) bSod-nams-rgyal-mts'an (So-nan-chieh-tsan) and others envoys of the Bri-gun-ba (Pi-li-kung-wa Kuo-shih of dBus-gTsan, of Don-grub-rgyal-mts'an (Tuan-chu-chien-tsang) and of Nepal offered horses as tribute; they were given printed silk for each of them" (Yung-lo, Ch. 67, f. 4-a).

king of Nepal, Cha-ko-sin-ti<sup>132</sup> and to the king of Ti-Young-t'a, K'o-pan, letters and gifts in silver and silk.<sup>133</sup> The following year Yung-lo, 12th year 8th month, day i-mao (29 August, 1414) Cha-ko-Sin-ti<sup>134</sup> having sent his ambassador to convey his tribute, the Emperor conferred on him the title of king of Nepal (Ni-pa-la-Kouowang) and handed him as a gift, a diploma, embodying this investiture, a seal of gold and another of silver. The sixteenth year (1418) Cha-ko-sin-ti (Sha-ti-hsin-ko) having sent again an ambassador to convey his gift, the Emperor ordered the eunch Têng-tch'êng to proceed to Nepal and offer a seal and silk goods and satin goods. He accompanied the returning Nepalese envoys. Têng-Tch'êng distributed presents to the princes of the different countries he crossed.<sup>135</sup> The second successor of Young-lo, Hseun-te (1426-1435) "attempted to continue the tradition the second year (4th month, day Chia-zu=May 2, 1427) the eunch Hoeou-hsien was sent again to carry gifts consisting of silk goods and cotton goods, (brocade velvet, hemp cloth) to the Tsan-shan wang, Nan-ko-chien-tsang; the king of Nepal, Shati-hsin-ko; the prince (Wang-tzu) of Ti-yung-t'a, K'o

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<sup>132</sup> Cha-ko-hsin-ti is a misspelling for Sha-ti-hsin-ko. See (Toung Pao, edited by Peliot, XXX, pp. 314-15). According to a source Heou Hien (biography) was sent to Nepal in 1413. But according to Fei sen's indications Yang San Pao was sent.

<sup>133</sup> Ming-Shih, Ch. 331, f. 16-a-b. According to veritable records eunch Hou-hsien was sent to Nepal, and Yang san-Pao to Tibet.

<sup>134</sup> Sha-ti-hsin-ko in veritable Records.

<sup>135</sup> Levi, I, pp. 167-68. *Annals of Ming*. Chap. CCCXXI (=Pieu-i-tien, Ch. LXXXV). This translation of the extracts was by M. C. Imbault Huart appearing in 'History of the Conquest of Nepal' in *Journal Asiatique*, 1878, 2, p. 357. The veritable records listed the following as the countries he passed through, Hantung; Ling-tsang, Pi-li-kung-wa, Wu-szu-tsang, Yeh-lan, Ko-pan, Pu-na, etc. The Ming annal omits K'o-pan. Also read Bretschneider in his book 'Medieval Researches from Asiatic Sources' 1888, I, p. 222 (London, Trubner's Series).

pan, the Fu-Chiao wang, Nan-ko-lich-Szu-pa-lo-ko-lo-chien-tsang-pa-tsang-pu, etc.”<sup>136</sup>

Ming-Shih (ch. 331 f. 16b) closes the account by saying that ‘no tributary envoy arrived again (at court).

It appears that once or twice the rulers of Nepal sent also their presents to the Emperor through the abbots of Tibetan monasteries.

The various places travelled by the Chinese mission in 1418 and 1427 on their way to Nepal are sought to be identified in the following manner. L. Petech writes:

“Han-tung was a frontier fortress to the south east of Tun-huang in western Kansu.<sup>137</sup> . . . Ling-tsang was the seat of the Tibetan religious chief whom the Chinese called Tsan-shen wang. It lay outside the frontier of Szechwan, near dBus-gTsan. . . . in the north west . . . . Pi-li-kung-wa is the state of the ‘Bri-gun-pa abbots, north-east of Lhasa; Pa-le-kun-ko is Bri-gun, Yeh-lan or ya-erh-la is yala (or Yangala)? the Newari name of Patan. K’o-pan is Khopva, the Newari name of Bhatgaon. (This was in earlier and later texts wrongly taken for the name of the king of Ti-yung-t’a). The veritable records of 1418, however, mentions K’o-pan in the list of countries passed. The nasal sound is an unstable element at the end of a Newari word, but it is more likely that Chinese envoys heard these names from their Tibetan caravaneers and interpreters. Pu-na of Pu-nai may

<sup>136</sup> Petech in f.n. p. 209 ‘Tsan-shan wang was the title granted in 1407 to the Tibetan abbot of Ling-tsang; Nan-ko-chien-tsang had succeeded to the see in 1425; Ming-Shih, Ch. 331, f. 12-b. The name transcribes a Tibetan Nam-mK’a’-rgyal-mts’an. Nothing as yet is known from Tibetan sources about these incarnates. Fu-chia wang was the title given to the head of the Stag-ts’an monastery (Szu-ta-tsang) in 1413. Read also *Toung Pao* edited by Peliot, XXX, pp. 318-19.

<sup>137</sup> Ming-Shih, Ch. 330, ff. 25-b—27-b translated by E. Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, pp. 218-19. *Ta-Ming i-tung-chih*, Ch. 89, f. 17-a; A. Hermann, *A Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, 1938, p. 55 (Cambridge Mass.).

perhaps transcribe Purna (mati deśa) of a colophon of Jayasimharāma (Panoti)".<sup>138</sup>

The identification as applied to the three places in Nepal cannot be established with ease, and we cannot say with a measure of certainty that the route taken by the mission was so simple as is made out in thesis; 'Kansu to central Tibet, then to Patan (Yeh-lan) and to Bhatgaon (K'o-pan) and from there to Banepā and Palāñchok, the seat of the Rāmas'. Actually speaking, it is very difficult to locate in face of the confused situation the seat of the government, to which the Chinese delegations were accredited. At least, we cannot understand as to how the delegation came to Patan from central Tibet without first passing through Palāñchok and Banepā.

But Ti-yung-t'a or K'o pan has been presented in the annal as a country which borders with Nepal (see back page). K'o pan can be transcribed Bhatgaon, as Yeh-lan Patan, but Ti-yung-t'a is not explicable. Even if it be admitted that the Chinese delegation had visited another state on Nepal's border, it could not be said with certainty that the reference was to Bhatgaon. The puzzle in this respect is unsolved as ever.

Curiously, the potentates to whom the mission were accredited were not those whom we are accustomed to regard as monarchs. Ma-ta-na Lo-mo identified with Madanashimharāma and Sha-ti-hsin-ko with Śaktisimha as we know from the ascertained documents of the period were not the sovereign rulers of the country. From several inscriptions and mss. discovered in Kathmandu and Nālā-Palāñchok area these persons are now known as powerful feudal lords of the realm, but not as sovereigns. We shall see that as far as indigenous sources convey, the Rāma Vardhana ministers had not even ultimately usurped the throne. But the Chinese notices have a different story to tell. They not only establish the fact of usurpation but also imply to regard the usurpers as the real sovereigns of the land. About the identity of the individuals figuring in the Chinese annals, we do not need elaborate the points. The transcription of both the names

<sup>138</sup> Petech, Op. Cit., p. 208.

spontaneously reveals the two names, Madanasimharāma and Śaktisimha.

It is often said that the affix Simha in the names of Jayasimharāma and others should either be taken as their descent from Harasimhadeva or they must be the Thakuri successors of Jayārjunadeva.

As we try to gather from the Nepalese source materials, it appears to us that in the second phase as Jaya Sthitimalla became the king the Rāma Vardhana family came to obtain ministerial powers in the capital sometime in 506. We have reproduced several colophons showing the eldest of them, Jayasimharāma in power in 507, 508, and 511. But these never suggest that the throne was eclipsed. On the other hand, numerous records of the time provide evidence of the all powerful position of the reigning monarch, Jaya Sthitimalla. Now how to account for the Chinese recognition of Madanasimha as the ruler of Nepal of 504 (1384)? It might be that between 516 (1396 A.D.) and 528 (1408 A.D.) the regency council succeeding Jaya Sthiti was completely dominated by the Rāma Vardhana ministers. But we find that no missions were exchanged in this period. In fact the entire period between 1391 A.D. (=511 NS) and 1409 A.D. (529 NS) passes without any kind of intercourse between the two countries. We know that in the time following 529 Jyotirmalla was strong enough to do away with ambitious ministers. But delegations were exchanged between Nepal and China in 1410 (January), in 1413-14, in 1418 and in 1427. All these raise anomalous problems. There is yet one more puzzle. How is it that Jayasimharāma, the most important member of the Rāma Vardhana family, who flourished between 1382 and 1397 was recognised by the Chinese?

Petech makes an attempt to explain the anomaly as he argues 'summing up the results of our enquiry, the position may be stated as follows. For the Chinese the Rāmas were the rulers of Nepal, and the princes (Wang tzu) of Ti-yung-t'a were their vassals. The name Ti-yung-t'a remains unexplained, but it can only indicate the chieftainship of Bhatgaon; and its prince must have been Jaya Sthitimalla and his line. Khopva, the Newari

name of Bhatgaon, transcribed by the Chinese as K'o-pan, was sometimes taken by them for the name of the king of Ti-young-t'a and sometimes correctly understood as a city or district. Taking all elements into account, the only possible explanation is that Chinese government was the victim of the brazen claims of the Lord-Protectors and Chief Ministers of the kingdom of Patan, who knew something about the Chinese from their intercourse with the Tibetan monasteries; the Rāmas must have told the imperial envoys that they were the sovereigns of Nepal, and that the Mallas were only their vassals. This began in 1383-84 i.e. soon after Jaya Sthitimalla was formally recognised in Patan. That something of this sort could happen goes to show that the actual power of that famous king was very small indeed. It also remains a puzzle why the Chinese recognised Madanarāma and not his elder brother, who played a far more important role in Nepalese politics; perhaps it was a matter of expediency between the two brothers. In any case, the able diplomatic action of the Rāmas procured for them Chinese recognition as 'kings of Nepal' as long as the intercourse lasted and until they lost all shreds of their powers'.<sup>139</sup>

We have now to assess the situation and judge if the argument advanced by Petech does help us to clear the anomaly.

The eclipse of the throne by the feudatories and their passing as real rulers before the Chinese should not surprise us. Such things happened frequently in the history of any country. In Nepal, this was not the first occasion that the kings had been totally overshadowed. In the early 7th century Amśuvarman who was the real power behind the throne passed as the sovereign and was acknowledged as such by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang who referred to him as 'King of Nepal'. In the case of Madansimharāma and Śaktisimharāma the same could be said. The Chinese had recognised the de facto rulers in dealing with them. It was all but natural that they could take no notice of the Paramount ruler who was a puppet.

We have, however, refuted the suggestion that the sovereign

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<sup>139</sup> P. 210.

of Nepal was reduced to shadows at the time the Sino-Nepalese intercourse took place. This at least could not be said of Jaya Sthitimalla. The regency council of his sons must have, however, functioned under the shadow of the Rāma Vardana ministers. This is quite evident from Jayasīnharāma's Paśupati inscription, where he and his brother receive eloquent tributes to their high status. The term *rājalakṣmī samālingita* (embracing the queen of state) conveys the idea of their all powerful position in Nepal of the day. But how to explain Chinese recognition of their sovereign position in the time while Jaya Sthitimalla was actively functioning?

It appears that the real cause of the Chinese recognition of the sovereign status of the Rāma Vardhanas should be sought elsewhere. According to our best judgement, Madanasīnharāma and Śaktisīnharāma enjoyed Chinese recognition because they ruled over Banepā-Palāñchok-Chautarā area. This area touched Tibet near about Khasa, which connected the high way between Lhasa and Nepal. The Nepalese portion of the high way passed through Palāñchok and Banepā. Naturally as the Chinese came to Palāñchok they made the first contact with the government of the Rāma Vardhana feudatory. This was inevitable as the route determined. The latter must have given the impression that he was real ruler of Nepal. It is quite likely that at the initial stage Madanasīnha's position in the capital of Nepal as a minister might have helped him to hide the subsidiary character of his rulership. In any case the Chinese were impressed with their performance.

It cannot be true that Chinese Emperors could not be unaware of the sovereign rulers in the Nepal Valley at the time when they sent missions to this country. Often, however, in regard to countries situated far from the borders of China proper, the Chinese were apt to overlook facts which though of importance were not of immediate concern to them. We know how in 1840 the Chinese who were at war with Britain were unaware of the British on Indian soil as Imperialists, and of the British in India they had thought that they (British) were just one of the peoples inhabiting a province there.



It is quite likely that at the time the Chinese heard of Nepal in Tibet the de facto ruler of the *Bhoṭṭarāja* was Madanasimha. Therefore the Chinese Emperor accredited his mission to him and not to Jayasimharāma, his elder brother. It was, of course, a mistake because between the two though sharing equal status of co-rulers Jayasimharāma was more eminent. But we find that the Chinese committed the same mistake during the visit of the second mission in 1319, because on this occasion too Madanasimha (Ma-ta-na Lomo) was the recipient of the honours. It, however, appears that Madanasimha had sent an ambassador to the Chinese court in 1387-88. So when Madanasimha had enjoyed a power to be able to accredit his representative to the Emperor of China, it could not be labelled a mistake on the part of the Chinese to have recognised him as the ruler. As Petech says, possibly this was in conformity to some kind of internal arrangement between Jayasimharāma and Madanasimharāma. At any rate as Madanasimha twice figures in the Chinese account his overall powerful position in the *Bhoṭṭa* principality has got to be accepted. But the Chinese had obviously acted to equate the *Bhoṭṭarāja* as the kingdom of Nepal.

We are absolutely confirmed in our judgement of the situation by the fact of Chinese recognition being extended also to Madanasimha's son Śaktisimha. If it was not the ruler of *Bhoṭṭarāja* who had been treated in that fashion, then Śaktisimha had no chance of standing as king of Nepal as he succeeded his father. Śaktisimha's first available document written at Palāñchok is dated (doc n 8 above) NS 525. We are absolutely in dark about the exact time the Rāma Vardhana feudatories ruled. But in any event it can be established that Madanasimharāma was no more in NS 525 (= 1405). Because the time Śaktisimha came to step into the shoes of his father coincided with the active functioning of the regency council, it is certain that he was not allowed to retain the Chief Ministership of the state of Nepal in spite of the fact he continued to be called *amātya* (Doc. 9 above). But he was a powerful ruler of the *Bhoṭṭarāja*. In his principality he held unchallenged authority. He continued to hold his ground despite his total liquidation as

minister in the court in the Nepal Valley, first during the last years of the Regency Council, and second while Jyotirmalla started to rule in the capacity of an all powerful sovereign. His fortune as the ruler of *Bhotta* remained undiminished. This was the reason that impelled the Chinese to re-establish their connection with the house of Rāma Vardhana after a break of eighteen years. We do not know as to why no Chinese turned up to contact for all these years. But as the contact was renewed, we note that it was Madanasimha's son, to whom the embassy was accredited. Śaktisimha received the first Chinese mission of his time in 1409 (NS 529) and he immediately reciprocated the sentiment by deputing a Nepalese mission to wait on the Emperor (1410 A.D.). As we have marked he was honoured with another mission from China in 1413, while he himself sent one in 1414. This mission secured for him recognition as king of Nepal as the veritable Records say 'Sha-ti-hsin-ko was appointed King of Nepal'. In 1418 the two parties again exchanged courtesies through missions, the Chinese one being led by Teng-Ch'eng. The last Chinese ambassador arrived in May, 1427. Thereafter the contact was broken. It is certain that near about this time the *Bhottarāja* had been liquidated.

We may agree both with Levi and Petech that the Chinese attitude to the Rāma Vardhana feudatories might have been partly determined by their understanding of the suffix Rāma after the names of the rulers of the *Bhottadeśa*, which transcribed into Lo-mo they took to be the same as the word Lama denoting Buddhist priesthood. The Ming-Shih history (ch. 331, f. 16a) reflects this notion when it says that the 'Nepalese rulers were Buddhist monks'. The first Chinese delegation to Nepal was led by a monk and on different occasions later Tibetan monks were chosen for the purpose by the Nepalese. This is significant enough to impress that the common factor to bring China closer to *Bhottadeśa* was Lamaic Buddhism, and a belief entertained by the Chinese that its rulers were monks like the the Tibetan Lamas.

Another factor which seems to have helped the Rāma Vardhanas to be favoured by the Chinese was their readiness

to respond to Chinese overtures. In their enthusiasm to secure the Emperor's recognition, they did not mind if it involved subservience in theory to Chinese overlordship. In two notices the Chinese speak of appointing Śaktisimha as the King of Nepal. Can this be interpreted to mean that Chinese recognition of the importance of *Bhōṭṭa* principality was due to the ruler of that country professing to acknowledge Chinese overlordship in Nepal although the fact of appointment is not evident in the first contact? This is quite significant. It might be argued that the Madanasimha and Śaktisimha had consolidated their position in their principality as against the Malla sovereign by virtue of their having obtained Chinese recognition. But more than that they were now sovereigns of the whole of Nepal in foreign eyes. This was no ordinary benefit derived out of the Sino-Nepalese intercourse by the rulers of the *Bhōṭṭa* principality.

Although it is difficult to locate Ti-yung-t'a or K'o-pan or Yeh-lan, all the same as the Chinese notice speak of these countries bordering on Nepal we may take it to suggest as Petech does that these refer to Bhatgaon and Patan. It is not improbable that the Chinese missions had visited the capital city of Nepal. But we cannot definitely say if they did so; for having come to the Nepal Valley it was inconceivable that they failed to recognise which was the real kingdom of Nepal and who was its sovereign. K'o-pan or Yeh-lan might equally stand for areas near about Kuti on Tibet-Nepal border.

Levi says that after 1418 A.D. (= 538 NS) the *Sūryavamsis* were removed to Palāñchok on the bank of the river Sunkośī, 20 miles east of the Valley. Petech thinks that the last of the Rāma Vardhana was lingering on in Palāñchok about this time 'a broken reed, clinging to his pretensions in his mountain lair' and from there also upto the very last used to receive Chinese delegations as the lawful sovereign of the kingdom.

But the gap between 1409 and 1427 covers a long duration of time for those who enjoyed a pittance of a lingering existence.

This is another anomaly of the situation introduced by the Chinese source materials.

It is not impossible that on Jyotirmalla's accession to the

throne, or even earlier on the co-rulers of the joint reign coming of the age, the Rāma Vardhana feudatory had stuck to his original home at Palāñchok or Banepā from where he functioned as the de facto ruler of a portion of the kingdom of Nepal. But it is not correct to speak of him as a broken reed. His strength had not diminished. The Sino-Nepalese missions were regular. Palāñchok was also for sometime a century earlier to this event the seat of a subsidiary government under Jayānandadeva and his son (V<sup>111</sup>, f. 51-a). It had a rebellious background and also a tradition to act in defiance of central authority. We have no doubt that Śaktisīnha was enjoying all powers and this too over a wide area.

For a long span of nearly forty years these Feudatories had enjoyed complete sway over the state of affairs sometimes in the whole of Nepal and always in a part of it. They had been so strong in their principality that they were being recognised as sovereigns of Nepal for that time by the Chinese. Forty years is a long duration. It covered two generations of rulers. When we look into the Chinese annals, it appears that the same situation continued till 1427 A.D. (= 547 NS).

But two years after, when the Chinese Emperor was to send another deputation to Nepal, he learnt that it was no more a responsive proposition. Obviously, the situation had changed in Nepal. The Chinese notices do not even distantly refer to this. But the irresponsive nature of the situation marked by them is a broad hint to show that there was disquiet in Nepal's firmament. The silence of the chronicles makes any surmise difficult. But we may safely assume that only towards the end of his reign Jyotirmalla could get rid of the High Feudatory seated at Banepā-Palāñchok and assert his rule over the entire country. Until then the scion of the Rāma Vardhana family was strongly entrenched in his domain. It is of interest to note that the first document of the Malla sovereign in this area is dated NS 582 (see below, Yakṣamalla).

Levi has tried to identify Madanarāma and Śaktisīnha of the Chinese notices with Matisīnha and Śaktisīnha of the later chronicles said to have been the son and grandson of Hara-

śimhadeva respectively.<sup>140</sup> But it hardly requires to be told that there cannot be a wilder statement than what Levi has made in this connection. Petech is of the opinion that the reference to Śaktisimha in later chronicles, who had sent embassy to China in *Chināvda* 535 must apply to Śaktisimharāma. Agreeing with Levi he supports the view that the *Chināvda* is really 'Nepāla Samvat of the Chinese'. According to the later chronicles Śaktisimha voluntarily retired to Palāñchok after handing over the throne to his son. Because one colophon of Śaktisimharāma belongs to Palāñchok, Petech interprets this statement as truly presenting the fact of the case. Of course, Petech reflects Levi's identification of Śaktisimha of the later chronicles with Śaktisimha of the Chinese reference. But he believes that the later chronicles took this name from 'the Rāma family'.

Petech thinks that Śyāmasimha of the later chronicles 'may really have been the son and successor of Śaktisimharāma'. According to this scholar Śyāmasimha 'may have tried to uphold the influence of his family in the Valley during the few years between the renunciation of his father and restoration of Jyotirmalla to full powers'.<sup>141</sup> Petech also opines that 'the purpose of the later chronicles in piecing together this Simha' dynasty with one name from the *Karṇāṭa* dynasty of Tirhut, two (?) from the Rāmas of Banepā and one uncertain, and in substituting it for the legitimate 'Malla rulers, seems to have been to create a continuity between Harisimha and Jaya Sthitimalla'.<sup>142</sup>

One may not have any objection to the line of reasoning followed by L. Petech but we cannot certainly accept Levi's version of the story. However, it is difficult to believe that the compilers of the later chronicles had any idea of the Rāma Vardhana family.

As for Śyāmasimha there is no evidence of the existence of a person of the name of Śyāmasimha continuing to rule as a successor of Śaktisimharāma. Even otherwise as Śaktisimha's

<sup>140</sup> Levi, II, p. 229.

<sup>141</sup> *Medieval History of Nepal*, pp. 152-53.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

rule lasted till NS 547, there is no point in arguing that his son upheld the legacy of his father until Jyotirmalla came to enjoy full powers, because the latter is irrefutably shown to have enjoyed extremely powerful position in the year NS 533 (Paśupati stella), about 15-16 years earlier to the disappearance of Śaktisimha. If Śyāmasimha was the son and successor of Śaktisimha, he came to succeed his father in about NS 548 or so, while Jyotirmalla had reached almost the end of his career. In that case Śyāmasimha was ousted by Yakṣamalla. But it is doubtful if Śyāmasimha ever existed at the time.

### RABUTTAS OF PHARPING

Apart from *Bhoṭṭa* there was another principality on the outer fringe of the Valley, which had a powerful local ruler. This was Pharping on the south-western corner of the Valley, which commanded a strategic outpost as the gateway of Nepal on the south. Pharping was mentioned as *viṣaya* in a ms. colophon of Haṣadeva's reign (n. 2). Later in the latter half of the 13th century A.D., it was ruled by a *mahāsāmanta* (Doc. 3 of Jayabhīma's reign).

About the fifties of the 5th century Nepalese era, Pharping appears to have been ruled by a feudatory calling himself Mahārābutta. As we shall see in the next few passages he is often mentioned by the V<sup>iii</sup>. We have also a colophon in the name of one Mahārābutta, Jaitasimha belonging to Śuraki *Vamśa* who was extremely powerful to have been able in showing himself in the record as the ruler without the sovereign. According to the colophon, this Mahārābutta had dominated the western part of the kingdom and conquered Noakoṭ by defeating one feudatory called Gaja. The colophon is dated in 455 NS (= 1335 A.D.) and it has two parts.

ms. *Agastasamhitā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. IV 325). Colophon: *Svasti Śrī Nepālika Samvat 455 Phālguna śukla trayodaśyām budhavāre phanaṭigumahānagare paramabhaṭārake ityādirājāvālī adyaha Śrīmatpraudha pratāpachakravartti Nepālasakalabhuvanādhipati asapatigajapatinarapatirāyatrayādhipatimahāhamīrachauhathamastagajūkeśaro mahāmāyājhankeśvarivara-*

labdharājyaṃ karoti gaṅgājalanirmalapunyapabitra mahāvaiṣṇava-  
 vadevadviabhaktivanta yāchakakalpataru ṣaṭdarīṣaṇaāsāviśrām-  
 amaryādāmahodadhi aṣṭādaśaprajāsuṣamāśramabharathāchārya  
 anekaguṇachintāmaṇi saulahakalāsam̐paurṇamahākṣatrirāṇaraṇi-  
 kadhira siṅgārahāraruṣa madanakāmadeva śulankīvamśādhipati  
 śarpakī mahārāutta Śrī Jaitasiṃhadevānām vijayarājyaṃ karoti |  
 tasmīnkāle varttamāne kumaraśiromani rāuta Śrī Jivasīṃhade-  
 vānām tadā ādeśam̐ dīyate ratnaparīkṣānāma pustakaṃ syātheṇ  
 praśādam̐ krīyate tadāsā pustakaṃ svān praśādena sam̐paurṇam̐  
 bhaviṣyati | tetavavāstavyavaṇikasīhanāyakasutajayasīhabhāroka-  
 sya pustakaṃ vārāṇasīlipinā nāgarākṣaram̐ vividharatnaśāstra-  
 pustakaṃ likhyate yathā mahārāṣṭrasam̐ paṇḍita Śrī Dāmodara  
 pustakalikhitamida | yādṛīsam̐ pustakaṃ dṛṣṭvā tādṛīsam̐ likhyate  
 mayā yadī sudhamasudham̐ vā mama doṣo na dīyate | śubha-  
 mastu suṣam̐chāstu hr̥ṣayāyurbhabāntu Gopāleśvara prasānnostu  
 kuladevyā varadā bhavaṃtu || || śubham ||

(II) Maheśvarāṇām jagadaika nātham̐ anādi liṅgam̐ suraivara-  
 rchitam̐ | Nepāladēse girīm̐ nivāset | soyam̐ prasānno śulakīyavam̐-  
 śaḥ | hāro harāṇām̐ yugpāpa sañchayam̐, śīrasthitam̐ vā nṛpathā  
 cha gaṅgā bhasmāṅga subhram̐ gaja mukti chūrṇam̐, sayava  
 pātuḥ Jaitasiṃhadeva || 2 || Rāmam̐ vanānte gatābda dvādaśam̐,  
 māyā mṛgāṇām̐ muñche sitayāmi | Laṅkeśvaro vadhya śītā  
 nitena | sayava Kṣatri Jaitasiṃhadeva || 3 || Umāmvikānām̐  
 sachā bhairavīnām̐ kālī karālī sachā chāndrikāni || Jhankēśvarī  
 dakṣiṇa hasta daṇḍe || soyam̐ prasānne Jaitasiṃhadeva || 4 ||  
 sadgam̐ mahānta tejam̐, madoṇmatānām̐ gajakēśarīnām̐ ||  
 pavanena vegam̐ va droṇa śailam̐ || stambhasya Nepālaka jaita-  
 vāru Śrīnivāsam̐ tava rājya maṇḍiram̐ || putrāṇmutrāyayuga  
 sam̐kṣayeṇa || nāndaṃtu lokā śīṣarāpurīyam̐ || abhedya rājyam̐  
 Jaitasiṃhadeva || Jaibhāratānām̐ sachā yudhyakāle | darpahito-  
 pañcharupātanāni | jītvā gajoyam̐ navakoṭa rājyam̐ Nepālastam̐-  
 bham̐ raṇaraṅgadhiraḥ || tameva koṭau achale sadaivam̐ meru  
 samāno sarva rājadhāni || śīṣare svarāṇām̐ anādidaive || vaṃśa  
 prasānno sulankī nareṇdrā || 8 || śīṣarāpurīnām̐ karotu rājyam̐ |  
 chandrārkātārā dhrūyava sam̐sthitam̐ thitam̐ | akāśa mārge  
 vahate cha gaṅgā | yatām̐ prasānno Jaitasiṃhadeva || 9 || hareṇ-  
 dhakārāni śasiḥ kalānām̐ || anaṅgarupāya dhanurdharānte ||

*puṣpānivāṇā hata saundariṇām || siṅgāra hāro Jaitasiṃhadeva ||*  
10 ||

According to V<sup>111</sup> (f. 38-a) one Jaisiṃhadeva conquered Noakoṭ by defeating and suppressing its feudatory by name Gaja on 454 *dvirāṣāḍha 11*. I think that Jaitasiṃha of the colophon and Jaisiṃha of the V<sup>111</sup> are identical. The V<sup>111</sup> (f. 49b) states that the Mahārābutta of Phaṇapī died on 457 *Srāvaṇa 15*. This must refer to the death of Jaitasiṃha.

The colophon tells us that the ms. was copied under order of Kumāra Rautta Jivasimha. Perhaps Jivasimha was Jaita's son.

On the death of Jaitasiṃha his son Jivasimha succeeded as the high feudatory of Pharping. Once again the V<sup>111</sup> (f. 50-b) talks of the capture of Noakoṭ and this time the laurel went to Jayasiṃha who achieved it on 462 *Māgha vadi 13*. Jayasiṃha is probably the same person as Jivasimha.

We know nothing of Jaitasiṃha's antecedents. Nor we can say if he was the founder of a new dynasty. But as we shall see subsequently his Śuraki family had continued to maintain the feudal overlordship of the Pharping principality for another two hundred years.

Jūthasiṃha or Yūthasiṃha is the next feudatory of Pharping, who comes to our notice from various sources. Yūthasiṃha is mentioned in the Svayambhu stone inscription of 492.<sup>143</sup> He is referred to there as *Mahārāvutta*.

Yūthasiṃha is said to be ruling with his brother in Pharping in accordance with the statement of an inscription of NS 511.<sup>144</sup> This record does not give the names of his brothers, but they appear along with him in the statement of *Bhṛṅgi* in the introductory passage of *Ramāyaṇa nāṭakam*.<sup>145</sup> The relevant text runs: *manohareyannagarī prasiddhā nāmneba gītā śikharāpurīti yat-kāminīvaktravinirjīta Śrīrlajjyā(jjā)yate sā(śā)radapūrṇṇa-*

<sup>143</sup> Inscription, n. XXIX.

<sup>144</sup> Inscription, n. XXXIII in our Appendix.

<sup>145</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1418, Published, Part III, pp. 59-60.



*chandraḥ || . . . . . || khyātaśrīsurakīkuloditamahārāba(u)tta  
ityuddhato dātā dīnajanānupālanaparaḥ śrīmatsa(tya)nārāyaṇ-  
aḥ | nāmnā Śrī Jayayūthasimhaviditaḥ satkīrtikāntyujjvalastay-  
eyam Śikharāpurī vijayate Nepālabhūmaṇḍale || . . . . . || apicha  
|| vīra Śrī Jaya Jaitrasimha nṛpatiḥ saṅgrāmanārāyaṇaḥ śatru-  
nāmapi darpavīryadalanāḥ karpurakirttidyutiḥ | nītijñānavikāś-  
varāsayaguṇā(ṇo) dhīmānta(mānta)dīyānujo yasyāmbhāti  
jayatyudeti cha pa . . . seyam purī(rāja)te || bhagavan śrūyatām  
|| Śrīrūpanārāyaṇavīramūrttiḥ Śrī Rājasimho Jayarājasimhaḥ ||  
satkāminīkāmukakāmadevastasyānujo bhāti vibhītaśatruḥ || Śrī-  
yodhasimho Jayayuddhasimhaḥ | simhasanādevīvaraprasādaḥ ||  
(pra)sannarūpaḥ sukumāravīraḥ Śrī Yakṣasimhasya sutāḥ pra-  
tāpī ||*

In the Kochchhuṭol inscription of 527. Yūthasimha is missing, but his brothers figure as rulers. Perhaps he had died by that time.

The fact that the playwright of *Rāmāyaṇanāṭakam* does not mention the sovereign ruler of the country in his prologue suggests that Jūthasimha was extremely powerful.

We know from one of Yakṣamalla's records (see below Inscription n. LX) that the feudatory of Pharping had continued to maintain his position all through the 6th and 7th centuries of the Nepal era.

## IV

### JYOTIRMALLA

On the death of Dharmamalla, the joint regime automatically came to an end, and Jyotirmalla who was now the only surviving son of Sthitimalla ascended the throne in normal course.

The last document of the joint regime is dated 528 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 8* (Inscription No. XLIV) whereas the first document of Jyotirmalla shows the date 529 *Āśvini śukla 10* (ms. *Sumatisid-dhānta*). There is no doubt that Jyotirmalla became king

sometime in 528-29 between these two dates.

It appears that Jyotirmalla had stated his reign without the overshadowing personality of the Rāma Vardhana minister, but the latter was yet entrenched in his principality and was being able to pass as the real king of Nepal in the eyes of the Tibetans and the Chinese. This situation seems to have continued until Jyotirmalla died.

As we have marked, Jyotirmalla's first available record is the ms. *Sumatisiddhānta* (Kaisar Lib. No. 82) which dates 529 *Āsvini śukle tṛtīyā svāti nakṣatre vaidhṛtiyoge bṛhaspativāsare* (= Thursday, September 12, 1409).<sup>146</sup> His epithets in this colophon are *Rd Pm Pbh*. His last document is the ms. *Pāka-bidhinighanṭu* (Govt. Nat. Lib. No. 395), which has the date, 548 *Bhādra śukla pratipadā*.<sup>147</sup> Considering that his son Yakṣamalla's earliest record has a date (see below) as near to this date we can establish without any fear of contradiction that Jyotirmalla's reign extended upto 548-49.

Upto date we have 33 documents belonging to the reign of Joytirmalla, twenty as given by L. Petech in addition to the thirteen added to the list by me. Included in the total list are five inscriptions.

Jyotirmalla's documents are spread over the period from NS 528 to 548, and no year in between goes without a document of its own. In all of them full royal titles are used to qualify his name. They are either *Rd Pm Pbh* or *Md Pm Pbh* or only *RR*.

The following are the documents of the reign of Jyotirmalla as given by L. Petech :

(1) ms. *Sumatisiddhānta* (Kaisar Lib. No. 82) Colophon : *Svasti Śreyostu Śrīmat Nepālika Samvatsara 529 Āsvini śukla | tṛtīyāyām tithau svāti nakṣatre vaidhṛtiyoge bṛhaspativāsare*

<sup>146</sup> Verified by Petech, p. 154.

<sup>147</sup> For further particulars see below ms. Govt. Nat. Lib., n. 395, our n. 33.

*likhita samāptabhavanitu | Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotirmalla-  
devasya vijayarājya.*

(2) A stone inscription attached to the wall of a small *Chaitya* in front of the main gate of Kumbheśvara in Patan the lines are damaged but the date figure is clearly shown, which is NS 530 *Vaiśākha śukla daśamyām vajrayoge*. Petech verifies the date for April 17, 1410 A.D. Jyotirmalla is noted as the sovereign.

(3) ms. *Mahākarmavibhaṅga Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* (Darb. Lib. Cat. IV. 20.6). Colophon: *Samvat 531 Mārgasīro māse śukla pakṣe trayodaśyām tithau 13 rohiṇī nakṣatre śubha ghaṭi 2 śukrayoge aṅgāravāsare | tva anurādhā phalaprāptam śubham bhavatu etc. etc.* Petech verifies the date for Tuesday, December 9, 1410. Written at *Yambṛkramā Śrī Gaṅgulake Śrī Śrī Śadak-ṣarimahāvihāre* by one *Śakyabhikṣu* whose name is illegible in the reign of *Rd Pm Pbh Jaya Jyotirmalla*.

(4) *Siddhisāra* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1649)<sup>149</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 532 Mārgasīra śukla saptamyām tithau śatavṛṣa nakṣatre || harṣana pra vajrayoge ādityavāsare likhitamiti śubham Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye |* Petech verifies the date for Sunday 11 November, 1411 A.D.

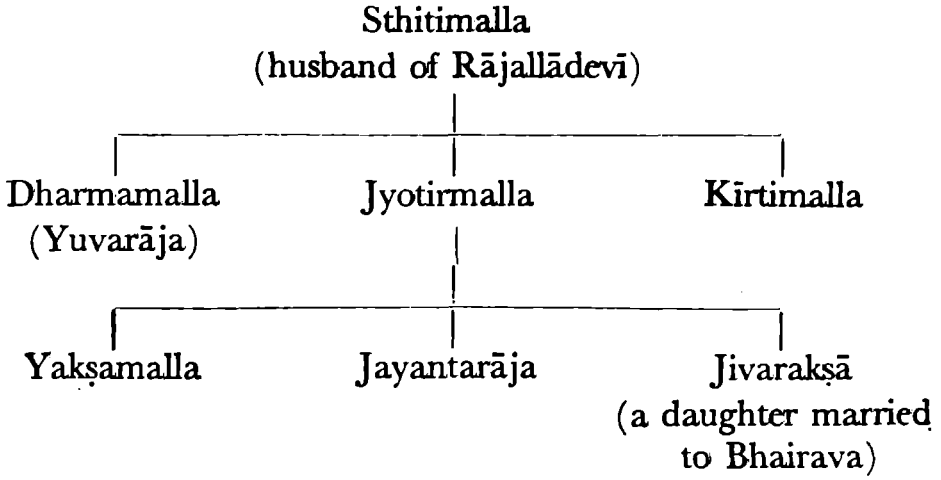
(5) A 41-line inscription on a large stone in the compound of Paśupatinātha. The date is 533 *Māgha śukla trayodaśī punarvasu nakṣatre pritiyoge ādityavāre mithuna-chandra*,<sup>150</sup> which is verified for Sunday, January 15th, 1413.

In this inscription which records the setting up of a *Suvarṇa kalaśa* (gold finial) on the top of the temple of Paśupati (*Śambho prāsādaśṛṅge*) Jyotirmalla gives his genealogy as follows:

<sup>148</sup> Inscription, n. XLVI in our Appendix.

<sup>149</sup> CBMC, p. 155.

<sup>150</sup> BLI, n. 16; *Sanskrit Sandesha*, I, 11, pp. 69-72. Inscription, n. XLVII in our Appendix.



Jyotirmalla calls himself *uddaṇḍa kṣitipāla maṇḍana maṇiḥ sannītiratnākara dharmādharmā vivekachāmchaturah Śrī Sambhubhakta sadā puṇyānamabhitasa chitta satatam vanchhāprado dhārmiko chāṇakya prabhṛti vidyāvadyavadāta samasta rājanītiratnākara nikhilagāndharbha vidyāguru.*

(6) Another stone nearby with *Śrī Jyotirmallah prabhu—sarvalaṅkārabhūṣita Mahāgaurī sthāpita—Samvat 533 Vaiśākha śukla pūrṇimāyām svāti nakṣatre suddhiyoge ādityavasāre etc.*<sup>151</sup>

(1) ms. *Uddīsārasaṅgraha* (Darb. Lib. Cat. IV). Colophon: *Samvat 534 Kārtika sukla pratipadyām tithau visākhā nakṣatre āyusmāna yoge ravivāsare etc.* Written at *Māniglake Śrī Dakṣiṇa vihāre Śrī Yatkovihāra kuṭumbaja pradhānāṅga mūrtyāṅgapātra Jayateja nāyakasya etc.*

(8) A 17 lines inscription on a stone on the southern wall of the compound of a small temple in the garden of Bhandārkhāl, Patan. The inscription starts with invocation to Śīva and proceeds to give the date and reign: *Samvat 535 Pauṣa śukla pūrṇamāsyām dine punarvasu nakṣatre vaidhṛti yoge || budhavāsare || Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrīmat Jaya Jyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye || Śrī Mānigala Śrī vamthunimhañ gṛhaṅganādhista paramēśvara Śrīsadāśīva Śrī Śrī Maṇikeśvara bhaṭṭārakasya sa eva gṛhādhivāstavya pātra Śrī Yekuli Varmmanā || bhārya Śrī Madhanalakṣmī tanaya Śrī Jayasimha sahitenā ||* The document

<sup>151</sup> This is not given by Petech. But this appears in *Sanskrit Sandeśa* I, 10, 11, 12, p. 72.

records the grant of land of land for the annual worship of the lord on the day *Śivarātri*. Petech thinks that the date is irregular, but he misread the month. Inscription No. XLIX in our Appendix).

(9) ms. *Dhātupātha* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1078.2). Colophon: *rturāmasareyāte (= 536) māse Mārgga śire asite sūsampūrṇṇam kṛtam lekham, supañchamyām tithau bare | Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Jaya Jyotirmallasya vijayarājye || vidyām vilāsa raghurājakumārakasya, chintāmaṇi drumasamarthijanasya tasya | Śrī Śrī sū Bhairavamalasya ya rājā yasya, kālāya dhātuvara puṣṭakameba yasya śubhamastu sarva jagatāmiti ||*

(10) A stele<sup>152</sup> to the left of the door of the shrine of Śākya-muṇi at Saptapura mahāvihāra (Chikambahil, Patan). *Samvat 536 Āśvini śukla pūrṇimāsyām tithau revatī ghaṭi 21 asvini nakṣatre harṣaṇa jo ghaṭi 19 vajra joge || aṅgāravāsare* (Tuesday, 6 October, 1416 A.D.) *Śrī Śrī Jotimaladevasthākurasa vijayarājō bhavatu etc.* This commemorates the occasion of the inaugural ceremony of the setting up of an image of Gaṇeśa at the gate of the *vihāra*. The invocation is to Gaṇeśa.

(11) ms. *Ākhyāratnakośa*<sup>153</sup> (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 685). Colophon: *Śrī Raghuvamśāravindrakundapṛakāśaneka mārtanḍasya Rd Pm Parama māheśvara Pbh sakalaguṇakalānidhāna sakhyāvatprati pālakena nipuṇasya sakala diggatobhāgadhavalakīrti paripūritasya sakala jāchakajana chintāmani kalpa vṛkṣasya Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotimalladevasya vijayarājye chaturbrahmaidārachāraṇa ṣatsannīti ratnārṇavaḥ śrīmatpuṇya kadambakeśarinibha pratyakṣa viśvambharaḥ sarveṣām pratipālaneka nipuṇaḥ sarveṇaḥ Maheśvaro Jīyādjaṅgama kalpavṛkṣa sukṛtī Śrī Jyotimalla pṛabhuh | Chaturbrahmavihāre—chāraṇa pādu... || abde śaila kṛṣāṇu | bāṇa sahite (=537) māsa śite Māghake chaturthi tithi samjñake bhṛgudine ardda cha varhi sthite yoge gaṇḍe vare ghaṭe ravigate chandra cha kanyā sthite etasmin samaye samāpta etc.* The date corresponds to Friday, February 5th, 1417 A.D.

<sup>152</sup> Inscription, n. XLIX in our Appendix.

<sup>153</sup> Bendall mentions this ms. in his *History*, CPMDN, I, Intro, p. 28.

(12) Second colophon of the ms. *Sumatisiddhānta* (Kaisar Lib. No. 82) *Śrī Śrī Daityanārāyaṇāvatāra Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotimalladevasya vijayarājye* | *Samvat 538 Pausa śukla chaturthī suradine*. We have read also another date 538 *Māgha śudi 11 śubham*. There is one more date at the end *Māgha śukla chaturthī*. The first date is verified for Sunday, December 12th, 1417.

(13) ms. *Neṭrajñānārṇavamahātantra* (Kaisar Lib. No. 32) Colophon: *Śreyostu Samvat 539 Māgha kṛṣṇa dvitīyā tithau | uttaraphālguṇa nakṣatre śūlayoge ādityavāsare Lalitapurādhi-vāsina Śrī Māniglake Śrī Dakṣiṇavihāre Śrī Yothavihārodhavanāyaka mrityuṅga Pradhānāṅga mahāpātra Śrī Śrī Jayateja Varmaṇena svārtha parārtha hetunā svahaste likhitam idam pustakoyam . . . . Daityanārāyaṇa Juvarāja Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotimalladevānām rājye vijayarājye likhitamiti*.

The date corresponds to Sunday, February 2nd, 1419.

(14) ms. *Subantarātnākara* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Or. 148)<sup>154</sup> Colophon: *Nepālahāyana Samvat 540 Bhādrapada śukla pañchamī budhavāsare svāti nakṣatre brahmayoge Rd Pm Pbh Śrīmat māneśvarī varalabdhaprasāda Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotima[lla] devasya vijayarājye | Śrīmad Gaṅgulapatanake Śrī Yatradevī mahāvihāre Śrī Śrī Lokeśvarecharaṇa sevita bhikṣunā Dharmarakṣikena svapustakam likhitamastu ||* Petech verifies the date for Wednesday, August 14th, 1420.

(15) ms. *Haramekhalā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1076.5).<sup>155</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 541 Bhādrapada śukla tritīyā hastā nakṣatre śubhayoge bṛhaspativāsare | Śrī Śrī Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotirmalladeva prabhu ṭhākurasya vijayarājye*. According to Petech the date is irregular.

ms. *Vairāgyasamuchchaya* (Kaisar Lib. No. 39). Colophon: *Śrī Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye Nyāyapāla maṇḍale Śrī Lalitabrumāyām Śrī Mānigalottare Śrī Sothanimha grihavāsi amātya Harsarājena likhitam pustakam | Śrī Nepālika Samvat 543 Mārgasīra kṛṣṇa dvitīyāyā tithau*.

<sup>154</sup> Bendall mentions this ms. in his *History*, Intro., CPMDN, I, p. 28. Doc. 13 of Petech.

<sup>155</sup> CPMDN, I, pp. 36-37.

Date verified for 11 November, 1422 A.D.

(16) ms. *Daśakriyāvidhi* (Darb. Lib. I. 1077.11). Colophon: *Samvat 544 Dvirāśāḍha kṛṣṇa dvitīyā tithau bṛhaspativāsare | Śrī Nepālamaṇḍale Śrī Śrī RR Sri Sri Jaya Jyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye ||* Date verified for July 13, 1424 A.D.

(17) ms. *Mahāprasthānaparvam of Mahābhārata* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 365.3)<sup>156</sup> Colophon: *Nepālavarṣe viśiṣayugaśare (= 545) Phālguna māse kṛṣṇa pañchamyām chānurādhe suragurudine vajrayoge timukhye | Rd Śrī Śrī majjyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye || mahāpātra Śrī Rājasimhadevaḥ | mahāpātra Śrī Nāthasimhadeva yatayoh śirobritaprasnāchaṣkanne | likhitam sampūrṇṇamiti || Nepālachāntam kṛta rājadhānī nāmnā prasiddhā Lalitāpurīti | yathāhi devā vicharanti svarge tathā nagaryāsthita sarvvaṇṇapūtrān || hemapranālyām vicharanti rātrau pānīyanetuścharati janāścha | satkā mukā darśana loladrṣṭi sindura simanti virājatecha || sadrāmaḥ bhāsaḥ kavīnāntanoyaḥ sorvānavāgīśvara Dharmagvaptah | tasyānvajaḥ paṇḍita Rājagvaptā bhrātrā sutaśchāsticha Rāmagvaptah | etc.* Date corresponds to the last hours of Thursday, March 8th, 1425. Written in Patan which was the capital of the kingdom.

(18) A copper plate inscription over the door of the main shrine inside the Ibāhā-bahi in Patan.<sup>157</sup> The royal epithet has *Śrī Paśupaticharaṇakamalasevita Māneśvarī varalabdha prasādita | Pbh Pm Md Śrī Śrīmad Jaya Jyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye Śrī Māniglake*. The principal figure are (1) *Śrī Dakṣinavihāra kuṭumbaja mahāpātra daityanāyaṇa Rājasimhamalla Varmā*, who calls himself a devotee of Lokeśvara, (2) *Pradhānamahāpātra chakranārāyaṇa Śrī Udyasimhamalla Varmā*, (3) *Pradhānamahāpātra Ayakanārāyaṇa Śrī Jayadharmasimhamalla Varmā*, these three leading, and (4) *Pradhānamahāpātra asuranārāyaṇa Śrī Rudrasimhamalla Varmā* and (5) *Pradhānamahāpātra Pālanāryāyaṇa Śrī Jayabhīmamalla Varmā*, these five laid the foundation in the *mahāvihāra* on . . . . *Phālguna śukla chaturthī para pañchamī aśvini nakṣatre śukrayoge*

<sup>156</sup> CPMDN, II, p. 50.

<sup>157</sup> Inscription, n. XL in our Appendix.

*bṛhaspativāre*. It gives two more dates 537 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa ekādaśī uttarabhadra nakṣatre viśakumbha para pritiyoge ādityavāra*, for erecting the doorways and 547 *Jyeshṭha śukla tṛtīyā punarvasu para puṣya nakṣatre kanyālagnesa*, for *Lakṣā-huti* fire and 15 days after on the *daśamī* a gold image of Bodhisatva was enshrined. The king personally attended the ceremony.

(19) ms. *Nāmasaṅgrahanighaṇṭu* (Leningrad Pub. Lib. Published by S. D'Oldenburg in JRAS, 1891, p. 688, No. 3), *Samvat 547 Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotimalladevasya vijayarājye* |

(2) ms. *Pithāvatārastotra* (Kaisar Lib. No. 47) Colophon: *Samvat 548 Āṣāḍha śudī trayodaśyām tithau jyeshṭha nakṣatre bramayoge śukravāsare sampūrṇa dine likhite* | *Śrī Sohale nimhabradhna puropāda gṛhavāstavya dvijavara Śrī Rudradāsena . . . .* | *Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Jyotimalladevasya vijayarājye*. | The date corresponds to June 25, 1428 A.D.

The following documents are not available in Petech:

(21) A *Thyāsapu* noting<sup>158</sup> has *Śreyostu 530 Kārtika kṛṣṇa trayodaśī rohinī nakṣatre pariḥa yoge bṛhaspativāsare*; under the order of Rājā Jyotimalla some Brahmaṇa families from Bengal were settled in Patan.

(22) The first date in a stone inscription of a temple dedicated to *Āgamadevatā* in the temple at a site close to the courtyard of Taumadhitol.<sup>159</sup> The relevant lines are: *Ākāśavahni viśikhagate Nepālahāyane (= 530) Vaiśākha sitapakṣasya tṛtīyāyām tithau . . . .* | *Śrī Jaya Jyotirmallena pālita rājya-mottame*. A little later we have also the date in figure, *Śreyostu Samvat 530 Vaiśākha śukla tṛtīyā saubhāgya yoge somavāsare* and the name of the ruler is repeated.

(23) *Kātantravyākaraṇasūtrapāṭha* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 417). Colophon: *Śreyostu Samvat 531 Chaitra kṛṣṇa pratipadyām tithau svāti nakṣatre siddhiyoge yathākaraṇa muhūrte bṛhaspativāsare meṣarāśigata savitari tulārāśigate chandramasi Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye Amātya Jya-*

<sup>158</sup> In the possession of Eisvaradhara Sharma.

<sup>159</sup> Inscription, n. XLV in our Appendix.



*brahmakasya pustakoyam etc., etc.*

(24) Inscription<sup>160</sup> on the socle of the Umā-Maheśvara image within the precincts of the Satyanārāyaṇa temple at Harigaon (Kathmandu). This has *Rd Pm Pbh daityanārāyaṇa Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotirmallasya vijayarājye*. At the end the date is *Nepālīka samvatsara 534 Māgha śukla trtīyāyām pūrvvabhadra nakṣetre śiddhijoge budhavāsare*. In the sixth line the date is given in words, *Nepālābatchhalagatejuga agni bāne (= 534)*. The record commemorates the occasion of setting up the image of Umā-Maheśvara in stone; previous to this a temple had been constructed by one who came from Mahārāṣṭra, the Brāhmaṇa Lakṣmideva Somaśarmā by name and his wife, and one Jasapati is noted as the sculpteur's (*lohakara*) name.

(25) ms. *Divyauśadhināmamālā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 7243). Colophon: *Śrīman Chāvihāre Śākhyabhikṣu Śrī Madana-bhadreṇa svayam pāthārthahetunā likhitamidam Rāmadattena vaiḥ || Śreyostu Samvat 538 Māgha kṛṣṇa aṣṭamyām viśāṣa pra anurādhā nakṣatre dhruvayoge śanaīścharavāsare sampūrṇadine || Rd Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye Śrī Nepālamaṇḍale || śubhamastu |*

(26) ms. *Nāmasaṅgrahanighaṇṭuśāstra* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 7243). Colophon: *Śreyostu samvat 538 Māgha kṛṣṇa aṣṭamyām viśākhā pra anurādhā nakṣatre dhruvayoge śanaīścharavāsare sampūrṇa dine Rd Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye Nepālamaṇḍale śubhamastu.*

(27) ms. *Brhatkālottaratantram* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 778). Colophon: *Śreyostu | samvat 538 Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa trayodaśyām tithau punarvasu nakṣatre siddhiyoge | ādityavāsare Śrī Juvarājā-dhirāja Śrī Jaya Jyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye | likhitam idam pustakam Śrī Mānīgladakṣina vihāra etc., etc.*

(28) ms. *Jyotirājakaraṇasya Nepālabhāṣā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 440). Colophon: *Śreyostu samvat 541 Chaitra śukla pūrṇamāsyām tithau hasta nakṣatre dhruvayoge . . . sare | Śrī Śrī Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye | daivajña Jyotirājena likhitam |*

<sup>160</sup> Inscription, n. XLVIII in our Appendix.

(29) ms. *Jyotirājakaraṇam* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 699). Colophon: *Samvat 541 Āsvini śudhi 2 Śrī Jaya Jyotimalla thākuraśa|*

(29a) An inscription on the pedestal of the image of Sun God in a temple close to a pond in Kvathanutol, Bhatgaon. This has 19 lines, of which the last 8 lines are damaged. The record is dated *vedabhūte* (= 542) *Śukrecha śukla tithike ravi sanjake cha* and was inscribed in the reign of Jyotirmalla, husband of Samsāradevī (Inscription n. LI in our Appendix).

(30) A copper plate inscription on the wall of the temple of Gorakhanātha<sup>161</sup> in Kathmandu. With other epithets invoking God Paśupatinātha we have as ruler *Śrī Śrī Raghuvanśa-tilaka samastaprakriyā virājamāna Md Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotirmallasya vijayarājye . . . | śreyostu samvat 543 Āsādhā śukla daśamyām tithau svāti nakṣatre siddhi yoge śukravāsare etc.*

(31) ms. *Mahālakṣmīvrata mahātmyavyākhyānasamuchchaya* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 371). Colophon: *Svasti Śrī Rd RR Pbh Śrīmān Nepālabhuvanādhipendra Śrī Śrī Jaya Jyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye| vahnauvārṇava śivānana gate Śrī hāyane (= 543) likhyate māse Bhādrapade site hi śubhade Śrī dvādaśi taddine nakṣatre śravaṇa vidhāna divase gispati vāsare (Thursday) dhṛtvānjyām śirasā nidhāya sahasā Śrī Bhairava svamina nāmna Mānikarājena likhyate śraddhaya samanvitam |*

(32) ms. *Āryatārāśragdharāstotra* by Sarvajñyamitra (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 134). Colophon: *Samvat 544 Āsādhā kṛṣṇa pañchamyām tithau svāti nakṣatre dhṛti yoge somavāsare śubhamastu. Then letters are faded and the line reads, Jaya Jyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye likhitam.*

(32)a) 6 lines inscribed on the pedestal of the image of Moon God on the eastern wall of a small temple in Bhandārkhāl in the royal palace, Patan. The inscription records the completion of *pūrṇimā vrata* undergone by *Śrī vathunimha Śrī Yekali Varmaṇa bhāryā Śrīlakṣmī bhāri* in the reign of Jyotimaradeva on *Samvat 547 Kārtika śukla pūrṇamāsyām* etc. (For details see inscription n. LII in our Appendix).

<sup>161</sup> *Sans. Sandesha*, I, 6, pp.6-7. Our n. XLVIII in the Appendix.

(33) ms. *Pākavidhinighaṇṭu* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 395). Colophon: *Samvat 548 Bhādra śukla pratipadyām tithau | pūrvaphālgūṇi nakṣatre siddhiyoge bṛhaspativāsare | Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye | Śrī Devapattana Śrīyovihāri Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Maṇibhadrasya pustakamidam||*

Jyotirmalla was an astronomer and to make himself worthy of his fame he had composed a treatise called *Siddhisāra*.<sup>162</sup> His inscription of Paśupati (NS 533) describes him as a learned man, ocean of all kingcraft as taught by Chāṇakya and other learned men, and master of all science of music.<sup>163</sup> He adopted the *viruda* of *Daitya Nārāyaṇa* which indicates that he was primarily a follower of the cult of Viṣṇu.

The same Paśupati inscription which commemorates the setting up a gold finial on the top of the Paśupati temple speaks of him as *Paramamāheśvara* binding under the load of fame gained by the restoration of the top of Svayambhu stupa and of the image of the *Dharmadhātu Vagīśvara*; this shows he was equally devoted to both Śaivite and Buddhist cults of worship, and he honoured both the deities.<sup>164</sup> He had a catholic mind which did not discriminate between religious faiths existing in Nepal.

In his Paśupati inscription Jyotirmalla calls himself 'the husband of Sansāradevī. The latter must have exercised considerable influence on her husband but we do not know if she played the same role as that of her mother-in-law, Rājallādevī through whose title to the throne of the subsidiary kingdom of Bhatgaon, Jaya Sthiti had got himself seated as the de jure monarch not only of Bhatgaon but also of the whole kingdom of Nepal.

According to Kirkpatrick's chronicle Jyotirmalla (Jeit Mull) 'after providing for the maintenance of his army by distributing *jaghires* to his soldiery, has the credit attributed to him of having

<sup>162</sup> CBMC, p. 155. *Siddhisāra* (composed by himself) Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1649.

<sup>163</sup> *Chāṇakya-prabhṛti vidyāvadāta samasta rājanītiratnākara nikhīla gandharvavidyāguru.*

<sup>164</sup> BLI, n. 16.

divided the rest of the lands throughout his kingdom in perpetuity among his subjects, whom in addition to this immunity, he likewise released from the land tax ordinarily levied before his time. He also established standard measures and weights and considerably enlarged the city of Bhatgaon, which was the seat of his residence.<sup>165</sup>

All this is not corroborated by reliable source materials. On the otherhand some of these measures are attributed to Jaya Sthitimalla by the later chronicles.

### JYOTIRMALLA AND PATAN'S MAHAPATRAS

Since Jaya Sthitimalla retired, even the loose hegemony exercised by him over Patan, Pharping and Banepā had further waned, although these continued to owe nominal allegiance to his successors. We have already narrated the story of Banepā, which had so raised its status as to appear the real kingdom of Nepal to the eyes of the Chinese and Tibetan visitors. In Patan, too, we discern a defiant attitude on the part of a Governor (*mahāpātra*), or governors, which shows that the reigning monarch had but to be content with the nominal authority over the area.

The Kumbheśvara inscription<sup>166</sup> of the reign of Jaya Sthitimalla speaks of Lalitapuri to have been protected (*sampālyamāne*) by *mahāpātras* belonging to seven families, who were headed by three chiefs (*mūrtyaṅga mahāpātra*). It appears that although Jaya Sthitimalla was being accepted as sovereign for the whole of Nepal, Patan, the hitherto capital city of Nepal, had ceased to be under his direct rule and here the *mahāpātras* were at the helm of affairs. I think that the same situation continued to prevail during the joint reign of his sons. As the king resided in Bhatgaon, Patan enjoyed only the nominal status of a capital city.

Jayabrahma is called *amātya* (minister) in doc. 23. Rājasimha and Śrīnāthasimha figure with *mahāpātra* as their desig-

<sup>165</sup> P. 266. Also see Levi, II, pp. 235-36 for this reference.

<sup>166</sup> Inscription, n. XXXV in our Appendix.

nation in doc. 24. The former is called *sapta kuṭumbaja pradhāna mahāpātra* in doc. 18<sup>167</sup> where he is mentioned along with several persons some of whom bear the title of *mahāpātra* and others are designated as *pradhāna mahāpātras*. The appellation of Malla is added to their names and they also enjoy a *viruda*, each his own. Besides Rājasimha, the other *pradhāna mahāpātras* mentioned in the record are Udayasimha, Jayadharmasimha, Rudrasimha, Jayabhimasimha. All these *mahāpātras* were Kṣatriyas as the caste surname Varmā following their name shows. It will appear from one of the records of the next reign (see below) that Udayasimha had grown extremely powerful during the reign of Yakṣamalla and he was challenging the king's authority in Patan. But we have also every reason to believe that the *mahāpātras* were ruling over Patan in a semi-independent position acknowledging the sovereignty of the Malla king.

Jayasimha is known as the son of Yekuli Varmmā from an inscription of Patan, which is dated *Samvat 535 Pauṣa śukla pūrṇamāśyām dine punarvasu nakṣatre vaidhṛti yoge budhāvāsare* (January, 1415 A.D.).<sup>168</sup> This is a record of land grant made by Pātra Yekuli Varmmā, his son and wife in the reign of Jyotirmalla for the annual worship of Sadāśiva on the day of Śivarātri.

According to another inscription<sup>169</sup> Jayasimha's mother performed the completion of her *Pūrṇimāvṛata* on 547 *Kārtika śukla 15*. Yekuli Varmmā's name is missing in this record. It appears that Jayasimha had succeeded his father as *Pātra* sometime before this date.

He was surely a later contemporary of Jyotirmalla. But he must have spent most of his time as *pātra* during Yakṣamalla's reign.

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<sup>167</sup> Catalogue of the Bir Library, published VS 1919, Vol. III, pp. 56-58.

<sup>168</sup> Inscription, n. XLIX in our Appendix.

<sup>169</sup> Inscription, n. LIII in our Appendix.

## END OF THE REIGN

According to Wright, the Sanskrit Chronicle and Levi, Yakṣamalla's reign began sometime in 549 NS. Jyotirmalla is omitted by all the later chroniclers (Wright and others who have brought Yakṣamalla in the scene as the son and successor of Jaya Sthitimalla. It is only Kirkpatrick's authority who has Jyotirmalla in his genealogy whom he calls Jeitnull (p. 266).] According to Wright (P. 183) Jaya Sthitimalla dies on *Kārtika kṛṣṇa* 5 of NS 549. It is, however, likely that not Jaya Sthitimalla but Jyotirmalla had died at this date, for we have documents of the next reign since this time. The later chronicles had mixed up the reigns of Jaya Sthitimalla and Jyotirmalla and presented the same as one single reign by pushing the former to cover a period up to NS 549.

About Yakṣamalla being a son of Jyotirmalla there is absolutely no doubt in view of the latter's own statement to this effect in the Pasupatinātha inscription.<sup>170</sup>

## V

## YAKSAMALLA (1428—1482 A.D.)

Yakṣamalla began his career as the governor of Bhaktapur. He is referred to as one rendering happiness to the people of this place in Jyotirmalla's inscription (n. 5) above quoted. Some of the records of this time are lost, and some in stones are unintelligible. But all that remain are traced all over the Valley though they are abundant in Bhatgaon. L. Petech has listed 24 documents (pp. 160-65) altogether, to which we have added 22 more; of these 46 documents 14 are inscriptions on stones and copper plates.

Some of the documents are discussed in the body of the narrative, which follows herewith. Those of them that do not figure in the discussion are listed together, as we reproduce the

<sup>170</sup> Inscription of BLI, n. 16.

documents belonging to Yakṣamalla's reign.

Yakṣamalla, the eldest son of Jyotirmalla, was the most distinguished member of this line. He reigned from 1428 A.D. to 1481 or 1482 A.D. The first document to give him full royal title is the ms. *Śuklayajurveda saṁhitā* dated *Śaka Samvat 1350 Mārga śukla navamī pūrvabhādra nakṣatra vajrayoga chandravāra* (= 15 November, 1428). This has as the reigning sovereign *Rājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhāṭṭāraka Raghuvamśāvatāra Jaya Jyotirmallasya vijayarājye* and was written in Bhatgaon (*Bhaktagrāmapaṭṭane*).<sup>171</sup>

In CBMC (p. 162), Bendall gives a ms. *Amarakośa*, (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1661) which has a line, *Kalambakupa viṣaye Mārgge site sat tithau prap̄kumne samavarttite śāsīdine yoge—*—*vāsya tadā . . . . Śrīman Śrī Yakṣamallaḥ prabhuḥ*, etc. Petech verifies the date for November 27, 1424 A.D.<sup>172</sup>

According to the Italian Scholar, this is the first document of his reign. But it is apparent that this document antedates some of those belonging to the later part of the reign of his father. Petech reads the date figure in the Mu-bahāl inscription as 547 NS and places the document second in the order. Other particulars of the date are: *Jyeṣṭha śukla tṛtīyā pra chaturthyām punarvasu nakṣatra vṛddhi yoge bṛhaspativāra* (Petech says that the date is verified for Thursday, May 29, 1427 A.D. except for the *yoga* which ended on May 28th).<sup>173</sup> In this inscription we have the expression *Rājādhirāja Jaya Jakṣamalla prabhu thākurasya vijayarājye*. The record commemorates the inauguration of the ceremony performed to set up the wooden image of the God (*bhāṭṭāraka*) Vajrasatva. If Petech's reading of the date figure is correct, then according to him: 'it is only a few hours earlier than the third date in Doc. 18 of Jyotirmalla'. But why should it be so unless the reference to Yakṣamalla was intended as a courtesy to a crown prince.

<sup>171</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 23. Doc. 3 of Petech; Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 784.4.

<sup>172</sup> Op. Cit., p. 160. Doc. 1 of Petech.

<sup>173</sup> Doc. 2 of Petech. Mu-bahāl lies adjacent to Pimbahāl in the western part of Patan. Inscription, n. LX in our Appendix.

But the middle figure in the date portion of this inscription is distinctly read as 6 and I have no doubt that the year shown is 567 NS. At any rate the date 547 *Jyeṣṭha* (May, 1427) could not be his ascertained first date in view of Doc. 20 of Jyotirmalla dated 548 *Āṣāḍha śudi 13*. So the date of *Śuklayajurvedasamhitā* as above comes as the first ascertained date of Yakṣamalla.

Twenty four of Yakṣamalla's records are already published. As the earliest three of these have been already noticed above, we give the remaining ones in the order as Petech produced them.

(4) ms. *Śuklayajurvedasamhitā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 736.7). Colophon: *Samvat 549 Jyeṣṭha śukla pañchamyām tithau punarvasu nakṣatre vṛddhijoge ādityavāre | taddine siddhibhavatu Bhaktāpurī nagare Śrī Chānigalasthāne Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye*. Date verified for Monday, May 8th, 1429 A.D. written in Bhatgaon.

(5) ms. *Vajrāvālī* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1703).<sup>174</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 549 Bhādrapada śukla pañchamī viśāsa nakṣatra śaniścharavāsare Rd Pm sya Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye likhitam Śrī Māṇigalake utravihāre Śrī Harṇṇavarṇṇa mahāvihāravasthitabhikṣu Śrī Jivabhadrena etc.* Date verified for Saturday, September 3, 1429 A.D.

(6) *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. IV). Colophon: *Samvat 550 Pauṣa kṛṣṇa ××× tithau hasta nakṣatre dhṛtiyoge ādityavāsare || Rd Pm Pbh Jaya Jakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye | . . . . Śrī Bhagatagrāme Vijaharikocchatola daivajña Jasabrammena etc.* Date verified for Sunday January 15, 1430 A.D.

(7) ms. *Bhavīśyapurāṇa* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 2834.2)<sup>175</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 554 Māgha kṛṣṇa ekādasyāmtithau mūla nakṣatre śudhiyoge guruvāsare Rd Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye etc.* The date is verified for Thursday February 4, 1434 A.D. if *suddhi* is a mistake for *siddhi yoga*.

<sup>174</sup> CBMC, I, p. 197.

<sup>175</sup> JRAS, 1888, p. 551.



(8) ms. *Ekādaśimahātmya* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1003.2)<sup>176</sup>  
Colophon: *Nepāla vatsara hare kṣaṇa bāṇa bhūte (=557)*  
*Vaisāṣa pakṣaśitaviśva tithau cha haste | yoge śanaudivasi deva-*  
*gurau vriṣerkke| tasmin mṛgānka sahakanya gate babhūba ...|*  
*Śrī Jaya Yakṣamalla nṛpatir Nepālarājyēśvarastasyāsmiṇ vijaya*  
*prachāra samaye Bhaktāpuri rājyake. Date (seems to be)*  
verified for Thursday May 5, 1437 A.D. (Petech, p. 162).

(9) The Taumadhiṭol stele.<sup>177</sup> It is an inscription on a large stone. It has 34 lines. It is badly preserved with letters here and there damaged. The record invokes God Śiva and commemorates the occasion of constructing the temple and a water conduit. Jivamalla is mentioned along with Yakṣamalla at several places. It is dated 561 *Jyeṣṭha śudī 10 budhavāra*.

(10) ms. *Kubjikāpūjā Kumārīpūjāparyanta* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 96.5). Colophon: *Samvat 564 Jyeṣṭha śukla pūrṇa-*  
*māsyāyām jeṣṭha nakṣatre śubhayoga ādityavāsare sampūrṇa-*  
*kṛtamitam| Rd Śrī Śrī Pm Pbh Jaya Jakṣamalladevasya vijaya-*  
*rājye || Kāṣṭamaṇḍapānuvāsinā Śrī Nāgavarṇṇa mahāvihārod-*  
*bhava amātyapātra Rājasimhapāla bhallokasya svārthahetunā-*  
*kṛtam || Date verified for Sunday, May 31, 1444 A.D.*

(11) ms. *Subantarātnākara*<sup>178</sup> (India Office Lib., Hodgson 35/2 Vol. 29). According to A.B. Keith “the Ms. was copied in the month of *Phālguṇa* of *Samvat 565 (Pañcharasabāṇa)* during the reign of *Jaya Yakṣamalladeva* by *Abhayarāja*”.

(12) ms. *Kātantravyākaraṇaṭika* by Dūrgasimha (Kaisar Lib. n. 589). Colophon: *Samvat 567 Śrāvaṇa kṣṇa daśamyām*  
*tithau ādityavāsare sampūrṇa kṛtamidam pustakam || Rd Pm*  
*Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladeva vijayarājye || Date verified for*  
Sunday August 10, 1447 A.D.

(13) ms. *Nityānhikatilaka* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 384),<sup>179</sup>  
Colophon: *Samvat 573 Āṣāḍha kṣṇa chaturdasyām bṛhaspati-*  
*vāsare likhitam Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye*

<sup>176</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 30, partially published.

<sup>177</sup> Inscription, n. LV in our Appendix.

<sup>178</sup> It has only a leaf. CPMSIO, p. 1443, n. 7877.

<sup>179</sup> CPMDN, II, p. 82.

*Dhatumsikogrhevāsita daivajña Abhayasimhena likhitamiti* ||  
The date is verified for Thursday, 5 July, 1453 A.D.

(14) A copper plate inscription<sup>180</sup> attached to the wall of the royal palace in Bhatgaon to the right of the golden door. It is a long record of 37 lines commemorating the occasion of constructing a fort in Bhatgaon (probably in the palace site) and a wall and ditch around. The date at the end is given 573 *Śrāvaṇa śukla pūrṇimāyām śravaṇa nakṣatre āyusmān yoge śukravāra*. On this day under the leadership of Jaya Jakṣamalla, the work was begun. The date is verified for Friday, July 20th, 1453 A.D.

(15) ms. *Hiraṇyasaptaka* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1691).<sup>181</sup> Colophon: 574 *Phālguni śudi 12 . . . . Jakṣamalladeva rāje*, etc. (Date corresponding to 10 February, 1454). The following passage of the colophon, which gives an important political information is not fully read by Petech: *Sako vinavala vari ghāgra bhitanah praparighah* || *dhagataya ghāh thva svamha rājā mūtana dvalakha* (Dolkhā) *ju diko tvam Śrī Kīrtisimhatvam* || *gham purni vyāja janābhiti thuni muini* || *Śrī Jakṣamalladeva rājā tva upare vava* || *thuti vava tala bhini chosa sa Śrīman Śrī Jakṣamalladevasya phu u hangoa*.

(16) ms. *Jyotiśaratnamālā* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1665).<sup>182</sup> Colophon: *Samvat 577 Śrāvaṇa śukla ṣaṣṭi pra saptamyām | svāti nakṣatre | śuklayoge | guruvāre | Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladevasya vijaya rājye Śrī Lalitāpure Mānigvalake Śrī Yitihlaṇevihāre Jivadrāmasya etc.* | Date verified for Thursday, July 28, 1457 A.D. 'except that the *tithi* had already ended on July 27th'.

(17) ms. *Kuśaṇḍikarmavidhi* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1606.6). Colophon: *Samvat 587 Jyeṣṭha śudi 15 Śrī Śrī Jakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye vipra Śrīdhavalatejena likhitam* | The date is verified for May 14th, 1467 A.D.

(18) Tulachhitol stone inscription.<sup>183</sup> This commemorates the

<sup>180</sup> Inscription, n. LXIII in our Appendix.

<sup>181</sup> CBMC, p. 177 only the ms. is mentioned.

<sup>182</sup> CBMC, p. XIII barely noted.

<sup>183</sup> Inscription, n. LXXII in our Appendix.

erection of a temple for God Nārāyaṇa in the memory of Yakṣamalla's late son Rājamalla whose body impersonated in the gold image of Hṛṣīkeśa was enshrined there. The record is dated 588 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa dvitīyā mṛgaśira nakṣatre sādhyayoge śukravāsare*. The donor is *Śrīmat Śrī Rd Pm Pbh Nepāleśvara chakrachūḍamaṇī Śrī Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇāvatāra Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladeva*. It is a fairly lengthy record of 28 lines over a large stone, 5 lines from the 7th onwards are partially damaged.

(19) ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1113.5).<sup>184</sup> Colophon: *Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye | Śreyostu Samvat 590 Śrāvaṇa śukla pratipadyāyā maghā nakṣatra pariḥa yoga karkkaṭarāsīgate savitari simharāsīgate chandramasi || ... kasika Kauligrāma Śrī Jamalaganthi Vajrāchārya Mānikarājena śubhamastu*. The date corresponds to the second half of July 28th, 1470 A.D.

(20) Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's stone inscription<sup>185</sup> of NS 591 erected on the platform outside the temple of Bhairava in front of the southern door of the Paśupatinātha temple within the compound. This gives two dates, one (1) *nāgebasaumadanabāṇa (= 588) gate chavarse Chaitre tame hara tithau śravaṇe cha ṛkṣe yoge śubhe bhṛgudīne* for constructing the image of Bhairava and another (2) *Nepāla hāyana gate bidhurandhrabāṇe (= 591) Māghe śīte tithivare navamī praśaste ṛkṣebidheḥ śaśi sute haninaidrayoge* for the occasion of setting up three gold finials by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. This inscription mentions the reign of Yakṣamalla and his sons, *svasti śrī sūryavamśa nṛpatir Jaya Yakṣamalla pratāpa bhuvanaika mahāpravīṇaḥ Nepāla maṇḍala bibhūṣita rājarājo bhūyadvipākṣa mathano bhuvi supraprasiddhaḥ || tatputrāḥ Śrīmantāḥ kumarāḥ santi || jyeṣṭhāḥ Śrī Jaya Rāyamalla nṛpatiḥ Śrī Ratnamalla prabhuh Śrīmatchhrī Raṇamalla deva guṇavān Śrī Rāmamallo nṛpaḥ khyātaḥ Śrī Arimalladeva sukṛtī Śrī Pūrṇamallo varasteṣām vairigaṇaḥ prayantu nidhanam Śambhoprasādadiha || tadvijayarājye || etc. etc.*

(21) ms. *Sragdharāstotra* (India Office Lib. Hodgson collec-

<sup>184</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 36.

<sup>185</sup> Inscription, n. LXXIII in our Appendix.

tion n. 2723H).<sup>186</sup> Colophon: *Śrī Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa mahānagarechye kanamadgiṭolake* (modern Chikamuṅgal in Kathmandu) . . . . || *Samvat 594 Chaitra kṛṣṇa dvādaśī uttarabhadra nakṣatra budhadine | Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladevasya*<sup>187</sup> *viḷayarājya etc.* (Date verified for Wednesday, 13 April, 1474 A.D.) *lekhaka Sālankhu vihāravasthita Śākyabhikṣurāchārya Śrī Hṛdayasenena etc.*

(22) ms. *Hitopadeśasamuchchaya* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I, 1608.5).<sup>188</sup> Colophon: *Śrī Yakṣamalla nṛpateḥ vijaye cha rājye Bhaktāpurī nivasito varakīrtirāmaḥ . . . . | Samvat veda graha bāṇe (=594) Jyeṣṭha śukla harestitḥau likhitam* || Date corresponds to May 23, 1474 A.D.

(23) ms. *Mahāraksāmahāmantrānusāriṇī mahāvidyārājñī* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1114). *Deyodharmoyam Pravara mahāyānāyāyinah Paramopāsika Śrī Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa nagare Śrī Kīrtipuṇya mahāvihāriya bhikṣu Śrī Devachandrasya | śatnandamanmathasarervatsarevaiḥ Chaitresite saptamī bhānuvāre sampurnṇasāstra nava nirmīta pañcharakṣyām Śrīman Sauhṛdayasyena likhitañcha* || *Śrī Kīrtipuṇya vihāre Śrī Viśvakarmāchāra labdha prasāditayam* || —*Samvat 596 Chaitra śukla saptamyāmtithau ādrā nakṣatre, śukramayoge, ādityavāsare likhitamidam sampūrṇṇa pustakam* || *Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladevasya viḷayarājye* || *Śrī Kīrtipuṇya mahāvihāretrasthita Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Devachandrasya. Kīrtipuṇya mahāvihāra* is the Sanskrit name of the monastery known as Nhakabahil in Kathmandu. The date corresponds to Sunday, March 31st, 1476 A.D.

(24) ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Kaisar Lib. n. 566) Colophon: *Samvat 599 Māgha śukla dvādaśī pra trayodaśyām tithau puṣya nakṣatre āyusmāna yoge Nepālamaṇḍaleśvara Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Jaya Yakṣamallasya viḷayarājye etc.* Date verified for February 4th, 1479.

<sup>186</sup> CSPMIO, p. 1427, n. 7820.

<sup>187</sup> CSPMIO has Jayayanga.

<sup>188</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 75. Intro., p. 29 gives a complete reading.

The following documents had so far remained unnoticed.

(25) A copper plate inscription<sup>180</sup> attached to the wall on the left of the door of the main shrine at Viśvakarmā bahāl (Kathmandu). It reads: *Śreyostu samvat 549 Chaitra śukla daśamyām tithau aṅgāravāsare pauṣya nakṣatre śukaranayoge Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye etc.*

(26) A post colophon statement in the obverse of the last leaf of *Kuṭṭunimata* (ASB, n. 4731)<sup>190</sup> written in a different hand: *Samvat 556 thvate rumvā thvasa Māgha vrata chararapo Śrī Śrī Yakṣamalladeva Śrī Śrī Jīvamalladeva ubhaya ṭhākurasya chyāsarapiyajū duṅ, thvate vahucha thvate chhadmaṅ guthali vivāha rakam Abhayasimha Bhāro Śrī Jyotimaladeva Sakhota Jayantalakṣmī jhinta etc.*

(27) A copper plate inscription<sup>191</sup> in the collection of Paśupati, to the sacred memory of the deceased mother Sansāradevī Ṭhākurinī announces certain grant of land for the worship of the image of Gaurī set up within the temple of Paśupatinātha by Yakṣamalla and Jīvamalla (*Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladeva ṭhākurasana Śrī Śrī Jaya Jīvamalla ṭhākurasana ubhayasya duntā juro*). This gives the date of the death of Sansāradevī, *nāde skandamukhehya nāga viśikhe Nepāla samvatsare (= 567 )māsādau sitasaptamī varuṇabhe yoge śanai gispatau.*

(28) ms. *Nepālabhāṣā chikitsā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 437). Colophon: *Śreyostu samvat 561 Mārgaśira śukla daśamyām aśvini nakṣatre | pariḡhyayoge ādityavāsare | Rd Pm Pbh Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye etc., etc.*

(29) ms. *Chāndravyākaraṇasūtrapātha* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 731) Colophon: *Śrī Śrī Paśupati charaṇāravindārchana parāyaṇa ripurāja daitya tripurāsura māna vinirjita Śrī*

<sup>180</sup> Inscription n. LV in our Appendix.

<sup>190</sup> Petech does not seem to have read the passage; but he reproduces what CSMASB, VII, p. 76, n. 5086 has given.

<sup>191</sup> Inscription n. LVIII in our Appendix.

*Samputārini Gaurīśvara Śrī Maheśvarāvatāra Śrī Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladeva anuja Śrī Śrī Jaya Jīvamalladeva sahaiva vijayarājye . . . . . | Nepālābde gate mṛgāṅkarasa yuk Śrīpañchabāṇa yute (= 561) māse kṛṣṇa śuchau divākaratithau risye vapuṣṇābidhe etc.* Written by Abhayarāja.

(29a) A stele<sup>192</sup> attached to a temple of Mahādeva in Ṭhimi. The first date figure giving the year is preserved, but the two are damaged. Probably the year in 561. Other particulars are: *Phālguṇa śukla pūrṇimā*. The inscription was set up in the reign of Yakṣamalla and Jīvamalla (*tayordvayor vijayarājye*). Yakṣamalla is further called a son of Jyotirmalla.

(30) ms. *Chaturāṅkanātakamgītam* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 783). Colophon: *Samvat 561 Jyeṣṭha śudī 12 Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalla-devasya vijayarājyam jelamdholabandhovatrarana niyuktaka likhitam Rikṣarājena*.

(31) A stone inscription<sup>193</sup> commemorating the construction of an image of Sarasvatī in a shrine close to the temple of Bālkumārī in Patan. The inscription is dated 567 *Jyeṣṭha śukla pratipadyām tithau rohiṇī ghaṭi 23 para mṛgaśira nakṣatre dhṛtiyoge somavāsare bṛsarāśigate savitari tatraiva rāśigate chandramāsi*. The beginning few lines invoke the blessing of Sarasvatī and thereafter *Śrī Yakṣamalla bhūpati tena Nepālapālite* and further *tribhipradhānapatraiścha pālito Lalitāpura*, etc. (See our Inscription n. LVI in the Appendix).

(32) ms. *Sumatisiddhānta grahagaṇita* (Kaisar Lib. n. 82). Post colophon statement at the end of the book: *Samvat 567 Bhādrapada śuddhi 3 Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladeva ṭhākurasya Śivaluti* (modern site called Silu by the Newars but otherwise known as Gosainthān) *vijyayaya prastāvana yānyā divasa Bhādrapada śukla dvādaśī śravaṇa nakṣatra budhavāra || Harivāsa || thva konhu Śivalutisa sthāna yānāva dānadakṣiṇā yānāva | svachā penhu Śivalutisa vijyānyāva || sa dāna yānyā || thvate dhunakava Kokhavijyānyāo Bhādrapada vadi thva khunhu chandra Śrī Nārāyaṇasake snāna dhunakāva śvalaṇi vijyānyāva*

<sup>192</sup> Inscription n. LVI in our Appendix.

<sup>193</sup> Inscription n. LIX in our Appendix.

*Śrī Paśupatisake sthānayanāva thvate sthāna dhunakāva thva konhu Rājakula (Royal Palace) vijyāva || yakhala pinlana ma lakkva sañjabuddha sañ etc.* The passage gives us an information about the king's pilgrimage to Gosainthān.

(33) A stone inscription<sup>194</sup> at the temple of Nārāyaṇa in Lubhu about 2 miles west of Patan. It gives five dates, (a) *Samvat 565 Mārgasīra śukla ṣaṣṭamyām tithau ādityavāre śra [vaṇanakṣatre]* (b) *sa eva dasami utrabhādra nakṣatre sudhi yoga bṛhaspativāra* (c) *Samvat 567 Māgha kṛṣṇa dvādasi ādityavāre* (d) *Samvat 570 Bhādrapada kṛṣṇa tritīyā aṅgāravāra* and (e) *Samvat 572 Chaitra śukla ekādaśi maghā nakṣatre bṛddhiyoge śukravāre* for different stages of the construction of the temple in the reign of Jaya Jakṣamalladeva ṭhākura (*vijayarājye*). In the first few lines besides his name (*Bhānusvapakṣajanahitakāri iti rājati bhūpati*), his three sons are also noted in the following order, eldest Rāyamalla, second Ratnamalla and youngest (kaniṣṭha) Raṇamalla.

(34) On the pedestal<sup>195</sup> of a stone image of Gaṇeśa at Sāngā, two miles east of Sāngā. *Nepālamaṇḍaleśvara Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamaladevasya vijayarājye . . . | Samvat 573 Māgha śukla ṣaṣṭamyām tithau revati nakṣatre siddhiyoge aṅgāravāsare etc.*

(35) A copper plate<sup>196</sup> with Paśupatinātha having date 573 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa daśamyām svāti nakṣatre śukravāre Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladeva prabhu ṭhākura pramukhasa etc.* This was a pledge given by two feudatories and Yakṣamalla to maintain peace on the land.

(36) Inscription<sup>197</sup> on the socle of a small image of Lakṣminārāyaṇā in the courtyard of the water conduit at Saugaltol (Patan). The lines read *Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladevesya vijayarājye 574 Dvipauṣa śukla.*

(37) On the pedestal<sup>198</sup> of the Sun God at Banepā outside

<sup>194</sup> Inscription n. LIX in our Appendix.

<sup>195</sup> Inscription n. LIXII in our Appendix.

<sup>196</sup> Inscription n. LXIV in our Appendix.

<sup>197</sup> Inscription n. LXV in our Appendix.

<sup>198</sup> Inscription n. LXVII in our Appendix.

the western gate on the platform of a water conduit. *Samvat 579 Māgha māse śukla pakṣe revati nakṣatre siddhiyoge vāsare . . . . Rd Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣa [mallasya vijayarājye] etc.*

(38) A stele on the platform of a *chaitya* at Dupattol (Patan). The date figure is peeled off but the letters *Jaya Jakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye* can be clearly read.

(39) Inscription<sup>199</sup> on the socle of a small image of Nārāyaṇa inside the temple of the same deity in front of the Dattātreyā temple in Bhatgaon. It reads: *Śreyostu samvat 582 Dvīpauṣa māsa pūrṇimāsyām tithau prītiyoge śukravāsare Rd Śrī Śrī Jakṣamallasya vijayarājye.*

(40) Inscribed<sup>200</sup> in five lines on the pedestal of the image of the Moon God (with chariot) at Te-bāhāl, Kathmandu. The third and fourth lines read *Śreyostu 583 Kārtika śukla pūrṇamasyām Rd para(me)śvara Para(ma)bhaṭṭāraka ravikulakamala vikāsa bhāskara Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye etc.*

(41) Inscription<sup>201</sup> on the pedestal of another small image of Moon God in Te-bāhāl (Kathmandu). This is an 8 line inscription recording the installation of an image of Moon God on *Kārtika śukla pūrṇimā* of the year 583 in the reign of Jaya Jakṣamalladeva.

(42) ms. *Rugvinīśchaya mādhanidānam* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 402). Colophon: *Deva Śrī kamala sarojanayana Śrī Yakṣamallo nṛpaḥ putrenaiiva sahanujena sahita Śrī Rāyamallenaivaiḥ khyātaḥ Śrī Raghuvanśapañkajaraviḥ sannītiratnākara soyam Śrīhimaśaila sānubhuvane samrājateharnīsam | tat vijayarājye | Bhaktāpure | Samvat yuge vasaubāne (= 584) pañchamyāñcha Madhau śite etc.* Written on the 15th of Chaitra śukla of 584.

(43) A copper plate attached to the wall of the Gorakhnātha temple (*Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa*).<sup>202</sup> Date at the end *Samvat 585*

<sup>199</sup> Inscription n. LXVIII in our Appendix.

<sup>200</sup> Inscription n. LXIX in our Appendix.

<sup>201</sup> Inscription n. LXX in our Appendix.

<sup>202</sup> Inscription n. LXV in our Appendix.



*Āṣādha kṛṣṇa amāvāsyām*. The inscription invokes the deity Gorakhnātha and proceeds with the lines, *prasadu kāstakena dhauta svarṇadhvajālankṛtam yogiśvarāṇām nivasanti nityam Śrī Yakṣamalla prabhu rājatesau Śrī Gauḍa deśāgata dātriyogī Chaitanyanātha varadāna saunḍa etc.*

(44) *Rūpamañjaripariṇayanātakam* (Darb. Lib. Cat. IV. unnumbered). No dates in the colophon could be traced but somewhere in the text as *ādivākya* we find *pravara nṛpachakra-chūdamaniṇām Śrī Nepalamaṇḍalesvara Rd Śrī Lakṣmīnārāyaṇāvatāra Śrī Śrī Jaya Yakṣamalladevena yathā bharataputra yadyadamat tanaya kumāra Śrī Śrī Jaya Rāmamallasya patnyā Atuladevyā* (more in the literary section).

(45) A big stele in the courtyard of Paśupatinātha; only the letters *Rd Pm Pbh Jaya Yakṣamalladeva*, are legible.

(46) A stele<sup>203</sup> on the platform of the main door of the Mīnanātha temple in Patan. The first few lines are damaged, and the year and month cannot be traced. The letters visible are deciphered as *Śrī Nepālapuṇyabhūmīśvara Śrī Śrī Narabhupāla Śrī Śrī Jaya Jakṣamalladeva prabhu belasa etc.*

(47) The Ṭilamādhava stella within the precincts of the temple at Taumadhiṭol, Bhatgaon. It is wholly damaged, but the name of Yakṣamalla and Jivamalla can be read at several places.

(48) ms. *Chaturāṅka mahābhārata nātakam* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 449). In the beginning five folio pages the following occurs *pūrvvam yanmuninā supālita mahī Ne nāmadhyeyenasā Nepāleticha sanjñitā munijanaistatrāpi ramyāpurī | nāmneyam Lalitā purī dvijavaraiḥ pātrottamaiḥ pālita | tasyām Śrī Manināgarāja itiyah soyam mune rājate ||* etc. Asked by *Bhrīgī* as to who was the ruler at the time Vināyaka says, *dātārthibhyo-vivekī sakalaguṇijane dharmarupaḥ prajāyām voja sāstunripaṅga ripukula vipine dagdhadābānaloḥ rāsāsaratno saroruh sakalaguṇanidhi | rājavamśābjvabhānu Lakṣmī-*

<sup>203</sup> Sans. Sandesha, I, pp. 6-7. Inscription n. LXXI in our Appendix.

<sup>204</sup> Inscription n. LXIII in our Appendix.

*nārāyaṇosau jagativijayate Śrī prabhur Yakṣamallah || punāścha | ratiprīticha kāmāścha Śrī Yakṣamallasya bhūpateḥ | Śrīsarupā mahādevī devī Sarasvatī ramā |* And again a little further—*Śrī Paśupatiṣādāravinda parāgadhūli parirakṣitot-tamāṅgasya Śrī Māneśvarī varalabdha varānumoditasya sakalārājavamśa kṣirāmbudhi saṅgīta chandramasa sakala Nepālāvasthita loka paṅkeruhaviṣina prajñā prakāśanaika bhāskarasya kṣatṛiyanvaya chūdāmaṅeḥ Śrī Jaya Yakṣamalladevasya hṛdayānanda kārinno vara kumārasya Śrī Jaya Rāyamalladevasya kaṇaka tulāpuruṣa mahādāna pakṣa mahotsave Śrī Vāgmatisan-nidhāne Śrī Paśupati mahāsthāne, Śrī Machchhṛī tula keśava sthāpana kolāhaloyam pravartate etc.* Further, *Śrī Jaya Yakṣamalla bhūpaterrājasabhāyām chaturāṅka Mahābhārata nāṭakam pravartate.* Then the *Sūtradhāra* says *Śrī Śrī Jaya Yakṣamalladeva bhūpāleśvarasya hṛdayānanda kāriṇaḥ Śrī Śrī Jaya Rāyamalladevasya kaṇaka tulāpuruṣa mahādāna prasāṅge tasya rājñāḥ pariṣatsu Śrī Dakṣiṇavihāra mahāmahāpātra Śrīmadu-dayasiṁhamalla Varmaṇā cha pātra chittayena svasthānabhagnabhūpālsthāpanāchāryena māmeba bahumānamāhuya nānā-digedśāgatena rājasamūhena sārddhamahamukto yathā chaturāṅka Mahābhārata nāṭakam tvayā nāṭayitakāramiti etc.*

Jaya Sthitimalla, his son and grandson—all of them were devotees of Viṣṇu as their *viruda*, (Jaya Sthiti adopted Asura-nārāyaṇa as *viruda*, Jyotirmalla adopted Daityanārāyaṇa, Yakṣamalla as Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa) and the various stellas and copper plates recording of grants in honour of the same deity have amply proved this fact.

But they were equally devoted to Paśupatinātha and Buddhist deities. Another special features of the time was the prevalence of Sun worship during this time.

Yakṣamalla, like his father and grandfather, was an orthodox Hindu. He elevated the temple of Dattātreya at Bhatgaon and set up the practice of worship of Paśupatinātha by the Koṅkani Brāhmaṇas of South India, which uptill now continues.

Yakṣamalla's was a pious life dedicated to religious activities. He built temples and enshrined images. From one of his documents (n. 18 above) we find that he set up an image of Viṣṇu

(Hṛṣīkeśa) in the memory of his departed son. He was all attentive to duties towards the people. He constructed water conduits for the thirsty travellers (the Taumadhiṭol stele). Every now and then he went on pilgrimage to visit various sites renowned for their religious sanctity. We do not know if he chose to visit places outside his kingdom. But it appears that he did not hesitate to undertake a much arduous journey to a distant corner of his country if that was a site of pilgrimage. From Doc. 31 above we find that in the year 567 he had walked for nine days as far as the present Gosāinhān situated in the interior of the Himalayan ranges at an altitude of 15,000 ft. high. This site has a large pond on a flat space lying below the famous peak of that name (25,000 ft. high). Gosāinhān is at a distance of 50 miles from the Valley and is approached through the course of the river Triśūli. The mythologies connect the place with God Śiva who had sought the water of the lake to cool down the effects of the *Kālakūṭa* poison. Describing the royal trek the document says *Samvat 567 Bhādrapada śuddhi 3*, this day Śrī Śrī Jaya Jākṣamalladeva Ṭhākura, set out on a journey to *Śivaluti* (the ancient Newari name for Gosāinhān). On *Bhādrapada śukla dvādaśi śravaṇa nakṣatre buddhavāra*, reached Harivāsa and this day took bath in Śivaluti, gave alms and gifts; after three nights and four days starting from Śivaluti; made a gift of cows; on completing all this he came to Ṭokha, and arrived at the temple of Śrī Chandranārāyaṇa; three days after he had 'darśana of Śrī Paśupatinātha after taking bath and entered the palace'.

This is for the first time that we hear of the present day Gosāinhān in an authoritative record. It appears that this sanctuary was known as Śivaluti in the middle ages.

To Yaḁsamalla is attributed a part of the city (fortress) in Bhatgaon, and a ditch and walls around and the four gates of the capital. An inscription of the year 573 *Śrāvaṇa śukla 15 śravaṇa nakṣatre āyusmān yoge śukravāra* (= Friday, 20 July, 1453) has the following lines.<sup>205</sup> (Wright's translation): In

<sup>205</sup> On the wall by the side of the golden gate of the palace

building this fortification the people of the four castes willingly bore loads of bricks and earth; the Koṭ Nāyak (*Kwāṭha-nāyaka*) will see that the people clean the streets and houses every year before the 6th of *Jyeṣṭha śudī* and the roofs of the premises in the fort are repaired; if the Koṭ-nāyaka fail in this duty he shall be fined 12 dams; no horses, buffaloes, cows, or swine are to be allowed to graze on the glacis; anyone whose cattle trespass shall be fined one dam, and he made to repair any damage thus caused; anyone not attending to this shall be guilty of the five great sins. If any rational being causes and damage shall be fined five dams; for every brick, stone or piece of wood broken in the wall a fine of 1 *dam* shall be levied.

From an inscription of his reign on a stele of Taudikṭol, Bhatgaon it appears that his brother Jivamalla was a co-partner in many of the pious deeds he performed.<sup>206</sup> This inscription is dated *Samvat 561 Jyeṣṭha śudī 10 budhavāra*. Sansāradevī, his mother, mentions Jīva as her son along with Yakṣamalla in a copper plate inscription<sup>207</sup> attached to the temple of Paśupati-nātha. The date figure of the document is not legible.

Both these brothers again jointly make certain grants to the worship of Goddess Gaurī set up in memory of the mother (copper plate inscription)<sup>208</sup> who had died on 567 *Kārtika śukla saptamī*.<sup>209</sup> It looks that Jivamalla was quite an important figure for sometime while his brother ruled. It is probable that

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(NS 573); wright (second edition), p. 113. According to this inscription the palace in Bhatgaon, the wall and the four gates were built with the voluntary labour of all sections of people, and of all castes. This was constructed out of the materials (Lohakast) brought by them. He has directed the people to fill the pit formed when the earth was taken and cultivate the land as before. The Nāyak was to be fined 12 dams if he did not work properly. Here also we have the name Khopwā for Bhatgaon. This is doc. 14 of Petech for Yakṣamalla.

<sup>206</sup> Published in Petech partly. Doc. n. 9.

<sup>207</sup> Paśupati Collection, unpublished.

<sup>208</sup> Unpublished, another Paśupati copper plate.

<sup>209</sup> See below n. LXI in our Appendix.

he enjoyed by courtesy even near sovereign status. In a ms. *Chāndravyākaraṇa* cited by Levi the expression *Śrī Śrī Jaya Yakṣamalladeva anuja Śrī Śrī Jaya Jivamalladevasya saheva vijayarājye* shows that he is referred to as a joint ruler.<sup>210</sup> Probably the ms. referred to is the same as *Chāndravyākaraṇa Sūtra-pāṭha* preserved in the Government National Library (n. 731), of which the colophon reads: *Śrī Śrī Paśupaticharaṇāravindārchanaparāyaṇa ripurāja daitya tripurāsura mānavinirjīta Śrī Maheśvarāvatāra Śrī Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Śrī Śrī Jaya Yakṣamalla-deva anuja Śrī Śrī Jaya Jivamalladeva sahaiva vijayarājye Śrī Vaṇḍimasthāne Jelanthola vandhuvihāra Yājālimandire pralikhita / Nepālābdagate mṛgāṅka rasayuk Śrīpañchabāṇāyudhe (=561) māse kṛṣṇa suchau divākara tithau ṛkṣe vapuṣnābhide; the ms. is written by one Abhayarāja.*

There is no document mentioning him singly as ruler. Nor there is any evidence to show that he 'enjoyed for a time subordinate sovereignty in some portions of the Valley.'<sup>211</sup> Petech is wrong to say that Yakṣamalla's powers were curtailed because of Jivamalla. The Italian scholar formed a wrong opinion on the basis of a colophon datum wrongly read and reproduced in CSMASB, VII (P. 76. n. 5086). Both Yakṣamalla and Jivamalla appear in this record which tells us about some religious function. Because the reproduction gives only the single name of Jivamalla, he thought that the younger brother of Yakṣamalla was a ruler by himself. If he had cared to read the original text, I am sure that Petech would have hesitated to make any such statement (Read Doc. 26 above).

The Paśupati copper plate which gives 567 NS *Kārtika śukla 7* as the date of the death of Sansāradevī is the last document to mention Jivamalla's name. Until that date it is likely that he carried substantial voice in the affairs of the state as the king's loyal brother. Jivamalla's powerful position, however,

<sup>210</sup> Levi, II, p. 398 (date NS 561); also see Petech, p. 166. The ms. *Kuṭṭanīmata* in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (CSMASB, VII, p. 76; n. 5086) has the name.

Petech, p. 166.

was in no case a hindrance in the way of Yakṣamalla's exercising supreme and effective royal authority in the kingdom. He enjoyed all powers and prerogatives of a ruling monarch all through.

A Patan Inscription of Yakṣamalla's reign gives him the address of *Nepālapuṇyabhūmīśvara*.<sup>212</sup> In the inscription of Tulachhiṭol Bhatgaon (586 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa* 2) the *praśasti* calls him *Nepāleśvara*. The colophon of the ms. *Ekādaśimahātmya* of 557 *Vaiśākha* site 13 (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1003.2) has *Nepālarājyeśvara*. In the ms. *Pañcharakṣā*<sup>213</sup> he is called *Nepāla-maṇḍaleśvara*. It does not appear that his brother enjoyed any of such titles. Obviously Jivamalla retained his status because he enjoyed the confidence and love of his elder brother Yakṣamalla. Any suggestion present him as a rival of his elder brother would be wrong. Probably, he died in about the year 567, because no record speaks of him after this date.

We have a colophon of the year NS 582 showing Yakṣamalla's son Rāyamalla as a ruler with full royal titles.

ms. *Svarodayasā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 364).<sup>214</sup> Colophon: *Śreyostu Samvat 582 Vaiśākha śukla chaturthī para pañcamaṃyām tithau mṛgaśira nakṣatre sobhanayoge ādityavāsare Śrī Śrī Rd Pbh Śrī Śrī Rāyamalla devasya vijayarājye daivajña Manirāja bhārosa pustakam*. According to Petech the date is verified for Sunday, April 5th, 1462. There is no name of the place where the document was written but daivajña Manirāja bhāro is said to be the owner of the book.

On the basis of this colophon Petech builds a hypothesis of a revolt by Rāyamalla about NS 582 and he thinks that this was a prelude to the ensuing division of Nepal by Yakṣamalla on the eve of his death. Arguing his case the Italian scholar observes 'From the list of Yakṣamalla's documents we can see that 16 of them belong to period 1425-1457, and 8 to the period

<sup>212</sup> Doc. 45 above.

<sup>213</sup> Doc. 24 above.

<sup>214</sup> CPMDN, II, p. 46. H. P. Śastri reads the date as 482 and does not give the name of the ruler.

1467-1479. There is a gap of 10 years without colophons of this king. Of course this may be pure chance but just in this blank period a colophon shows Rāyamalla with full royal titles . . . . . This document stands completely isolated; but it is sufficient to warrant the supposition that Rāyamalla reigned for sometime during this period having usurped the throne. It is also evident that afterwards he was defeated'.<sup>215</sup> Petech thinks that the refractory feudatories who were suppressed by Yakṣamalla according to Kirkpatrick's chronicle were the Rāyamalla's allies.

We shall discuss in the next chapter the question of the division of kingdom by Yakṣamalla. Here let us see if what Petech wrote about Rāyamalla's revolt can be accepted.

The colophon above quoted might not unnaturally mislead some people to attribute the usurpation of the throne to Rāyamalla. Petech can also draw his conclusion from the isolated nature of the ms. that the rebellion was subdued and Rāyamalla had to give in to his father. But the idea of a revolt merely based on a single colophon has to be carefully examined before it is accepted as a historical fact. Besides, it is not true that there was ever a blank period of 10 years during Yakṣamalla's time. We have either a colophon or an inscription showing Yakṣamalla as king for each of the years 579, 582, 583, 584 and 585.<sup>216</sup> The document of 582 (n. 39) and 584 (n. 41) belong to Bhatgaon whereas the other two belong to Kathmandu (n. 40 and 42). The document of 584 (n. 41) has the expression *Śrī Yakṣamalla nṛpaḥ putrenaiva sahānujēna sahita Śrī Rāyamallena vaiḥ . . . samrājate / tad-vijayarājye*, which means that Yakṣamalla was reigning with Rāyamalla and his brothers. At the date this document was written, the scribe had found a happy bond between king Yakṣamalla and his eldest son. But more than that the document n. 39 is a proof of Yakṣamalla reigning in NS 582 *Dviḥpausa*. Because the document is written in the de facto capital city (Bhatgaon) the assumption of usurpa-

<sup>215</sup> Petech, pp. 168-69.

<sup>216</sup> Doc. 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43 above.

tion of the throne by Rāyamalla at this date is unwarranted. Rāyamalla's document was written on *Vaiśākha śukla 4* of the same year. The difference of time between these two documents is nearly 5 months. The next document of Yakṣamalla (n. 41) is dated 583 *Kārtika śukla 15*. If the story of rebellion was true, then this must have occurred during the nine months following *Pauṣa*. This would have been a quite short affair. But in the absence of any mention of the place of writing in the colophon of Rāyamalla, the suggestion of usurpation of throne would be too imaginative. We may suggest that the rebellion had taken place in some part of the kingdom. But even this supposition is much weakly entertained. I think that the royal titles given to Rāyamalla in the colophon of *Svarodayasā* of NS 582 represent only a courteous reference to the crown prince by an overzealous copyist. There are numerous other instances of crown princes being presented with full royal titles in the period since NS 602. For example, Pārthivendramalla (NS 800-808) gets full royal epithets in the Paśupati inscription nearly a year before he became king, and Bhūpatīndramalla (NS 816-842) is called *Md Pm Pbh* in a ms. colophon of a date while he had not become sovereign (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1076.45). Probably the courtesy reference with royal titles by a scribe was there because of the fact that Rāyamalla was placed as the governor in the area the ms. was copied. We have seen how in similar circumstances another scribe used full royal epithets to qualify the name of a powerful feudatory. (ms. *Daśakarmapaddhati*, Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1076.4).

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's stone inscription of 591, where Yakṣamalla's sons are mentioned by name, brings out the expression '*tadvijayarājye*' referring to both father and sons. But this should not be interpreted to mean any kind of curb on the powers of Yakṣamalla as the sovereign ruler. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa probably intended to convey a courtesy reference to the princes by bracketing them with their father as reigning. But we can take it also to suggest that the sons were assisting their father in the governance of the country. Equally this makes out a case for a harmonious relation between the father and sons and



thereby rules out the possibility of any one of them to have gone against his regime as such.

Yakṣamalla's wife Karpūradevī is mentioned as the mother of Rāyamalla in the drama *Pāṇḍavavijaya* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 694). The doc. 48 mentions Sarasvatīdevī as another queen of Yakṣamalla. She is called Mahādevī. Probably she was the chief queen. It is suggested that Yakṣamalla expanded his territory to the north and south covering places upto the Tibetan trade town of Digarche and the river Ganges respectively. He also curved the violent hill tribes of the west and east. His conquest is described in full in a verse contained in the *ādivākya* of the ms. *Narapatijayācharyāsvarodayatikā* of king Jagajjyotirmalla.<sup>217</sup> The passage translated reads 'he who after conquering Mithilā advanced to Magadha with valour reaching Gayā in that course, he who ruled Nepal without any obstacle suppressing the rulers of the hill principalities in the east he went as far as Baṅgadeśa and in the south upto the Ganges, he became famous by achieving victory over the king of Gorkhā in the west, while in the north he ruled a territory which he reached marching seven days'. According to Kirkpatrick's authority, Yakṣamalla 'annexed Morang, Tirhut, Gayā to his dominions, and is said to have conquered Gorkhā to the westward and Sikarjong of Tibet to the northward. He likewise completely subdued the three refractory Rājāhs of Patan and Kathmandu' (p. 266, Kirkpatrick).

Yakṣamalla's time coincided with the period of chaos in India antecedent to the formation of Moghul empire and, therefore,

<sup>217</sup> The Jayācharyā has the following verse to describe his victories and annexations:

योरार्यं मिथिलां विजित्य मगधं गत्वा गयां पौरुषाद् । यो नेपाल अकण्ठकं  
व्यरचयज्जित्वानुपान् पार्वतान् ॥ प्राच्यं यो बङ्गदेशं तदनु सुरनदीं दक्षिणे दिग्विभागे  
विख्यातः पश्चिमायां प्रविल सदसिजा गोरखा पाल यातः भूमिं सप्ताह गम्यामपि धन  
ददिशो योऽवधि कृत्य मुक्त्वा ॥

(Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1186; CPMDN, I, p. 107). Kirkpatrick's authority also supports the contention of the Jayācharyā (p. 266). The ms. written in Śaka 1536; L. S. 494.

the story of his expansion may not be wholly untrue. There was no power in the Gaṇḍak-Kośī belt to check him in his victorious march, but the conquest of Bengal and Magadha and even of Mithilā as made out in the verse seems improbable. Possibly there were raids into some of these territories mentioned therein carried by Yakṣamalla, which led his successor to ascribe to him glories of conquest and empire building.

If he had advanced to the south, he could conquer Mithilā; for as we know Mithilā or any part of North Bihar was open to attack from outside as its defence had been rendered weak in the absence of a central powerful authority in the area at the time. But we doubt if with the limited resources he commanded and troubles yet raging inside his domain, the statement as to his conquest of Mithilā can be accepted as trustworthy.

The Paśupatinātha copper plate inscription of 573 (see above doc. 35)<sup>218</sup> suggests that upto this date he had troubles with his feudatories, particularly with Udayasiṃha Bhāro of Pimthavihāra in Māṇigla (i.e. heart of Patan) and Śaktisiṃha Rābutta of Pharping. The language of the record is not wholly intelligible but it can be made out that Yakṣamalla had to appear with these feudatories before God Paśupatinātha in an attempt to pledge lasting peace and amity in his country.

This inscription proves beyond doubt that Yakṣamalla's regime was not free from internal troubles. Patan and Pharping were seemingly out of control, although his suzerainty was acknowledged in the area. But these were strategic centres, and Yakṣamalla in all probability had to be always on guard against any contingency of a rebellion by the powerful feudatories. This might have put to strain his military capacity and created a situation unfavourable for any kind of adventures.

In the circumstances prevailing it does not seem also probable that Yakṣamalla had wrested the district of Sikarjong from the Tibetans. But he might have advanced as far as Gorkhā. The whole stretch of the territory between the Nepalese military

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<sup>218</sup> Inscription n. LXIII in our Appendix.

outpost and Noakoṭ and Gorkhā was inhabited by primitive peoples of Tāmāng and Gurung tribes. In Gorkhā and the surrounding areas lived peoples of another primitive tribe, the Magar. From the chronicles of the Chaubisi hill kings we know that Drabya Shāh founded the principality of Gorkhā by defeating a Magar tribal head of the locality as well as Gurung tribals in the north of it, who had put up a hard resistance to the newcomers. As Drabya Shāh's earliest available date (1559 A.D.) comes some 18 years after the death of Yakṣamalla, it does not seem that he was the person meant for the prince of Gorkhā in Jagajjyotirmalla's panegyrics. The temporary conquest of Gorkhā by Yakṣamalla is not improbable; it involved only an advance march over nearly thirty miles of undefended territory. But the prince of Gorkhā referred to must have been a tribal village headman of the area.

On the whole the verses in *Naraṇpati Jayācharyāṭīkā* giving information about Yakṣamalla's conquest are more in the nature of an eulogy than presenting a statement of facts. But it is true that he had curbed unruly feudatories and defiant tribes in his eastern and western sectors of the kingdom outside the Valley.

#### YAKSAMALLA'S ACHIEVEMENTS

Whatever that be, the 53 years of Yakṣamalla's reign constitute a glorious chapter in the history of Nepal. Although he was the last monarch to rule an undivided Nepal, and surely he cannot be blamed for the partition which came in the wake of his death, Yakṣamalla was one of the most illustrious rulers of Nepal, a builder, a devotee leading a pious life, a patron of art and learning and a ruler who had given peace and stability to the hitherto strife ridden country. In his time the Rāma Vardhana feudatories were liquidated, and though certain others within the confines of the Valley were yet in a position to challenge the authority of the kingdom, he was able to curb them by persuading them to accept his plan of peace. Yakṣamalla built by himself many temples and shrines. His records are the most numerous for any monarch of Nepal for the age. These extend over the entire

Valley of Nepal, and commemorating as they do inauguration of the completion of many water conduits, tanks and canals they bear testimony to his efforts to make Nepal happy and prosperous. During Yakṣamalla's time Nepal witnessed flourishing of art and literature. In the list of original works written in Sanskrit and Newari we find that a majority of them belong to this period. Yakṣamalla himself witnessed plays being staged on different occasions. This shows his deep love for dramatic performance in particular and fine arts in general. Yakṣamalla's *viruda* of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa shows a special leaning for the cult of Viṣṇuism. But this did not mean that he was not devoted to other gods of the sect of Śiva-Viṣṇu. He was equally a devotee of Paśupati-nātha, and his undertaking of a journey into the far recess of the Himalayas to worship Nilakaṇṭha Mahādeva in Gosāiṅthān (doc. 32 above) proves that he was so fervently attached to Śaivism. He also revered the Buddhist deities and his munificence was extended to the *Vihāras*. With all these meritorious qualities of a king it was but natural that Yakṣamalla had endeared himself to his people. In one of his records he is quite aptly called 'the benefactor of his people'.

#### MORE ABOUT THE FEUDATORIES OF PATAN

Before closing this chapter let me place more facts about the feudatories of Patan of the time of Yakṣamalla.

Udayasimha is one of the *Mahāpātras* mentioned in the Ibābahi inscription of Jyotirmalla's reign. He also appears as one of the three *Mahāpātras* directing the play of *Chaturāṅka Mahābhārata* to be staged on the occasion of Yakṣamalla's son Rāyamalla performing a *tulāpuruṣamahādāna* of gold. The passage where the fact is mentioned is as follows:

“Śrī Śrī Jaya Yakṣamalladeva bhūpāleśvarasya hṛdayānanda kāriṇaḥ Śrī Śrī Jaya Rāyamalladevasya kaṇaka tulāpuruṣa mahādāna prasāṅge tasya pariṣatsu Śrī Dakṣiṇa vihāra mahā-maha mahāpātra Śrīmadudayasimhamalla Varmmaṇā cha pātra tritīyena svasthāna bhagna bhūpāla sthāpanāchāryeṇa māmeva bahumānamāhūya nānādigdeśāgatena rājasamūhena sārddha

*mahamukto yathā chaturāṅka Mahābhārata nāma nāṭakam tvayā nāṭayitavyam*".<sup>219</sup>

It does not seem that Udayasiṃha had arrogated to himself a position which could be displayed by ignoring the existence of the sovereign. But we cannot have any doubt about the extremely powerful position of this *Mahāpātra* and his two colleagues.

According to a ms. colophon one of the Patan feudatories had grown powerful enough to appear in popular estimation in a capacity which equalled the royalty of the Malla sovereign. This is evident from a colophon, which mentions the *mahāpātra* without reference to the sovereign ruler of the time.

Jayasimha of Dharmagupta's drama, *Rāmāṅkanāṭikā* (a modern copy, Darb. Lib. Cat. IV) is mentioned in the colophon singly without the sovereign.<sup>220</sup> The reference runs: *Iha Nepālamaṇḍale Śrī Lalitāpurī nāmadheyam vividhaguṇa (nī) jana samsevyamāna(m) nagaram vartate yatra || sakalapātra-kulāvalambakāminī janālanṅkṛtaḥ viśvambharābharāṇa mauli-bhūtaḥ Śrī Dakṣiṇavihāra pradhānamahāmamahāpātra Śrī (Ja)yasiṃhamalla(h) pātravaṃsa (śa) tilakabhūta (taḥ) pratāpabhāskara vido (duyau) iba || Śrīmān Jayasiṃhamalla pātra vaṃsadi (Vaṃsabdhi) chamāḥ || yatṅkṛtam sthāpitam rājyam vikṣā(khyā) ta(m) prithivītale || yaschakre nāṭikeyam (kāmyo) vijayatulamatiḥ hanti sarvvān vipakṣān yasya śrīkīrti-mūprathitaguṇaganām pāvanāḥ pāvanānām || pratyakṣānītisevī kṣītitalabhuvanepātravaṃsādhirāja(h) soyam Śrī Rājasimho nayavinayaguṇanitiratnakare(nduḥ) | Samvatsaram samadvi (dhi) ke śaśi sūnyabānaiḥ māse sitetarabhave dvitīyā cha pauṣe || nakṣatrameva varapūṣpa tathāpi yuktavārestāthā bhṛgusutaścha savaidhṛtīścha.*

On enquiry I find that the original copy of the above ms. is lost. The date is slightly confusing but I attribute the writing to the reign of Yakṣamalla or even a little earlier.

Jayasimha also appears in a copper plate inscription of Jaya-

<sup>219</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 449. Doc. 38(a) above.

<sup>220</sup> Published Volume, III, pp. 57-58.

prakāśamalla to have done some reconstruction work in the temple of Paśupatinātha in the year NS 549. He is referred to in a respectful term. He is also known as the great grandfather of the high feudatory Viṣṇusimha of Patan ruling there in the mid 7th century of Nepal era (see Part II of this volume); he heads the genealogy of Viṣṇusimha and is addressed as *nṛpati* (king or ruler).

Jayasimha must have been extraordinarily powerful for all the time since Jaya Sthiti's death. According to Kirkpatrick it was Yakṣamalla who brought all the refractory governors and feudatories of Patan under his control. Probably Jayasimha was one of them to suffer curtailment of power during Yakṣamalla's reign but the feudatory had not been wholly subdued. We shall know from a record of the next reign that feudatories not only in Patan but also elsewhere were too strongly entrenched to be dislodged from power even by Yakṣamalla and on their account he had much worries.

Yakṣamalla maintained a loose overlordship even in the heart of the city of Patan. This suggests that the capital of the Nepalese government under Yakṣamalla was no longer the city of Patan. Probably this was true also of the period earlier since Jaya Sthitimalla assumed regnal powers. But we have no definite proof of Jaya Sthitimalla functioning from any place other than the usual head quarter of the Nepalese rulers. However, we can be definite about the period after his death. In all certainty he ruled from Bhatgaon. This we say for several reasons. In the first place, his records are traced in abundance in Bhatgaon. Secondly, the first document issued in Patan dates 567 (the Sarasvatī stone). Thirdly, Udayasimha Bharo in 573 appears to have defied him. Possibly Yakṣamalla was not able to rule directly over Patan and the areas south of it, where the feudatories had remained all powerful. This is not a compliment to Yakṣamalla's career of a conqueror so much eloquently praised by his descendants. It shall appear from what followed his death, that Patan and Pharping had continued to enjoy a semi-independent status with all internal powers throughout the seventh century of the Nepal era. The feudatories more vigo-

rously asserted their autonomy after Yakṣamalla's death, because the central authority was further weakened due to sharing of kingly powers by all of Yakṣamalla's sons. Added to this, Yakṣamalla's sons had behaved in a manner which led to the dismemberment of the kingdom. To this we shall come a little later.

According to Levi's authority<sup>221</sup> Yakṣamalla died in 1480 A.D. BLI and Wright give NS 592 = 1472 A.D. as the date of his death. His last document is ms. *Pañcharakṣā* dated NS 599 *Māgha śukla dvādaśī pra trayodaśī puṣya nakṣatre āyusmanyoge* (verified in Petech's book, February 4, 1479).<sup>222</sup> Later chronicles give him a reign of 43 years. But this is insufficient to fill the long span of years as shown by the colophon data. He definitely ruled from NS 548 to 599 according to the colophons. But a year or two more could also be added not either ways but at the end. At any rate he must have been dead before *Āśvina* 605 NS, for we have an inscription of that date showing two of his sons as joint rulers of *Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa*<sup>223</sup> (Kathmandu). The *Thyāsapu*-Diary belonging to Chandramān Joshi of Ṭhimi gives NS 528 as his birth date, and 602 *Māgha vadi 11* (January, 1482 A.D.) as the date of his death.<sup>224</sup> This date of his death is the same as is given in the diary maintained by the family priest of the Malla kings of Bhatgaon.<sup>225</sup> A local scholar of the Nepal history says that the *Thyāsapu* of Chandraman Joshi gives the main events and chronology of the period between 798-826 NS with the almanac correctly verified. So it can be taken to have provided a reliable date for the event of the death of Yakṣamalla. In the *Thyāsapu* Diary, it is a stray noting in f. 46 giving information of his death. Obviously H. C. Ray's statement that he died before 1476 A.D. i.e. NS 596 (DNI, I,

<sup>221</sup> Levi, II, p. 238.

<sup>222</sup> No. 566, Kaisar Library. Doc. 18 of Petech, p. 165.

<sup>223</sup> Copper plate in the shrine of Gorakhnath at Kathmandu.

<sup>224</sup> Hence forth we call this *Thyāsapu* as the *Thyāsaputa*.

<sup>225</sup> *Itihāsa Prakāsa*, II, 3, 568 abbreviated hereafter as the Bhatgaon Diary.

P. 227) is wrong. The colophon date of the ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (shown to L. D. Barnett in the British Museum) the date of which was wrongly read 596 for 796, stands in the name of Nṛpendramalla (NS 796-800) a son of Pratāpamalla, and not in that of Ratnamalla as was supposed by him.



## CHAPTER VIII

### AFTER YAKŞAMALLA

(C. 602—605 = 1482—1530 A.D.)

As we come to the period following Yakşamalla's death we are told that Nepal lay divided among his three sons, each of whom ruled as an independent sovereign within the territory allotted to him.

We must know that this is not an isolated view entertained by one or two authors. The same view is shared universally by scholars who invariably drew their information from the modern chronicles giving a story of division of the kingdom on king Yakşamalla's death.<sup>1</sup>

Opinions vary as to who was responsible for the division of the kingdom. Some say that Yakşamalla had himself caused the division.<sup>2</sup> Others, however, write that the division was forced after his death because of the internecine strife in the family.

We have no ground to challenge the statement of the modern chronicles save in details as to the division of the kingdom of Nepal on Yakşamalla's demise. But the point is that so far the ideas about the authorship and circumstances of division have not conformed to facts that appear to us in view of the colophons and stray notings made there about the events as they occurred after Yakşamalla's death.

It seems that actually the kingdom was divided formerly about forty-eight years after the death of Yakşamalla in the time of his grandsons. This was so because as long as Yakşamalla's sons lived they held the throne under joint sovereignty.

Now in this context the narrative has had to be extended to cover the time until the division obtained. The following few pages describe the nature of the joint regime and character of

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<sup>1</sup> BLI, p. 39. Wright, pp. 114, 121 (second edition).

<sup>2</sup> Petech, p. 169, CHI, VI, p. 415.

the situation where Yakṣamalla's sons ruled together as co-monarchs. We proceed to deal with the subject matter by first bringing together the various source materials in that connection.

The first document to mention sons of Yakṣamalla is the stone inscription of Lubhu dated 572 (Doc. 33 of Yakṣamalla above). It mentions three sons, Rāyamalla (eldest) Ratnamalla (second) and Raṇamalla (youngest).

Among sons of Yakṣamalla are mentioned the following in order of seniority in the stone inscription of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa dated 591 *Māgha sita navamī praśaste ṛkṣe vidheḥ śāsī sute hani aindrayoge* (Wednesday, January 30, 1471 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> at the Paśupati shrine; Rāyamalla, Ratnamalla, Raṇamalla, Rāmamalla, Arimalla and Purnamalla. According to the inscription of Tripura Sundarī (Tulachhitol, Bhatgaon) one son Rājamalla died in the life time of his father.<sup>4</sup> This was the reason he does not appear in Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's list. A copper plate inscription<sup>5</sup> of the Paśupati shrine refers to some of the above names, Jaya Rāyamalla Jaya Ratnamalla, Jaya Raṇamalla, Jaya Arimalla, Jaya Rāmamalla and to one more name Jaya Bhīmamalla promising to one another to be ever friendly and pledging in their behalf and on behalf of their successors to behave always to that end. It appears that Bhīmamalla, though a sister's son, enjoyed equal status with Rāyamalla and his brothers. Thus it appears Yakṣamalla had seven sons, of which one had predeceased him. But we also do not hear of Purnamalla any more after the inscription of 591 NS, whereas the other five

<sup>3</sup> Published partly by Petech, just near the southern gate on a slab of stone erected on the platform outside the gate of the Unmatta Bhairava inside the Paśupati courtyard. This inscription commemorates setting up of three gold finials of the temple of Bhairava.

<sup>4</sup> Dated 588 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa dvitīyā mṛgaśirā nakṣatre sādhyayoga śukravāra* (see above). According to a *Thyāsapu* he died on *Bhādra śudi 8* of the previous year.

<sup>5</sup> N. LXXIX in our Appendix.

sons appear often in documents of post-Yakṣamalla date, which suggests that these alone had outlived their illustrious father. Obviously the statement of the chronicles that Yakṣamalla had three sons is refuted by the inscriptions.

We have to be cautious also with statements in regard to the question of the division of the kingdom after Yakṣamalla. Some chroniclers have said that he effected the division of the kingdom out of his own accord and yet others opine that the division took place after his death due to force of circumstances. But both views cannot hold ground in the face of several inscriptions showing joint reigns of two or three or more sons of Yakṣamalla at one time; one inscription shows four sons along with their nephew as rulers. Although this exigency stood upto a point, and ultimately we find joint rule disappear, nevertheless the evidence is strong enough to contest successfully any proposition of a division of Nepal by Yakṣamalla himself. This also controverts the view that the division had taken place immediately after his death. We now quote the relevant lines from the ms. colophons and inscriptions produced in support of our contention. The following form the total of documents where two or more descendants of Yakṣamalla figure as joint rulers:

(1) As the document of the earliest date of this period we have a copper plate inscription<sup>6</sup> (Gorakhanātha's temple, Kathmandu) which shows that Ratnamalla and Arimalla were joint rulers in Kathmandu on NS 605 *Āśvina śukla chaturthī*. The lines run, *Om śubhamastu svasti Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladevasya Śrī Śrī Jaya Arimalladevasya vijayarājye || adya vārāha kalpe Vaivasvata Manvantare Kalijuge Jambudvīpe Bharata-khaṇḍe Himavatpāde Vāsuki kṣetre Śrī Nepāla deśe Paśupati sannidhāne Bāgmatyā paśchimakūle, Viṣṇumatyā pūrvakule, ehaiva sthāne, Śrī Kāṣṭamaṇḍapanagare, Śrī Śreyostu Samvat 605 Āśvina śukla chaturthyām tithau aṅgaravāsare* (Tuesday). This form of denoting geographical situation of Nepal is used for the first time.

(2) ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Nepal Government Museum, n. 107)

<sup>6</sup> Inscription n. LXXXV.

Colophon: *Śrīmat Śrī Śrī Rd Pbh Jaya Rāyamalladevasya, Śrī Śrī Jaya Rātnamalladevasya, Śrī Śrī Jaya Raṇamalladevasya vijaya rājye | Śreyostu Samvat 605 Āsvini śukla dvitīyā chitrā nakṣatre aindrayoge ādityadine . . . sampūrṇamiti | lekhaka Lankhuvihārīya Vajrāchārya Śrī Hṛdayaseneneti dānapati Śrī Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa mahānagare aliñchha bichchhabahāla chhenyā tulādhara etc. etc.* written in Kathmandu.

(3) A copper plate inscription<sup>7</sup> attached to the temple of Yakṣeśvara in the outer courtyard of the palace at Bhatgaon. The date at the end reads, *Samvat 607 Āṣāḍha śukla saptamyām tithau*. In the beginning the inscription invokes God Śiva and the 7th and 8th lines have four names *Jaya Rāyamalla nṛpati Nepālachudāmaṇi Ratnamalla nṛpa kaṇiṣṭha Raṇamalla teṣām bhāgineya vidita Bhīmamalla teṣām vijayarājye etc.*

(4) ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Nepal Govt. Museum n. 16/115). Colophon: *Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladeva Śrī Śrī Śrī Jaya Arimalladeva ubhaya ṭhākureṇa vijayarājye likhiteyam Bhaunisāṅgha vihāra vāsita Vajrāchārya Śrī Rupaṛājena | śreyostu samvat 609 Bhādrapada māse śukla pañchamyām svāti nakṣatre saubhagya yoge ādityavāsare |*

(5) ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Nepal Govt. Museum 16/128). Colophon: *Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Rāyamalladevasya anuja Śrī Śrī Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladevasya kaṇiṣṭhānuja Śrī Śrī Śrī Jaya Raṇamalladeva tribhaya ṭhākurasya vijayarājye | dānapati Śrī Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa mahānagaryām maṇḍotolake . . . Nepālikābde dahana śāsīrase (=613) Vaiśākha śukla aṣṭamī pra navamyām maghā nakṣatre dhruvayoge budhavāsare | Samvat 613 etc.* (The same particulars are repeated).

(6) On the pedestal<sup>8</sup> of an image of Viṣṇu in the courtyard of a water conduit in Taumadhiṭol, Bhatgaon, known as Bhīmsendhārā. The record is dated 615 *Māgha pūrṇimā* and has as reigning monarchs Jaya Rāyamalla, Ratnamalla, Raṇamalla and their nephew Jaya Bhīmamalla.

<sup>7</sup> Inscription n. LXXVI in our Appendix.

<sup>8</sup> Inscription n. LXVII in our Appendix.

(7) A copper plate<sup>9</sup> in the collection of Paśupatinātha. At the end, *śreyostu Nepālīka samvatsara 615 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa trayodaśyām tithau, rohiṇī nakṣatre, gaṇḍayoge, śanaīścharavāsare, tasmindine śubhamastu sarvvadā*. The very first word in the inscription is the name Rāmamalla. The beginning verse is in praise of Lord Paśupatinātha and invokes his blessing calling him as witness. Then three brothers are mentioned Jaya Ratnamalla, Jaya Raṇamalla, Jaya Arimalla and their nephew Jaya Bhīmamalla. Two more names the elder brother (*Dādā*), Rāyamalla and Rāmamalla are mentioned a little later. As the language of the inscription is difficult to understand, the context of the reference could not be defined. But it appears that this is an agreement entered into by these persons for mutual goodwill and peace.

(8) A copper plate<sup>10</sup> attached to the shrine of Śākyamuṇi at the Mimnamibahāl (Ombahāl, Kathmandu) : *Śreyostu Samvat 616 Jyeṣṭha śukla ekādaśyām pra dvādaśyām viśākha pra svāti nakṣatre pariḥayoge somavāsare*. Another date coming two days after the above date is mentioned when the *homa* (sacrifice) was completed. Then *Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladevasya vijayarājye Śrī Śrī Jaya Arimallasya vijayarājye* follow. From the inscription it follows that Ratnamalla and Arimalla were ruling at the time.

(9) ms. *Syāddantakośa sāra* (Kaisar Lib. n. 234). Colophon: *Svasti || Jyeṣṭha Śrī Jaya Rāyamalla nṛpatir Nepālachūdāmaṇi, stanmadhyānuja kaṁsa keśavavali Śrī Ratnamalla prabhuh | kāniṣṭo Raṇamalladeva sukṛti kārūṇya ratnākarasteṣām vara bhāgineya viditaḥ Śrī Bhīmamallo nṛpaḥ || teṣām nṛpāṇām vijayarājye || atra || hi || pātrottame saptakuṭumba madhye, pradhānataḥ Śrī tribhayaḥ pramukhyaḥ | tīkṣṇā pratāpāirjīta vairi vṛndaḥ Pratāpasimhaḥ paramam bibhāti || anyachcha || Jayati Amṛtasimha śatrumātāṅgasimhaḥ . . . sadasi vachasisimha saṅga chetūṅgasimhaḥ || nijakula Vanasimhaḥ Kāminīkelisimha | Lalitapura varesmin sarvasāmantasimhaḥ | ataścha || satkāminī-*

<sup>9</sup> Inscription n. LXXVIII in our Appendix.

<sup>10</sup> Inscription n. LXXIX in our Appendix.

*mohana pañchabāno Śrī pātravaṁśārṇṇava jātachchandraḥ  
vidyāvinodena viśuddhabuddhiḥ virājate Rāghavasimhadhīraḥ ||  
apicha || Śrīman Manikumārasya pādāmbhojakaṣatpadāḥ || Jiyat  
Kusumasimhoyam, Kīrtisimha sutaḥ sudhīḥ || aparancha || satkīrti  
kusumākīrṇaḥ puṇyā saurabha nirbharah | Harṣapālo bibhat-  
yuchchaiḥ kalpavr̥kṣa ibāparaḥ || tadavasare udbhūte | dvija-  
vaṁśa nirmmalatare Gārggasya satsantatau, deśe Śrī Lalitāpura  
pravidite mādhyanhindanī sākḥake | Śrī Padmadevottamaḥ  
sākhyā dharmā sayohi nyāya guṇavān samrājate bhūtale |  
tasyātmajaścha || nānāpurāṇa nṛpaṇīti kathā kalāpa, Śrī  
Chandragomi rachita malāśabda śāstra . . . Śrī Ratnadeva  
itīyaḥ sukṛti babhūva || prītyartha Ratnadeveṣu Śubharājena  
likhyate | vinduyugma rase yāte Śrī Nepālīka vatsare, Vaiśākha-  
sya site pakṣe dvitīyāyām prayatnataḥ (= 620 Vaiśākha śukla  
2) etc.*

(10) ms. *Syāddantakośa* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 5496). Colophon: *Svasti Jyeṣṭhah Śrī Jaya Rāyamalla nṛpatir Nepālachūḍā-  
maṇīstanmadhyānuja kanmakeśava valī Śrī Ratnamalla prabhu,  
kaṇiṣṭho Raṇamalladeva sukṛtti kārūṇya ratnākarasteṣām vara  
bhāginya viditaḥ Śrī Bhīmamallo nṛpaḥ | teṣām nṛpānām vijaya-  
rājye vinduyugmerase yāte (= 620) Śrī Nepālīka vatsare  
Vaiśākhasya site pakṣe dvitīyāyām prayatnataḥ etc ||*

(11) A stele<sup>11</sup> on the platform of a small temple of Hari-Hara at Chasapvāl ṭol, Bhatgaon. The date is 624, but other particulars are missing on account of the letters being peeled off. It has in the middle *Svasti Śrī Nepālamaṇḍaleśvara Śrī Śrī Jaya Rāyamalladevaḥ Śrī Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladeva Śrī Śrī Jaya Raṇamalladevaḥ Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhīmamalladevaḥ eteṣām bhūpālānām vijayarājye etc.*

(12) ms. *Pañcharakṣāsūtram* (Br. Museum Or. 6903). Colophon: *Deyadharmoyam pravaramahāyāna yāyinaḥ paramo-  
pāsaka Jivarājasimhasya, . . . | Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Ratna-  
malladevasya Śrī Śrī Jayaintramalladevasya vijayarāje || dāna-  
pati Śrī Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa mahānagara ehaiva . . . tāmrakāra  
Jivarājasya bhāryā, . . . || Śrīman Nepālīka Samvat 624*

<sup>11</sup> Inscription n. LXXXII in our Appendix.

*Mārgasīra māse śukla pakṣe pañchamyām tithau śravaṇa nakṣatre dhruvayoge brhaspativāsareti ||*

(13) An inscription on the pedestal of the stone image of Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa in Hanumān Ghāṭ in Bhatgaon.<sup>12</sup> About half of the inscription is damaged, but in the other half the following passage is discernible: *Svasti Jyeṣṭha Śrī Jaya Rāyamalla nṛpatiḥ Nepālachūdāmaṇistanmadhyānuja kaṁśakeśava-valī Śrī Ratnamalla jayī kaṁṣṭha Raṇamalladeva sukṛtiḥ teṣām vara bhāgineya viditaḥ Śrī Bhīmamalla bibhuḥ || taṣām vijayarājye*. The date portion is completely lost. But the record must belong to any year before the death of Rāyamalla.

(14) ms. *Saptavaradhāraṇināmasaṅgīti* (Recently acquired by the Darbar Library). Colophon: *Rājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhṭṭārakau Śrī Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladevasya Śrī Sri Jaya Indramalladevasya | taduvayasya vijayarājye | deyadharmoyam pravara mahāyānāyāyina Śrī Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa mahānagare nhulachchha ṭolake . . . || Samvat 625 Māgha māse kṛṣṇa pakṣe chaturthyām tithau uttaraphālguṇi para hasta nakṣatre sukrama para dhṛteyoge brhaspativāsare pratiṣṭhā | sampūrṇam-iti ||*

(15) A stone inscription<sup>13</sup> attached to the large *chaitya* at Kīrtipur. *Śreyostu samvat 635 Phālguṇa śukla pūrṇimayām tithau pūrva bhādra nakṣatre śiva pra sādhyayoge budhavāsare svasti Lalitapaṭṭane Śrīmat Paśupati charaṇa kamala sevita Śrī Śrī Māneśvarī varalabdha prasādita Pbh Pm Md Śrī Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladevasya Śrī Śrī Raṇamalladevasya Śrī Sri Rāma-malladevasya vijayarājye Śrī Māniggalake, etc.* The donors belong to Patan.

(16) A passage written in a different hand on the back side of the last page of the ms. *Vasantapūjā* (in the possession of Lakṣmibhakta Joshi of Bhatgaon): *Vikhyāto sura padma-lochanaiti Śrī Rāyamallonṛpaḥ Śrī kaṁsachyanta sarvva śāstra inpunaḥ Śrī Ratnamallobibhuḥ | viraike Raṇamalladeva sukṛti etaiścha sampālita, tasyanagaraścha bhṛtyakajanā Bhaktapura-*

<sup>12</sup> Inscription n. LXXXI in our Appendix.

<sup>13</sup> Inscription n. LXXXIX in our Appendix.

*śchāgatāh*, etc. The ms. carries the date 577 *Kārtika site 5*. But I do not think that this date has anything to do with the colophon.

No documents, either mss. or inscriptions, are available in the single name of any son of Yakṣamalla except Rāyamalla, Ratnamalla and Raṇamalla. We have the following records belonging to the reign of Rāyamalla.

(17) ms. *Bhagavatgītā* (Kaisar Lib. n. 710). Colophon: *Śrīman Nepālarājye ripukulatimira dhvaṁsana chandana śīroratna sandīptapādojjyā Śrī Rāyamallo sura suramathanasyāvātāro narendra | tasyanareśvarasya vijayarājye*. The ms. was written by one Jivadatta for one Mānikamalla being addressed as *nṛpati*. The date is *rasagagana kumāre tarhi Nepālavarṣe (= 606) śamana tithi vichitre śukramāsasya kṛṣṇe dinakara-divase saubhāgya yoge*, etc.

(18) ms. *Devīkavacham* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 802). Colophon: *Samvat 609 Kārtika śukla 12 revatī nakṣatre śuddhijoge budhavāsare Śrī Jaya Rāyamallasya vijayarājye dvijavara Śrī Udayaviprasya pustakam likhitam*. The place where the ms. was written is not given.

(19) A copper plate inscription<sup>14</sup> attached to the temple of Mahādeva (Yakṣeśvara) in the outer courtyard of the royal palace, Bhatgaon just in front of the main wing of the palace with the 55 windows. It is dated *Samvat 614 Bhādrapada śukla chaturthyām tithau*. It commemorates the event of a ceremony granting some land for the worship of God Śiva known under the vocable of Yakṣeśvara by Śrī Śrī Jaya Rāyamalla prabhu ṭhākura who attended along with the entire royal family and the announcement of the grant was made in the presence of all his subjects.

(20) ms. *Gītagovindam* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 468). Colophon: *Nepālerasachandra ṣaṇmukhamukhe samvatsare (= 616) Bhādreṃsare site tithau vidhimukhevāre suradvitguro rājye Śrī Jaya Rāyamalla nṛpateḥ chintāmane prārthinām*, etc.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Inscription n. LXXVIII in our Appendix.

<sup>15</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 16.



(21) ms. *Kuśundikarma* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1697). Colophon: *Śrī Rāmājuse choyā* (written) *samvat 620 Mārgaśira kṛṣṇa saptamī somavāsare* (Monday) *Rājā Śrī Śrī Rāyamalladevasya vijayarājye, etc.*

Ratnamalla's reign is mentioned singly in documents as below.

(22) A Paubā, painted scroll (in the possession of Musée Guimet, Paris). Two lines inscribed below the picture *Śreyostu samvat 608 Vaiśākha śūkla tritīyā somavāsare Vajradhara Vajradhātveśvarī pratiṣṭhā bhavati yajamāna ātmaja yajamānasya santāna br̥ddhiras̥tu śubhamastu || Rd Jaya Ratnamallasya vijayarājye etc.*

(23) Paubā (painted scroll)<sup>16</sup> with the *maṇḍala* of Amoghasiddhi, the letters inscribed below the picture are read: *Śrī Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladeva prabhu thākurasya vijayarājye . . . || samvat 625 Māgha kṛṣṇa tritīyāyām tithau ||*

(24) A copper plate inscription<sup>17</sup> attached to the main shrine of Nhakabahil in Kathmandu. It reads, *Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladevasya vijayarājye*. There are three dates for the setting up of different images at the *vihāra*. The first date is 628 *Vaiśākha śūkla pūrṇimā svāti nakṣatre suddhiyoge śanaiścharavāsare*. The second is 629 *chaturdaśī* (*Jyeṣṭha*). The third date is 631 *Mārga kṛṣṇa saptamī para aṣṭamī pūrvaphālguni nakṣatre viskumbha para prītiyoge śanaiścharvāra* (Saturday). This was the date, at which the final ceremony was completed.

(25) A copper plate inscription<sup>18</sup> attached to the main shrine of *Mīmnamī vihāra* in Kathmandu. At the end the date mentioned is 629 *Mārgaśira śūkla pañchadaśyām br̥haspativāre* (Thursday), which was also the day of lunar eclipse under the victorious reign of *Śrī Pm-Pbh Jaya Ratnamalladevasya vijayarājye*.

(26) ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (British Museum Or. 12593).<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> In the possession of the British Museum.

<sup>17</sup> Inscription n. LXXXV in our Appendix.

<sup>18</sup> Inscription n. LXXIV in our Appendix.

<sup>19</sup> Not listed in the Catalogue.

Colophon: *Śreyostu samvat 631 Vaiśākha śukla tritīyāyām tithau mṛgeśira nakṣatraḥ dhṛtiye yoge budhavāsare sampūrṇa likhitamiti || pravara mahāyānāyāyina paramopāsaka . . . . || Śrīman M Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladevasya vijayarāje || Śrī Kāntipurī mahānagaravare Śrī Śrī Jamalamba sannidhāne ehaivasthānaḥ Śrī Dharmachakra mahāvihāravasthitāḥ bhikṣu Śrī Abhayarājakasya . . . . || Śrī Jayachandra mahāvihārāvasthita Vajrāchārya Śrī Jayasimharājena likhitam |*

(27) A copper plate<sup>20</sup> attached to the wall of the main shrine of *Viśvakarmā vihāra* in Kathmandu. *Śreyostu Nepālika samvat 631 Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa dvitīyā tithau Jyeṣṭha ghaṭi 10 vihāya mūla nakṣatra sādhyayoge budhavāsare etc | Md Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladevasya vijayarājye etc.*

(28) A gold plated copper inscription of the temple of *Gorakhanātha*, Kathmandu. In the beginning we have *Svasti Śrīman Nepāleśvara Śrī Śrī Ratnamalladevasya vijayarājye*. At the end the date reads, *samvat 632 Aṣāḍha kṛṣṇa chaturdaśī para amāvāsya punarvasu nakṣatre vajrayoge somadine (Monday)*.<sup>21</sup>

(29) A stone inscription<sup>22</sup> attached to the wall adjacent to the image of *Mahānkāl* at *Guitabahil*, Patan. *Nepālatchhala gate śaramagnisvāde (= 635) māse śuchi kṛṣṇa chaturdaśī charikṣaditih harṣanayoge bhaumecha vāre etc. || Nepālādhipati Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladeva prabhu thākurasa vijayarājye || Śrī Śrī Lalitāpurīnagare evasthāne Śrī Gustala mahāvihāre mūlachoka etc. etc.*

(30) A stone inscription at *Nhubaha* within *Gabāhal*, Patan. *Svasti Śrīmat Nepālamaṇḍale Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladeva [sya vijayarājye] . . . . . samvat 639 . . . . . tritīyāyām tithau anurādhā nakṣatre saubhagya yoge . . . . . vāsare etc.*

<sup>20</sup> Inscription n. LXXXVI in our Appendix.

<sup>21</sup> Sans. Sandeśa, I, 6, p. 6. Also our inscription n. LXXXIV in our Appendix.

<sup>22</sup> Inscription n. LXL in our Appendix.

(31) A seven line inscription on the socle of the Sun God.<sup>23</sup> The lines 3 and 4 have *Pm Rd Śrī Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladeva prabhu ṭhākurasya vijayarājye*. The first two lines have date 640 *Pausa kṣṛṇa pra(tipadā) . . . . . sampūrnah*.

(32) ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (As. Soc. Bengal n. 9970).<sup>24</sup> *Deyadharmoyam pravara mahāyānāyāyinaḥ paramopāsaka Md Pm Pbh Kaṁsanārāyaṇāvatāra Śrī Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladevasya vijayarājye Āryavartabhūme Nepāladeśe Śrīman Śrī Lalitāpurī mahānagare Śrī Māniggalake Nogalasthāne . . . |phalavāptayeti| . . . . likhiteyam Śrī Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa mahānagarasthāne chaitramākūṭyayām tvalake . . . . |Śreyostu Samvat 640 Śrāvaṇa māse kṣṛṇa pakṣe pañchamīyām tithau revatī nakṣatre śūlayoge (?) śukravāsare*.

(33) We have a single manuscript in the name of Jaya Raṇamalla. This is the ms. *Pāṇḍavavijayam*.<sup>25</sup> The portion giving the date is missing but the authors name is noted in the *ādivakya, nikhila samastachakra chūḍāmaṇi sakala gandharbha vidyā guṇaratnākareṇa . . . . Nepāleśvara vīranārāyaṇāvatāreṇa Jaya Raṇamalla bhūpālena* etc.

This ms. mentions *Vaināpurī* (modern Banepā), where the drama was staged. It is said that this town was protected by Raṇamalla according to religious laws. In the beginning, however, Rāyamalla figures as the sovereign of the earth. He is described as the son of Karpūradevī. In answer to *Bhr̥ṅgī's* question as to who was the king of *Nepālabhūmaṇḍala*, Lord Gaṇeśa says 'it was Rāyamalla'. And when the question is put about the ruler of the area केन भूपेन पालितम् the answer is 'by Raṇamalla'. It appears that Raṇamalla was the immediate ruler of the area while Rāyamalla was being acknowledged as the main ruler. Then referring to the audience (*vividhaguṇālankri-taparivridhasyati manohara parisadiyam puratah*), it says 'yasyā-

<sup>23</sup> I have not seen the image. But I have examined the rubbing of the inscription which is in the possession of *National Bibliotheque*, Paris, n. LXXXIX in our Appendix.

<sup>24</sup> CSMASB, I, p. 118.

<sup>25</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 694; Published Catalogue, III, pp. 28-30.

*masaujayatu Mādhavamalladevestasyānuja nṛpati Keśavamalla eṣa . . . . | apicha Nāthalladevī ramaṇo bhuvane prasiddhaḥ kīrtiprabhādhavalitakhiladigvibhāga pratyarthivīra kumudakara chandarochi samrājate Vijayamalla kumārakoyam<sup>20</sup> ||*

(34) One more inscription<sup>27</sup> is found in Banepā (Okutol). The inscription is dated NS 636 and runs: *Śreyostu Samvat 636 Māgha māse śukla pakṣe pūrṇamāsyām tithau pauṣya nakṣatre āyusmānyoge śaniścharavāsare karkaṭarāśi gata chandramasi kumbharāśigata savitari* and earlier has in the beginning *Śrī Jaya Raṇamalladeva prabhu thākurasya vijayarājye etc.*

(35) There is also an inscription<sup>28</sup> of his reign at Nālā two miles north-east of Banepā. This is incised on the pedestal of a stone image of Gaṇeśa at a quarter called Laiku. This reads: *Samvat 637 Vaiśākha śukla tritīya tithau kritikā nakṣatre pra rohinī nakṣatre śobhanayoge budhavāsare Śrī Śrī Jaya Raṇamalladeva prabhu thākurasa vijayarājye etc.*

Thus far we have failed to trace any documents in the name of any other son of Yakṣamalla from the Nālā-Banepā-Pannauti area.

(36) Recently we have traced a document giving in a noting the date for the death of Ratnamalla, and this certainly simplifies the issue of the regnal dates of his successors. The above document is a stray leaf attached to the copy of the *Amarakośa* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 3490). The information about Ratnamalla's death is as follows: *abde Nepāla vṛtte gaganayugarase (= 640) māsi Bhādre cha śukle dvādaśyām chātigaṇḍe śravaṇa saha gate vāsare sūrya putre | tyaktvā saptāṅgalakṣmī vipuladhana mahākranditā naika loke hā svāmi Ratnamalla daśa yuvatisahā Rudra loke cha jagmu. On Saturday Bhādra śukla 12 King Ratnamalla died and with his dead body ten young women were burnt; the people mourned his death. The ms. bears the date of writing, Śreyostu Samvat 637 Śrāvana śukla chaturthyām*

<sup>26</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 115, Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 694. Also see published Catalogue of the Darbar Library Vol. III, pp. 28-30. H. P. Shastri has given an incomplete reading.

<sup>27</sup> Inscription n. LXLI in our Appendix.

<sup>28</sup> Inscription n. LXLIII in our Appendix.

*tithau uttraphālguni nakṣatre*. It seems that the passage about Ratnamalla was added by the copyist three years after the writing of the ms. was completed.

(37) A stone inscription<sup>29</sup> attached to the northern upper wall of the courtyard of the water conduit at Thalachchhiṭol in Bhatgaon. The record invokes the God of the full moon and is followed by *svasti Śrī Raṇamalla prithivīpatinām Śrī Bhīma-malla nṛpa īśvarāṇām Śrī Vīramalla Śrī Jitamalla . . . vijaya-rājye || Bhaktāpurau Śrīnagaryām etc etc. || śreyostu samvat 643 Vaiśākha māse śukla pakṣe pūrṇimāśyām tithau ghaṭi 43 Viśāṣa nakṣtare ghaṭi 21 variyāna yoge ghaṭi 25 budhavāsare thvakunhu etc.* (April-May of 1523 A.D.). The letters after Jitamalla are effaced but there should be one more royal name. Either the name is that of Prāṇamalla, co-ruler of Bhatgaon with Jitamalla or Sūryamalla, son of Ratnamalla.

The above mss., colophons and inscriptions are the materials upon which we have to draw our conclusion in regard to the state of affairs in Nepal prevailing after the death of Yakṣamalla. Obviously the following readily emerge after consideration of all the points in that connection:

(1) that Rāyamalla and Ratnamalla were securely placed in Bhatgaon and Kathmandu (with Patan) respectively; it might be that they held these cities and areas under their jurisdiction each as governor while Yakṣamalla was alive; later after his death each became the de facto sovereign in his sphere; this is best shown by the existence of documents in the single name of each in their respective areas for all the time since the very beginning. This means that the other sons had no de facto position in these areas,

(2) that Ratnamalla controlled though even loosely some portion of the area under Patan including the city,

(3) that Rāyamalla, Ratnamalla and Raṇamalla were the most important of the sons,

(4) that Raṇamalla was in control of the area east of Sāṅgā and round about Banepā,

<sup>29</sup> Inscription n. LXLVI in our Appendix.

(5) that Arimalla until his death was a sort of junior co-partner in Kāntipur (Kathmandu),

(6) that Rāmamalla was a co-ruler with Ratnamalla in Patan,

(7) that in theory all the sons of Yaksamalla, namely Rāyamalla, Ratnamalla, Raṇamalla, Rāmamalla, Arimalla and their nephew Bhīmamalla were regarded as joint sovereigns of the kingdom of Nepal,

(8) and that Rāyamalla being the eldest enjoyed the supreme position of the eldest member of the family, though all this was just formal. He must have been the prince *inter pares* in the seat of royalty.

We have seen that documents both inscriptions and manuscripts belonging to Kathmandu and Bhatgaon exist in the name of three or more of these brothers (Doc. above). This may lead to a suggestion that no single of them had exclusive mastery over any area. But the fact that some of them have in their names single documents in a certain area shows that there was an impression in such areas to take the person figuring in the document in the capacity of a ruler as one actually in control of affairs in the locality. The mention of one name as ruling is recognition of the *de facto* position of the person who figured in the document. Therefore it is not wide of the mark to say that Rāyamalla, Ratnamalla and Raṇamalla were *de facto* single rulers in the areas suggested above.

There is also the question of Arimalla who figures in many documents as a co-ruler with Ratnamalla in Kathmandu (Doc. 1, 4, 8). One can suggest a status of equality enjoyed by the two. But this will be wrong. Because Ratnamalla enjoys full royal epithets in the same document, it establishes his superior position and power. If at all a co-partner, Arimalla must have been a junior one. It appears that Ratnamalla shared sovereign status also with one Jaya Indramalla (Doc. n. 13 above) in Kathmandu. Probably he was the son of Arimalla. But nothing definite could be said of him. In any case he did not wield real power, the reference was just a formal recognition of his position as a member of the royal family. The same can

be said of Rāmamalla. But we shall see a little later that Patan and Pharping had their own peculiar situation to face. Here since about 480 NS the feudatories paid only nominal allegiance to the Malla sovereign. This means that whatever jurisdiction Ratnamalla and Rāmamalla enjoyed over these areas, they were not treated more than sovereigns in name.

In the documents which contain the names of brothers as rulers, the status of *primus inter pares* is always obtained by Rāyamalla, but in some he is designated as *Rājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. Ratnamalla also has the privilege to be given similar status and designation, but only where Rāyamalla does not figure.

However, the full royal epithets added to Rāyamalla or Ratnamalla should not be construed to treat them as *de jure* sovereigns. Such they were not. In theory the throne was held jointly by the brothers and their nephew. Even as we have Ratnamalla adopting full royal titles in the last documents of the period, we find it much too difficult to recognise the position as conveyed by the use of these titles. If Ratnamalla had tried to act as a full sovereign, he would have violated the principle on which the joint rule as understood in the circumstances was functioning. Ordinarily the eldest brother had unchallengeable title to the throne. So it was not Ratnamalla but Bhuvanamalla, son of Rāyamalla, who could rightfully claim the throne of undivided Nepal or Ratnamalla had to force it through a *coup d'état*.

It seems that a division of territory was inherent in the very situation as it emerged under the joint rule. We have marked that some of these co-sovereigns were each functioning as a governor in some area or the other. This must have been at the outset determined for reasons of administrative convenience. But eventually the area under the governorship came to constitute the unit for the principality rising in the circumstances. In addition to this the institution of joint rule tended to create a vacuum at the centre, which directly tended to strengthen and stabilise the individual rulers in each principality.

The date of Rāyamalla's death is yet uncertain. The later

chronicles assign him a reign of 15 years. But he figures in documents upto NS 624. Surely he reigned much longer. From NS 625 to 634 no documents show joint reign. In 635 we have Ratnamalla and three others ruling together (doc. n. 14). Rāyamalla does not appear here. So he must have died anytime between NS 624 and 635. Ratnamalla's documents using the epithet *Pm Pbh Md* become numerous since NS 629. Although all of these belong to Patan and Kathmandu they might reflect assumption of a position of supreme royalty by him on the death of Rāyamalla. We can therefore suggest that Rāyamalla died sometime before NS 629 and after 625.

Arimalla must have died sometime after *Mārga*, 624 as he does not figure in the inscription of Bhatgaon belonging to that year, but of probably later month. According to a *Thyāsapu* he died on *Vaiśākha śukla 12* of NS 624.<sup>30</sup> A *Thyāsapu* written in Patan in 636 has the date of the death of Rāmamalla in 636 *Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa*.<sup>31</sup> Now Ratnamalla, Raṇamalla and Bhīmamalla were the three men left. But according to the document 36 above Ratnamalla died on 12 *Bhādra śukla* of NS 640 (= September-October, 1520 A.D.). Ratnamalla must have functioned as the first sovereign for the time since Rāyamalla's death until his own. It appears that Patan ceased to be under Yakṣamalla's successor from about this time. For another ninety years there is no record in Patan, which could be ascribed to the Malla family.

But the sons of Yakṣamalla were not better placed than their father in regard to their authority over Patan. The document No. 9 above shows again the three *mahāpātras* belonging to the traditional seven families ruling over this area with considerable authority. We have some inscriptions in the name of Ratnamalla and his brothers purporting to show their sovereignty over Patan. In these the *mahāpātras* are noted but we have seen that an inscription of Kīrtipur dated NS 635

<sup>30</sup> This particular *Thyāsapu* is in the possession of Dhanesvara Sharma of Bhatgaon. Published in *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, I. I.

<sup>31</sup> In the possession of Eisvaradhara Sharma.



mentions the *mahāpātras* along with their sovereigns (n. LXXXVI in our Appendix). There is yet one more inscription, this also of Kirtipur and of the same year, which mentions certain ceremonies to have been performed in the time of Pimthavihāra Mahāpātra Jayatapāla Varmā and his wife and son (LXXXV in our Appendix). As the record omits any reference to the sovereign, the all powerful position of the *mahāpātra* cannot be denied. As will follow by NS 668, one of the *mahāpātras* had been able to liquidate the other two *mahāpātras* and establish himself as the sole authority in Patan.

There is no date standing in the name of Rāyamalla's immediate successor in Bhatgaon. Between Rāyamalla's last ascertained date, and the first of such dates of the next reign (Jitamalla-Prāṇamalla), there is a gap, which is filled by records partly belonging to the joint reign of Ratnamalla and his brothers and partly to Raṇamalla, the last surviving son of Yakṣamalla and his nephews. It appears that Bhuvanamalla, Rāyamalla's son, had not succeeded to the throne as a sovereign ruler and he must have died within the lifetime of Ratnamalla.

From an inscription of Bhatgaon (doc. 37 above) it appears that Raṇamalla and Bhīmamalla continued to exercise joint sovereignty with Vīramalla, Jitamalla and Prāṇamalla. The latter two were sons of Bhuvanamalla who was himself the son and successor of Rāyamalla. Vīramalla figures in two more documents in the ms. *Hitopadeśa* (n. 4861 ASB) he is referred to as *bhūpati* (lord of the earth).<sup>32</sup> The ms. was copied for Vīramalla's Chief Minister (*Mahāmantrī*) whose name is given as Kāyastha Bhārasimha. For the second time Vīramalla's name appears as one of the many kings and chiefs represented in the Paśupati copper plate inscription of NS 668 (see below).<sup>33</sup> As doc. n. 37 shows Vīramalla was surely connected with Yakṣamalla's line to have enjoyed the status of figuring as a joint ruler with Raṇamalla and Jitamalla. But his parentage is yet

<sup>32</sup> CSMASB, VII, p. 324, n. 5401.

<sup>33</sup> Inscription n. LXLVII in our Appendix.

unknown. He is surely one of the grandsons of Yakṣamalla. If he was a son of Yakṣamalla his name would have come for mention in Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's Paśupati inscription.

The relevant passage about Vīramalla in the ms. *Hitopadeśa* cited in the preceding paragraph is as follows:

*Audārye saukumārye sulalita vachane śambhupādārchanecha saudārye bhīma śaurye guṇigaṇa bhavane . . . . | yosau Śrī Vīramallastaraṇi kulamaṇi sarvamantreṣu jīyāt tasya bhupatermahāmantri sakala nitiguṇa ratnākarañcha Kāyastha varīśa kamala pravikāśa bhānurnaiyāyikaḥ pratyarthina saraṇinām taruṇaika chitra sarājate bhuvane vara Bhārasimha.* As the statement makes no mention of the place of writing, we do not see a territory for Vīramalla, although he seems to have enjoyed the service of a minister.

Vīramalla appears in more documents, which follow here. The following post-colophon noting in the ms. *Jaganmohan*<sup>34</sup> is of interest for the study of the history of the time under consideration.

(a) *Samvat 616 Kārtika kṛṣṇa ekādaśyām tithau ghaṭi 53½ || viśamākhyā dine | vavakarane || vasu muhūrte || sūrya horāyām hastanakṣatra ghaṭi 43 prītya ghaṭi 2 para ayuṣmān yoge || brhaspati vāsare vivāhabelā Śrī Sūryodatparatoghaṭi 7 vighaṭi 36 śukrasthita dhanulagne karkkaṭa horāyam tulatavām saka karkkaṭa dreskaṇe vṛschika rāsigate savitari kanyārāśi gate chandramasi asyām belāyam Śrī Śrī Paśupati charaṇa kamala dhūli dhūśarita śiroruha Śrīman Māneśvarī varalabdha praśā-dike Raghuvamśāvatāra dedīpyamāna Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Hṛdayamalladeva Kumārasya vivahī Śrī Śrī Śaktidevī madhuparkka samanjava karagrahaṇa mukhāvalokana kanyā dānam sa belāyam putra putrādi pauṭrādi mahārājya lakṣmī vṛddhirastu | kaligatābda 4597 Vikramābda 1553 Śakarājavarṣa 1418 Śrī Jyotiṣābda 615.*

(b) *Śrī Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladevasyam sva Rāmāyaṇa dvayakāyambusa mhyācha devīyaṇ Śrī Śrī Vīrama devī thvasa vivāhayātam || Sam 616 ||*

<sup>34</sup> Recently acquired by the Government National Library.

(c) *Samvat 616 Vaiśākha śukla ekādaśīpra dvādaśī hasta-nakṣatra variyānapra suḍḍhi bṛhaspativāra thva konhu sidhi Śrī Śrī Jaya Ratnamalladeva prabhu ṭhākurasana putra Śrī Śrī Jaya Sūryamalladevayem thvasa vivāhāyātān anka Bhārata dvayake Yambusa ||*

(d) *Samvat 621 Phālguna śukla dviṭiyayām tithau uttara-bhadra nakṣatra śukravāra thvakonhu rājakula Śvāśāya Yeta-mandoyā suvarṇakalaśāvarohaṇa divasa Śrī Śrī Jaya Udaya-malla kumāra thākurasana thavataṁ dvayaka thvamaṇḍo śubha ||*

(e) *Atha Śrī Kaligatābda 4605 atha Śrī Vikramābda 1561 atha Śakarājavarṣa 1426 atha Śriman Naipālika svasti Śreyostu samvat 624 Vaiśākha māse śukra pakṣe triṭiyayām tithau ghaṭi 39 || viṣamākhyā dine | garakarāṇe | śatamakha muhūrte | kujahorāyam | rohinī nakṣatra ghaṭi 24 || ati gandayoga ghaṭi 47 || budha vāsare || vivāha velā śrī sūryodayat parato ghaṭi 19 vighaṭi 40 || simha lagne || Karkāṭa horāyam || dhanudre karane || kanyā navāmsake || meṣa rāśi gate savitari bṛṣarāśi gate chandramasi || asyām belāyām Śrī Śrī Paśupaticharaṇa kamla dhūli dhūsarita śiroruha Śriman Māneśvarī varalabdha praśādika Raghuvamśāvatāra dedīpyamāna Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Jaya Vīramalla devasya vivāhī Śrī Śrī Ramādevyā madhuparka samanajaya karagrahaṇa mukhāvalokana kanyādānam sabelāyām vivāhe putra pauṭrādi mahārājyalakṣmī bṛddhirastu || śubhamastu ||*

(f) *Atha Śrī Kalivarṣa 4605 atha Śrī Vikramābda 1561 atha Śakābda 1426 atha Śriman Naipālika svasti Śreyostu samvat 624 Vaiśākha māse kṛṣṇa pakṣe pañchamyām tithau ghaṭi 37 śrī dine | taitila karaṇa | bidhi muhūrte || śukra horāyām || uttarāśāḍha nakṣatre ghaṭi 51 || śubha ghaṭi 2 śukra yoge || śanaīśchara vāsare vivāhābelā śrī sūyodayāt parato ghaṭi 18 vighaṭi 6 || simhalagne | karkāṭa horāyām || meṣadre karaṇe || tulā navām śake vṛṣarāśi gata savitari makara rāśi gate chandramasi asyām belāyām Śrī Śrī Śrī Paśupati charaṇa kamaladhūli dhūsarita śiroruha Śriman Māneśvarī varalabdha praśādika Raghuvamśāvatāra dedīpyamāna Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Indramalla devasya vivāhī Śrī Śrī Śitādevyā madhuparkka samanajaya karagrahaṇa mukhāvalokana sa belāyām vivāhe*

*putra pautrādi mahārājya lakṣmī bṛddhirastu || . . ||*

(g) *Samvat 627 Āṣāḍha śukla aṣṭamī hasta pra chitra nakṣatra pariḥa pra śiva yoge śukra vāsare bṛhaspatiyuta kanyā lagne thvakonhu Śrī Śrī Paśupati sthānasa yoṭā satra daya kāva suvarṇa kalasārohaṇa divasa Śrī Śrī Jaya Ratnamalla deva ṭhākurasyam thavataṁ dayakā gajudiyāta tavabhīma voyā śimghara yāta yānga gajuḍideśa doyakam yam svamdeśa no yadano śubham ||*

(h) *Atha Śrī Kaligatābda 4611 || atha Śrī Vikramābda 1567 || atha Śrī Sakarājavarṣa 1432 || atha Śrīman Nepālīka svasti śreyostu samvat 630 Vaiśākha māse śukla pakṣe dvādaśyām tithau ghaṭi 50 | vijya dine | vava karane vidhimuhūrte | śukra horāyam uttara phālgunī nakṣatra ghaṭi 26 || harṣaṇa yoga ghaṭi 43 śanaīśchara vāsare vivāhābelā śrī sūryadayāt parato ghaṭi 17 vighaṭi 15 || śimhalagne śimha horāyām śimhedre karane mithuna navamāmsake || vriśchika dvadaśamsake || Kumbha trimśamsake || Kanyā saptangake || meṣa rāsigata savitari Kanyārāsi gata chandramasi || asyām belāyām Śrī Śrī Śrī Paśupati charaṇa kamala dhūli dhūsarita etc. Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Arjunamalla deva kumārasya vivāhī Śrī Śrī Lakṣmī devyā madhuparkka samanājaya karagrahaṇa śubhamastu ||*

Except the two which gives us the dates of certain religious rites performed by Ratnamalla (Doc. g) and Udayamalla (Doc. d), all the items have been introduced to record facts of marriages of certain members of the royal family under different dates in between NS 615 and 624. These documents bring out also the names of several individuals which were not known so far.

Docs. (e) and (f) which note the dates of the marriages of Viramalla and Indramalla respectively should be taken additional documentary evidence for their reigns, because in these both obtain the most stylistic royal epithets. But Hṛdayamalla (of Doc. 1) and Arjunamalla (of Doc. h) though enjoying full royal titles are addressed as princes (Kumāra). Obviously they were not placed in the category of sovereigns. In the same way prince (Kumāra) Udayamalla (of Doc. d) does not even get royal titles.

The identity of Hṛdayamalla, Arjunamalla and Udayamalla is as obscure as that of Vīramalla and Indramalla. But as we have seen Vīramalla figures as one of the Kings ruling in NS 643 from the Bhatgaon Thalachhetol inscription. We shall see that he is also one of the signatories to the copper plate agreement of NS 668. We do not get any more documents in the name of Indramalla, Hṛdayamalla, Arjunamalla and Udayamalla.

Thus far the identity of Sūryamalla was confused in view of the wrongly framed genealogies of the chronicles and inscriptions of the 17th century (See Part-II Chapter II). But here in Doc. c he is mentioned as the son of Ratnamalla. Now as this evidence goes, there is no doubt left about his being a son and successor of Ratnamalla, the first King of Kathmandu in divided Nepal.

Now to describe the actual divisions effected.

According to Kirkpatrick's chronicle 'Roy Mull was assigned the principality of Bhatgaon, which at this period was bounded on the west by the Bhagmutty, on the east by Sangah, on the north by Kooti, and on the south by the forest of Medini Mull. Run Mull was given territory of Bunepa, which was bounded on the north by Sangachok; on the south by the forest of Medini Mull, on the west by Sangah, and on the east by Dudhkosi. Rutno or Ruttun Mull obtained kingdom of Kathmandu, bounded on the east by the Bhagmutty, on the west by Tirsoolgunga, on the north by the mountains of Neel-Khant, and on the south by the northern boundary of Patan, which according to some account, fell to the share of a daughter of Ekshah Mull; the limits assigned to this principality being to the southward, the forest of Medini Mull; to the westward, the mountains of Lamadanda, to the northward the southern line of Kathmandu and to the eastward the Bhagmutty'.<sup>35</sup>

The account given by other chronicles, Levi, BLI and Wright, tallies with the above as far as the three sons are concerned.

<sup>35</sup> Wright, second edition (1958), p. 114; Levi, II, p. 238; Kirkpatrick, pp. 266-267; Sanskrit chronicle; BLI, p. 39.

But the Sanskrit chronicle mentions also the story of Yakṣamalla's daughter being assigned Patan by her father.

We have seen how the chroniclers had erred in giving the number of Yakṣamalla's sons. They had also erred in calling Ratnamalla as his youngest son. In the preceding paragraphs we have discussed the time and circumstances of division. It was not correct to say that Yakṣamalla had of his own accord divided the kingdom amongst his sons. But nevertheless, whatever circumstances might have led to the division, it had come to stay in c. 650 NS. Apart from the author-ship of the division, the chronicles therefore were correct on the broad issue of the division.<sup>36</sup>

It must have appeared that the inscriptions and colophons we have considered so far indicate only the facts of division. No light is thrown on the number of principalities. Should we agree with the modern chroniclers about the divisions and the delimitation of boundaries they have suggested?

There is no means to test the correctness of the boundary lines. But as the evidence for the subsequent history of the Nepal Valley shows, there were existing in the one form or another all the principalities named in the chronicles. We cannot only say if Patan was ruled by a descendant of Yakṣamalla's daughter. We have seen that Bhīmamalla, a son of Yakṣamalla's daughter, was a co-ruler in the joint reign. But there is hardly a proof of his having ruled over Patan and of having bequeathed his throne to his descendant. So anything said about Patan in this connection will not help to clear the confusion. But we face a bigger issue at this stage. Were there only four principalities in existence in c. 640-50 NS? As soon as this question is satisfactorily answered the issue of delimitation will be simple.

A copper plate inscription of NS 668 deposited with the collection of Paśupatinātha helps us to obtain an idea of the

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<sup>36</sup> Levi (II, p. 238) believes that Yakṣamalla had of his own accord decided to dismember his empire.

political divisions of Nepal at the time.<sup>37</sup>

A major portion of the inscription is unintelligible because of its archaic Newāri language. However, we gather the following facts out of the record. *Śrī Śrī Jaya Vīramalladeva prabhu ṭhākura*, *Śrī Śrī Jaya Narendramalladeve prabhu ṭhākura*, *Śrī Śrī Jaya Jitamalladeva prabhu ṭhākura*, *Śrī Śrī Jaya Kṛṣṇamalladeva prabhu ṭhākura*, *Śrī Śrī Jaya Kalyānamalladeva prabhu ṭhākura*, *Śrī Śrī Jaya Prabhumalladeva prabhu ṭhākura*, *Śrī Śrī Jaya Govindamalladeva prabhu ṭhākura*, *Śrī Śrī Jaya Viṣṇusimha Bhāro*, *Hāku Rābutta*, *Vikrama Rābutta Purana Rābutta*, all these persons assembled together and on the basis of mutual respect and friendship executed the copper plate agreement in order to establish accord and tranquillity in the land. The agreement enjoins on the parties not to disturb the agreed boundary lines between the principalities and to make common cause in dealing with the aliens. By executing this copper plate, the signatories further pledged to regard any one violating the agreement as the common enemy of the rest. The record which was inscribed on NS 668 *Bhādrapada kṛṣṇa navamī* was to stand for nine years.

If the whole record was rendered intelligible, much light would have been thrown on the facts of the situation. One also does not get means to identify the various dignitaries who appear to have been signatories to the agreement. Except three of them, Narendramalla, Jitamalla and Viṣṇusimha no one is identified. Narendramalla was the grandson of Ratnamalla, who ruled in Kathmandu according to documents from 658 to 681 NS. Jitamalla is a brother of Prāṇamalla, grandson of Rāyamalla, Prāṇamalla having been a king of Bhatgaon between NS 640 to 668. Viṣṇusimha Bhāro was a high feudatory in Patan ruling from c. NS 660 to 680. We have documents to prove their time. But others remain unidentified. It appears that Jitamalla was a regent for his nephew in NS 668 because Prāṇamalla had either retired or died. The three

<sup>37</sup> Unpublished. Read below our inscription n. LXXVII in the Appendix.

*Rābuttas* referred to must belong to Pharping. This shows the principality of Pharping was yet maintaining its autonomy. But nothing can be said about Vīramalla, Kṛṣṇamalla, Kalyāṇamalla, Prabhūmalla and Govindamalla. They are undoubtedly members of the royal family as the expression *deva prabhu thākura* added to their names shows. Various places are mentioned in the document, e.g. Thānkoṭ, Kisipidi, Kīrtipur, Nakagrāma and Ṭokhā, all within the Valley and Noakoṭ and Dolkhā both far off outside. Three officials (*Bhāros*) are referred to in connection with Dolkhā. Are the above four Malla princes each ruler of some principality? A copper plate inscription of Sāñkhu of NS 679 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa navamī pūrvaphalgunī nakṣatre vaidhṛti yoge, yathākarāṇa muhūrte, śukravāsare vichharaśigate savitari simharāśigate chandramaśī*<sup>38</sup> commemorating the occasion of building the *Sālkhā Satal* by *Amṛtamalla prabhu thākura* mentions *Śankarapaṭṭana* i.e. Sāñkhu as the capital (*rājadhānī*). This record follows the Paśupati copper plate by exactly ten years. If Amṛtamalla was the ruler of Sāñkhu (even in subordinate capacity), then he must be a successor of one of the above four Malla royal personages, who might have been reigning in *Śankarapaṭṭana* in 668. All this, however, is just a guess. Besides, the problem of identification is yet unresolved. Therefore any further argument in this regard is useless. But out of all what we have collected in pursuance of the study materials at our disposal we obtain one information. This is the fact of Nepal being divided into several political entities. These were not only the principalities of Kathmandu, Bhatgaon, Banepā and Patan. There were some more. Pharping was definitely there. But other also cannot be ruled out. We have seen Sāñkhu can lay a claim to its own state-hood. We might put Dolkhā and Noakoṭ in the same category. Thus Yakṣamalla's death had produced a more serious result than what was evident from the statement of the later chronicles.

The division as it obtained in 668 seems to have remained

<sup>38</sup> *Itihasa Prakasa*, I, p. 61.



till the end of the century. The disappearance of some of these states and their merger with either Bhatgaon or Kāntipur must have come either through conquest or because the state concerned was left without a legitimate ruler. But all this process of absorption is narrated in the next part of the volume as we deal with the emergence of the two principal kingdoms of Kathmandu and Bhatgaon.

The *Thyāsapu A* (diary) in a stray noting in f. 63 states that Ratnamalla had conquered Kathmandu on *Samvat 604 Vaiśākha śukla ekādaśī*. The work was written in 826 about two hundred years after the death of Yakṣamalla. The fact mentioned might have been drawn on hearsay which was traditionally handed down from generation to generation. But the chronicles also support the story of the conquest of Kathmandu by Ratnamalla. If this was true, there was a general state of rebellion in places outside the capital. But as we have seen, the Gorakhanātha copper plate of 605 (see above) proves the fact of Ratnamalla's reign in that year.

There is one more subject with which we have to be acquainted before we close up this part of the book. The subject concerned is related to the fact of a conflict between Yakṣamalla's direct successors. This has formed the main theme of the Paśupati copper plate inscription of 615 NS (see above). Of course, we face the same difficulty in regard to the language of the document. But one thing appears to be quite clear that there had come an occasion when it was necessary for them to pledge their words of honour for the sake of preserving unity in their ranks. This pledge was undertaken on behalf of each family and prosterity. Half a dozen *pātras* (serving as ministers) of the *Rājakula* figure by name in the record viz. Pratāpasimha Bhāro, Kusumasimha Bhāro, Jagatpāla Bhāro and two others. It can be gathered that these officials who were probably ministers in the joint regime had used their efforts to fill the breach in the relationship amongst the brothers. One of these Kusumasimha is referred to as a ruler of Patan in an inscription (see next part). It may be said that ultimately because of the factor of disunity, Yakṣamalla's kingdom suffered

a division. Does this record sufficiently reflect a trend towards that end? Probably it does.

We have found Raṇamalla alive after 640 as the Bhatgaon diary<sup>39</sup> has put his death in NS 649. But it appears that his position had weakened for all these years, since the death of Ratnamalla, and he was no more regarded as a sovereign.

As documents show, it was Rāyamalla's grandson who passed as a sovereign ruler in Bhatgaon, while in Kathmandu Ratnamalla's son reigned as a king with full royal titles since 649 and this is expressed by colophons and inscriptions which appear in abundance since this date.

Whatever be the exact date of the death of Yakṣamalla, his removal from the scene brought to Nepal chaos and disintegration. Of course, formal unity of the country continued to be maintained for some time more under the joint rule of his sons, but ultimately Nepal was divided into three principalities, two assigned to each of the two descendants of his respectively, while the third had declared autonomous under a feudatory. Two of these, Bhatgaon and Kāntipur were important states and existed for about two centuries and half enjoying full independence until they were absorbed by Gorkhā, one of the hill states of West Nepal into a larger domain called Nepal. The third, the state of Patan, also continued to maintain its own entity under one dynasty or another except for one occasion (c. 720-739), while it had become a part of Kāntipur. We found that Rāyamalla got for himself the portion of the country east of the river Bāgmati, with Bhatgaon and the Sāngā Valley and Banepā and farther east and all the territories lying between Sāngā and Kutī in the north. Ratnamalla initially received the portion west of the river Bāgmati along with Patan upto Triśuli Gaṇḍak covering territories as far as Russoa pass on the Tibetan border. According to one chronicle Medinimalla received the territory lying east of Banepā up to the river Dudhkośī. But the

<sup>39</sup> This contains noting on dates of important events. Published in *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, II, 2. I have called it the Bhatgaon Diary. The original is in possession of Dhaneśvara Sharma.

name Medinimalla does not appear in the list of names of Yakṣamalla's sons as given by inscriptions. It was said that Raṇamalla received the portion between Sāṅgā and Banepā, and he had pushed his share of territory to the region of present day Mount Everest. But Raṇamalla's kingdom was merged with Bhatgaon in about NS 650 after his death. Patan with autonomy at the hands of a different dynasty of ruler ignored Yakṣamalla's descendants altogether for at least a century, after which it was absorbed in Kāntipur to separate again as an independent unit with one of the sons of the Kāntipur rulers as its king.

### EPILOGUE

We now close our narrative and with this closure we also leave behind the image of a united Nepal, which gives place to a state of political division never seen earlier in our period. This division was the last phase in the history of medieval Nepal, which at the end was to see restoration of political unity and stability after nearly 250 years. We have no reliable account of the causes of the division; it is also not safe to imagine causes, while these are not available from trustworthy source materials. But this was a very crucial development of events in our history. Instances of joint reign in various forms were not unknown to our history; but so far we had not heard of more than one independent kingdom of Nepal. This time, however, such a situation was to really develop and the division of the kingdom further perpetuated to last for quite a long time. The next part of the volume deals with the history of divided Nepal. It was true that the cultural heritage of Nepal was not undermined in this period and arts and crafts continued to flourish under the patronage of the rulers of divided Nepal. Nepal also did not fall a prey of Turco-Afghan attacks because of its natural seclusion and its culture remained untouched by Islamic influences. Till the British rose as a country power in India in the eighteenth century, there was no threat to Nepal's independence either. But there was no peace and tranquillity as these rulers were involved in internecine quarrels carried to the pitch and

as more than often they intrigued against one another over petty issues, which occasionally led to civil war. This was a very unfortunate aspect of the political division that came into being in the aftermath of Yakṣamalla's death. In the atmosphere of unrest that resulted, the Nepalese people suffered terribly. The larger mass of the people were impoverished as industry and trade declined, and agricultural fields were laid waste because of plunder carried by mutually fighting parties. Their plight was simply miserable. The new Nepal kingdoms were not viable units; economically they had inadequate resources, their revenue was meagre, yet kings individually had to support the life of pomp and splendour, and finance a protracted civil war. The people were hard pressed also on this account as the whole burden of taxation fell on them. Thus we confront a progressively deteriorating situation both in the economic and political spheres, which ensued after two independent kingdoms and more autonomous states came into existence. The account of the period forms an unhappy chapter in the history of medieval Nepal.

In my opinion the system of joint reign, which often appeared in special circumstances from time to time was responsible for the political division of the country. But the joint reign had not appeared for the first time in 602. In the past there were many occasions when the joint reign had been a special feature of the situation. Only 60-70 years earlier, we witness a reign of three brothers in the circumstances following the death of Sthitimalla. In the initial phase of our history joint reign had held ground for sometime in the form of *dvairājya* or *ardharājya*. The latter involved also political division but the sovereignty of the senior king prevailed over every area. The *dvairājya* also might mean territorial divisions and separate kingdoms, but the common bond of a senior king ensured unity. What is peculiar to the conditions that emerged in 602 is that while in the past joint reign had of itself disappeared within the life span of a generation, this time it created political divisions which were to crystallise into separate kingdoms for many years to come. It so happened that only one partner had survived in the case

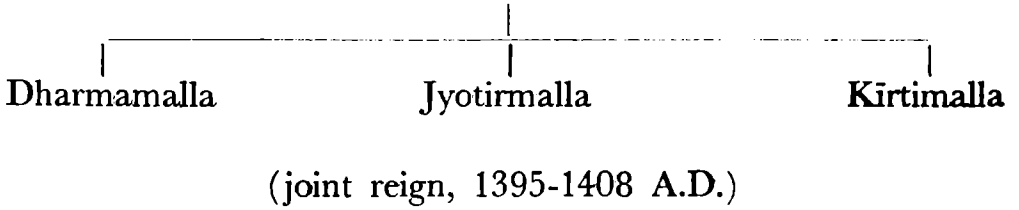
of the reign of the three sons of Sthitimalla and he had continued to reign as the sole ruler, where upon his son could succeed. In the earlier case also the surviving member, Lakṣmīkāmadeva was allowed to rule over the kingdom as sole king. In the latter instance the *ardharājya* was liquidated. As we come to the joint reign of Yakṣamalla's sons we notice one thing remarkable in the situation. They had not only functioned as joint kings as far as the throne of the kingdom of Nepal was concerned but the three of them had each set up themselves as de facto rulers of the areas in their respective jurisdiction. Besides this, Rāyamalla and Ratnamalla left successors to inherit the separate units they had governed. This led to bipartition of the kingdom of Nepal. It is possible that the feudatories of Pharping and Patan might have encouraged the tendency towards disunity in order to be able to function independently in the absence of a powerful central authority. Thus the political division of Nepal was sustained by the circumstances prevailing at the time. Consolidation of separatist tendencies was a matter of time, which came as the bipartition took a final shape in 650 or so.

*Genealogy*

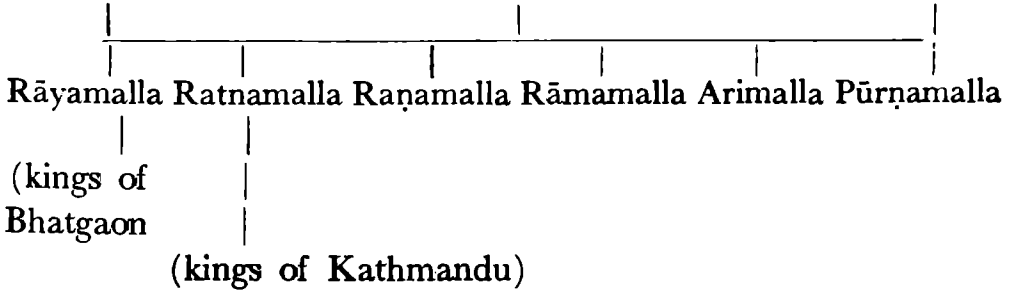
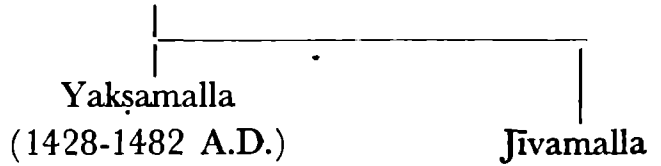
*Jaya Sthitimalla to Jaya Yakṣamalla*

Jayaśihamalla  
 |  
 Jayatūṅgamalla  
 |  
 Rudramalla  
 |  
 Nāyakadevī  
 |  
 Rājallādevī

Jaya Sthitimalla married to Rājallādevī  
 (1382-1395 A.D.)



Jyotirmalla  
 (1408-1428 A.D.)



## CHAPTER IX

### SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF NEPAL IN THE MIDDLE AGES UPTO THE 16TH CENTURY A.D.

Before we begin the next part of the history of Nepal it is imperative that we now turn to describing the social and economic condition of Nepal in the period under review.

As it goes, this subject is much important for the student of Nepalese history in view of the new forces working in the fields of polity and religion at the time.

In the part II of our volume the last chapter is similarly devoted to a description of the social and economic condition of the period covered by the book. But as conditions in general remain practically the same from the 13th century to the 18th century A.D. we might suggest that we have planned to treat the two chapters as providing supplementary and complementary data on the subject in many respects.

#### I

### THE MEDIEVAL SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION IN NEPAL AS IT EXISTED TILL THE 15TH CENTURY A.D.

#### PRELIMINARY

There is practically no literature on the subject of medieval administration in Nepal. The following passages are offered to contain preliminary observation on the subject with the hope that this will eventually lead to a thorough study of the subject of the administrative institutions in Nepal as they existed in the medieval age.

One will find that the source materials for the observation are much limited. There is absolutely nothing that would even distantly suggest a description of any institution of the day. No idea of the general structure of administration is obtained

either from the epigraphic records or from the chronicles. Obviously we suffer from a great handicap in attempting to handle the task. The present work, therefore, is so much inadequate in its scope. All that we have done here is to base our conclusions on certain terms and phraseology associated with the titles of the sovereigns and feudatories used in the ms. colophons and inscriptions as well as on interpretations of events where these were involved. We shall note from what follows that we could do relatively little to give details of the administrative structure. This is just an outline of the main features of the medieval system of administration in Nepal.

In the consideration of the problem of administration, we deal with both areas and the personnel administering them. It may be observed at the outset that like any other state in the middle ages Nepal had a central government and subordinate agencies of administration and there was a metropolitan area and there were also subordinate units falling under their respective jurisdiction.

Now we proceed to say about the nature and functioning of the central authority of state and of the lower authorities placed in subordinate territorial divisions.

The central authority was vested in the person of a sovereign king.

#### DIVINE RULER

Nepal was a monarchical state at all times in the medieval age. It was so whether it stood as a unitary entity or was divided and ruled under separate kings. There was no time without a king. The ruler enjoyed his powers by divine right. He had no superior to himself except the the God Almighty. He was responsible to none on earth, and made his own laws. Likewise the monarch was the central figure of the administration in general and was the ultimate source of authority in particular.

The Nepalese kings invariably assumed high sounding Imperial titles, such as *Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Rājarājendra* and claimed to have absolute mastery of the entire domain of Nepal (*Nepālamaṇḍala*) by virtue of divine



rights. It must have appeared that the later kings of the early medieval period from Jaya Sthitimalla to Yakṣamalla did also use the *Viruda* before their names to indicate that they were incarnation of Divine Viṣṇu (vide ante). The king was also the protector of the realm and society as the God Almighty protected and sustained the universe. He was the representative of God on earth. But nevertheless he was always guided by traditional customs and practices. There were also some other checks on his powers, which were applied in practices according to the nature of the contingency.

The king figured in all the documents, whether inscriptions or colophons, as the practice ran to have the reign of the monarch underdate mentioned at the end. This feature of the records we have already discussed while collating the colophon data for the chronology of the period. There were, however, as many copies where the colophons have omitted to mention the reign.

If the ruler overstepped the bounds of established customs and usages while he exercised kingly powers, he incurred the risk of a rebellion by the people. By nature the divine in the king upheld the social and moral order in the realm. If he himself acted to violate this, he was condemned and thus provoked popular resistance to his authority.

In V<sup>iii</sup> every time a new king ascended the throne, the date is noted as *Puṣpāviṣeka*. Surely an elaborate coronation ceremony had to be gone through.

In another instance, there occurs an expression *pitrimauli* and this indicated that the ceremony involved wearing of a crown by the new incumbent.

The succession to the throne involved two stages. In the first the new king ascended the throne immediately after the death or deposition of his predecessor. He also wore the crown on this occasion. But a formal ceremony of crowning followed after some months usually a year and this was known as *Puṣpāviṣeka* or *rājyāviṣeka* literally meaning coronation.

The king lived in his own palace and was attended by a contingent of bodyguards.

The monarchy was hereditary, and the succession was from father to son as it obtained under rules of primogeniture. Invariably the king's eldest son was the successor, and his office carried much weight and influence with it. At times while it involved a succession by a minor, the regent conducted royal duties. The heir to the throne was known as *Yuvarāja* or *Jaurāj* (*Yuvarāja*). Very seldom we come across instances of disputes about the rights of an heir apparent. There was always a civil war if such a contingency ever arose. But as we have already seen, it was not unusual for the brothers or for the uncle and nephew to rule the country as co-partners and joint-kings.

Not once but several times in our period, we meet with instances where two persons reigned jointly as monarchs. These were either two brothers or father and son or uncle and nephew. This form of rule was known as *dvairājya*. Sometimes the *dvairājya* also meant a division of the territory where two persons ruled each singly in his kingdom. The ms. *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* of 119 *Mārga śukla pūrṇimā* shows two persons as joint rulers, the expression of the colophon being *Md Pm Narendradeva bhaṭṭāarakasya Śrī Udayadeva bhaṭṭāarakasyo ubhayarājye*.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Narendradeva and Udayadeva were two brothers.

This is the first instance of a dual rule (*dvairājya*). It seems that for another period of many years since this date the *dvairājya* was to continue on different occasions, though there were different persons on the throne. A document of 126 *Phālguna śukla*, the ms. *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, has in the colophon *Śrī Nirbhayasya nṛpateḥ surasannibhasya Śrī Rudradeva vasudhādhipateścha rājye evam dvirājjakam atodyota pātravarge rājye*, etc.<sup>2</sup> It shows that Nirbhayadeva and Rudradeva were jointly ruling in NS 126. Six years after this record comes an inscription of 132 *Prathamāṣāḍha śukla 13* (Ganchanani, Patan)<sup>3</sup> which uses an expression, *rājye puṇyamalanikṛtā-*

<sup>1</sup> JBORS, XXIII, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> CBMC, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Also see Peṭech, Op. cit., pp. 34-35.

*yasati Śrī Rudradeva nṛpaḥ bhrātrijaputra dharmanirata Śrī Bhojadeva*, which means that Rudradeva ruled along with Bhojadeva, a son of his nephew (brother's son) at the date.<sup>4</sup>

A copy of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1643; CBMC, Pp. 151-52) written in 135 *Chaitra* contains the passage *rājñi Śrī Bhojadevepyamita guṇagaṇālabdha Śrī Rudradeve Śrī Lakṣmīkāmadevair ari jagat kulisair ardharājye pabhukte*. The Italian scholar Prof. L. Petech translated the same into English as "under Bhojadeva the associate king (*rājñi* . . . 'py = *apirat*) and Rudradeva who had been gained [by Bhojadeva to appoint him as colleague] through the infinite multitude of his merits; while Lakṣmīkāmadeva, a thunderbolt to a world of enemies, was enjoying half the kingdom." If by this Petech means to assign the first position to Rudra, then the rendering is quite all right. Petech further states that Lakṣmīkāmadeva occupied a subordinate position even while a ruler of *ardharājye*.<sup>5</sup> In relation to Bhojadeva's position Levi and Barnett interpreted the passage to mean that he was appointed by Rudradeva as his successor.<sup>6</sup> They also said that Lakṣmīkāmadeva was a sovereign in half kingdom. It appears that the first part of the passage means to convey an impression that Bhojadeva had obtained his kingdom having been bequeathed to him by Rudradeva. It may mean that Rudradeva was no more living at the date. But nevertheless Bhojadeva had to share his half kingdom with Lakṣmīkāmadeva. This is the instance of a ruler, where one person rules singly over one half of the kingdom while he functions in the other half as a joint ruler. We have also noted the separate independent kingdoms in extraordinary circumstances, e.g. in the time of Simhadeva and Śivadeva between 239-41, the *dvairājya* was now in the form of two kingdoms, each ruled by its own ruler. We have also several instances of the father and son ruling jointly, though it seems that the son would not enjoy the supreme royal dignity for that

<sup>4</sup> Petech, Op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Petech, Op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Levi, II, pp. 190-91; H. C. Ray, I, p. 199.

time. This generally occurred when the father was too infirm due to old age to manage the affairs of state or he voluntarily retired to a life of devotion and piety.

In the joint reign which functioned after Jaya Sthitimalla, all the three sons of his appear to have been rulers each by his own right and the term *vijayarājye* is applied to cover the reign of all the three brothers and the names of the three brothers are conspicuously noted as joint partners. From this it appears that the idea of joint monarchy was extended to give equal status to all three of them.

We have shown above in the course of the narrative that Yakṣamalla's death was followed by a joint reign, when all of his living sons were theoretically functioning as sovereigns. Their joint reign continued till NS 649 (= 1529 A.D.) until Raṇamalla died. It appears that in this particular instance the *de facto* position and authority over a particular area had been assumed by the person who was in control of the same as its governor on the eve of his father's death. This ultimately led to a situation where the authority of a sovereign came to be exercised over the respective domain by the man who had found himself in control of affairs while the joint reign was liquidated.

### QUEEN AND QUEEN MOTHERS

Very little information is available on the general position of women in our period. We doubt if the statement of the Hindu law givers and their commentators of the time in regard to the many aspects of social life were valid in their application to Nepalese condition. Thus there is comparatively less material at our disposal to enable us to dwell on this theme until quite recent times.

As we step into the early 18th century, source materials throwing light on the condition of women grow in number. But these are insufficient for a thorough study of the problem. The Nepalese society was, however, static almost until today and quite the same picture must have obtained throughout the middle ages and until the recent past. As such an enquiry into the position of women as it obtained in the 19th century for which source

materials are abundant must reveal the near true state of a woman in the society of the medieval period. But this would be the subject more appropriate to our section dealing with the history of the later middle ages.

However, even for our period we have some evidence of women of the royal family playing important role in the affairs of state. From V<sup>iii</sup> we learn that for nearly three decades two women regents guided the destiny of the nation one after the other. We have already recounted the tales of the part played by Padmullādevī and later by Devaladevī on her death.<sup>7</sup> Jaya Sthitimalla's wife Rājallādevī must have been also quite a powerful woman at the time. She is often mentioned in V<sup>iii</sup> as well as in the inscriptions.<sup>8</sup> Jyotirmalla uses the epithet 'husband of Rājallādevī' to describe the qualification of his father to rule Nepal.<sup>9</sup> It appears that Saṅsāradevī, Jyotirmalla's queen and the mother of Yakṣamalla was a dominating figure until her death in NS 561 (= 1441 A.D.). Similarly Karpuradevī, Queen of Yakṣamalla and mother of Rāyamalla, seems to have enjoyed considerable influence with her husband.

These women must have been endowed with extraordinarily ability to be able to defeat their rivals both amongst the other women favorites of their husband and male courtiers who were contending for power at the court.

#### SOLAR LINE

In discussing the chronology of the period we have made some observation as to the origin and status of the ruling family, each as it came into the scene. We have seen how each of them without exception claimed to have descended from the Sun God, and from Raghu of his line. But this claim is noted only in chronicles. But as we come to the time of Arimalla, we find the term *Raghukula* used as a part of the royal epithet, *prasasti* used also in the ms. colophons and inscriptions (ms.

<sup>7</sup> V<sup>iii</sup>, f.

<sup>8</sup> Inscription n. XXXI in our Appendix.

<sup>9</sup> Inscription n. XLVII in our Appendix.

*Amṛteśvarapūja*, 336 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa* 7).<sup>10</sup> In a ms. *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra* of Abhayamalla's reign NS 364 *Kārtika śukla pūrṇimā*, we have the same expression.<sup>11</sup> The next record to use similar expression *Raghuvamśāvatāra* is ms. *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (III) of Sa-skya monastery, dated 404 *Phālguna śukla 13*, belonging to the reign of Anantamalla.<sup>12</sup> In the ms. *Mahārāvaṇavadha nāṭaka* we have *Raghukulatilaka* in the *prasasti* of Jayārimalla II (NS 457 *Śrāvana kṛṣṇa* 12).<sup>13</sup> Since the 14th century Jaya Sthitimalla and his successors have commonly used this expression to denote their lineage.

We can not say if those laying claim to descent from *Raghu* were rightly entitled to this status. It is not possible to trace the origin of the various families that came to rule Nepal in this period. Further more, we have no means to examine the claims as they appear. With some persons possibly the claim to high birth status meant strengthening one's ground for retaining powers and glory of royalty. Kṣatriyahood carried enormous weight with it, and no one could aspire to become a king without it. But it is quite likely that not all the ruling families in Nepal or elsewhere did in reality belong to the almost mythical *Raghu's* line. As a matter of fact state power alone enabled the claimants to command respect due to a Kṣatriya sovereign. The claim to Kṣatriyahood might have been even an afterthought.

The administration was absolute and personal as it happens in a small state lying in feudal condition but the local nobility wielded immense influence, more particularly, when the monarch was an infant or imbecile. When he was under age for a long time the Regent, either the mother or the uncle or the High Feudatory or the Prime Minister called by any name whatsoever, virtually functioned like an autocrat in the name of the throne. Even otherwise when a feudal lord stationed as Minis-

<sup>10</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1365.5.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., II. 215.1.

<sup>12</sup> JBORS, XXIII, p. 30.

<sup>13</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 362.8.

ter became too powerful, he addressed himself as *Mahāmātya* and even as *Mahāmantryādhirāja* (*Jayasimharāma Vardhana's Paśupati Inscription*). His name was mentioned along with that of the sovereign in the records with only one difference that the expression showed him to have ruled (*pratipālite*), while the person on the throne reigned (*vijayarājye*).

As a matter of fact as it happened under a feudal political structure, although the king commanded loyalty because of his inviolable divine personality, he drew his main strength from his background as the head of the feudal hierarchy. He functioned effectively until such time as the feudatories did not defy him. Once defiance was ventured, he lost his authority and his divinity did not help. But ordinarily the feudatories paid homage to and obeyed him if he was of a mature age and was of a strong character. If there was a dispute about the throne then also the feudatories ignored the throne. If they became extraordinarily powerful then also the feudatories had no respect for the sovereign. However, such cases of dispute seem to be rare in Nepal but it appears that there were a few cases where the *sāmantas* broke away from the centre as the king happened to be either an infant or weak enough to curb the unruly elements in the feudal set up.

### FEUDATORIES

There is no doubt that all the feudal families in the country were associated with large land-holding, and obtained fiefs by virtue of hereditary rights. They gave them titles to exercise executive and judicial functions in the area allotted. Because the fief holder collected tax, he commanded liquid resources to meet any contingency and because he maintained a military force at a level in behalf of the central power, he enjoyed an opportunity to go against his king whenever occasions suited him. We do not know if apart from the feudal chief of the area the centre sent any other officer with an assignment. It may be that the *Vārtā* and *mahāpātra* (see below) were such officers. But it appears that the extent of territory administered

directly by the centre was not much limited.

The feudatories did not only control the local administration as subordinate administrators, but occupied also responsible jobs at the centre. From their rank the king chose his ministers and advisors. Often the post of a minister was hereditary, and this certainly added to the strength of the personage appointed for the job. In the 14th century Jayasimharāma as the son of Chief Minister Anekarāma must have acquired power in that course. A noble descent not only facilitated ascent to power but formed the very requisite for holding any post of trust and responsibility in the dispensation.

While we consider the question of feudatories we have to bear certain things in mind to understand the magnitude of the problem. First of all, Nepal as it then stood was a small compact area, where the central power could exercise its influence effectively throughout the length and breadth of the land. Of course, lack of communication was there, but the central authority had to deal with a less extensive area, and this certainly lightened his burden as to policing and superintending because of a comparatively less scope for insubordination and challenge to the authority.

We find fewer feudatories in Nepal than elsewhere in India. Likewise their gradation was narrowed down to only one layer; there was no instance of subordinate feudatories. This is yet one more factor in the situation, though this is a concomitant of geographical limitation. Furthermore, Nepalese feudalism was of a kind, which rather than assert its role in provinces tended to play its activity in the court. This factor also helped to keep the various parts of the state under one authority. Altogether while we analyse the background of the feudal structure we come to the conclusion that evils inherent in the system were not such as to cause territorial disintegration as they did in India.

Nevertheless feudatories were there and they played their role, however, restricted that may be. And the feudatories could defy the central authority in the event of a war of succession and when a weakling occupied the throne to lean too heavily on the support of the feudal families.



## POWERFUL MAHASAMANTAS

Some ms. works of the 12th and 13th centuries have in colophons *mahāsāmantas*, particularly personified by the *Jivas* of Udaipur, the feudatory of *Dhavalasrota* (see back page). The *Jiva sāmanta* of Śikharāpurī (of Bhīmadeva's time in Pharping) and lastly Rāmavardhana family. The *mahāsāmantas* wielded considerable influence overshadowed the throne and at times made and unmade kings and dynasties. The *mahāsāmantas* disappear as we approach the 15th century. The last occasion we hear of a *mahāsāmanta* from the inscription is from that of Jayabhīmadeva (NS 385 *Pauṣa śukla*). But V<sup>ii</sup> talks of another *mahāsāmanta* as late as NS 460.<sup>14</sup> And Jayasīma and his collaterals calling themselves *Bhoṭṭarājyādhipati* could be known as *mahāsāmantas*.

There were several *mahāsāmantas* who were not associated in records with the ruling sovereign, one such was *mahāsāmanta* Hamsadeva of NS 270 (see back page).<sup>15</sup> His record goes without the name of the sovereign.

Earlier to this in NS 220 another *mahāsāmanta* whose name is Rāmadeva, is mentioned by himself without the sovereign in a ms. colophon (*Āryoniṣavijayanāmadhārīnī*).<sup>16</sup> In the two mss. of the date 303 *Chaitra śudi 5* and 304 *Jyeṣṭha śudi 13*<sup>17</sup> respectively, the scribe mentions *Mahāsāmanta* Ratnadeva's reign. In connection with these personages the terms *vijayarājye* is used, which means that these person had arrogated to themselves the august status of the sovereign at least in the eyes of the people of the locality. But they were satisfied with epithets like *mahāsāmanta* and *mahāsāmantaādhipati* and the writing does not give them royal titles.

Ordinarily the feudatories had to mention their overlord in

<sup>14</sup> f. 51-a.

<sup>15</sup> Recently acquired by Bir Library, see doc. of Anandadeva's reign.

<sup>16</sup> Petech, Op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>17</sup> ms. *Charaka saṁhita*, Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1684.1; ms. *Triyakalagunottara*, Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 392.1.

the records. But if they do not, this means that they had flouted the authority of the king. It seems that in such a case they had become almost independent of the central authority. But there was no occasion witnessed to lead them to declare their own sovereign status.

Feudatories with less power feared to tread the path of Hamsadeva and Rāmadeva. They only used the expression 'pālite' or 'rakṣite' meaning they were only ruling and not reigning. One ms. (*Saddharmapuṇḍarikā* of 186)<sup>18</sup> belonging to Pradyumnakāma's reign uses the expression *pravartamāne* referring to the rule of *Udayapurādhipati Mahāsāmanta Janārdanaḥjīva*. Another ms. (*Nakṣatrajātaka Vṛtti* of 248 belonging to Indradeva's reign)<sup>19</sup> has only 'kāle' to express the rule of *Udayapurādhipati Mahāsāmanta Śrī Paisānandaḥjīva*.

But some feudatories omitted the sovereign in records, although they avoided for themselves royal titles, and the expression 'vijayarājye'.

An inscription issued in Banepā under date 514 does not mention Jaya Sthitimalla who was then the sovereign, but the two feudatories Jayasimharāma and his brother Madanasimharāma are noted as rulers (*pālite*). Jayasimharāma is given the epithet, *rājā*. Some 11 years later a colophon datum with Śaktisimharāma has the expression reigning (*vijayarājye*)<sup>20</sup> though the title he bears is that of a minister (*amātya*). Obviously the sovereign maintained only a loose kind of authority over Banepā and Palāñchok at the dates. As we know Jayasimharāma is addressed as '*Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka*' in a ms. (*Daśakarmapaddhati*) of 516 *Kārtika śukla 8* written in Panauti, which was situated within the feudatory state of Banepā. But subsequently in the same document he is referred to as having been ruling (*pratipālitarājye*).<sup>21</sup> The latter expression is enough to show that Jayasimharāma had not altogether

<sup>18</sup> Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 2197; Petech, p. 44.

<sup>19</sup> India office Library n. 2928 noticed by Petech, p. 58.

<sup>20</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 377.

<sup>21</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1076.4.

arrogated to himself the exalted status of the sovereign. It is quite obvious that the scribe had employed the royal epithets in the record in a mood of enthusiasm to flatter his master, and in so doing he had an eye to his *de facto* position.

It will appear that Jayasimharāma, a feudatory, had become Chief Minister in succession to his father, and thereafter functioned as a *de facto* ruler ignoring the throne altogether. He provides an instance of a case where the feudatory Chief Minister had become so absolute that he ignored the throne altogether (see the Chinese notices for the period 1384—1424 A.D.). But this was a rare phenomenon of that phase of the medieval period and that also for only once as we do not witness the revival of this kind of dual rule since the time of Jyotirmalla.

Although V<sup>iii</sup> notes a *mahāsāmanta* under date line 467, we do not notice a *sāmanta* or a *mahāsāmanta* since Arimalla (NS 321-337). Arimalla's reign came after an interregnum of chaos, which had lasted for nearly twenty years. We have no doubt that the chaotic condition was mainly due to feudatories let loose in the absence of a unified central authority in the country. Arimalla seems to have not only curbed the unruly feudatories but eliminated them altogether. No feudatories could possibly rise in the time of his successors till Anantamalla's death. For all these years (NS 321-430), no data of colophons or inscriptions show feudatories. But these re-appear in the troublous time following the division of the kingdom as we noted earlier while describing the emergence of *Bhoṭṭarājya* and *pradhānapātras* like Meghapāla Varmā and others during the hundred years between 450-550 of the Nepalese era.

It did not mean, however, that the old feudal class had revived its existence. The new feudatories emerged from amongst those who had been placed in power as government officials in subordinate administrative units. The expression *Sāmanta*, however, was gone for ever.

In the ms. *Vṛttasārasaṅgraha* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 738) of Arimalla's reign (NS 321-337) there is one Raṇaka Śrīdhara-simha who is noted as the overlord (*adhipati*) of the *Pañchāvata viṣaya*. We have to understand the position of Raṇaka in

those days. Śrīdhara has been shown to have been placed as the chief of the administration in a *viṣaya*. Ordinarily a *Raṇaka* means a feudatory. The expression stands as a synonym for a *sāmanta* or *mahāsāmanta*. Śrīdharasimha must have been a powerful *viṣayādhipati* indeed to deserve to be mentioned in the record.

In olden days the *sāmantas* were ruling chiefs who had acknowledged suzerainty of a king or any emperor claiming to rule over the whole of Nepal. It appears certain that in early medieval period the ruling chiefs continued to exist in one situation or another in the same way as they did before. But as it came to happen, all these were liquidated by the first quarter of the 4th century Nepal era, while the monarchy under a new sovereign, Arimalla, had grown extraordinarily powerful.

Since Bhatgaon came to be ruled by a subsidiary king in about NS 432, the central authority once again got weakened and this was the reason that encouraged certain administrators in subordinate units to set up themselves as feudatory chiefs in defiance of the sovereign authority. From a perusal of the text furnishing the political history of the period, it must have come to our notice that not even Jaya Sthitimalla's strong regime proved powerful enough to do away with the feudal lords who continued to maintain their position right upto his grandson's time.

#### COURT ARISTOCRACY

For the last time we hear of a *mahāsāmanta* (of Noakoṭ) who was taken prisoner on 5 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa* of NS 465 (V<sup>111</sup>, f. 51-a). In the time of Jaya Sthitimalla some inscriptions have spoken of *Rājās*.<sup>22</sup> Evidently they were local feudatories under the sovereign. But the *sāmanta* had disappeared by the time Sthitimalla came to power. Similarly, we hear of *vārtā* only twice and no more.<sup>23</sup> The *vārtā* type of king's official had pro-

<sup>22</sup> Svayambhu Inscription of NS 492.

<sup>23</sup> Ms. *Saddharmapuṇḍarikā* of 172 NS (JBORS, XXIII, p. 29). Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* of 40 NS (Doc. of Śaṅkara-deva I).

bably disappeared as early as the 13th century A.D. as we hear no more of them since then. We do not know where his duties had devolved. A new class called *Bhāro* or *Pradhāna* or *Bhalloka*<sup>24</sup> or *Pramānas*, the earlier aristocracy of the Pre-Gorkhā days, had arisen to take his place. But it appears these were not hereditary fief holders placed in districts. These were confined to the court as members of aristocracy. The earliest reference to a *Bhāro* is available from a ms. of Lakṣmikāmadeva's reign (Kaisar Lib. n. 70). A number of *Bhāros* come in for our notice in V<sup>111</sup> and ms. colophons and inscriptions. We have also several *Bhallokas* in inscriptions and colophons. The writer of the ms. *Saddharmapūṇḍarikā* calls himself Amātya paramopāsaka Śrī Guṇakarajīva Bhalloka.<sup>25</sup> The ms. is dated *Samvat* 202. So the title appears to be quite old. But was he only a court aristocrat? He is also a minister as the expression *amātya* shows. But a *Bhalloka* might have been a honorific designation of a court noble.

### THE MAHATH

All the terms of official designations used in the records of ancient Nepalese history disappear in documents of our period. Thus we no more come across expression like *mahāsarvadaṇḍanāyaka*, *mahāsarvapratiḥāra*, and *mahāvalādhyakṣa*.<sup>26</sup> It is difficult to say as to what type of officers discharged the official duties of a minister or a chief minister amongst ministers. In the 14th century various classes of official designations come to view in the ancient chronicles. These are Mahath, mahāpātras and Mūlamīs. Probably all these were ministerial designations.

The V<sup>111</sup> states that Yuvarāja Jayadharmamalla was made a *Mahath*<sup>27</sup> eight days after his initiation ceremony. As it was a title conferred also on the Crown Prince of the country, the

<sup>24</sup> Svayambhu Ins. of Jayārjunadeva.

<sup>25</sup> Sa-skya Monastery, n. XV, 215 JBORS, XXIII, Pt. I, p. 28.

<sup>26</sup> Gnoli, XIII, XV.

<sup>27</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 57-a.

*Mahath* was probably more important than any designation of the age. But there were some others who also obtained this designation. The father of Jayasimharāma, Anekarāma, was one of them.<sup>28</sup> Another was Jotirāma.<sup>29</sup> Yet one more was Jetapāla who was connected with some incidents in Noakoṭ in 478 *Mārga vadi*.<sup>30</sup> After 476 the only Mahath we come across is Jayasimharāma but Jayata Mūlamī is awarded this title towards the end of Jayārjuna's career in 500 NS.<sup>31</sup> The *Mahath* in all probability is the highest dignitary in the country below the king. The *Mahath* must have been acting as the Chief Minister. We have a parallel in contemporary Tirhut, where Harasimhadeva's Chief Minister Chaṇḍesvara was being called *Mahāmahattaka* or *Mahath*.<sup>32</sup> In the ms. *Chāṇakyanīti*<sup>33</sup> again *Mahāmahattaka* Śrī Jayasimharāma is noted along with the sovereign by the expression *varṭamāne*. Later the same Jayasimha enjoys the title of *Rājā* or *Bhoṭṭarājyādhipa* in various records. This means that the same *mahath* when extraordinarily powerful enlarged his domain of power and also the title. We have still a family calling itself *Mahath*. Probably this title came to be later bestowed on persons for service rendered to the kings and their descendants used this title as caste surnames.

In the Itambahāl inscription of Jayasimharāma, he is addressed as *mahāmantryādhirāja* and *mahāmantri*. Jayata in the Newari commentary of *Amarakośa* is spoken of as *Amātya*.<sup>34</sup> Later in another text he is called *mahāmātya*. The word *Mahath* does not appear in inscriptions. But *mahāmantri* or *mahāmātya* appears to have been the Sanskrit equivalent of *Mahath*. While *Mahath* was used in vernacular texts, Sanskrit *mahāmantri* or *mahāmātya* was reserved for Sanskrit records.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., f. 57-a.

<sup>29</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 52-a.

<sup>30</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 45-a.

<sup>31</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 54-b.

<sup>32</sup> Chanda Jha, 264; Jayaswal, JBORS, XXII, Pt. IV, p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> Kaiser Lib. n. 49/2.

<sup>34</sup> CBMC, pp. 187-88.

## MULAMI

In the 14th century a new category of officials comes into notice. This is the *Mūlamī*. The holder of the office of the *Mūlamī* must have been initially an important personage.

In V<sup>111</sup> (f. 57-a) Tejarāma Bhāro becomes *Mūlamī* on the occasion of the staging of a play called *Bālarāmāyaṇa*. It appears that the *Mūlamī* was appointed from amongst the nobility. So was the *Amātya* (Minister). The *Mūlamī* was a person of high dignity, and in the ancient chronicle we have several persons of importance with *Mūlamī* affixed to their names. These are Abherāma Mūlamī, Udayapāla Mūlamī, Jayata Mūlamī.<sup>35</sup> This word is a compound of *mūla* and *mī*; *mī* in Newāri means a person, and *mūla* in Sanskrit means either the root, or a principal or head. It appears that the *Mūlamī* always happened to be one of the principal officers of the state. In V<sup>111</sup> we have a *Mūlamī* being addressed later as *Mahath* (V<sup>111</sup>, f. 61-a). It seems that he was promoted to that rank. It is not possible to determine the rank of a *Mūlamī*, but quite possibly each played the role of a junior minister. However, by the beginning of the 15th century A.D. the *Mūlamī* had come more to denote family surname of a particular section of aristocracy rather than an official designation. For example we find several persons with *Mūlamī* surname in the Banepā inscription of Jayasimharāma, one of whom was an artist who had carved on stone the image of the Sun God. These were not surely junior ministers. The ministers could not have a place in far off Banepā. In this context the *Mūlamī* could not pass for an office of a minister. This had now become a surname of certain families.

## MAHAPATRA

Another dignitary who must have been also a minister is *mahāpātra*. But a *mahāpātra* along with *pātra* could also be the governor of an administrative unit. So was the *Pradhāna-pātra* as well as the *Mūrtyaṅgapātra*.

<sup>35</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, ff 47 b, 52a, 52b.

The designation *mahāpātra* is borne by Meghapālavarmā in an inscription of NS 477 (*Chaitra śukla*) who is spoken of as a conqueror and destroyer of enemies.<sup>36</sup> We have several *pradhāna mahāpātras* mentioned in an inscription of the reign of Jyotirmalla (Copper plate, Ibaha bahi, Patan).<sup>37</sup> An inscription of the time of Yakṣamalla notes three *pradhānapātras* who ruled (*pālito*) Lalitapur.<sup>38</sup>

*Mahāpātra* is noted as the custodian of the ms. *Gītagovīnda* of NS 467 *Āśvina kṛṣṇa 5* (Darb. Lib. Cat. IV unnumbered). Obviously, Meghapālavarmā was a powerful minister in the court of Patan at the time. Sometimes the term *mahāpātra* carried the same meaning as that of a *Sāmanta*. It also signified an official of the capacity of a minister. Originally the *pātra*, or *pradhānapātra* or *mahāpātra* was a feudal governor of certain division of the kingdom. In ms. *Uddiśasārasaṅgraha* (Darb. Lib. Cat. IV unnumbered) the work is mentioned to have been written at the instance of one who bore the title *pradhānāṅga mūrtyaṅgapātra*. Meghapālavarman is identified with Megharāma Mūlamī of V<sup>111</sup> (f. 62b), son of *Rājā Mūlamī* who along with his grandmother performed a ceremony to set up a flag staff in honour of Tilamādhava.<sup>39</sup> He must have been a powerful person to ignore the reigning monarch in his inscription.

In a record we find a group of persons styling themselves as *mahāpātras* who seem to be collectively governing the area.<sup>40</sup> Most probably, even the designation, *mahāpātra* had become a family surname at the time.

But until our time the *pātra*, *mahāpātra* and *pradhānapātra* were administrators serving as governors in the divisions of the state. As for their names appearing collectively it seems that this had been presented in that light taking the capital city as a whole, where the three or four of them were assigned duties

<sup>36</sup> *Sanskrit Sandesha*, I, 10-11-12, Pp. 11-13.

<sup>37</sup> Published partially by Petech.

<sup>38</sup> The Sarasvatī stele as above.

<sup>39</sup> The temple lies in Taumadhitol, Bhatgaon.

<sup>40</sup> Ibāhā-bahi Inscription.



each separately over a zone as the territory was divided for administrative purposes. We have one *Pimthavihāra mahāpātra* referring to Meghapāla Varmmā. Pimthavihāra lies at the centre of the west part of Patan. Obviously this *mahāpātra* administered one area round Pimthavihāra as a governor. It is not known why *mahāpātras* do not appear in connection with the administration of areas other than Patan.

Anekarāma's name does not get the epithet *rajyādhipati* or *rajā* or *sāmanta* or anything of that type. We can say it for certain that Jayasimharāma's title of a feudatory was not derived from his father's. It appears that Jayasimha was at first appointed governor of the Palāñchok-Banepā area and later he established himself as the feudatory without calling himself *mahāsāmanta* which is also not in evidence in any records.

In the case of the *mahāpātras* and rulers of *Bhottarāja*, it is clear that these were initially appointed as governors.

Sometimes the *mahāpātras* were unusually strong and they usurped the authority of the centre in their areas. In such instances they even handed down the post on hereditary basis to their sons. We have seen that in Patan after Ratnamalla's death the ruling authority, Kusumasimha Bhāro had been able to permit his son Viṣṇusimha to inherit the governorship of the area. The latter went a step further Viṣṇusimha absolutely ignored his sovereign and functioned as a *de facto* monarch of a principality. Viṣṇusimha calls himself *mahāpātra* but ruled over Patan like a king. About a hundred and twenty five years earlier in Banepā-Palāñchok division Jayasimha, Madanasimha and Śaktisimha succeeded to the post of their father solely by dint of hereditary rights and acted independent of the sovereign in the Nepal Valley.

The *mahāpātras* or *pātras* or *pradhānapātras* or any dignitary of their rank carried great influence with the mass of the people. Their names were mentioned in records as that of a ruler ( *sampālīte* or *pravarttamāne* ) though of course with less dignity and not ignoring the sovereign save in a single instance. We have already mentioned such instances ( see above ) and these can be multiplied. Their power emanated from the fact

of their appointment by the sovereign authority and this was enough to raise their status in the eyes of the people. This situation, however, was such as led an ambitious *mahāpātra* to usurp the central authority. We have seen how Kusumsimha and his son Viṣṇusimha in the years between 650-680 had behaved like local kings usurping the central authority in the earstwhile capital city of Patan.

### THE RABUTTAS

The Svayambhu inscription of Jayārjuna's reign (492 NS) has one *mahārābutta* Jūthasimha.<sup>41</sup> The same person figures in the Gorakhnātha inscription of Pharping of NS 511 date, which has Jaya Sthitimalla as a reigning monarch.<sup>42</sup>

It appears that the *rābuttas* were ruling feudatories in Pharping. This place had a *mahāsāmanta* also in the time of Jayabhīmadeva.<sup>43</sup> But since then for another hundred years or so no records show the existence of feudatories, although for this time Pharping appears in the texts as a *Viṣaya*. Jaya Jūthasimha of the Pharping inscription of Jaya Sthitimalla's time does not have any epithet to denote his position of a feudatory. But the Svayambhu inscription calls him *mahārābutta*, while his successors about 35 years later were addressed in another inscription as *rābuttas* and lords of the earth (*bhūpatiḥ*) and they seem to have ruled the area collectively.<sup>44</sup> It is quite likely that *mahārābutta* or *rābutta* meant only a governor of the place, who might have been an official appointed by the king and not a feudatory paying only a tribute. However, the fact of a collective rule by several *rābuttas* points to a situation where the power was transferred on hereditary basis, indicating the establishment of a ruling feudal order.

It may be recalled here that although Palāñchok had ceased to remain a principality at the time of Yakṣamalla's succession

<sup>41</sup> JBORS, 1936, Pts. II, P. 93.

<sup>42</sup> Doc. n. 17 in our Text.

<sup>43</sup> Doc. 3 of Jayasimha's reign.

<sup>44</sup> Inscription of Dharmamalla's reign, NS 527. Doc. 14 of Petech.

of the throne, the Pharping feudatory could maintain himself intact till NS 668 or so for a period of another hundred years. At a later date as Ratnamalla died Patan's one Bhāro Kusumsinha taking advantage of the division of the kingdom ignored his sovereigns in Kathmandu and Bhatgaon and ruled independent of both though he denied to himself royal titles. Not until the Malla kings of the two principalities consolidated their rule, the feudatories of Patan and other areas in divided Nepal were liquidated.

Sometime the king's illegitimate son was called a *Rābutta*. Thus the V<sup>111</sup> under date S. 381 *Jyēṣṭha kṛṣṇa 13* notes the birth of an illegitimate son to Jayasīhamalla and calls him *Rābutta* (f. 36-a). But in all other cases a *Rābutta* meant a feudatory.

*Dharmādhikāra*: A ms. colophon of the reign Anantamalla brings out the name of a Brāhmaṇa owner as the *Dharmādhikāra* (Doc 1 of the reign).<sup>45</sup> No such title is available in other documents. But the V<sup>111</sup> mentions some powerful Brāhmaṇas who were respected by king Jaya Sthitimalla as his *gurus*. They advised him on matters affecting religion.

I do not think that the functions of *Dharmādhikāra* was anything other than what these were in the contemporary state polity of India. According to K. P. Jayaswal the minister of Law was called *Dharmādhikāra*.<sup>46</sup> Possibly the Nepalese *Dharmādhikāra* was the person who advised his king in administering laws which were based on religious texts.

#### FEUDAL CLASS

It appears that in the early medieval period there was a powerful feudal class, but the royalty always commanded highest respect from them and from the general mass of the people. As Petech said "However divided, however, anarchical, the country always officially recognised a king as the titular head; at the utmost, they could oscillate between two claimants to the

<sup>45</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>46</sup> *Hindu Polity*, 1943, p. 330.

throne.”<sup>47</sup> Instances of usurpation are practically non-existent. Even when a legitimate heir did not survive the court took recourse to the selection of a daughter or of an illegitimate heir as it happened in the case of Nāyakadevī and Rājadeva (NS 467-481) who had succeeded Jayārimalla. But never could a feudatory or a noble usurp the throne and declare himself a sovereign even in times of crisis while the monarchy was much weakened.

We do not know whether the *Mahath* and *Mūlamī* enjoyed their status and powers on hereditary rights. But we find that often the post was obtained as a legacy from one's father. It will also appear that the important political jobs went to persons who belonged to the upper strata of the populace.

The most powerful groups in the society were certainly the Kṣatriyas and next came the Brāhmins who were their spiritual guides. We have seen how in the reigns of Jaya Sthiti and his son and grandson the Kṣatriyas whether Jayata Mūlamī or Jayasimharāma and his brothers or others of the same caste were holding ministerial posts at the top of the administration. From V<sup>11</sup>, we have come to know that in the court of these rulers there were powerful Brāhmins to advise them.

Previous to Jaya Sthitimalla, things might not have been different for these communities, although in the absence of any kind of evidence it is much difficult to say exactly who predominated.

But we know there was also a quite influential Kāyastha community; Kāyastha often appear as official scribes in their usual profession. But one Vikṣurāchārya Kāyastha in ms. *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* of NS 304 (JBORS, XXIII, p. 30) seems to have held a very high position also in the Buddhist church hierarchy.

#### OTHER OFFICES OF RESPONSIBILITY

Some other titles carrying a sense of a feudatory or a feudal lord are given in V<sup>1</sup> (f. 25-a), i.e. *Mahāmaṇḍalika* and *Pramu-*

<sup>47</sup> Petech, Op. Cit., p. 74.

*kha*. A *Mahāmaṇḍalika* means the Feudatory or the principal officer in charge of *maṇḍala*.

Whatever might have been the nature of a *maṇḍala* or the area which it comprised the *maṇḍalika* was a powerful officer. Similarly a *pramukha* meant the head of a department or the head of a district or of higher unit of administration. As we have absolutely no knowledge of the structure of administration we are unable to lay down their exact role or status in the shape of things as they stood.

Two epithets before names of certain notable personages, *Jodhāpati* and *Kwāthanāyaka*, suggest military titles. Perhaps *Jodhāpati* carried a sense of being a commander of an armed force in battle. *Kwāthanāyaka* must mean the officer in charge of a fortress. *Jodhāpati* occurs under dates once, eight days after 497 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 5* while Jotra Mūlamī of Yubilichhaṭol of Patan becomes *Jodhāpati*<sup>48</sup> and then in NS 481 *Chaitra śudi 11* in connection with the post of Noakoṭ<sup>49</sup> and thereafter on 488 *Phālguna śudi 2* when on a particular ceremonial day Padma Mūlamī, son of Dasa Mūlamī, is declared *Jodhāpati*.<sup>50</sup>

In V<sup>11</sup> there are several persons who are *Kwāthanāyaka*; e.g. Śivadāsa Mūlamī (f. 55-b), Gāyana Mūlamī (50-b), Tejarāma Mūlamī, Jayata Mūlamī, Dāsa Mūlamī, Padma Mūlamī, etc. This indicates that the *Mūlamī* was also charged with the command of the defence posts.

The designation of *Sachiva* and *Mantrī* are commonly used in inscriptions and colophon data but rarely these are mentioned in the ancient chronicles. Nevertheless the king's counsellors used to bear one or either of these designations. But it is difficult to say if there was a council of ministers. Probably any minister who became extraordinarily powerful called himself *mahāmantrī* or *mantryādhirāja* as did the Vardhanarāma Feudatory in the inscriptions.

<sup>48</sup> V<sup>111</sup>, f. 57-b.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 54-a.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 54-b.

## FORTS AND DEFENCE OUTPOSTS

There are several places mentioned by name in the chronicles, which have been called *Kwātha*, meaning fortress. These extended to the four corners of the valley and beyond to Noakoṭ in the west and to Banepā and Palāñchok in the east and to Pharping in the south. The fortification must have been intended for internal and external defence. In V<sup>111</sup> we read a line about the invasion of Noakoṭ by the Khasias. It seems that Noakoṭ and similar places were maintained and fortified as military outposts to check external attack on Nepal proper.

The activities of the state were the maintenance of law and order and external defence. For this it had to maintain an armed force. But we do not know if beyond the strength of the king's bodyguard the state had any kind of standing army. In times of external invasion the entire population was mobilised to meet the foe as it happened while the Khasias invaded Nepal.

The king performed normally different kinds of religious duties and it seems from the chronicles that he was mainly preoccupied with this kind of activity. In fact the chronicles, both ancient and modern, give more facts of devotional and religious character than of historical events. From these we learn that the state as personified by the ruler was much dominated by influence of various religious cults. God Paśupati was the presiding deity with Maneśvarī as mother deity of equal reverence. But Buddhist Svayambhu and Lokeśvara obtained worship at the hands of the rulers with equal sense of devotion. In paying homage to deities they did not discriminate between sects. Their devotion was offered equally to Śaivite and Buddhist shrines. In the chronicles, we have many dates noting royal offering of sacrifices to various deities of the Nepal Valley. Kings used as epithets terms which showed faith in both the Śaiva and Buddhist tenets of worships (for more details see below).

The royal family was not isolated from their subjects, who shared alike their joys and sorrows. The common people were associated in religious ceremonies. They also participated in nightly revelries organised in the palace which was open to them

within limited hours to enable them also to petition the ruler. From V<sup>111</sup> we know that the drama of *Bhairavānanda* was staged before an audience composed of peoples from all the four corners of the land.

Our sources do not provide us information as to the administrative divisions of the country. But this much we can say in this connection that Nepal being a feudal state any division based on strictly administrative consideration was unknown for that period. Administration was the look out of the feudal lord, and naturally in this condition it was confined to his position and in areas controlled by him. If there were administrative divisions, of which, however, we have little information, these might have been also in certain cases conterminous with the territorial units of the feudal lords according as they controlled the extent of the land as situated wherever the central authority functioned loosely. There was a chieftaincy ruled by a chieftain, the *Rājā* or *Rābutta* or *Sāmanta* as the case may be. We have already referred to these chiefs. Altogether about half a dozen of them can be counted, the *Vardhanarāmas* of Binappa (modern Banepā), *Rābuttas* of Śikharapurī of Phanapi (modern Pharping), *Mahāsāmantas* of *Dhavalāśrota* (modern Dhulikhel) *Sāmantas* of Navakwātha (modern Noakoṭ) and Udaipur (unidentified).

It is quite likely that these *Sāmantas* combined with their authority and position of a landlord also the function of an official.

#### SUBORDINATE FEUDAL OR ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

We do not rule out the existence of divisions of the kingdom into units and subordinate units. This was quite natural in view of the fact that administration, however, loose and diffused to give a predominant position to the feudal overlord must have for its own convenience divisional units where the agencies of the central authority were stationed.

Most of the places mentioned in the inscriptions or colophons in connection with their rule constitute totality of the areas over which they ruled. We know nothing about differ-

ent parts of each of these areas. The scribe in the documents does further mention the name of the locality he resides, sometimes the particular place he came from or belonged to, but these invariably are names of either the Vihāra (Buddhist monastery) or the locality within a certain town (Patan, Bhatgaon or Kathmandu) and they never connote a sense of administrative units. In about half a dozen documents, however, the words *Viṣaya* and *Bhūṅgti* are used to express the meaning of a bigger unit under which certain locality associated with the scribe was situated. In V<sup>1</sup> (f. 27-b) Rudramalla is said to have ruled up to Noakoṭ which was a *Bhūṅgti*. Probably if it is not a misreading (Petech has read it as *ṭuduti*), we can suggest in the light of this expression that Noakoṭ was a big administrative unit having under it lesser units centrally controlled and also feudal principalities. More than that, we know from other records that Noakoṭ was a fort where the government maintained its armed force. Much probably it was the fort of that name which was the head-quarter of the area comprising the *Bhūṅkti*. *Viṣaya* comes for notice in four manuscripts. *Viṣaya* denoted either a province or a district. Here it meant a unit bigger than a village and lesser than a *Bhūṅkti*. Probably it meant a unit composed of a group of villages. In the ms. *Prajñāpāramitā Pañjikā* the colophon mentions a *Śrīgaṇḍigulma viṣaya* in the reign of Harṣadeva (NS 213);<sup>51</sup> this *Gaṇḍigulmaka* is also noted as the home locality of the owner of the ms. of *Prajñāpāramitā* of NS 119 (see above),<sup>52</sup> *Gaṇḍigulmaka* is identified, for a stele of the time of Amśuvarman was found in a locality immediately south of the city of Patan said to have been issued from the site of that name. It is likely that *Gaṇḍigulmaka* was the head-quarter of the southern unit of the kingdom of Nepal as it then existed. But Pharping, only four miles south-west of Lalitapāṭan is mentioned as *Phallaṅṅga viṣaya*

<sup>51</sup> Sa-skya monastery, VIII, no. 201, JBORS, XXIII, Pt. I, p. 61, p. 24.

<sup>52</sup> No. XIX. 1.215, JBORS, Ibid., p. 29.



in ms. *Kubjikāmatam* of Harṣadeva's reign (NS 210)<sup>53</sup> and in ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*<sup>54</sup> of 285 NS. A third document talking of a *viṣaya* is ms. *Kubjikāmatam* (NS 270) where the expression *Pannagaviṣayādhipati Mahāsāmanta Hamsadevasya vijayarājye* occurs.<sup>55</sup> We have already made some observation about the identity of the place. In ms. *Vṛttasārasaṅgrahadharmaputrikā* we have another *Viṣaya* (*Pañchāvata-deśiya*).<sup>56</sup> The ms. belongs to NS 321. The name is not identified.

The last time we hear of *viṣaya* is in an inscription of Jayabhīma's reign. (Pharping stele, vide ante, NS 385). But the term *viṣaya* was also applied for the whole of the principality of Kathmandu in Sūryamalla's time (NS 648, Nhaka bahil, Kathmandu). This shows that the unit of a *viṣaya* was big enough to cover a fairly large slice of territory.

We have seen the feudal units under the *sāmantas*. We have also enumerated fortified areas called *Kwāthas*. Urban centres mentioned in the documents besides the three principal cities of the Valley are: *Śikharāpurī* (Pharping), *Navakoṭa* (Noakot), Udaipur (not identified), *Dhavalasrotapura* (Dhulikhel) and *Gwala* (Deopātan), and *Lembatipattana* (not identified).<sup>57</sup> In all documents Patan, the capital city, was invariably known as *Lalitapuri* or *Lalitakrama* (*bruma*) or *Yellai*, Kathmandu as *Yiñdeśa*, *Yambukrama* or *Kaṣṭamaṇḍapa* or *Kantipur* and Bhatgaon as *Bhaktapur* or *Bhaktagrama* or *Khopo* or *Khuprimbruma*.

### THREE CITIES OF THE VALLEY

In the last chapter of the second part of the book we have dealt at length about the three cities in the light of their importance as strategic trade centres. It has been established that Patan was the capital since ancient days till Nepal came to be

<sup>53</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1077.4.

<sup>54</sup> CBMC, p. 182.

<sup>55</sup> Recently acquired by the Darbar Library.

<sup>56</sup> Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 737.

<sup>57</sup> ms. *Saptaśati*, Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1536.10.

disintegrated after Yakṣamalla's death. A colophon verse in a ms. (*Mahābhārata Prasthānaparva*) of Jyotirmalla's reign written in 545 shows that Jaya Sthitimalla and his son had also functioned from Patan.<sup>58</sup> The verse said 'the famous city by name Lalitāpurī is made the capital of Nepal. Here in Nepal just as the Gods wander in heaven, so all the noblemen are inhabited here'.

However, it appears that since Jaya Sthitimalla's time Patan was regarded as capital just in name, because the kings were living actually in Bhatgaon. During the reign of Yakṣamalla the governor (*mahāpātra*) of Patan had become powerful enough to challenge the authority of his sovereign.

All of these cities stood for centuries for the high grade of culture and all its embodiments in arts and crafts, that made Nepal conspicuous at the time in the eyes of the civilised world. Yet each had a peculiarity of its own. If Patan was more advanced in fine arts, brass-ware, wood-carving and stone and metal sculpture, Kathmandu and Bhatgaon with their own architectural attainments viable in themselves were economically more prosperous on account of the extensive trade. Unlike Patan, these owe their origin and development solely to the Malla period and within a few centuries of growth they rose in stature and height befitting a great city. The earlier name of Kathmandu was Kantipur. It was also called *Yambu* in several manuscript works.<sup>59</sup> Later, it came to be also called *Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa* either city (*Nagar*) or area (*Kṣetra*). The earliest reference to the first name is found in the ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* of the reign of Bhojadeva (*Śrī Yambu Kramāyām*).<sup>60</sup> The next document to refer to this name is the

<sup>58</sup> CPMDN, II, p. 50.

नेपालचान्तं कृत राजधानी नाम्ना प्रसिद्धा ललितापुरीति । यथाहि देवा विचरन्ति स्वर्गे । तथा नगर्यां स्थित सर्व्व पात्राः ॥

<sup>59</sup> See the first part of the volume.

<sup>60</sup> Camb. Univ. Lib. Addl. 2191.1 cited by Petech, P. 37.

ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* of NS 285 *Śrāvāṇa śukla 8*.<sup>61</sup> The name *Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa* is used for the first time in a ms. *Nāmasaṅgīti* of 263 *Āśvina śukla pūrṇimā*.<sup>62</sup> Since then several documents have used this expression. In the Svayambhu inscription of Rājadeva dated NS 472, we have also the expression *Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa*. Possibly the building which gave the name to the city was erected in about the eleventh century A.D. The construction is ascribed to a mendicant from Gaur. Since then it has been a seat of the *Nātha* School of *Śaiva* cult. In the inscriptions belonging to the 16th century A.D. traced in the northern part of the town, the name of the area spoken is *Suvarṇapatālī Mahānagarī* (great city).<sup>63</sup> Obviously, the two parts of the town were known under different names. But the nerve centre was what had come to be noted as *Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa* or *Kāntipur* or *Yambukrama* or *Yaṅgāl*. Kathmandu's Newārī name is *Yindeśa* according to Georgi, the Tibetans called it *Jang-bu* or *Jabe*, probably an altered transaction of *Yamṇu*. Levi (I, p. 54) says that Kathmandu was known also as *Khoborn* to Tibetans. Probably as the present name of a part of the town goes, Kathmandu was also known as *Yaṅgāl*.

It came to be called a great city (inscription at *Bijēsvārī, Oṭu*, etc, *Mahānagarī*).<sup>64</sup> Bhatgaon was called *Bhaktagrāma* (Yakṣamalla's inscription) or *Bhaktapur* (Pratap's inscription)<sup>65</sup> In ancient chronicles of the 14th century it was known as *Khoṇo* or *Koawā*. Earlier than that it was called *Khuṇṇimbruma*.<sup>66</sup> According to modern chronicles the city was founded by Abhayamalla or Ānandamalla. Patan either known as *Lalitpattana* literally 'a beautiful city' probably was famed for its structural beauty. Its citizens were proud of its civic environment and claimed that it was the only city for the whole

<sup>61</sup> Camb. Univ. Lib. Addl. 1693, CBMC, P. 182.

<sup>62</sup> JBORS, XXIII, P. 39.

<sup>63</sup> All unpublished.

<sup>64</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>65</sup> Both unpublished.

<sup>66</sup> ms. *Harṁsayāmala* of 159 *Vaiśākha* (DLC. I. 1076.23)

of Nepal. More enlightened and conscious than citizens of the other two towns they also prone to settling their questions of dispute with peace (Inscriptions in stones and copper plate with Gorakhanātha).

Patan was the seat of Buddhist learning and arts. Its art creations of bronze and brass wares received wide recognition all over Nepal.

The city had a planned appearance with broad openings and stone pavements. As Gorkhā power got consolidated in course of time Patan came in direct contact with the territories of Tanhou through Kīrtipur-Dahachok-Lāmiḍāñḍa range- Bhīm-dhuṅgā-Dhunibaisi-Maheś kholā and Tarhighāṭ. Tarhighāṭ area was the confluence of the three principalities of Tanhou, Mackwānpur and Lalitpaṭṭana. The former two had outlet to the plains through their Terai extensions.

Its commercial importance subsequently increased and through the facilities given by rulers of Tanhou and Gorkhā who did not look kindly to Kathmandu, Patan carried a brisk trade with the west. It is said that in those days Patan's coins were current in the entire western region, a proof of the dominant economic position gained by Patan in those areas.

Patan's rulers, all without exceptions, called themselves, 'Lord of Māṇiggal'. According to some Māṇiggal is a distorted version of Mānagrha, the ancient palace of the Nepalese kings. This epithet 'Lord of Māṇiggal' came to be used by rulers of Patan only since Śivasimha's time ( NS 698-738 ). But what led this monarch to adopt this title at this stage cannot be ordinarily explained.<sup>67</sup>

Before Kathmandu reached a high stage of progress, Patan was the centre of political activities being the capital for the whole of the undivided Valley.

The earliest name for Patan, Lalitapura, is available from the Patan inscription of Rudradeva-Bhojadeva, dated NS 132.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Meghapālavarmā's inscription ( NS 477 ) has *Śrī Śrī Lalita brumāyām Śrī Mānigala Vajra Māhāpimṭha Vihāra*.

<sup>68</sup> Unpublished.

The ms. *Sphoṭikavaidya* has *Lalita Kramāyām* (240 *Āṣāḍha*).<sup>69</sup> Since then both *Lalitapura* and *Lalitabruma* were used in the documents. Patan is a recent name, probably retained out of a two-word name, *Lalita-paṭṭan* meaning 'beautiful city.'

In Jasche, Tibetan Dictionary S.V. "Ye-ran" which means Patan is mentioned as the name of the city next to *Khobom* (Levi, I, footnote P. 61). Probably, this name is derived from the local name of the town as 'Yellai deśa'.

Bhatgaon called *Khopo* in the third town in the Valley.<sup>70</sup> According to Levi, *po-wen* mentioned in the *Wei-Tsang t'ouki* is Bhatgaon. Bhatgaon controlled the Valley of the rivulet Manohara and the vegetable producing area of Ṭhimi and Bode. Further east it had the valleys of Banepā and Pannauti. To add to agricultural resources, this principality enjoyed as aforesaid the facilities of a direct contact with Tibetan border and there flowed a voluminous stream of trade through this contact to enable Bhatgaon to derive a lucrative income out of it. Further Bhatgaon got in exchange silver and gold bullion from Tibet and this placed it in a special position of vantage compared to the two cities in the Valley. Minting of coins for Tibet was the crowning advantage of all, which also provided an exclusive source of income.

In its hey day the principality of Bhatgaon extended up to the river Dudh Kośi to the border of the Limbuan (the territory of the *Limbus*).<sup>71</sup>

#### THE NAME, NEPALA

Wherever the entire country was to be meant the scribe used the word *Nepālamaṇḍala* or *Nepāladeśa* or simply

<sup>69</sup> CSPMIO, II, P. 1502, n. 8049.

<sup>70</sup> Georgi's *Kinpo*, according to Levi. But this is not correct. *Kipo* is Kirtipur.

<sup>71</sup> See Ranajitamalla's inscription on the outer wall of the Palace by the side of the golden door.

*Nepāla*.<sup>72</sup> In a ms. of the reign of Bhojadeva-Rudradeva-Lakṣmīkāmadeva ( NS 135 ) we have the expression *Nepāla-maṇḍala svalaṅkaraṇāya*. One of Pradyumnakāmadeva's colophons calls Śaṅkaradeva to have conquered enemies and made his people free from fear in *Nepālamaṇḍala*.<sup>73</sup> In a colophon of Ānandadeva's reign, which is dated NS 279, Bhaktapur is mentioned to be a city within *Nepālamaṇḍala*,<sup>74</sup> The era used in the colophon of *Charakasamhitā* of 303 is called *Nepāladeśiya Samvat*.<sup>75</sup> King Guṇakāmadeva is referred to as protecting Nepāladeśa in a colophon,<sup>76</sup> thus implying that he was ruling one the entire country though it seems he ruled only over a small part.

There are several occasions where *Nepāladeśa* or *Nepālamaṇḍala* is used in the colophons of Anantamalla to mean the kingdom of Nepal under the king's jurisdiction, e.g. ms. *Ekādaśimahātmya*<sup>77</sup> of 400, mss. *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* of 403 *Phālguna*<sup>78</sup> and *Prathamāśāḍha*<sup>79</sup> respectively, where Kathmandu is shown within *Nepālamaṇḍala*. *Nepālamaṇḍala* also occurs in the first colophon of Jayārimalla, and here Patan is said to be within it.<sup>80</sup> Similarly Jayārjuna's colophon of 491 *Bhādra* (ms. *Mudrārākṣasa*)<sup>81</sup> places Patan as situated in *Nepālamaṇḍala*. Jayārjuna is ruling over *Nepālamaṇḍala* in the colophons of mss. *Hitopadeśa*<sup>82</sup> and *Mudrārākṣasa*.<sup>83</sup> Jaya Sthitimalla is called *Nepāleśvara* in the

<sup>72</sup> CBMC, Pp. 151-52 ( *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* )

<sup>73</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 688 ( *Pañcharakṣā* ).

<sup>74</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1647 ( *Smṛtimanjarī* ).

<sup>75</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1648.

<sup>76</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. II. 218 ( *Manthānabhairavatantra* ).

<sup>77</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1231.

<sup>78</sup> JBORS, XXIII, P. 28.

<sup>79</sup> JBORS, XXIII, P. 30.

<sup>80</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 362.

<sup>81</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1692.

<sup>82</sup> CBMC, P. 176.

<sup>83</sup> Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 2116.

ms. *Tithisārasaṅgraha*.<sup>84</sup> The Pharping Kochhuṭol inscription of 527 places *Sikharapuri* ( Sanskritic name of Pharping ) within *Nepālabhūkhaṇḍa*<sup>85</sup> and calls the ruler *Nepālabhūmaṇḍlādhipa*.

In the time of Jyotirmalla several mss. call him the king of *Nepālamaṇḍala* ( doc. 15, 16, 17 ). Yakṣamalla is called *Nepālabhuvanādhipendra* ( doc. 31 ) and *Nepālamaṇḍaleśvara* ( doc. 34 ) or *Nepālabhūmiśvara* ( doc. 46 ).

We get the information from the doc. 48 of Yakṣamalla that the country was known as *Nepāla* because it was in the ancient past nursed by a sage of the name of *Ne*. ( *Pūrvvamyamuninā supālita mahī Ne nāmadhyeyenasā Nepāleti cha saṅgītāmuni-janais. .* )

This is the first time that a reliable record of some antiquity is known to refer to the legend of *Nepāla* deriving its name from *Ne muni*.

We have no means of knowing how this legend grew and became popular. But the legend of *Ne Muni* is not known to the compilers of *Gopālarāja Vamsāvalī*, which came into final shape during the reign of Sthitimalla ( 1382-1395 ). So unless more documents older than the document cited are available it is difficult to believe if the story of *Ne Muni* calling the country after his own name was current earlier to Yakṣamalla's reign. However, this might not have been purely a brain wave of the poet introduced into the play, *Chaturāṅkanātaka*. Some sort of tradition about *Ne Muni* supporting Nepal and being the founder of the name *Nepāla* might have existed in the middle ages long before Yakṣamalla's reign, although we cannot say how far back this tradition goes.

### *Pañchāyats*

The village must have been the lowest unit of administration in the rural as was the *ṭol* in urban centres. But no idea of how the administration functioned there could be obtained from records.

<sup>84</sup> Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1663.

<sup>85</sup> Inscription n. XLV in our Appendix.

So many villages come to our notice from the documents of the period. There might have been some body elected or otherwise established to regulate the collective interests of the villagers in that unit. Who were the village officials? How the king put himself in touch with them? Did he send officers from his headquarters to supervise the village administration? These are some of the questions to which we have no answer. Ordinarily as in the village administration of Medieval India we might conceive that there was an assembly of elders and a headman, and on occasions the ruler sent his *śāsanas* to inspect and assess how the affairs were managed in the areas and how his jurisdiction was maintained. The village administration dealt surely with problems of land, irrigation, roads, temples and collective rituals. The land as described in documents of Indian origin must have been divided into *kṣetra* (cultivated lands), *vāstu* (for purposes of building houses), *khila* (uncultivated waste lands, and then forests and pasture lands). The houses in the Nepalese village were not scattered but all lay concentrated in one area as in a townlet. We know from other sources that only inhabitants belonging to upper castes lived within the precincts of the village; others lived outside its limits.

Just as our knowledge of village administration is poor, we have absolutely no sources to reveal to us how towns ran their self governing institutions. Towns, however, appear to have been under severe restraint either by the king and his governors or by feudatories.

#### SOME OTHER ASPECTS OF ADMINISTRATION

From several documents it appears that on occasions the joint rule also extended to the sphere of the *Mahāpātras* and *Rābuttas*. This is seen in the Pharping stele of Dharmamalla's reign and Sarasvatī stele of Yakṣamalla's time. The Pharping inscription shows the names of certain *Rābuttas* who are the rulers of the place (*etair bhūpatibhi sampālītā*).<sup>86</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Inscription n. XLII in our Appendix.



The expression used in the latter is *tribhi pradhāna pātraischa pālite Lahitāpura*.<sup>87</sup> We have seen how towards the end of Jaya Sthiti's reign while his sons were not come of age, the two Rāmavardhana feudatories had functioned as joint ministers and rulers.

It is also certain that in majority of the feudatories inherited position and administrative functions from father to son. For example Jayasimharāma could reach the exalted place of the *mantryādhirāja* because he was the son of Anekarāma who was a *mantri* in the previous reigns. It is also quite likely that the series of names we come across in records as the *Sāmantas* of *Dhavalasrotapur* were those persons governing there successively one after the other in the order from father to son.

It appears that for a long time both in early and late medieval periods Nepal had just a rudiment of an administration. It was probably a very simple instrument free from heavy bureaucratic trappings, that also left individuals to look after himself in many spheres of his life. Like the civil administration, the governance of revenue affairs was also as rudimentary and simple.

### THE ARMY

We have made reference to certain expressions that indicated military ranks. We have also said that an idea of a fortified area is obtained from more other expressions. As ordained by the natural formation of the country, use of elephants in battle is ruled out. But horses, specially the Bhotia ponies, were certainly being used. Along with the infantry, some sort of cavalry units must have been in existence. But we have no means to know the nature of the armed forces and the weapons they used, and the way they were engaged in battles. It is probable that weapons used in the Gangetic plain, such as spears, battle-axe, bow and arrow, sword and dagger and mace might have been in use also in Nepal. No fire arms appear to have been in use. Gunpowder came to be known in Nepal not

<sup>87</sup> Inscription n. LIX in our Appendix.

before the early 17th century. It is quite likely that a guerilla type of launching surprise attacks on the enemy might have been common in the narrow terrains of the Valley as well as the mountain defiles all around.

#### END OF A SYSTEM

As we come to the reign of Jaya Sthitimalla, the high feudatories appear less in the scene, but they completely disappear since the time of Jyotirmalla who himself came to power by shaking off the tutelage of his powerful minister of the Rāma Vardhana feudal family. All this showed that the central authority of the kingdom was strong enough to eliminate the feudatories by that time. The process must have taken sometime to materialise. We have seen how the court aristocracy had gained ground during the several decades of the latter part of the 14th century. The Bhāros and Bhallokas were the nobility of the court. These were fast supplanting the older nobility constituted by the Sāmantas and Rābuttas.

It was sure that all the advantages were obtained at the cost of the feudal chiefs who were not disposed to concentrate their activities in the court. There might have been surely prolonged struggle for power between the feudal aristocracy around the court and feudatories in control of different subordinate units of the country. The Rāma Vardhana Chief Ministers had not only eclipsed the throne but also curbed the feudatories. The strong rule they established must have incidentally strengthened the hands of central agencies wherever these existed. We cannot also imagine that but for a victorious struggle for power waged for generations together, the Vardhana family would not have secured the position it did. But the final act of liquidating the feudatories must belong to Jyotirmalla and Yakṣamalla. The chronicles speak of Yakṣamalla's victory over refractory feudatories. Perhaps this reflected the overall situation, where liquidation of the rule of feudatories had taken place to a certain extent. As if this was not enough, the dismemberment of the kingdom of Nepal following the exist of Yakṣamalla brought about the final overthrow of the rule of feudatories. In a

smaller state, the king could directly exercise his authority over every part of his kingdom left to his care. Conditions which tended to weaken central authority had been ended and a ground was set to allow the king in the capital not only to subjugate the feudal chiefs but to eliminate the very basis for their existence. In the new situation all factors tended to do away with them. Of course, dismemberment could not be justified on this ground. But nevertheless, the fact is that a new kind of feudal set up had emerged with the division of the old kingdom of Nepal, and this had been ushered eliminating the feudatory chiefs who uptill then exercised authority in the internal affairs of their units. We shall describe the nature of the new feudalism in the next volume.

It would appear that only in two cases the feudatories had maintained themselves inspite of the division. These were the *Mahāpatras* of Patan and the *Rābuttas* of Pharping. These feudatories seem to have continued to exist until the two Malla principalities ( Bhatgaon and Kathmandu ) had consolidated their strength capable enough of eliminating them by force.

#### EXTERNAL ATTACKS AND CIVIL WAR

Since the king of Kashmir invaded Nepal in the middle of the eighth century A.D. there has been practically no external attacks on Nepal until we come about the end of the 13th century A.D. This we say partly for want of sources to establish the correctness of some of the claims of conquest made by several South Indian rulers and partly for no mention of such aggression on Nepal by *Gopāla Rāja Vamsāvalī*, the V<sup>1</sup> which could be the only local authority to speak on the subject. It is certain that none of the North Indian Empire builders of the age like the Pālas, Chandellās Gāhadvalas as well as the Senas whose Northern frontiers must have touched Nepal at no time or another seem to have been anywhere close to the Churia ridges of modern Nepal, leave aside the Valley. At about the end of the 13th century and later, however, for nearly a hundred years and quarter we face a series of invasion both from the West and South, and the cultural and diplomatic attempts for

political ends from the North. The invasions are noted by V<sup>i</sup> V<sup>iii</sup> and VK while the Chinese annal, the *Ming-shu*, takes notice of the many missions exchanged between China and Nepal. As each invasion and the event of the diplomatic contact is dealt with at the appropriate places in the narrative we shall only touch them here with the apparent advantage of presenting all of them together at one place.

The Khasas invaded Nepal in NS 408, 409, 410, 433 and 448.

There were also raids by the Tirhutiyas in 409, 411, 414 and 413, 432. The V<sup>i</sup> and VK and V<sup>iii</sup> refer to these raids or invasions whatever we like to call them.

There was also an invasion from Bengal by Sultan Shams Ud-dīn in NS 470. The V<sup>iii</sup> (f. 52a) and two inscriptions, the Pimbahāl and Syayambhunātha stones refer to this invasion quite briefly.

Invasions which took place after NS 430 came at a time while Nepal was also disturbed by a civil war, sometimes furiously raging and sometimes dormant. As for conditions of civil war, if we are to follow the Italian Scholar L. Petech, the earliest might have broken out in the 10th century A.D. while the country was divided between the lines of Narendradeva and Guṇakāmadeva. Petech thinks that the division continued in some form or other for a period of about 200 years until the two parts were merged together under Śankaradeva (c. 1065-1082 A.D.). The question of political division of the time has been dealt with in the narrative, and it is to be noted here that we fail to notice sufficient ground to establish the fact of such a situation. But as Śivadeva and Śirṇhadeva fell out against each other, there were two kingdoms and there was definitely a state of civil war, which probably ended with the appearance of a third party in the scene. The time in which the successive rulers Indradeva, Mānadeva and Narendradeva had ruled was also abnormal. Normalcy was restored with Śirṇhadeva's son Ānandadeva on the throne in 1147 A.D. But Nepal was yet to experience the worst calamity of a civil war, which came on Someśvaradeva's death in 1182 A.D. Then kings, feudatories

and barons captured slices of territory as fell to them in a ceaseless struggle for power and territory. This kind of chaotic state remained for about eighteen years. It was Arimalla who restored peace to Nepal in 1200 A.D. by subduing all disruptive forces then rampant. For nearly 60 years Nepal enjoyed internal calm and stability but when Jayabhīmadeva with the help of Jayasīhadeva came to power, there was once again a state of disturbances. As facts of Jayasīhamalla's reign are obscure, we have a cause to think that his time was not one of quiet and stability. Anantamalla surely succeeded in a tense atmosphere. In the present state of our knowledge it is not difficult to understand if his accession to the throne came in the normal conditions. Both Jayabhīma and Anantamalla do not appear to be related to Arimalla. The obscurity of their family ties with the main branch of the ruling family is suggestive of the fact that something unusual had happened to cause their rise to power. But nowhere in the ancient chronicle a reference is available to a dispute for the throne or to a state of civil war either in regard to Jayabhīma's accession to the throne or to Anantamalla becoming king after Jayasīhamalla. This was again not the end of the internal squabbles. These had shadowed Anantamalla's reign as feuds had broken out between Jayabhīma's sons and others joined them. The situation after his death was worse. Anantamalla's reign was also conspicuous for the many raids into Nepal from the West and South which devastated the Valley in an unprecedented scale.

The civil war centred round the personality of Jayānanda whose claim to the throne was at one time contested by his nephew and at another by Jayārimalla. The latter seems to have almost ousted him with the help of Rudramalla and internal disquiet subsided when Jayānanda had reconciled to the new situation being probably content to live in Palāñchok as a second king.

Anantamalla who passes for a weak king died in NS 430 (= 1310 A.D.). In his life time he had encouraged Jayaśaktideva, a son of Jayādityadeva, on venture to establish his claim of a crown prince, though because of Jayānandadeva who was

Jayaśakti's uncle he could not openly declare him so. Jayānandadeva though a second brother of the late Jayāditya was making efforts to occupy the throne by-passing Jayāditya was not liked by a section of officers and nobility. Forces were ranged on both sides and a civil war broke out as Anantamalla left an undecided dispute behind him. It appears that after Jayatungamalla's death his son shifted his allegiance and took the side of Jayānanda in the dispute; the civil war was dragged on for sometime until Jayaśaktideva was finally vanquished and probably killed.

The V<sup>111</sup> is the only source for our information. The V<sup>1</sup> says after completing the notes of Anantamalla's reign, "thereafter Jayānandadeva appears" thus suggesting that the latter follows him on the throne. The V<sup>111</sup> instead of suggesting a date for the death of Anantamalla talks of some disturbances in the period. It appears that the civil war was a protracted affair and the issue was not settled quite soon; meanwhile Nepal was overtaken by invasions from outside.

From the civil war point of view the Tirhutiyā and the Khasia invasions of the early thirties of the 5th century NS are important. Therefore we are leaving out of our consideration the invasions of NS 408, 409, 410, 414 as well as of 448. It appears that the two invasions of the period happened to be of greater magnitude than any such taking place earlier.

We have already dealt in detail with the events of Rāmasimhas' invasion on Nepal. Because of their proximity the Tirhutiyās often raided the areas on the outskirts in the South and South-east of the Valley. Sometimes the Tirhutiyās entered also the Valley. It is difficult to say if the passage in V<sup>111</sup> under date line NS 420 *Paṣa kṛṣṇa ādityavāra* (f. 40b-41a) refers to the Tirhutiyā invasion. We have already referred to the situation while we described the events of the period in our narrative. Like the other passages this is also obscure enough not to clear the point whether the story of the acts of killing of men and capture of forts we read between the lines is there because of the civil war or alien invasion. No doubt both Jayaśaktideva and Anantamalla figure in the account as partici-

pants on the one side. But whom they were fighting? Two special dates are mentioned in the passage. *Māgha kṛṣṇa 12, Phālguna śukla 5 brhaspativāra* and in this some areas, Tipura Asanima, Khandakhuri, Bakhuruvahi and Brahmpura, which were probably conquered by the raiders. The last date is *Chaitra śukla 7*. Very probably the conflicts had some to an end at this date. We have, however, to find out if the same account had anything to do with the Tirhutiyās. The fact of an invasion on the Valley in NS 431 is, however, unmistakably presented by VK. Let us repeat what VK has to say” *Samvat 431 Māgha māsa* the Tirhutiyā entered Lalitagrāma. The kingdom faced grievous situation, fines were imposed, feudatories and noblemen were put under arrest. Great many troubles” As Petech suggested we may as well supplement our information by connecting the statement of VK with that of the V<sup>111</sup> conveyed through a description of similar events under date line 432 *Kārtika śukla 12* (f. 42b). If the facts of destructions of temples, imposition of fines and arrest of some noblemen as suggested by the passage are established as those emanating from outside invasions from the South, the connection between the two events might appear not unlikely. But nowhere the name Tirhutiyā appears as invaders. The V<sup>111</sup> gives more details of the event. The invaders had succeeded in capturing the capital (then just nominal) and arresting its feudal lords and members of the nobility. They had also plundered temple treasures, one of them being that of Paśupatinātha and to repeat what we have already said in the narrative (vide ante paragraphs) they had inflicted widespread destruction on the Valley. The Valley seems to have suffered in that process twice within a period of eight months, once on 431 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 14* and next *Kārtika śukla 12 uttrabhadra somavāra*. The passage noting events of the year 432 mentions Sāngā and Banepā to have been raided. It is probable that the raiders had spread subduing Bhatgaon. In conclusion Śaktideva is mentioned and it is not improbable that the writer might have noted him to refer to the end of his career, a fact which we have already suggested. But Nepal suffered widespread damage for the third time a year later when Ripu-

malla Khasia raided the Valley on 433 *Phālgūṇa kṛṣṇa pratipadaā*. He stayed in the Valley for two months and we can imagine the extent of physical torture and extortion of money inflicted on the Nepalese people as a result.

There is no doubt that the invaders had taken advantage of the weak situation of Nepal generated by a civil war between the rival groups of the royal family.

The invasions were short lived, and the attacking party had left the valley no sooner than their appetite for plunder was served. All this might endow the events with the characteristic of military raids, which had contributed to aggravating the already civil war torn condition of Nepal.

With the invasion of Ādityamalla Khasia in NS 448 (=1328 A.D.), the series of external attacks on Nepal came to an end. But civil strife persisted. However, since the ruler of subsidiary kingdom of Bhatgaon became all powerful and dominated the King's court in Patan. Peace had not been disturbed by civil wars between two parties contesting for the throne. Rather the focus shifted to Bhatgaon. There the supporters of the Kāśī prince fought the Tirhutiya Jagatsimha who had cleverly manoeuvred to capture the hands of the widowed successor of Rudramalla. But both the Kāśī and Tirhutiya adventurers perished in the flames of mutual quarrels and for sometime the country was to enjoy its usual placidity. The king was a weakling and the regent of Bhatgaon who happened to be the wife of Rudramala exerted to maintain calm. She also kept in good humour the redoubtable Chief Minister Anekarāma of Banepā, who was a partisan of king Jayarājadeva. At least between themselves these two powerful figures had not allowed internal strife to continue, and peace generally prevailed. This atmosphere once again was not much lasting. Tensions grew while Bhatgaon under Sthitimalla contrived to seek dominance over Patan. Sthitimalla had himself no right to inherit the throne, but using the title of his wife he moved not only to become the proclaimed king of Bhatgaon but also to deprive the lawful ruler of Nepal, king Jayārjuna, of powers and ultimately the throne; Sthitimalla had triumphed but not until he defeated the opposition from



Anekarāma's son Jayasimharāma and supporters who organised a long drawn resistance in several pockets of the Valley and outside. At a later stage Jayasimharāma was to appear as a powerful feudatory acting quite independently of the king over certain areas to the north-east of the Nepal Valley.

The Palāñchok principality under Jayasimharāma's brother and nephew passed as an independent kingdom of Nepal in the eyes of the Tibetans and Chinese who accredited their representatives to their court, ignoring the sovereign ruler of Nepal seated in Bhatgaon at the time. The Chinese emperors bestowed titles on Madanasimharāma and Śaktisimharāma on different occasions, and according to *Ming-shu* accepted tributes sent by the latter. The Chinese emperor ordered his representatives to visit Nepal in 1384, 1409, 1413, 1418 and 1427 A.D. and the latter reciprocated by dispatching tributary missions to China in 1388, 1391, 1410 and 1414. The Veritable Records states that in 1414 A.D. Śaktisimha the recipient of a seal as an emblem of kingship granted to him by the Chinese emperor. The Chinese annal calls every mission from Nepal invariably as a tributary mission sent to pay tributes to the emperor. In similar vein the visiting Chinese mission was described as an agency despatched 'to collect tributes'.

We may not take seriously the Chinese way of characterising the missions on both sides. But it might be true that by appearing to give recognition to the feudatory ruler of Bhoṭṭadesa as the ruler of Nepal, and again awarding their seal as a token of appointment the Chinese had allowed themselves the satisfaction of gaining overlordship in the kingdom of Nepal, howsoever it might seem nominal and even sham in the context. We may also assume that Madanasimharāma and his son might have thought to have been strengthened in their domain by accepting Chinese support for their independent existence.

In the absence of local sources for the events of the Nepal-Chinese relations of the period, we have to depend on the *Ming-shu* for our information and there is no doubt that whatever be the character of the missions, the two countries had exchanged envoys as the Chinese history tells us. It appears that the initial

move was made by the Chinese and they had done so by sending a Tibetan monk to wait on Madanasimharāma. The Chinese thought that the Tibetan monk would be the most acceptable person to a country which revered Buddha. They also knew that the Bhoṭṭadeśa feudatories were powerful both in their principality where they functioned as virtual kings and in the capital of Nepal where they enjoyed the status of Regent ministers even assuming high sounding kingly titles. The offering of the seal of appointment as king of Nepal by the Chinese emperor to these feudatories had gone to satisfy their vanity, albeit this meant accepting a subordinate status in relation to the emperor. Of course, the Chinese were outwitted by the situation as their plans was to mature. But they had definitely made an attempt to score a diplomatic victory over Nepal and bring the country within the periphery of their empire.

It was left to Jyotirmalla, Sthitimalla's son to wipe out the experience of Bhoṭṭarāja. Jyotirmalla's son Yakṣamalla is credited to have put an end to the warring chiefs of the Valley who were also challenging the authority of the king. But after his death Nepal had the misfortune to have been divided on a permanent basis, which was to close nearly 250 years later a new kingdom in the west rose to expand its frontiers.

We have already added our observation on the disappearance of the feudatories with the division of Nepal between Yakṣamalla's descendants, and how all but one had been eliminated. We shall see in the second part of our writing how domestic quarrels had led to the extinction of Nepal was not subjected to attacks by neighbours since the mid 14th century, the country was rendered so weak that once it came the invader had his way to the successful annihilation of the ruling parties of the Nepal Valley and their final surrender.

It appears that whereas the external attacks on Nepal had not gone so far as to deprive the country of independence and had not even fettered its free existence for a while, the domestic squabbles had caused much trouble, chaos and dismemberment which again rendered the door open to attacks by neighbours. If Nepal was a big country even then the internal unrest would

create conditions for foreign intervention. But with its small size Nepal was also to enact the drama where kings, feudatories and nobilities played their part as in a big kingdom or empire. This was Nepal's most tragic woe, and the kingdom had to play heavily for it in terms of human suffering engendered by civil war or external raids. Internal feud was a very common feature of the polity of the history of the days we are dealing with. External attacks, however, came only when there were strongly entrenched states on the south and west. From the eastern tribal area the Nepal Valley had no troubles. But whenever a powerful state arose on the south or west, Nepal had to face regular raids by the neighbours from these sides. Nepal was fortunate in one respect that it had no powerful neighbours on the west and south for centuries together except for about two hundred years in approximately 12-13 centuries A.D. The Khasia kingdom in the Karnālī basin was the only political power in our history organised in the west of Nepal. In its height of power its ruler raided Nepal several times one by one. As soon as the Khasa state ceased to exist, and its place was taken by smaller states Nepal was no more threatened from that side until Gorkhā under Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh marched triumphantly on a career of conquest. Similarly Nepal's southern neighbour Mithilā had hardly a political state of its own once Videha ceased to exist. From the very early Mauryan period this country was a part of the empire ruling from Pāṭaliputra. When Pāṭaliputra became extinct as the capital, Mithilā was overrun by other empire builders such as the Pālas. But as we have seen Mithilā saw a kingdom of its own as Nānyadeva set up his rule in the early 12th century A.D. His kingdom was ended by the advent of Muslim power absorbing Mithilā (1325 A.D.). But the last hundred years of its continuation were those of the wars and raids against its neighbours. In that course Mithilā had found it possible to organise raids also against Nepal. It did so particularly in the reigns of Rāmasiṃha and Harasiṃha as in this period Mithilā was little subjected to invasions by its neighbours. But in December, 1324 A.D, the last independent ruler of Mithilā was defeated by the Muslim invader and compelled to

seek refuge in the Nepalese Terai where he died. With the effacement of Harasimha's kingdom the threat of raids against Nepal was removed for good. The Oinwars enjoyed their kingdom at the sufferance of the Muslim Sultans. Therefore there was no question of their attempting to meddle in the affairs of the neighbouring kingdom. Neither the Muslim Nawabs could eye their glance into the Himalayan fastness. Thus the Nepal Valley and adjoining areas escaped the ravages of external attacks since Harasimha's dynasty was uprooted.

Internal feuds however continued to produce damages, though because of the peculiar situation in the areas outside the frontiers exploitation by outsiders to impose their rule was not possible. We can imagine how much moral and material deterioration in the condition of the country was caused by internal squabbles. There was a division into three parts of the already small sized country. These three units played the same role as the mutually fighting feudatories of the olden times. Each functioned independently of the other in an atmosphere of suspicion and jealousy.

Mutual feuding was the common feature of their independent existence; and all this hit also the economy of the Valley of Nepal. The state of affairs had dragged for about three centuries, and its cumulative effect was to weaken morally and materially the dismembered state of Nepal beyond repair so that when an attack was made by an outside agency it fell to the invader.

### TAXES

There were taxes on land and on imports of commodities. According to the *Blue Annals* the Nepalese governor at the outpost on the Nepal-Tibet border realised taxes from the Tibetans visiting Nepal.<sup>88</sup> It was a tax on their entry into Nepal. Tributes from the feudatories formed another source of revenue.

The realisation for the tax on land must have been based on the classic rule that the state should collect one fourth or one

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<sup>88</sup> II, P. 402.

sixth of the total produce. We do not know if it was otherwise in the middle ages.

Although we have no means to know if there were taxes on commodities, but considering the materials of the ancient period it can be presumed that the state levied excise on certain articles of consumption, both necessities and luxuries (*bhāgabhogakara*).<sup>89</sup> The gleanings from the ancient texts also lead us to presume that there was a tax on oil (*tailakara*),<sup>90</sup> fishes,<sup>91</sup> fowls and pigs<sup>92</sup> and on woods and leaves.<sup>93</sup>

The chronicle B<sup>2</sup> mentions some more taxes in the section dealing with the caste functions. There was a tax on every male buffalo, boar and pig killed in public places, either a public lawn or side of a thoroughfare. The state also obtained as revenue fines imposed for transgression of caste laws in regard to duties assigned or commensality or co-habitation (for fines see below the section on caste).

### *Expenditure*

The primary duty of the state was the maintenance of law and order within and defence of the country from external attack. As it so went, a large portion of the king's revenue might have been spent on the army. But there is no information from any source as to what amount was incurred for defence purposes.

The king treated the state treasury as his personal property. But he had to maintain not only his private retinue but he also met the expense of administration out of the treasury. No idea of the mode of payment to officers and men is available. There was certainly tax free land enjoyed by the officials in lieu of salary. However, as we have already suggested, most of these officials were feudal lords who derived their power and property by virtue of hereditary rights.

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<sup>89</sup> Gnoli, XII, LXXXII.

<sup>90</sup> Gnoli, XXXVII, LV.

<sup>91</sup> Gnoli, XXXII.

<sup>92</sup> Gnoli, XXXIX.

<sup>93</sup> Gnoli, XXVIII.

The personal expenses of the king were certainly vast and because he personified the state, nobody grudged the amount he spent on himself.

It was not a welfare state we have to deal with in our account. The medieval state was absolutely feudal, and was embodied in the person of the king. All his personal activities came under the purview of the state. So what pious and religious duties he performed were deemed as belonging to the sphere of the state. The king met all the expenses relating to various sacrifices and offering out of the general revenue. Because all the year round there were some ceremonies or other, this might have meant a substantial sum.

Epigraphic records tell us about the construction of temples, water conduits, wells and canals for irrigation. These involved another substantial part of the total expenditure.

## II

### EXCHANGE AND ECONOMY

For want of sufficient data shedding light on economic affairs, no connected account of the time dealing solely with the subject of economic history could be made available to readers. Here and there as side issues, economic problems lined with the main currents of history have certainly come up for cursory reference and light discussion. But the complaint that economic data are poor remains unanswered as yet. If in the above pages topics of economic importance are only seldom touched, it was because of the drawback we have just iterated. Now below in the few paragraphs we venture to give a passing reference to certain aspects of exchange and economy obtaining at the time as far as they tend to reflect on the economic character of the society.

To begin with let us discuss the problem of the exchange. In a ms. of *Aśvāyurveda Śāstra* there is a line, *damma-śivakā dvaya-dama-dhika pañcha plankata pla 5 damma 2*, and translated by Petch, this reads : 'Five *Pla* plus two *dam* of

the *damma-śivakā* (currency); in figures, 5 *pla* and 2 *damma*'.<sup>1</sup> The Pim̄bahāl inscription cited in connection with the Muslim invasion has also a few lines giving information about the medium of exchange related to a donation; one of the lines reads *Navadamma-śivakā damatraya karṣānka karṣa trayam*, this amount being incurred towards the expenses of worship of *Chaityaraṅgabhaṭṭāraka* and *nava-dama-śivakā trayānka pla* 3 for the purchase of a parapet. Further we have *navadamma śivakā pta (pla)* for firewood (*agni prajvālita-nimittārtham*);<sup>2</sup> but all this interfusion makes the expression difficult to understand.

In V<sup>iii</sup> there are several passages talking of price in terms of monetary units. In f. 39b we have of conditions in 352 *Chaitra vadi* the passage in the words *tandula kudva dyaya dammana, labanātela pla ekam lupla mūlyadamma pla 2, tāhakarṣadamma 20 patipa damma 72 khaṣṭakhanda damma 24 dachhito juwo*. Further in f.41a there is a passage as *prajayaka nesyakam bilarowapratidamma 6 sarabiladamma 3 chekha pratidamma 4*. There is a like reference in f.57b.

According to Petech *pla (ta)* was the usual word for gold *śivakā* and *dam* for silver *damma*.<sup>3</sup> *Pala* in Manu conveyed the sense of 4 *suvarṇas* (each 16 *māsā* gold coin). The author of *Lilāvati* made *pala* equivalent to 5 *suvarṇas* each as above.<sup>4</sup> He also calculated 80 *ratis* in all for a *suvarṇa*, the average gold coin. But the *pala* must have a heavier weight, 4 times the *suvarṇa* as much as 320 *ratis*.<sup>5</sup> However, Kautilya puts a *pala* of 80 *ratis*. Still with all this we have yet to find out if such a gold coin ever existed in Nepal. *Dam* is the unit of the

<sup>1</sup> L. Petech's *Medieval History of Nepal*, Pp. 177-78. Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 2832 dated 484 (1364 A.D.).

<sup>2</sup> *Sanskrit Sandeṣha*, 10-11-12, P. 12,

<sup>3</sup> Three *dam* of the new *damma-śivakā* (currency); and by *Karṣa* reckoning, three *Karṣa*' Three (*śivakā*) of the new *śivakā* (currency); in figures, 3 *pla*'. L. Petech.

<sup>4</sup> *The Coins and Weights in Ancient India* by A. K. Sirkar in *IHQ*, VII, 1931, Pp. 690-91.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, P. 698.

currency of the lowest denomination. Could it be imagined that copper units having disappeared the coin of the lowest denomination came also to be coined in silver? Another inference which comes readily to our mind is the use of the system of *Kārṣāpaṇa* along with the *Śivakāṅka*. But we have no information in regard to the ratio between the units of the two system of reckoning as well as between different units of the same system itself. These might be synonymous terms for a full weight of coin then circulate in Nepal.

#### THE PROBLEM OF THE MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE

Walsh is of the opinion that *paṇa*, a copper coin, is equivalent in value to eighty *cowries* and eighty *ratis* in weight<sup>6</sup> (144 grains). According to A. K. Sarker, the specific name of a copper *Karṣapaṇa* is a *paṇa*, and the calculation is as *paṇa*, and the calculation is as follows:<sup>7</sup>

1 <i>rati</i> of copper	=	1 <i>cowrie</i>
80 <i>ratis</i> of copper	=	1 <i>paṇa</i> (of copper)
16 <i>ratis</i> copper	=	1 silver <i>rati</i>
80 <i>ratis</i> copper	=	1 gold <i>rati</i>
		1 <i>Kārṣapaṇa</i>

But for this it is difficult to have anything to say on the copper coin of the period available to us. Is it a *paṇa* coin? The metallic weight in these, however, is either less or more than the weight constituting a *paṇa*.

Even otherwise, as *paṇa* has disappeared in the context, it would not help us to go deeper into the question.

We must have noticed that two different units, the *pla* and *damma* have been used by the inscriptions and chronicles. So now we devote our attention to the consideration of the problem in the light of these terms.

As we have already observed, Petech has suggested in this connection that the *damma* is the unit of lowest denomination.

<sup>6</sup> *Coinage of Nepal*, P. 676.

<sup>7</sup> *IHQ*, *Ibid*, P. 698.



It is, however, difficult to accept the statement that *damma* was the same as *dām*, the lowest unit of currency equivalent to 1/256 of a double mohar of the later Malla period. Probably *damma* was the same as *dramma* that was in vogue in most parts of India in ancient and early medieval times. The *dramma* was both a gold and silver coin. The weight of gold and silver in a *dramma* varied between 63 grains and 58 grains in some cases and between greater weights in others.<sup>8</sup> There were also half *drammas* and quarter *drammas* with varying weight of silver and gold content.<sup>9</sup>

In the absence of any coins for the period we are unable to judge exactly what the *śivakā pla* and a silver *damma* conveyed in weight and appearance. Today we have in common use an expression known as *dāñ* (दण) which appears to be the same as *damma* of the old days. We may attempt to establish an identity of the *damma* on this basis. But the *dām* means a silver coin, both a rupee and a half rupee or money in general. It is improbable that the weight of *damma* might have been the same as that of a *mohar* of the later Malla period with 80 to 90 grains of silver content (see below).<sup>10</sup> In the passage above cited we marked a unit called *Khaṣṭa Khaṇḍa damma*. This shows that there was a lesser unit of currency, which was one-sixth of the *damma*. If the *damma* was the lowest unit, then this kind of division carried little sense. So we may not accept *damma* as the lowest unit but in view of the fact that *damma* occurs often in records right up to the 18th century, we cannot suggest that it carried different values in different times. The *damma* of this period in all probability was the same unit of currency as it was during the late Malla middle ages. But was there a silver *damma* which was the same as *dramma*, a currency unit of N. India

<sup>8</sup> It is said that the Greek *drachma* weighed 66 or 67.5 grains, and others 65 grains.

<sup>9</sup> B. P. Majumdar, *Socio-economic History of Northern India* (1030-1194 A.D.), Pp. 216-17.

<sup>10</sup> Chapter on coinage in Part II, E. H. Waish, *Coinage of Nepal*, JRAS, 1908.

before the Muslim invasion? The *śivakā pla* still remains an undetermined denomination of early coinage. It is quite likely that the *damma* in copper differed considerably in value than its counterpart in silver, and this constituted the lowest unit of value in money. But there is no evidence of silver *damma* in documents so far made available to us.

The reckoning in terms of *pla* and *karṣa* had continued until the time of Ratnamalla (1482-1520 A.D.). In one of his inscriptions,<sup>11</sup> we have the following expression,

*Suvarṇadvaya karṣādhikachatuḥ palānkita chūrṇa kala lum pla 4 karṣa thote ya vyajana varṣapṛati, etc.*

The *mohar* coins appear towards the end of the 17th century A.D. One of Śivasimha's inscriptions dated NS 711 bears for the first time an expression, *taṅkā*, used for *mohar* coinage. Having had a *mohar* coin in the name of Śivasimha, it would not be wrong to attribute the very earliest *mohar* coin to this monarch or his father Mahendramalla. Until then, the old reckoning *pla* and *karṣa*, obtained in the field, though all this had gone without the actual mediums in circulation.

#### WEIGHT AND MEASURES

In a ms. and two places each in V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>111</sup>, there is a reference to certain weights and measures of agricultural products. From these we have three expressions suggesting measure of rice and paddy.

The ms. in question is *Hevajraṭīkā*<sup>12</sup> of 210 *Māgha māsa*, and has the following: *Pañchāśatam śuddhadhānya mānika pradatta aṅkatopi dhānyamāni 50/ Śivakā taṇḍula dhānya pañchāśat mānika, etc.* In V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>111</sup>, the terms used are *kuḍuva* or *kuchchhi* and *phañchhi*. But we do not know what these actually conveyed in measurement. No instances of how much *kuḍuva* or *phañchhi* or *mānika* measured have been cited.

But these expressions are in vogue even now. Therefore we may try to give an idea of actual measurement conveyed by

<sup>11</sup> *Kāstamaṇḍapa* copper plate, 632 NS.

<sup>12</sup> JBORS, XXI, Pt. I, P. 33.

these in the sense as is generally understood at the moment.

The dictionary meaning of *kuduva* is a measure of grain equal to 1/4 of *prastha* and 'containing 12 handfuls'. According to present usage a *mānika* contains 10 handfuls of grains, and *kuduva* is 2 *mānikas* = 20 handfuls of grains. The *prastha* is known as *phañchhi* of 4 *kuduvās* in measure.

### MEASUREMENT OF LAND

Nothing about the types of land, land settlement and taxes on land is known from any sources. We get also no idea of the revenue administration. Nor anything of the system of land measurement could be gathered. For Sanskrit *ropanika* the equivalent in present day Newārī is *ro*, and the expression occurs for the first time in V<sup>111</sup> under date 342 *Chaitra vadi*.

In the measurement of land the *ropanika* covered about 1/13 part of an acre. The *hasta* was the lowest denominator, 18" and 4×4 such *hasta* measurement when doubled made a total of a *ro*. The next unit was *bum*, a totality of a field, which covered 100 *ros*. But in this connection it must be known that the information about this kind of land measurement is given only in documents of the tail end of the medieval period (of the time of Yakṣamalla's sons).

According to the later chronicles Jaya Sthitimalla introduced a new measure of land, and this he fixed in four standards as the cultivable land dictated. In the words of the chronicler 'In the first class a *ropani* as 95 *hāths*, for a second class 109 *hāths*, for the third class 112 *hāths* and for the fourth 112 *hāths*'.<sup>13</sup> The statement, however, is not corroborated by facts. A *hāth* was to be of the length of 24 lengths of the joint of the thumb, according to the same source.

### AGRICULTURE

We draw no information from our records on the state of agriculture. Nor anything about the system of land holding

<sup>13</sup> Wright, Second Edition, P. 111.

could be known. But we can draw certain inferences about these as we know that the medieval society was feudal in its main features.

(1) The proprietorship of the land was vested in the landlord, while the tenant cultivated the land on share crop basis paying in kind to the proprietor,

(2) the agricultural holding could not be large enough in view of the growing population which exercised tremendous pressure on cultivable land,

(3) the physical feature of the area covered by the kingdom showed that there was much little cultivable land outside the Valley of Nepal except the Palāñchok-Banepā-Panauti and Noakoṭ Valleys in the east and west respectively.

I think that by this time I have examined all aspects of economic life in so far this was possible within limits of the source materials available to me. But I realise that for any satisfactory treatment of the subject the materials are not enough. In the nature of things the description could not but be casual, e.g. we have not been able to give much information about the exchange and monetary systems of the time nor about revenue and taxation. Similarly land and allied problems receive inadequate attention in our text for want of sufficient data. Weights and measures are taken up for treatment but we could not provide details to give full knowledge about these matters. However, in a work of the type undertaken by the present writer I do not think that any thing more than what has been produced here was possible. We have to understand the limitations we experience in pursuing the task. Where materials for a political history worth the name are insufficient, and the scope for writing is much limited, one can not hope to give more than a passing reference to the economic problems in their light. I think that viewed from this standpoint the section of writing ending with this passage might not appear as much disappointing. But we shall never forget that the information about the economy of Medieval Nepal has not been rich.

In this background it is well nigh impossible to make any more comment on the economic development of the country as it obtained in those days. The utmost we could add would be to say that the existence of gold and silver coins circulating simultaneously marks a high level of prosperity in the kingdom. It would be also correct to reiterate that the export and import trade of Nepal with Tibet and China continued as usual as is evidenced by the series of cultural and commercial delegations that were sent to these countries from Nepal and were received by our kings from there (see back page). Naturally, if it were not for a high degree of production in agriculture and industry, Nepal's foreign trade would not have reached the dimension so as to invite and exchange delegations with regions beyond its own frontier.

No idea of the state of trade is obtained from contemporary records. But we can form an estimate of the trade between Nepal and its northern neighbours by looking into the list of articles that were exchanged as tributes and presents by the rulers.<sup>14</sup> It appears that the articles Nepal sent to China were bronze images of Buddhist deities, texts of Buddhist scriptures, cotton cloth and horses of noble breeding and steel swords. In return this country received from Tibet and China silver and gold bullion, printed and coloured silk and pennants. To Tibet also were sent cereals like rice and wheat, red and black peppers and brass wares and copper-wares in exchange for wool, salt and gold and silver. Also, if what obtained in the 17th century was true of the period under review, then we can very well draw our information from the accounts left by Christian Missionaries who had passed through Nepal to go to Lhasa in the early years of the following century. The goods one such Padri listed as exports to Tibet were cloths, brass and copper wares.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, a very incomplete account of the Indo-

<sup>14</sup> See back pages. Petech, *Medieval History*, Pp. 200-211. Levi, I, Pp. 161 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Italiani Missionari*, etc, Vol. II, Part III P. 68. Report of Francisco Della Penna who visited Nepal during the early 18th century A.D.

Nepalese trade is obtained from the same source and allied documents, although the extent of commercial contact seems much wider on inference. From the plains of Hindustan came fine cloth, silk, brocades, spices, saffron, sandal-wood, indigo and cotton-seed, jewellery, perfumes and drugs. Nepal exported to her southern neighbours musk, yak-tail, wool, animal skins, elephant tusks, herbs, timbers, bronze, hides and articles of religious and artistic value. This is all what we can say of Nepal's foreign trade.

About the economic condition of the period we have nothing more to add beyond what we have observed in the above pages. Even though inconclusive, the matter has come to rest with this meagre observation for want of authoritative and adequate materials needed for the purpose. We have also omitted any reference to the state policy in the manufacture and trade and also to the organisations connected with these. We hope to deal in the next chapter with whatever has remained untouched, and it should be brought to the notice of the readers that all this might be regarded to represent even conditions prevailing in the earlier period of history as it is certain that conditions in the static medieval age were not prone to change from one century to another in the way they change today under the impact of the modern dynamic civilisation.

The chronicles speak of new urban centres of trade and populous marts. If their statement was true, cities of the importance of Kathmandu and Bhaktapur had been founded in this period. A townlet on the north-eastern corner of the Valley of Nepal, which was called Sankhapur (modern Sānkhu), came also into existence as a result of growing trade activities in regard to export and import goods relating to Tibetan market. Another trade mart was Palāñchok, through the caravan route to Kuti passed from *Bhota* (Banepā) to reach the Tibetan border.

Further east there was Dolkhā where routes from the west and east joined, and from where also traffic was carried to the Tibetan border along the bed of the river Tāmā Kośi. In the west Noakoṭ passed as a centre through which the trade route

to Kerraung passed. Obviously, the inference was that an appreciable progress has been witnessed in the field of internal and external commerce, which was reflected in new settlements. Levi (II, P. 179) says:

“The manual arts in which triumph the ingenuity and skill of the Nevars promise an easy earning. Goldsmiths, melter, painters, colourers increase in number without crowding the market. The exigencies of the new profession favour social life. Towns spring up. They were formed by an assemblage of villages, progressively enlarged and brought closer to one another until they mingled into one”.

#### FUNCTIONAL GROUPS

A ms. *Prajñāpāramitā* of NS 119 has *suvarṇakāra* as the designation of the man for whom the treatise was copied<sup>16</sup> He might have been a maker of gold ornaments. Similarly, a *vanika-putra* appears in the same capacity in another ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā-pañjikā* of NS 213.<sup>17</sup> We also notice a good many *Kāyasthas* as scribes and copyists of several mss. e.g. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitāpañjikā* of NS 213,<sup>18</sup> *Vidyāvālī* of 342<sup>1,9</sup> *Mahālakṣmīvrata* of NS 380<sup>20</sup> and *Charaka-samhitā* of 305.<sup>26</sup> In connection with the last document one *Śrīvāstava*, originally belonging to *Jejakabhukti*, is noted. All this certainly shows the existence of functional groups in the society at the time.

In the Sarasvatī inscription of Yakṣamalla's time,<sup>22</sup> the artist is noted as *Karmakāra*. But in the Banepā inscription of Jayasimharāma the two makers have been shown as sons of the divine *Śilpī-Viśvakarmā*.<sup>23</sup> There was a class of painters, who

<sup>16</sup> JBORS, XXIII, P. 29.

<sup>17</sup> JBORS, XXIII, P. 25.

<sup>18</sup> JBORS, XXIII, P. 29.

<sup>19</sup> CSBM, P. 214.

<sup>20</sup> CPMDN, I, P. 124.

<sup>21</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I, 648. 1.

<sup>22</sup> See above one of the documents of his time.

<sup>23</sup> Our Inscription n. XXXVI.

drew and painted pictures of deities in ms. *gātās* (wooden covers) and leaves. But the work was also done by the priest of the community and by monks in the monastery whenever and wherever they existed.

Since the 14th century we notice the Newar traders expanding towards the extreme west and east of Nepal, and this may be attributed to opening of routes due to new settlements in these places. What was previously an unpopulated hilly belt is now a populous region full of swarming emigrants, and the Valley of Kathmandu for the first time could establish contacts with these regions, and this was utilised by the trading class to extend its own influence. It is possible that the Newar settlers in the hill areas, specially in the remote corners, went there in furtherance of trade interests.

### III

#### POLITY AND RELIGION

Information about the social and economic condition of Nepal of the time in question is so meagre that unless and until a thorough exploratory investigation is conducted of the subject, nothing more can be authoritatively said. It may be observed here that all the magical rites of *Vajrayāna* obtain in tact even today. As a matter of fact the entire social texture of the Newar community is woven around its web, and at the time we have to deal with it was more so, the polity not excluded. Rulers had special function in the magic ridden society. Festivals and festivities were initiated by the ruling monarch who was associated each and every observance as it came and whose attitude towards supramundane universe determined the well-being of the subjects ruled. Its festive occasions were numerous and the ruler could maintain direct and intimate contact with the people through the channel of rituals. The medieval Nepalese community shared with the Hindus in general a belief that the ruler was an incarnation of God and his participation in the customary celebrations had special meaning and it went to appease the angry spirits if any. Although the monarch was



not a priest, he had social duties which made him very much susceptible to the influence exercised by that class, while his own position bordered on that of the deified personage and without being a magician he also exercised a considerable influence on the trend of events in his country. The entire aristocracy also played a partner's role in functions of ceremonial character and it so happened that the priest-class either the Brāhmanas or the Tantric Guvājus immense power in the realm according as the ruler gave primary importance to one or the other ritual of the faith in the act. The temporal *mahāsāmanta*, *mahāmantrī* or *Mahāpātra* had little religious influence and while they played a very important part in politics they enjoyed no such sanctity as went to the lot of the king and his priests.

Tolerance and sympathy formed the cornerstone of the policy of state. Respect and obeisance to deities irrespective of the sect they were allied with constituted the basis of their religious policy. The result of this was that the social environment was free from bigotry and illiberal ideas. For example, Jyotirmalla takes pride in calling himself weighed down by the virtues obtained through performances of pious deeds in honour of Paśupati-nātha and Svayambhunātha. According to the Itumbahāl inscription of NS 502 Jayasimharāma pays obeisance to Paśupati-nātha as the Lord of Nepal (*Nepālādhipati*), his brother is a follower of Maheśvara and calls himself *Paramamāheśvara*; they had erected Jalāsayana Nārāyaṇa, but similarly the statues of Dīpaṅkara and Āryavalokiteśvara of Bungwar (Bungmati). Although there are copious worshipful reference to Śīva and Viṣṇu in this inscription, the devotees i.e. Jaitra Lakṣmī and her husband do not forget that the main purpose was to celebrate the inauguration of the image Āryatārā and therefore, the stele starts with invocation to *Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha and Tārā*.

We shall find later that the Christian Missionaries were welcomed and treated liberally and granted full freedom to preach their religion. There could not be anything more of an evidence than this to prove the character of the society in Nepal, which was liberal and peaceful to the core.

## RELIGION

After describing the structure of administration, we proceed to depict the scene of religion as the same as much vital for any consideration of the social condition of the age we deal with in our history.

In this age, the most dominating cult of religion in Nepal was a new synthetic form of worship known as *Vajrayāna*. Basically it was a Buddhist cult. But it absorbed also the influence of Brāhmanical ritualism. In philosophy it followed the earlier *Mahāyāna*, but *Vajrayāna* was also much closely affected by Brāhmanical mysticism and devotionalism. In this nature it made an appeal to the followers of both the sects although in the beginning, the followers of Brāhmanical cult were averse to respecting *Vajrayāna* deities as those conceived in the hostile context. Yet after sometime a change in their outlook occurred and the deities were absorbed in the broad Hindu pantheon. As a common cult of worship popular with all sects of the Nepalese religion *Vajrayāna* helped to unite the forces that had kept divided the Śaivites and Buddhists so far.

I have no intention to enter into a discussion of the controversial aspects of the Tantric philosophy. Leaving this aside, we shall have to consider the sum total of the results that went to shape the religious beliefs and practices of our community. It will appear that Buddhist esoteric cult with new divinities propitiated by sacrificial rites and *mantras* and Śaivism and Buddhism, but had also tended to bring them together under a common system of religious worship based on common ceremonials.

As we step into the 12th century, we find that social life in Nepal had changed a great deal as a result of new social forces making inroads into the various rituals and customs of the country. Deities which were quite unknown in Nepal till then had come to be worshiped as part of the novel features of ritualism and religious practice, which had gradually spread throughout the length and breadth of the Valley.

This was the time when the Buddhist *Samīghas* were fast losing ground and disintegrating. Naturally the laity whose belief in the monastical and non-ritualistic faith of the Greater and Lesser Vehicles was profoundly shaken in that environment took easily to the way of rites and ceremonies to propitiate the gods and spirits as if the same fulfilled a long felt need in domesticity and home surroundings.

There was one advantage in the change over. It did not mean going over to another faith. The same faith had adopted to new situations. It had only emulated the practices of Brāhmanical Hinduism. Religion was now brought to suit the convenience of a domestic life, to its world of superstitions and ritual performances. The philosophical aspects of Buddhist faith was now totally eclipsed. The form adopted was much more simple; it could directly appeal to the mass of the people just as its counterpart in the Brāhmanical system did.

In effecting this transition, the pantheon that was created was the originality of the Buddhist priest class. Although apparently Brāhmanical deities had been implanted the shift in emphasis was from old to the new order of names, and it was shown that the ones newly adopted prevailed upon the others.

Once this adjustment was effected the society made itself open to another influence. It began to treat all that belonged to the family of divinity as its own, irrespective of whether a particular section of the people owed primary loyalty to one or the other faith. Thus even the deities with exclusively Brāhmanical origin and kinship were claimed by the Buddhists, and the nature of allegiance they professed in that background tended to become widespread and diffused to transcend all barriers of sectarianism within the entire community.

The next few pages contain passages explaining the historicity and description of these deities. There is no evidence of their existence in the ancient period. It has so happened that of the popular deities of the present day Nepal none except the Paśupatinātha and Jalāśayana Viṣṇu and a few more varieties of theirs seem to be in existence anywhere earlier than the medieval age.

Undoubtedly these are the creations of the later day. Probably they made their way to the Valley of Nepal from the north-eastern India where the cult of *Vajrayāna* rose and flourished at about the same time. Throughout the four hundred years between the 9th and 13th centuries Nepal maintained an intimate cultural link with the domain of the Pāla rulers as is attested by documents which speak of scholars from Nepal visiting the university centres in Bengal and Bihar and vice versa. In the early 13th century A.D. the Turk invasion of these places compelled many Tāntric scholars and preachers to flee for their life to Nepal. The impact of the teaching of *Vajrayāna* was now deeper in this context. But this was not all; side by side, the revivalist Brāhmanical culture had also penetrated from the South.

It is significant that a major number of classics on ritualism and *tantra*, both the Śaivite and Buddhist camps, all in Sanskrit, had been copied in Nepal during the centuries under review (See Bibliography). The iconography of the Tāntric deities in their varied manifestations seems also to date back to this period. This shows the wide prevalence of the worship of these deities and the seriousness with which Nepal had begun to cultivate the cult of the *Tantra*.

The development of caste in the Buddhist community was another new phenomenon of the period. The caste system which was running very irregular since the 8th century A.D. after the break *Hīnayāna* sustained, it was quite non-existent amongst the Buddhists before that time, got regularised and hardened in due course, and monasteries dying out produced the priest class of the Buddhist community, its monks easily turned into priests under the influence of *Vajrayāna* ritualism. What *Vajrayāna* started, *Śaiva* influence later on consolidated and hardened, and when it emerged into a developed form, there was nothing but a full-fledged caste complex in the picture. The chronicles speak of this process of consolidation and regularisation in alluding to Jaya Sthitimalla's contribution and some eighty-five castes are mentioned in that connection to have taken shape in the most petrified state (See below). This was the age when the

casteless character of Buddhist monkhood in general underwent a change and gave way to the formation of a rigid caste structure at the top, which affected the mass of the Buddhist laity unlike such influence in the past touching only a fringe that was the aristocracy. A complex caste structure is again the mould that was cast by the *Vajrayāna* cult whose intricate rituals gave a distinct caste mark to each assignment and every family with a specialised performance stratified into a block of caste. Leaving aside the recent emigrants into the Valley, who more or less seem to have brought a dominant culture to bear on various aspects of life, the original settlers have definitely developed a variety ranging over from customary practices down to the very details. Superstitious and magical beliefs had hardened into religiosity and rites and usages accompanying these could create their own caste bases, so that at the tail end of this period we find a complexity equal only to that of Brāhmanical society. The present day caste structure and medieval social life of the Newār community much ridden as it is with superstition and magic is a legacy of the time when *Vajrayāna* flourished.

Brāhmaṇa dominated Śaivism was no less influential. In fact the original social texture of the inhabitants of the Nepal Valley is a result of the interaction of mutual influences between the two local communities, Buddhist and Śaiva. Much of it is also due to the Vaisnavite Lichhavi, Gupta and Malla emigrants who politically dominated the scene for a long time. Orthodox Śaiva influence, however, was confined to a section of society following Śaivism as previously noted but in the period we take note of, this reached the lowest layer of the society of the other sects as well. We have in this time a large number of Brāhmanas from Bengal and Mithilā settling down in the Valley, and they weaned away from the other fold not a few adherents, and permeated the rest overwhelmingly with their own cultural influence as is seen in the many quaint customs and manners of the society in Nepal today that betray indelible marks of Brāhmanical culture. Since their time again the *Hīnayāna School of Buddhism* totally loses ground, and Buddhist monks

becoming priests establish their predominance in terms of caste.

In the ultimate analysis the ritualistic Buddhism had tended to become just a facet of Brāhmanical religion. Now the Buddhist community with rituals, castes and priests did not look different from the Brāhmanical group. It was already idolatrous since *Mahāyāna* introduced conception of Buddhas and Bodhisatvas in human form. They shared common basis of castes. They worshipped common deities. They followed common rites although priests differed. But it does not prove that the section of the laity with ex-monk priests did show any kind of disrespect to the Brāhmanas. Rather, the Brāhmanas whose number was limited were as much revered. Inscriptions show that they received homage from all sections of the people. Even the fact of their not performing priestly functions to the Buddhist laity seems to have been determined by their poor number. Brāhmanas seemed to perform and conduct rites only in aristocratic families. In the ranks of the Śaivite Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, the classes that lay just below the upper caste nobility, the priestly function except in the very important rituals was performed by the Guruvāchāryas and Karmāchāryas who though born of Brāhmana father and Kṣatriya or Vaiśya mother had been permitted to act in their absence, and bore the caste name, Achārya, of the priests to be able to conform to the latter's high dignity. This was a device dictated by consideration of caste purity, which influenced the upper section of the people.

Obviously when they could not be serviceable to all the members of the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya community, it goes without saying that other castes fell out of the province of their care. It is quite likely that the situation was utilised to their advantage by the Buddhist Guvājus who had now returned to domesticity to play their own role in the pristine sphere. The occasion brought to the influence of the Buddhist priests a large mass of the people on the borderland. They were used to respecting Brāhmaṇas and Buddhist monks alike, but no religious barrier had stood to separate them from those subscribing to Śaiva faith. These were also much attracted by

appeals made to them by ritualistic practices and multifarious duties, which the Buddhist so far had failed to exert. In practice these were Śaivites without, however, Brāhmaṇa priests getting to serve the section. It appears that for centuries together these people had followed Brāhmanical religion without actually being led in person by Brāhmanical priesthood. But the Brahmanas had left them uncared because it was impossible for them to reach the people of this class and therefore when priests from the ranks of the former Buddhist monks came forward, the latter were promptly welcomed into the field. The adoption of the Guvājus as priests by the lower class of people did not introduce any such thing as an act of conversion. Those who took them as priests were not obliged to give up their deities. The change simply reflected in the filling of a gap in the ritual by a priest where there was none such. This was the reason which rendered the broad character of the religion in Nepal as essentially ritualistic and Brāhmanic. The basic pattern of fusion of the Śaiva-Buddha pantheon was not disturbed.

It was not only Buddhism in Nepal that came under the influence of Tāntric esotericism. A little further north beyond the Himalayas another country, Tibet, did also witness a revolution in its faith and belief. The wave of Tāntric cult did commonly affect both the countries. But in Tibet it took a shape called Lāmāism with its church and clergy—incarnation Lāmā and hierarchy of monks and abbots. Nepal, however, was free from these elements. It was so because Nepalese had drifted closer to Brāhmanical tenets and practices.

Much of what was achieved in religious unity, art and learning during this period was due to the ritualistic practices under the influence of *Vajrayāna*. The available ms. data suggest that the *Vajrayāna* cult obtained encouragement from every quarter not excluding the court at this time, even when the latter owed allegiance mainly to the Śaiva sect. The *Vajrayāna* itself developed in Nepal as a synthetic product of *Hindu Tantra* and Buddhist *Mahāyāna* ritualism, the combination of superstitions and magical form of Hindu worship with the intricate rituals of Greater Vehicles. The Achāryas of *Vajrayāna* are said to hail

from the Pāla country and the cult probably entered Nepal through Bengal, and it found a fertile ground to thrive in the Nepal. Valley as no where else a real harmony obtained as in that country. It may be taken rather to be the logical culmination of the forces of adjustment playing since a very long time.

*Vajrayāna* was healthy in the sense that it kept alive the sense of unity and assisted the forces tending towards the same by creating a common platform of worship. It had unified a divided people. But all this came demolishing the fundamental structure of *Hīnayāna* Buddhist beliefs based on non-ritual practices and simple faith.

*Vajrayāna* is formally consecrated in Nepal with the arrival of Atiśā in the 11th century A.D., but it took some years more to ripen fully and the fullest development could be assigned to the 14th century. For the period of its growth the *Vajrayāna* worked to destroy the sanctity of monastic settlement. It is suggested that the form of ritual practices introduced under the influence was derogatory to the simple faith worked out by the Lesser Vehicle and all this undermined the basis of Buddhist society based on a plain conception of trinity, the *Buddha* (enlightenment), *Dharma* (law) and *Sangha* (congregation). By introducing extraneous elements into the faith *Vajrayāna* made life lax. It mitigated the idea of celibacy of monks, which on its turn destroyed the heritage of a scholarly past—the monasteries were emptied. The *Aṣṭāṅga* path lost its validity. So the precious value which was spared out of the centuries of anarchy and disorder was swept away. Since then we have a rigid caste structure in Buddhist social life, and through caste and rituals, Buddhism could not maintain a revolutionary philosophy waging war against inequality, parochialism and intolerance.

The colourful parts of Newāri social life, all its magical rites and ceremonies and celebrations and there are too many of them all the year round, began during this epoch of the Nepalese history under the influence of *Hindu Tantras* and a *Buddha Vajrāyāna*. Their importance for Nepal is more for the reason that they still hold the ground in spite of superstition generally



dying out in other parts of the world. The social life of the Valley is still largely governed by magic and superstition following a Tāntric mode of worship and the philosophy of life behind the same.

The Tantric conception of universe was a ghost ridden demoniac world, gods as redeemers and all observances social or individual and art creations and architecture in Nepal bore evidence of the fact that these were tied to this unphilosophic notion.

The philosophy of *Vajrayāna* had no applicability in the social condition as it obtained in Nepal. In fact the form that was implanted did everything to eschew the philosophical background of it.

Initially the cult of *Vajrayāna* had its own background of philosophy. Its followers claimed that *Vajrayāna* was a vehicle, more stern than the two other vehicles and, the only one that 'led to perfect enlightenment'. Its *nirvāṇa*, emancipation, was a blissful state of void but this came gradually through a process of 'consciousness ever changing' releasing the 'Bodhi mind' from worldly enjoyment. Literally *Vajrayāna* means the vehicle of the void '*sūnyatā* is designated as *Vajra* because it is firm and sound and cannot be changed, cannot be burnt and cannot be destroyed'.<sup>24</sup> But whatever might this concept have stood for philosophically, the immediate attraction for *Vajrayāna* was due to a new element in Buddhism, 'the ideal of *Mahāsukha* or the eternal bliss' which was a means to realise the Infinite void. As this was to be achieved through 'panegyrics, rites and practices to be undergone for the worship of deities', everything but the rites and deities was totally forgotten. It is true that primarily the essence of divinity or God head was regarded as a psychic manifestation of the Energy of the Supreme Void to be realised in meditation (*Sādhanā*). But the 'humanisation' of the essence appearing through a medley of thousand and one Godhead led to a situation where the philosophically conceived Energy of the

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<sup>24</sup> *Advaya Vajra* quoted by B. T. Bhattacharya in his 'Indian Buddhist Biography', 1958, P. 11 (Intro).

Void got merged with the world of divine beings taking direct interest in the affairs of mankind. *Vajrayāna* came to be regarded as was Brāhmanical religion as a means to attain happiness by propitiating divinities by means of rituals whether for this world or for the next. *Vajrayāna* mysticism had lost its meaning as it degenerated into ritualism. It had come now to appear to play the role of 'magic' in religion.

But all this had tended to produce the most beneficial of effects. It had tremendously helped to build up a united community. More than anything the *Vajrayāna* not only kept Buddhism alive in Nepal but popularised it to be acceptable to the people in general.

*Vajrayāna* ritualism flourished in Nepal and Bengal at a time while in many areas of the Indo-Gangetic plains the influence of Buddhism had not only declined but disappeared for all practical purposes. Buddhism in the form as it stood without ritual practices exerted least appeal to the masses who were always swayed by practices pretending to propitiate deities for many daily occurrences. It *Vajrayāna* had not come to capture the imagination of the people by playing a rival to Brāhmanism, the simple philosophical Buddhism could not resist being swept away. In Nepal, as we have seen, the influence of *Vajrayāna* had in addition tended to impart unity and stability to the religion as it was shaped at the time.

### ŚAIVITE DEITIES

Following the discourse on religion the reader will find a separate section on the art of Nepal of the period under review. There we have described several images in sculpture or painting of the deities whose worship seems to have been popular in those days. It will appear that the principal deities of Brāhmanical cults worshipped were *Viṣṇu* and his consort *Lakṣmī*, *Śiva* and his consort, *Umā*, the Sun God *Sūrya*, the many manifestations of *Kālī* in the forms of eight mothers and ten *Apsarās* and *Mahāvidyās*, *Bhairava*, *Sarasvatī*, *Ganeśa*, *Kaumāra*, and sages like *Agastī* and *Viśvakarmā*.

Those of the Śaivite deities like *Bhavānī*, *Ganeśa* and *Bhairava* and almost all the *Vajrayāna* deities commonly worshipped in the Valley seem to originate in the 12th or 13th century. It might be due to the fact of the cult of Tantras gaining a predominant place in this country. We do not have a single evidence of their being in existence earlier than the period we have in view. However, it might not be supposed that these did not exist in Hindu pantheon prior to that age. What we conceive is the particular form, in which they were adopted and then adjusted in the peculiarly shaped mode of worship obtaining in Nepal, where the pantheon enjoys a characteristic of its own.

In the main there is no doubt that *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* were the foremost deities worshipped by a vast mass of the people in the orthodox fold. These were also tutelary deities of the royal family.

*Viṣṇu* was worshipped as *Nārāyaṇa* with four hands holding traditional emblems. We have *Jalāśayana Viṣṇu* of the earlier period, but none of the images of *Viṣṇu* in the period under review reveal that form. However, *Viṣṇu* in his *jalāśayana* pose, received devotion from the people.

*Śiva* was worshipped principally in *phallus* both with faces on four sides in the upper part (*mukhalingam*) and without. It is said that these faces variously represent *Brahmā* (north) *Rudra* (south), *Viṣṇu* (west) and *Sūrya* (east) combining in a single image four different manifestations of the Supreme Being. There is one *ekamukha linga* besides many *non-mukha lingas* of the time. The shapeless *linga* also had come to be set up. In Chikamugal (Kathmandu) there is a *tri-murti* image of *Śiva* with a serpent garland round his neck and all ornament symbols indicating the likeness of *Śiva*. But it is difficult to determine its age. This sort of image belongs also to the reign of Pratāpamalla (within Ranipokhari temple).

The *phallus* is also become the emblem of *Viṣṇu*. In the Naksal water conduit we have a carved *phallus* with full images of *Viṣṇu* on all four sides. The four faced *mukhalinga* of *Śiva* called *Nepāleśvara* placed within the confines of the *Satya*

*Nārāyaṇa* temple at Harigaon shows delicate carving of ornaments.

After *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* comes the Sun God *Śurya*. Along with the images of the two principal deities, the image of *Śurya* is also commonly found in the various sites inside the Valley. The Sun God became much popular during the 14th and 15th centuries, but in the period following his popularity declined.

The worship of the *Śakti* or mother Goddess in various forms is also noticeable in this period. For this age this is more prominent in the pantheon of Buddhist origin as this seems to be newly introduced. The *Śādhanamālā* and *Dhāranīsaṅgraha* produce invocations to numerous female deities, such as *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Kurukullā*, *Vasudhārā*, *Nairatmā*, *Marichī*, *Dākinī* group, *Pañcharakṣā* group etc. We have described these deities a little later as we deal with the Buddhist *Vajrayāna* pantheon in general.

In the fold of the *Śaiva* sects, the female deity plays the usual traditional role. She is a part of the universal Primordial Force as the genetrix of the creation. We have seen that the cult of the mother Goddess was prevalent in ancient Nepal (vide, Inscription of Mānadeva's wife setting up the image of the Goddess at Palāñchok). In the group of images within the Chhinnamas-tikā temple at Chāngu and in the image lying in the temple at *Āryaghāt* on the river *Bāgmati* below the shrine of Paśupatinātha we find yet earlier instance of the cult prevailing in Nepal. The two handed images with practically no ornaments except the heavy anklets definitely show that they belong to an early age of our history. Probably these are the different images of the Earth Goddess widely worshipped wherever Indian culture had penetrated. The Tāntric *Āgamas* introduce for the followers of the both Śaivism and Buddhism new *Śakti* deities. These represent different manifestations of the Primeval Mother as conceived in the medieval age. It appears that *Umā-Maheśvara* images in romantic poses continue to represent the tradition of the cult of *Śakti-Puruṣa* in another form. Here it is non-dual Primordial Essence appearing as dual

force in the happiest blend. This manifests in the art of the age the very essence of creation.

Belonging to the reign of Indradeva, an illustrated copy of *Saptaśati*<sup>25</sup> has ten pictures of the Mother Goddess, the unapproachable *Durgā* in ten different manifestations. We have other classics written in Sanskrit profusely eulogising the theme of the *Śakti* Goddess of the *Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava* cult. All this shows that this cult was quite popular in Nepal in the medieval age.

We have several images of *Mahiṣamardinī Durgā* in the Nepal Valley. Although no dated image of this type belonging to early years of the middle age is come to our notice, but some even without dates betray a look of antiquity, old enough to establish their age in the early medieval period. Slightly different but nevertheless manifesting the cult of *Śakti* through an image of the female deity of eight hands, we have the *Dakḥkhina Kālī* and *Sobhābhagavatī* images. All these prove the fact that this kind of deity was worshipped from the very early times.

*Śiva* and *Viṣṇu* were worshipped as a common single deity *Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa* or *Harihara*. The image showed half *Śiva* and half *Viṣṇu*—*Harihara*, with emblems *Śrīvatsa-Gangādhara* i.e. showing *Śrīvatsa*, over the chest to indicate *Viṣṇu* and river Ganges over the matted hairs or locks to show the head of *Śiva*. The earliest image of *Harihara* is traced in the Paśupatinātha area with an inscription dated S. 489 (=567 A.D.).<sup>26</sup> We have the earliest association of the cult of *Viṣṇu* from the Chāngu pillar inscription of *Samvat* 386 (=464 A.D.).<sup>27</sup> The Sun God was worshipped as early as S. 402 (=480 A.D) in the name of *Indra (Indronāma divākara)*<sup>28</sup>

In our period we have in abundance images of *Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa* and *Umā-Maheśvara*. The images are found both for the early and late medieval period.

<sup>25</sup> Government Museum n. 19.

<sup>26</sup> Gnoli, n. XX.

<sup>27</sup> Gnoli, n. 1.

<sup>28</sup> Levi, n. 3.

We have described all these images in the section where the art of the period is discussed. For the history of the variety of the group of images it has to be observed that these make appearance with the beginning of the medieval period. We shall find that the earliest image of *Umā-Maheśvara* belongs to NS 132 (=1012 A.D).

The *Umā-Maheśvara* image represents the two primal forces male and female in the most blissful poise.

The *Umā-Maheśvara* image must have been a product of the Tantric age, an expression of general attitude to sex life that was abstract and symbolic of a process of creation under divine inspiration.

The *Umā-Maheśvara* and *Laksmī-Nārāyana*, each conceived in a single representation half male and half female, reveal the non-duality of the dual forces of creation.

#### RELIGION OF THE ROYAL FAMILY

There was actually no conflict between the worshippers of various deities within the Brāhmanical family. Similarly the followers of Brāhmanical cult and Buddhism lived in peace and harmony. There was no contradiction as the objects of worship were common.

We have found that the royal families generally followed Brāhmanical cults. Their priests were Brāhmaṇas and they worshipped Brāhmanical deities. As family deity their object of devotion was either *Viṣṇu* or *Śiva* or *Śakti* by name either *Lakṣmī* or *Umā*. Rulers whether through their *virudas* or by adopting epithets in records like *Paramadaivata* or *Paramamāheśvara* indicated their special devotion to a particular God. We have several documents where all this has found expression. The ms. *Chāndravyākaraṇa Vritti* (JBORS, XXIII, P. 43) has in the colophon the word *Paramaśaiva* as an epithet of King Indradeva (NS 246-257). The same is used before Ānandadeva's name in a copy of the ms. *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* of NS 272 *Vaiśākhaśukla* 15. Arimalla's name bears the same epithet with a slightly change wording i.e. *Paramamāheśvara* in

the ms. *Amṛteśvarapūjā* of 336 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa* 7 (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1365.5). To Jayārimalla is given the epithets of *Paramavaishṇava Paramadevatādhīdeva Paramamāheśvara* in a ms. *Mahirāvaṇavadha Nāṭakam* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 362.8) of 457 *Śrāvāṇa kṛṣṇa* 12. Jayānandadeva is *Paramadhārmika* in a ms. *Nāgānanda nāṭakam* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1583.3) dated 438 *Phālguna vadi* 15.

In the late medieval period Jaya Sthitimalla used a *viruda* of *assuranārāyaṇa* (Bendall, Ins. n. 9). Similarly two of his sons, Dharmamalla and Jyotirmalla, had that of *Vīranārāyaṇa* and *Daityanārāyaṇa* respectively, while his grandson Yakṣamalla always adopted the *viruda* of *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa* in all his records.

In the case of the majority of names we have no epithets of the type we have just described. It was, however, supposed that they invariably followed Brāhmanical cult. Of course, this did not mean that they were opposed to Buddhism. Rather as we have said earlier they were equally devoted to Buddhist cult and its deities. The special treatment awarded to Brāhmanical deities was there because they happened to be the *Iṣṭadevatā* and *Kuladevatā* of the royal family. One ruler, however, had used also an epithet expressing his reverence to Buddhism. This is indicated in the copy of the ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (As. Soc. Bengal, 9973) of 240 *Chaitra śukla* 5) where *paramasaugata* occurs before Śīmhadeva. Since Jaya Sthitimalla's time again all rulers added in their *praśasti* the expression, *Paśupaticharaṇa kamalasevita Māneśvariṣṭadevatā varalabdha prasādita*, which means 'they served under the feet of Lord Paśupatinātha and they were favoured with the boon of Goddess Māneśvarī'.

The following shrines of the *Śiva-Viṣṇu* cult appear to be popular in our time:

For Viṣṇu—

- (1) the Dolādri Nārāyaṇa at Chāngu,
- (2) the Śikhara Nārāyaṇa at Pharping,
- (3) the Jalāśayana Viṣṇu at the foot of the Śivapuri hill,
- (4) the Ādi Nārāyaṇa at Thankoṭ,

- (5) Satya Nārāyaṇa at Harigaon,
- (6) the Nārāyaṇa at Ichaṅgu,
- (7) Tilamādhava in Bhatgaon,
- (8) Garuḍa Nārāyaṇa in Bhatgaon.

For Śiva—

- (1) the Paśupatinātha at Deopāṭan,
- (2) the Ananta Lingeśvara on the hill near Lubhu
- (3) the Napāleśvara in Harigaon,
- (4) the Bhṛṅgāreśvara at Sonagothi, 2 miles south of the city of Patan.

The Mother Goddess was worshipped in the form of *Jhankeśvari* and *Kālī* in Pharping, the so-called *Chhinnamas-tikā* group in Chāngu, the *Guhaveśvari* in the Deopāṭan area, the *Śobhāgavatī* on the bank of the river Viṣṇumati, a little farther west of the city limit of Kathmandu, and the *Devī* at Palāñchok and Nālā.

The temples of Gorakhanātha both in Kathmandu and Pharping were also attracting sufficient number of devotees.

One of the documents of Yakṣamalla (n. 32) talks of the king's visit to Gosaiñthān, a Śaivite sanctuary some 40 to 50 miles north of Kathmandu situated in a lake at the foot of the 25 thousand ft. high mountain of the same name. This the first reference to the place in a record, but it is probable that the shrine was quite ancient. But the name was then different. It is being called Sivaluthi in the record of Yakṣamalla already referred. Perhaps the name Gosainthān is modern.

There is no temple nor any kind of shrine in Sivaluthi. They worship a phallus shape of stone, the antiquity of which is regarded as very hoary. More than the stone, the legend about Sivaluthi speaks of God Śiva lying underneath the waters of the lake, where he had plunged himself to cool down his throat burnt by *Kālakūṭa* poison.

In the *Paśupati mahātmya* there are 108 *Śivalingas*; but I do not think that except a few of them they are very old. We have not been able to produce a very lengthy list of Śaiva shrines.



More shrines had been created during the later medieval period. But these come outside the scope of the present work. As it will appear the period of the Malla dynasty of Jaya Sthitimalla also witnesses the inauguration of many shrines devoted to Lord Śiva, the image installed as Yakṣveśvara being one of them.

In respect of temples enshrining either the phallus or the image, of Nārāyaṇa or the image of *Lakṣmi* or *Umā*, we do not think there are as many of our interest considered from the point of the age of the structure in question. The images of Viṣṇu at the sites we mentioned appear to be quite old, but the temple structures do not go beyond the 18th century A.D. This is the case with the Chāngu Nārāyaṇa as well as the Ādinārāyaṇa of Thānkot. The images of the deities these belong to the 4th century A.D. or to an age even earlier but the same cannot be said of the temples. The God Tīlamādhava of Taumadhi Ṭol in Bhatgaon and Garuḍa Nārāyaṇa in Sūryamadhiṭol of the same town are other ancient images of popular devotion. The pillar in front of the Tīlamādhava's shrine bears an inscription which dates NS 283=1163 A.D. The pillar in front of the shrine at Sūryamadhiṭol has a date, NS 528=1408 A.D. It appears, however, that the images were installed much earlier than the dates of the inscriptions. But we have no traces of the original temples.

I think that this section will not be completed without a full picture of the shrine and the image of Paśupatinātha, which is the most important and popular sanctuary in the Nepal Valley. I am now devoting a short space to say more about the shrine by way of general description.

#### THE PASUPATINATHA

The Paśupatinātha is the most ancient and the most popular deity in the Nepal Valley. As early as the seventh century A.D. Amśuvarman invoked God Paśupatinātha in his records and addressed himself as one 'made grateful by the feet of the deity' (*bhagvat Paśupati pādānuग्रahito*).<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Gnoli, nos. XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX, XL; BLI, n. 15.

In all their inscriptions Jisṅugupta and his son also used the same expression. A century later King Jayadeva II erected a stele where he praised the Lord in the initial few verses. The V<sup>1</sup>, V<sup>11</sup>, V<sup>111</sup> have numerous references to the acts of devotion of individual kings paying homage to the Paśupati. We have several colophon data of the early medieval age, where the sanctuary of Paśupatinātha figures as a place name for the writing of the copies of mss. (ms. *Brahmayāmala*<sup>30</sup> of NS 172 belonging to the reign of Baladeva written by *Śrī Paśupati Vāstavya Śrī Jayakaraṅvena*; ms. *Tatvasadbhāvaṅtra* of NS 217,<sup>31</sup> *Śrī Paśupatisthānāsano Govardhanānkitah*).

We cannot produce more reliable and other evidence than these for the hoary antiquity of Paśupatinātha.

It is the oldest shrine of the main deity of the cult of *Śiva* in the whole of Nepal. The deity is universally respected.

The Paśupatinātha is worshipped in the form of *phallus*. The *linga* is made of black stone with four faces, each attended with a pair of hands shaped in a particular *mudrā*. The scalps are shown with matted hair on three sides, and one face—the one on the northern side has a double resemblance, half male and half female, known classically as *Ardhanariśvara*. All the faces have a calm and serene look. The lips are tight as if wearing a smile. The face without matted hair is to represent a Bodhisatva otherwise it looks just the same as others. On the *Kārtika śukla pūrṇimā* day, the *phallus* is worshipped as the Bodhisatva, and a special ceremony in conformity to Buddhist ritual practices is performed to propitiate the deity. The image was destroyed during the Muslim invasion of NS 470, and a new *linga* was set up subsequently after by Jayasimharāma, which continues till today.

One peculiar feature of the rituals is the attention given to the Kusale community in respect of the *prasāda* on each full-moon day. The whole of the sacrificial offering is distributed to them. The Kusale who claim to be the followers of Gorakh-

<sup>30</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 370.

<sup>31</sup> CPMDN, II P. 113, Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 370.

nātha, now rendered destitute and untouchable, look upon the *Śivaliṅga* in the Paśupati shrine as the image of Gorakhnātha himself. They say that in times of old the deity was worshipped just as Gorakhanātha and the Kusales represent the Kāpālika school of Śaivite monkhood. Nearby, there is a special sanctum for Gorakhanātha but this is cared for by a monk who does not give respect to the claim put forward by the Kusales.

#### ONLY ONE SIDDHA

Gorakhnātha is the only *Siddha* whose image is available to establish the existence of some kind of influence of the *Nātha* cult. Two temples of hoary sanctity are extant belonging to this *Siddha* worshipped as an incarnation of *Śiva*. These are situated in Kathmandu and Pharping respectively. It was said that the Kathmandu temple was built by a visiting monk of the sect from Gauḍa in the 13th century. The earliest record of the time of Jaya Sthitimalla inscribed on a stone in the Pharping abode of Gorakhanātha is as ancient as the one in the city of Kathmandu. We have seen that the *Siva liṅga* continued to receive the same homage as before. But we have no records of the *Śaiva* monasteries. Nor any sects of the *Śaiva* monks are known from them. But a ms. *Triyākālaguṇottara* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 392.1) of *Ratnadiva rājye*, written on *Jyeṣṭha śudī* 13 of 304 *Samvat* with the expression *maṅgalam mahāśrih trkaśadanvaya Śaivācharya Sridhararajaguruṇā likhitam*. We have no reference to *Māheśvara*, *Kāpālika* and other *Pāśupata* sects.

Another ms. *Kādibhede Kubjikāmatam*<sup>32</sup> written on *Samvat* 315 *Vaiśakha kṛṣṇaikādaśyām ravidivase revatī nakṣatre* has its owner Śrī Śaivāchārya Vatsarudra. One of the school of *Śivamata* might have been popular in one way or another. But its attributes are not known. But any sect to be popular must have been surely connected with the shrine of Paśupati-nātha.

It appears that a sect of *Kāpālikas* was in existence in ancient

<sup>32</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 378 A; CPMDN, II, P. 71.

Nepal. One of Jisṅugupta's inscriptions (Chandésvara stone parasol)<sup>33</sup> speaks of *muṇḍaśrinkhalika pāsūpatācharya prasādi* meaning 'teachers wearing a garland of skulls'. This attribute belongs to the Kāpālika School. At the moment the Kusale community is the heir to this sect. Although untouchables, its members have a surname of Kāpālika. They follow a custom of going about begging in the morning during some parts of the year, and while on this mission they wear a peculiar kind of headdress and *jāmā*, also a garland of bones (it was said that in olden days they used human bones). We do not know how to trace the existence of Kāpālikas in the early medieval period through the medium of the present Kāpālikas.

In the Darbar Library there is a ms. copy of *Mahākaula-jñanavinirṇaya*, a work of *Nātha* cult, said to have been brought down to earth by Matsyendranātha. According to H. P. Śāstrī this work written as it is in Gupta character must be as old as another ms. copied in the same character dated 859 A.D. The presence of the ms. as noted above at so early date suggests that the cult of the *Nātha sampradāya* was introduced in Nepal since its very inception. But Matsyendranātha is now mixed up with Bodhisatva Lokésvara, and is no more worshipped in the image as a *Nātha Siddha* except by a few Kāpālika untouchables.

#### A TIBETAN MONK ON NEPALESE BUDDHISM

From a newly published Tibetan Treatise on the biography of *Chag lo-tsa-ba chos-rje-dpal* (Dharmasvāmin)<sup>34</sup> we get an account of certain deities and chaityas of Buddhist religion as existed in Nepal in the thirteenth century. Dharmasvāmin is said to have come to Nepal in about 1226-34 A.D. and remained there for eight years, after which he visited Tirhut, Nālandā, Rājagṛha, Bodh Gayā and other centres of Buddhist pilgrimage in North India.

<sup>33</sup> Gnoli, LIX.

<sup>34</sup> Deciphered and translated into English by George Roerich and edited by A. S. Altekar, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1959, Pp. 53-55.

While in Nepal the monk resided in the monastery of Svayambhu (*Phags-pa Sin-kun*). Here at the time one Guru Ratnarakṣita had just completed 'erection of several holy images, and awaiting consecrating ceremony' Dharmasvāmin talks of two more monasteries (*Vihāras*) one called Tham also known as 'first *vihāra* or upper *vihāra*' and another the *vihāra* of *Bu-kham* with 'a miraculous image of Avalokiteśvara made of sandal wood, of red colour, in the aspect of a five-year old boy'. According to Dharmasvāmin "This *Ārya Bu-kham* was very famous throughout India. In Tibet (on the contrary) the middle autumn month this image of the *Ārya* of *Bu-kham* is taken out and offerings are made to it, and a great spectacle takes place. In general, people make offerings to the image and especially the king and the wealthy people, and all invite the image to their homes and present offerings to it, which consist of the five sacrificial subjects, such as curds, milk, raw sugar, honey, and sugar. They pour these substances over the head of the image and then bathe it, the water and victuals are then consumed (by the people). Thus they worship for half a month. Through these ablutions, the bright vermilion red paint (of the image) is washed away. Then on the seventh day of the next month, young Tāntrics called *han-du*, holding in their hands fly-wisk, and musical instruments invite the image back to the temple amidst a great spectacle. On the eighth day (of the month) they again paint the image with red dye, said the Dharmasvāmin, the Dharmasvāmin explained that there were the offerings (*dāna*) of the five essences mentioned in the third chapter of the *Mādhyamikā-Ratnāvali*."

We have no doubt about the identity of the *Ārya* of *Bu-kham*. This is Lokeśvara of Bugamma, known as the red Matsyendra. The ceremony referred to obtains even today, and therefore it is not as well difficult to recognise it.

The *Tham vihāra* might be identified with Lham of the colophons (*Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāparamitā*, Camb. Univ. Lib Add. 8667 and 1643, CBMC, Pp. 3-4, 151-52). Dharmasvāmin said that this *vihāra* was called *Dharmadhātu vihāra* by the Indians.

The Tibetan monk saw in the Tham monastery a golden image of *Śākyamuni* inside a temple built by Atisā Dīpankara Śrījnāna in front of the *stupa*. The *stupa* always had a brilliant disc like a light shining at its top, which Atisā had witnessed and interpreted as a *maṇḍala* of Buddha Kāśyapa. Dharmasvāmin learnt *Guhyasamājatantra* 'by the method of Nagārjuna from Guru Ratnarakṣita and *Vajrāvalī* from upāṣaka Mahāpaṇḍita Ravindra. <sup>35</sup> He also talks of having listened three times *Sūtrātāntrakalpasangraha* from another teacher. <sup>36</sup>

Dharmasvāmin noted in his memoir how he saw in the *Thām Vihāra* an abbot's seat gilded and adorned with pearls, (for the erection of which) eighty ounces of natural gold were used besides the other four kinds of ornaments.

The Tibetan Bhikṣu read numerous books on esoterism, *Tāntra* and *piṭakas* at the monastery. But Guru Ravindra taught him 'the futility of imprecations'. <sup>37</sup>

Dharmasvāmin's account testifies to the growing popularity of *Vajrayāna* beliefs and esoteric practices, but it seems that pure *Mahāyāna* without esoteric features had not wholly lost ground. There were people who did not subscribe to esoteric cult and discouraged its practices. It also appears that there were still extant a few monasteries in Nepal, where the monks received shelter and food. But most of the *Vihāras* had been deserted.

### THE VIHARAS

We learn from the Dharmasvāmin that there were monasteries in Nepal both with monks and without them. It seems however that the number of the former was quite small. We have several colophon data and inscriptions of the age, which mention different *vihāras*.

ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* NS 40 *Mahāvatiḡvala vihāra*

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

ms. *Chatuspīthanibandha* of 165<sup>38</sup> *Śrī Guṇakāmadeva kārīte Śrī Padmachakra Mahāvihāra*

ms. *Pañcharakṣā* of 183 *Śrīman Mānadevasya Vihāra*<sup>39</sup>

ms. *Bodhicharyāvatāra Pañjikā* of 198 *Śrī Lalitāpurī ramye Śrī Rāghava Vihāra*<sup>39a</sup> *sugatālaye*

ms. *Pañcharakṣā* of 253 *Vri Vihāra*

ms. *Dharmasamuchchaya Dharmaparayāya* of NS 293 *Chandra Vihāra*

ms. *Nisapadayogāvali* of 356 *Jayamanihāra Vihāra*

ms. *Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā* of 373<sup>40</sup> *Vaiśya Śrī Divākaravarmā mahāvihāra*

ms. *Mahīrāvaṇabadhanātaka* of 457<sup>41</sup> *Uttaravihāra* and *Śrī Anatavihāra*

ms. *Bṛihatkālottaratantram* of 538: *Māṅgladakṣiṇa Vihāra*

There is one *Dakṣiṇavaiihārika* in ms. *Mitapādapañjikā* of 261.<sup>42</sup> We have *Māṅgalaka Dakṣiṇa Vihāre* in ms. *Mahālakṣmīvrata* (Kaisar Library n. 559.3) of 509

We have already said about the *Hlam Vihāra* and the *Svayambhu Vihāra*

ms. *Chāndravyākaraṇa* of 476<sup>43</sup> *Yokhachcha Vihāra*

ms. *Mudrārakṣasa* of 491<sup>44</sup> *Maṅgalottara mahāvihāra*

ms. *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍalam* of 509 NS *Kīrtipuṇya mahāvihāra*<sup>45</sup> in Kathmandu.

ms. *Prajñāpāramitā* of 515 (As. Soc. Bengal 4725; CSMASB, I, P. 29, n. 31) : *Śrī Mānigalasthāne Śrī Puneśvera vihāra*

ms. *Subantarātnākara* (Camb. Univ. Lib. Or. 148)<sup>48</sup> of 540: *Yatradevī mahāvihāra*

<sup>38</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 359. 3

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, III. 688.

<sup>39a</sup> ASB n. 3830 CSMASB, I, n. 49, Pp. 49-50.

<sup>40</sup> Leningard Pub. Lib. n. 287, Pp. 270-71.

<sup>41</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 362. 8.

<sup>42</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 366. 4.

<sup>43</sup> CSMASB, VI, P. 115 n. 4411.

<sup>44</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1692. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 833 for the reign of Jaya Sthitimalla.

<sup>46</sup> See Petech, P. 157.

ms. *Pākanighantūvidhi*<sup>47</sup> of 548: *Śrīyovihāra*

ms. *Vajrāvalī* (CBMC, P. 197 n. Add. 1703) of 549: *Māṅgalake Uttaravihāra*.

The inscriptions of the period bring to our view the existence of the following *Vihāras* at the time.

Inscription of 502	n. XXX	in our Appendix	<i>Pārāvata Vihāra</i>
Inscription of 508	n. XXXII	in our Appendix	<i>Puṇyavihāra</i> now known as <i>Nhaikavahil</i> .
Inscription of 511	n. XXXIV	in our Appendix	<i>I-bāhil</i>
Inscription of 547	n. LIV	in our Appendix	<i>Wu-bā-bahil</i>
Inscription of 549	n. LV	in our Appendix	<i>Viśvakarmā Vihārā</i>
Inscription of 567	n. LVX	in our Appendix	<i>Śriyavarmā Pim̐tha vihāra Mahāvihāra</i>
Inscription of 583	n. LXX	in our Appendix	<i>Tedo Vihāra</i>
Inscription of 631	n. LXXVI	in our Appendix	<i>Naka Vihāra</i>
Inscription of 635	n. LXXXIX	in our Appendix	<i>Gustala Mahāvihāra</i>

From the way the colophon data bring out reference to the *Vihāra*, it can be inferred that the *Vihāras* had shed off their monastic complex as early as the 13th century A.D. Only in related mss. of the time posterior to this century there is a reference to a monk. In all other cases, the *Vihāra* figures as a place name for the particular area providing dwelling quarters to laymen.

<sup>47</sup> Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 395. This ms. belongs to the reign of Jyotirmalla.



## THE STUPAS

Any visitor to the Nepal Valley will not miss to see around his own presence numerous places of worship studded with the structures of *Stupa* or *Chaitya*. These are so common a sight that one hardly fails to notice them in his surrounding irrespective of the nature of sanctity. There are *Chaityas* standing even in areas of purely Śaivite sanctity as Śivalingas adorn places of worship of Buddhist origin. We shall find in the art and architecture section of the present chapter that no *Vihāra* can be conceived to go without a *Chaitya*. But these have also penetrated the Śaivite sites. The construction of a *Chaitya* is an ordinary act of devotion of a member of the sect.

The following must have been principal *Chaityas* of our period; the *Svayambhu Chaitya*, the *Dhanju Chaitya* in Chābahil (Kathmandu), the *Syengu Chaitya* (in the city known as *Suvaraṇapatāli*, North Kathmandu), the *Mahābauddha Chaitya* (Kathmandu) the four so-called *Aśokan Stupas* and *Pimbahāl Chaitya* in Patan, and the *Khāsti Chaitya* at a site about 3 miles from Kathmandu.

The *Chaitya* or *Stupa* was another object of veneration for the Buddhists whether erected by itself or being formed as a part of the monastic settlement. The *Chaitya* attracted a great many devotees from the Buddhist laity. Side by side with the images of the deities of the Buddhist pantheon they represented unobtrusively the *Mahāyāna* symbol with the five celestial Buddhas, Lokeśvara and the future Bodhisatva Maitreya.

The Svayambhu was the most widely venerated *Chaitya* in the whole of Nepal. Next to it came the *Khāsti Chaitya* situated a mile east of the shrine of Paśupatinātha. There are several others which are attributed to Aśoka, and revered by devotees. But it is difficult to ascertain their age and antiquity.

We are going to say more about the *Chaityas* while we deal with aspects of architecture in the next section. We shall, however, take up the description of certain individual *Chaityas* in this very section as we follow the discourse about the state of Buddhist religion hereafter in the next few pages.

## THE SVAYAMBHU CHAITYA

The *Svayambhu Chaitya* literally known as the self born *Stupa* is regarded as the most revered deity by the Buddhists and the Śaivites, too, pay homage to the *Chaitya* as an incarnation of *Viṣṇu*. The *Svayambhu Chaitya* is the oldest of its kind. It is worshipped as the *Ādi Buddha*, the primeval Divine force, and the Buddhist chronicles relate a prehistoric tale of the self born lotus in the lake growing into a hillock, which supported at its summit the *Stupa* known as the *Svayambhu Chaitya*. They say that it was the Supreme Buddha the God Himself, who had thus manifested.

We have seen that the Tibetan monk, the Dharmasvāmin, had referred to the *Svayambhu Chaitya* (1226-34 A.D) in his account. The ancient *Vaṃśāvalī* at certain dates mentions the deity by name *Syeṅgu Chaitya* e.g. 408 *Pauṣa māsa* (V<sup>1</sup>,f.26b) = 1288 A.D. The first available inscription in the area belongs to the year 492, (*Āśvinaśukla purnimā*) and this refers to the repair work done in regard to the *Chaitya* that was destroyed by Sultan Shams Ud-din's forces on NS 470 *Mārga śite daśamī* (=1349 A.D). The inscription describes the *Chaitya* 'as a spotless *Stupa* of the *Muni* situated at the top of Saṃhya hill and erected by ancestors'.

## SVAYAMBHUNATHA AS ADIBUDDHA

The conception of *Ādibuddha* from whom all Buddhas ethereal or human emanated is said to be Nepalese, which later was adopted by the Tibetans. The Nepalese believe that in the *stupa* of *Svayambhunātha* lies *Ādibuddha* appearing originally as a lotus blooming afloat on the water then submerging the Nepal Valley.<sup>47a</sup>

The *Svayambhu Purāna* composed in the early 15th century A.D provides as an account of the emergence of the lotus which was to pass as *Ādibuddha* in the form of a large *Chaitya* (Ch. II and III). The *Chaitya* was known as *Svayambhu* for it had

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<sup>47a</sup> Hodgson, JRAS.

emerged out of nothing. Literally it was born of its own self. The lotus shone brightly over the surface of the water as if it was the crest where five jewels had combined; its intrinsic brilliance lit the world around. The lotus had one thousand large petals, and at the centre contained a jewel, *padmarāga*. It then took the form a *Chaitya* of the height of a feet and half without a material structure, which was nothing but the divine flame shining in all splendours. The seed of the lotus was sown by Vipāśvī Buddha in *Satyayuga*. It had undergone transformation in course of the ages, first it bore the form of a *Chaitya* in *jyotirupa* shining more brilliantly than thousand Suns put together and finally it emerged as a *Chaitya* in the material embodiment large enough to be witnessed from a long distance. The one hand long shining divine light came to be covered beneath the structure.

While the lake dried the *Chaitya* appeared to have been standing on the top of a hill which bore different names in different periods. In Kaliyuga its name was *Gopuchha* and the natives called it Samhye.

We have a further description of the original *Chaitya* in divine form. It was like the full moon delighting the world. It burst forth in the three worlds as the lotus blossomed. In the perfect voidness it stood as one mystic syllable, sounding *Aum*, which turned into a flame rising the lotus flower. Perhaps the seed brought by Vipāśvī was this *Aum*. Ādibuddha is formless; he is omnipresent, and he is the creator and director of the Universe. Like the *Śaivite Brahmā*, he is detached from the universe and beyond it, and yet was allied to it through his own creative energy manifest in all beings.

The same story is told by the later chronicles about *Svayambhu Chaitya*. The lotus seed was sown in *Nāgahrād* by Vipāśvī Buddha in *Satyayuga*, and the same blossomed into a flower in *Tretāyuga* in the time of Śikhī Buddha. The *Svayambhu*, the self revealed God, had appeared through the flower which shone like a brilliant light. The lake became dry when Manjuśrī by cutting the mountain on the south let the water run out. Manjuśrī saw in the lotus flower the Supreme

Being called Viśvarupa, who later became the *Chaitya* now known as Syeṅgu.

The name Ādibuddha, however, is missing in all the chronicles but the *Svayambhu Purāṇa* had it; the latter also calls him 'self revealed' 'god of Gods', Master of the world and Supreme Essence from which gods, men, animals, birds, water, vegetations and the entire universe emanated.

The Svayambhu is also known to have embodied the three cardinal jewels of Buddhism. In him are combined the *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Saṅgha*.<sup>47b</sup> However, no human attributes of Ādibuddha are given. At the sametime the available inscriptions around the *Stupa* including the very earliest (of NS 492) are content to address the *Chaitya* just as '*Dharmadhātu*, 'the delighter of the world and all merciful'.

Another Buddhist text the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*, which is said to have been written in circa 3rd century A.D refers to the Ādibuddha 'when nothingelse was, Sambhu was: that it the Self-existent Svayambhu, and as he was before all, he is also called Ādibuddha'.<sup>47c</sup> The text describes in detail the various phases of Bodhisatva Lokeshvara's achievements performed for the sake of humanity, and it was said that Lokeshvara derived all his strength and inspiration for compassionate doing from the Ādibuddha who is again lauded as the creator of the world. The account of the rise of Ādibuddha in *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* is quite similar to that of the *Svayambhu Purāṇa*.<sup>47d</sup> It is not

<sup>47b</sup> नमो बुद्धाय संघाय धर्मायच स्वयम्भुवे । त्रिरत्न मूर्तये तस्मै आदिवुद्ध  
स्वयम्भुवे । .....आवोघौशरणंयामि स्वयम्भुजगदीश्वरम्

<sup>47c</sup> Alice Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 1962, Pp. 2-6.

<sup>47d</sup> ..... जगत्पति  
आदिवुद्धात्म संभूता जगदीशो महेश्वरः ।

... ..  
तद्यथादौ महाशून्ये पञ्चभूतेष्वनुद्भवे ।  
ज्योतिरूप समुद्भूत आदिवुद्धो निरञ्जनः ॥  
त्रिगुणांश महामूर्ति विश्वरूप समुत्थितः  
स स्वयंभूमेहाबुद्ध आदिनाथो महेश्वरः  
लोक संसर्जनं नाम समाधि विद्ये स्वयम् ॥

improbable that the *Svayambhu Purāṇa* borrowed the conception of Ādibuddha from this source and applied the story to the original *Chaitya* of Svayambhunātha existing in Nepal.

The *Nāmasaṅgīti*, a small liturgical work of the 9th century A.D. also speaks of Ādibuddha.<sup>476</sup> Perhaps this can be yet one more source of the idea of Ādibuddha.

The *Gopāla Vamśāvalī* has nothing to say about the legend of Ādibuddha. So it could be suggested that the *Svayambhu Chaitya* came to be associated with Ādibuddha only in the early 15th century. But it is not unlikely that the chronicle had deliberately avoided reference of Ādibuddha because of its author being a Śaivite. Nonetheless the legend might have been surely known in Nepal sometime before the *Svayambhu Purāṇa* was written. The legend could go back to an age as early as the 13th century. Thus the *Chaitya* of Svayambhu would have been worshipped as Ādibuddha from this time onwards.

Ādibuddha in the *Svayambhu Chaitya* form is regarded as the Supreme Buddha who was not also self-existent but also was the one who created the Pañcha Buddhas and their Śaktis and Bodhisatvas and the latter's manifestations as conceived by the tantras. A Nepalese work on the subject which follows the *Svayambhu Purāṇa* in date talks of the ethereal five Buddhas to have sprung out of the Ādibuddha, although the *Svayambhu Purāṇa's* statement in this regard is not categorical but could give this interpretation only by implication. At any rate whichever text it is this would show that the Ādibuddha preceded the emergence of the creation of the universe.

The Japanese have their own Ādibuddha selected from one of the five Buddhas. This is Amitābha called Amidā in Japan. The Japanese god Kongo Satta is regarded as Vajrasatva and according to some he is Ādibuddha. One school pays respects also to Vairocana as Ādibuddha. In Tibet two Lamaist sects dGe-lugs-pa (yellow caps) and Kai-hGya-pa (Red caps) regard Vajradhara as Ādibuddha. Vajradhara also passes as Karma-vajra and Dharmavajra. All these wear crowns and

<sup>476</sup> अनादि निधनो बुद्धो आदि बुद्धो निरञ्जन

other emblems of Bodhisatva. The iconographic representation of Vajrasatva is: a resting posture with legs crossed and soles exposed, *urṇa* and *uṣṇīśa* appear prominent; placing of arms over the breast which again cross each other; the two hands hold *vajra* and *ghanta* respectively as the symbols of the deity; the colour of the body in painting is blue.<sup>47f</sup> The Tibetan images are also represented in *yab-yum* attitude, the Śakti being Prajñāpāramitā.

Coming to Nepal, the pictorial representation of Ādibuddha in a form other than the *Chaitya* of Svayambhu of the Samhye hill is very rare. According to Hodgson, 'the Ādibuddha is figured wearing a crown and other ornaments like a Bodhisatva and is dressed in princely fashion. He assumes *dharmachakramudrā*, and if he is placed along with his Śakti he is called *Yogāmbara*, the latter being given the name of *digambara*. The Śakti is in *dhyāna mudrā*. Both are nude'. Hodgson talks of different sects of Buddhists in Nepal, such as *Eiśvarika* and *Svabhāvika*, who had faith in the existence of the Supreme God. In one of his works, 'The Languages, literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet, Hodgson gives additional information on the subject. He cites an unnamed text repeating the story of the *Svayambhu Purāṇa* about the appearance of the Ādibuddha on Mt. Sumeru, whom it identifies with Vajrasatva called the sixth ethereal Buddha of the Yogāchāra school.<sup>47g</sup> According to Hodgson, the *Svabhāvika* school has the trident 'rising from a lotus flower' as its symbol and as the flame supported by the moon crescent at the centre of the lotus flower also brings out an outline image of a trident over similar condition, the latter may support the identity of Ādibuddha with Vajrasatva whose abode on earth was the top of Mt. Sumeru. Vajrasatva is a popular deity in Tibet, whose symbols are *vajra* (bolt) and *ghanta* (bell). He puts a crown on his head bearing an image of Akṣobha Buddha, and wears Bodhisatva-like ornaments. He has

<sup>47f</sup> Getty, op. cit, Pp. 4-5.

<sup>47g</sup> JRAS, *Sketch of Buddhism in Nepal* derived from Buddhist Scriptures, II, 1830.

a very similar posture and attitude also as those of the latter. B. T. Bhattacharya thinks that in Nepal as in Tibet Vajrasatva is worshipped in secret only by the initiates, and he is taken as *gupta devatā*. I do not know how Vajrasatva could be taken as Ādibuddha. I have no original source to support this hypothesis. I do not think he ever ranked above or even equal to the five Buddhas. In the array of the Buddhist pantheon he is not given as prominent a place as he should as Ādibuddha. But it might be suggested that Vairochana may answer to the description as above drawn. Vairochana is represented in statues but in the *Chaityas* his image does not appear as those of the other four Buddhas, as it is being recognised to lie into the inner recess of the *Chaitya* representing the original lotus flower. He might pass as the 'concealed Buddha'.

Vairochana is always seated with legs locked up in *Padmāsana* and his hands are posed in *dharmachakramudrā* (the union of wisdom and matter).<sup>47th</sup> In the structure of the *Chaitya* the core at the centre within *Garbhadhātu* is compared with the heart (*hṛdaya*), the source of all organic life'. In this form Vairochana is held by a sect in Japan as the Ādibuddha. Nepal has its Mahāvairochana also and there are in evidence his images in stone. Apart from his 'concealed position' inside the *garbhadhātu* of the *Chaitya*, Vairochana looks quite prominent in this aspect. But he is not shown to have been given the status of Ādibuddha. No text describes him as such. It is also true that in Nepal none of the Pañcha Buddhas nor Vajrasatva and Vajradhara have enjoyed any claim to the exalted position of Ādibuddha in the popular mind.

As for Ādibuddha's iconographic representation it is non-existent in Nepal as against the statement of Hodgson. He has confused Tibetan notion of Ādibuddha with the Nepalese. On the authority of the *Svayambhu Purāṇa*, the Ādibuddha's attributes are the three jewels, *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *San̄gha*. Although the *Chaitya* is supposed to harbour all the divinities within its structure yet by itself it is devoid of shape, form and

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<sup>47th</sup> Getty, P. 32.

quality and beyond space and time. The Svayambhu Ābiduddha is also said to assume the form of *Viśvarūpa* on the 15th day of the bright fortnight (*katipuni*) of *Kārtika*. I have so far found no evidence of the Ādibuddha represented in forms other than *Svayambhu Chaitya*.

### THE KHASTI CHAITYA

This is also known as Bauddhanātha. By the name *Khāsti Chaitya* one is inclined to believe that this was associated with the Tibetans. *Khāsti* identified with *Khāsā* situated near Kerrong inside Tibetan territory lies on the main thoroughfare between Lhasa and Nepal. As the name goes, so also the shrine has come to be mainly worshipped by the Tibetans and by Gurung and Tāmāng tribes from within Nepal. The Newar Buddhists pay their homage only partially.

While dealing with the subject matter of Art and Architecture in the Volume '*Ancient Nepal*' the *Bauddha Stupa* has come in for a lengthy description.

It is suggested that the *Stupa* has a very ancient past. Waddell in his book on '*Lamaism*' wrote that he heard from a devotee in Darjeeling that the *Chaitya* contained relics of Buddha Kāsyapa. But tangible evidence in support of this assertion is lacking. The Bauddhanātha shrine does not contain any records other than a few inscriptions in Tibetan of late origin. There is no doubt that the *Stupa* was erected with a view to creat a Centre of worship to Tibetan and allied visitors.

B. T. Bhattacharya, an authority on *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, writes about this *stupa*.<sup>48</sup> 'It contains no less than 108 sculptures executed in a neat manner. Occasional images of Guru Padmasambhava chiselled in the peculiar Tibetan technique and wearing the same kind of costume bespeak of the Tibetan character of the temple. Forty seven images in this famous temple are represented in *Yab-yum* and the rest are single. About ten of the single images depict the *Siddhas* of Tibet such as Milaraspa, Marpa, Padmasambhava,

<sup>48</sup> Second Edition (1958), P. 6 (Intro.).



Naropa and others. Although Tibetan in character the temple contains nevertheless some of the purely Indian Gods of *Vajrayāna* pantheon, such as *Sadaḥṣarī Lokeśvara*, *Vāk*, *Heruka*, *Yamāntaka* and a few others'.

Although there is an imprint of Tibetan Lamaism in the rituals associated with the *stupa*, there is no doubt that this represents the work of Nepalese craftsmen.

The *Stupa* is a massive structure bigger than the Svayambhu. It is constructed on Nepalese style, and some the emblems manifested therein belong to Nepal.

The *Khāsti Chaitya* is known to *Thyāsapu A* (797-826), but there is no reference about it in *Gopālarāja Varṁsāvalī* which has copious references to Lokeśvara of Buṅgmati. As it is difficult to identify the *Tham Stupa* of Dharmasvāmin's note (1226-34 A.D), we cannot possibly say whether the *Khāsti Chaitya* actually stood at the time. But the structure massive as it is does not seem to be of a late origin. It must have existed since the early medieval age.

#### LOKESVARA, MANJUSRI AND OTHER BUDDHIST DEITIES

Lokeśvara known as Machhindra is one of the most commonly respected deities of the Nepal Valley, ranking as high as Paśupati-nātha in popular estimation as far as the followers of *Vajrayāna* are concerned. In this form as a *Bodhisatva* of grace and compassion Lokeśvara though a legendary figure for the Buddhist pantheon is equally popular with both sects. Said to have emanated from *Amitābha*, one of the five *Dhyāni* Buddhas, whose earthly manifestation is *Śākyamuni Gautama* of Kapilavastu, *Lokeśvara* is the presiding *Bodhisatva* of the era for the Buddhists in general all the world over. In Nepal, however, he is identified with Matsyendranātha of the *Nātha* cult in addition to what he passes as Padmapāṇi *Bodhisatva*.

The identification is strange, as nowhere else in India it is thus entertained. Lokeśvara's main festival is celebrated starting with the advent of Summer and ending generally with the first showers of the rainy season, which falls some times in the middle of June. Matsyendranātha, the preceptor of Gorakhanātha,

whose blessing was sought by kings of men and particularly by Narendradeva of Nepal to overcome the calamities of drought and epidemics, has also his principal day of festivity at about the same time.

Buddhist Lokeśvara's (*Khaṣarpaṇa*) entry into the earth from the mount Potala to a site about Kāmrupa is attributed to the *Rājā* of Puṇḍravardhana, who propitiated him to allay the effects of severe drought and attendant evils. We have a similar tale of the coming of Matsyendranāth Lokeśvara into Nepal in the time of Narendradeva. It is possible the common association of these powerful deities with the drought and rains determined one's identity with the other. But though Lokeśvara known to Nepal since early 8th century (see the Dharaharā inscription) does not appear to adopt simultaneously the form of Siddha Matsyendranātha till the 14th century. For the first time in this age he has claimants and devotees from both the Śaivites and Buddhist followers, and he is acclaimed by all as combining in himself attributes and qualities of both Lokeśvara of the *Mahāyāna* cult and Matsyendranātha of the *Nātha* community. But even accidentally not one of 108 incarnations and forms of Avalokiteśvara (see pictures of the deity at the shrine of Matsyendra in Kathmandu) <sup>49</sup> has the name of Matsyendranātha. In NS 797 (1677 A.D), however, a court poet of Śrīnivāsamalla sings the praise of this deity and composes hundred stanzas in his honour, which refer to him as the trinity of Śaiva pantheon and the five enlightened of the Buddhist world. Matsyendra does not figure in the Tibetan list of the eighty four Vajrayānī Siddhas. So the custom of regarding him as an incarnation of Lokeśvara is purely Nepalese in origin.

Matsyendranātha is known under three different names in three different images. In his most powerful image, he is Red Matsyendra stationed in Lalitapāṭan, *Mīnanātha* is his diminutive form of the same manifestation, who is always by his side, though scholars are of one opinion about their being one perso-

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<sup>49</sup> *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* based on *Sādhanāmālā* by B. T. Bhattacharya, Pp. 177 ff.

nage. Kathmandu has its own Matsyendra, which is the second deity of the same name known as white Matsyendra. The deity is known as Jamārdeo, the God of Jamār, and one chronicle says (Levi, I, P. 186) that his worship and *Yātrā* (procession) were introduced in Kathmandu to imitate the practice of Patan by Guṇakāmadeva I. The fourth manifestation of Lokeśvara is called Ādīśvara, who has a shrine atop the hillock of Chobār.

It is said that the concept of a deity having the name of Lokanātha as Lokeśvara has come to be known is due to the prevalence of the cult of *Śiva* in the Himalayan region.<sup>50</sup> The Tantric pandits regard Machhendranātha as an incarnation of *Śiva*. But the concept of the deity in the manifestation as it stands seems mainly inspired by Buddhist religion.

The earliest reference to Lokeśvara is in the inscription of Jayadeva II of *Samvat 159* (=727 A.D.).<sup>51</sup> Another inscription in the Gupta character commemorates the inauguration of the image of the deity. This stele is attributed to the reign to Rāmadeva (Gnoli, XVIII) but the date symbols being faded one cannot say exactly how 'to determine the date'. Apart from the ms. *Sādhanamālā* of 1178 A.D to mention Lokeśvara in the medieval period, there is an image of this deity in Patan which bears on the pedestal an inscription with date 180.<sup>52</sup> We have an image of Chintāmanī Lokeśvara within the shrine of Svayambhu with date NS 549 (=1429 A.D.). Dharmasvāmin, the Tibetan monk who visited Nepal, 1224-1236 A.D, speaks of Bugam Āryalokeśvara (vide above). In V<sup>111</sup> the image of the deity comes in for occasional notice under different dates since the early 12th century A.D (vide ante the historical portion)

Lokeśvara is not the only one deity identified with *Śaiva* worship. Manjuśrī's shrine has come to be visited by the *Śivamārgis* on more than one occasion, and he is looked upon

<sup>50</sup> Read for *Buddhism in Nepal*, Snellgrove's *Buddhist Himalayas*, Chapter III.

<sup>51</sup> BLI, No. 15.

<sup>52</sup> Gnoli, n. XVIII. We have the reign of Mānadeva mentioned in this record and therefore the image can be ascribed to the middle of the 8th century A.D.

as the Goddess Sarasvatī, the deity of learning. How Manjuśrī, a male Bodhisatva, came to be respected as a female Sarasvatī is more than a surprise. But Manjuśrī is the patron of learning according to Buddhist scriptures and his spouse is Sarasvatī. His emblems are the book and the sword which he holds in his left and right hands. Probably the Śivamārgis were led to take him as Sarasvatī by these emblems.

Although Manjuśrī Bodhisatva was known in India since early 5th century A.D., we have no source of information to know about this deity in Nepal until we come to the 9th century. A standing two feet high image of Manjuśrī Bodhisatva in a shrine in Chikamugal quarter of the old site of Kathmandu bears an inscription on its pedestal. Although the date figure is peeled off the writing seems old enough to place the record to the early post-Lichhavi time. The inscription says that on *Jyēṣṭha pūrṇimā* of a particular (date peeled off) year, the image of Manjuśrī had been set up. This must be the oldest image of the deity. We have come to know about a legend surrounding this image current in the area. It is said that Manjuśrī while he came from China resided in the locality before he shifted to the traditional abode behind the Syengu hill. This legend can be interpreted to mean that the *Bodhisatva* became known in Nepal at about the same time as the image was set up by his devotees there.

The image of Manjuśrī is only with two hands which are stretched down slightly bent at the elbow to hold each a piece of hanging cloth. These do not carry the classical emblems associated with the Bodhisatva. Here the deity wears a necklace, and armlets, the carving of which shows a highly skilled craftsmanship. The lower part of the body is covered with a flowing *dhoti* garment, the legs from the knee upwards being under the covering. On the whole the art displayed in the image making does not seem to be of quite a high order. We shall exclude the consideration of this image from the section dealing with arts, as we have described it here.

SEVEN MORTAL BUDDHAS, FIVE CELESTIAL BUDDHAS  
AND THEIR AUXILIARIES AND EMANATIONS

These are common for almost all the Vihāras in the Nepal Valley as are the deities representing the trinity, *Dharma*, *Buddha* and *Saṅgha*. The celestial Buddhas—*Vairochana*, *Amitābha*, *Ratnasambhava*, *Amogha Siddhi* and *Akṣobha* are represented in different postures in all the *stupas* and *Chaityas* on four sides, *Vairochana* invisible occupying the centre. Amongst the mortal Buddha we have *Vipasyi*, *Śikhi*, *Viśvabhu*, *Krakuchhanda*, *Konagamuni*, *Kāsyapa*, *Śākyamuni* and *Maitreya*; the last two are enshrined in many Vihāras as principal deities, *Maitreya*, the future Buddha, though not as much popular, stands second to Gautama Buddha who is universally worshipped. *Maitreya* has been noted by the T'ang annal to have been highly respected by the Nepalese since early 8th century. He is worshipped as the coming Buddha. *Vajrasatva* with *Bodhisatva Vajrapāṇi* and *Dīpaṅkara Buddha* are associated with the celestial ones as the sixth and seventh Buddha out of the twenty-four of them who are in the group. *Dīpaṅkara* has a monastery in his honour in Patan and Bhatgaon. Traditionally he is the first of the Buddhas, who had visited Nepal, and begged alms from the laity. The occasion of his begging is still celebrated on the 14th day of the dark fortnight of *Bhādra*. Also the *Samyak dāna* is performed in honour of this Buddha uptill now.

The following table presents the celestial Buddha group with their *Śaktis* and *Bodhisatvas*. This particular representation of the Buddha pantheon in regard to Pañcha Buddhas is Nepalese in conception, and is widely prevalent. The Tibetans have emulated the Nepalese while following this schedule:

<i>Dhyāni Buddha</i>	<i>Divine Śakti</i>	<i>Bodhisatva</i>
<i>Vairochana</i>	<i>Vajradhātviśvarī</i>	<i>Sāmantabhadra</i>
<i>Akṣobhya</i>	<i>Lochanā</i>	<i>Vajrapāṇi</i>
<i>Ratnasambhava</i>	<i>Māmakī</i>	<i>Ratnapāṇi</i>
<i>Amitābha</i>	<i>Paṇḍarā</i>	<i>Padmapāṇi</i>
<i>Amoghasiddhi</i>	<i>Aryatārā</i>	<i>Viśvapāṇi</i>
<i>Vajrasatva</i>	<i>Vajrasatvātmikā</i>	<i>Ghaṇṭapāṇi</i>

There are other Buddhas about ten in number, who can be listed as auxiliaries. But these are not known to ordinary devotees.

According to a widespread belief we have the four guardian kings and ten governors for the ten directions, who are also respected by the laity as supernatural beings to guard and protect the universe from evil spirits.

A	B
Four guardians of the quarters	Ten governors ( <i>Lokapālas</i> )
1. <i>Dhṛtarāṣṭra</i>	1. <i>Indra</i>
2. <i>Virudhaka</i>	2. <i>Agni</i>
3. <i>Virupākṣa</i>	3. <i>Yama</i>
4. <i>Vaiśrāvana</i>	4. <i>Sūrya</i>
	5. <i>Varuṇa</i>
	6. <i>Vāyu</i>
	7. <i>Yakṣa</i>
	8. <i>Soma</i>
	9. <i>Brahmā</i>
	10. <i>Bhūpati</i>

The *Lokapālas* are no more in evidence except on occasions the priests invoke them. But the guardian kings are often depicted in pictures on the front walls of the building of the Buddhist laity. The *Pañcha Buddha* might also find place on the wall just above the cornice of the doorways. These have become the signs by which a Buddhist household is distinctly marked.

Of the eighty-four *Vajrayāni Siddhas*, only eight are known in Nepal, but knowledge of these *Siddhas* is confined to the few initiated of the priest class.

Luipā	Karnāripā
Nāgarjunapa	Ghaṇṭapā
Virupā	Naropā
Kukuripā	Sabaripā

Each of these differs slightly from the usual Tibetan represen-

tation in meditational pose.<sup>53</sup> It is said that some of these Siddhas practised their *sādhanā* in Nepal.

Now coming to description of the deities emanating from the celestial Buddhas we have about a hundred of them whose *sādhanā* is mentioned by the compiler of the *mantras* in the treatise. These constitute both the groups, (1) abstractions represented in human shape (II) and celestial emanations related to one or either of the Buddhas. The Trinity, Prajñā, Pāramitā, Nāmasaṅgīti, Pañcharakṣa Maṇḍala and Nairātmya and a few others belong to the first category. Deities like *Heruka*, *Hevajra*, etc. derive their origin from *Tantras* of their name and may be classified in this list. The second list is much exhaustive and we need not enumerate all the names here but only those that are very familiar to the common mass of the people. It has so happened that the most familiar of the *Vajrayāna* Pantheon have been also claimed by the Saivites.<sup>54</sup> These are (1) *Vajra Yoginī* called under different names such as *Ugratārā*, *Ekajaṭā*, etc.,<sup>55</sup> (2) *Vajra Vārāhī*, (3) *Nīla Sarasvatī*, (4) *Chhinnamastikā*, (5) *Kālīs* with red and white complexion, (6) *Vidyādharī*, (7) *Mahānkāla* the fierce God of Death. Some of these gods along with another female deity *Kurukullā* had been introduced from Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, a country which had deeply imbibed *Indian Tantric Buddhism* in the 11th and 12th century A.D.

*Amoghapāsa*, *Usniṣa Vijaya* and their female *Śakti* and *Hārītī*—the protectress of children, are also equally popular, though all

<sup>53</sup> *Buddhist Himalayas* by O. L. Snellgrove.

<sup>54</sup> For a study of the deities described in this section read (1) *Sādhanāmālā*, Vols. I & II, edited by B. T. Bhattacharya (Oriental Institute, Baroda) Intro. to Vol. II. (2) *Indian Buddhist Iconography* by the same author, 1958 (3) *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI—*Language, Literature and Religion of the Buddhists of Nepal* by B. H. Hodgson (4) *Buddhist Sanskrit Literature in Nepal* edited by R. L. Mitra; *Tantric Studies* by P. C. Bagchi.

<sup>55</sup> *Ekajaṭā* is said to have been brought over from China by Siddha Nāgārjuna. ms. *Vajrayoginī Sādhanam* (274 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa* 13) is devoted to the worship of the deity.

of them except *Hārītī* are disowned by the Śaivites; *Hārītī* who is regarded as the elder sister of *Sitalā*,—Goddess of pox epidemic, has her abode in a temple within confines of the Svayambhu Chaitya, *Sitalā* more a Śaivite than a Bauddha is enshrined close to Pasupatinātha's temple. Our purpose in producing this long catalogue of names of deities is to show that the Medieval period saw the ritual *Mahāyāna* expand to a length where these deities were conceived and created. Indeed, they came into existence in Nepal since the early 12th century in the same way as they were imported into Burma and other countries of South East Asia. It appears that Nepal imported these divinities from India some three to four hundred years later than they were originally established in that country. Probably it was the aftermath of the Muslim terror, which was responsible for this importation. Nepal was then a place of refuge, to which scholars of repute repaired for safety. With them they took their objects of worship, image of their devotion, modes of worship and rites with which they performed sacrifices and philosophies supporting the ritual. It could not be that the *Vajrayāna* deities were introduced in this country at a very early period of history. Evidence to support a contrary conclusion is lacking. None of the data inscriptional or otherwise have anything to say about Buddhism of this type. The first available copy of the ms. of *Sādhanamālā* dates 1168 A.D., which means that the deities and rites mentioned therein were introduced in about that period or sometime earlier.

From the beginning of the 11th century A.D. *Hīnayāna* and simple unritualistic *Mahāyāna* had totally disappeared. *Vajrayāna* dominated Nepal for about five centuries since then and is still a very influential factor in the society. For some time after its inception, it had almost flooded the social structure of the Valley of Nepal. The imprint *Vajrayāna* left in those days in this field remains uneffaced even today. Gods and divinities that it gave birth are still extant in the monasteries in the riches of their walls, and in struttings and frontals of the temples. *Vajrayāna* was so strong in those days that it could not only compete with Śaivite deities but to an extent push the deities of



the latter off their seats of vantage in their respective areas. It appears that in this strain the priests ministering to the *Vajrayāna* sect did not even care if their eulogising and laudation of the deities in question went to offend the susceptibilities of the Saiva sects. They openly preached hatred towards the traditional divinities and sayled them as wicked, who were to be subjugated by Buddha gods and goddesses. Thus Lokeśvara was conceived as riding roughsod over the Hindu God Viṣṇu, *Mṛtyuvañchanā Tārā* as quelling the *Śaiva* trio, and *Indra* and Sun God, *Bhūtadāmara* as conquering *Brahmā* and *Indra*, *Ucchusma Jambhala* as trampling under feet the god of wealth, *Kuvera*, *Vajrajvatanatarka* as keeping under his heels *Viṣṇu* and *Lakṣmī* and, *Yamāntaka* and *Vighna Vignāntaka* as pressing under feet the god of death *Yama* and the god of good occasion, *Ganeśa*, respectively.<sup>56</sup> Such instances can be multiplied. Sons of God *Śiva* of the other sect, the heroic *Kārtikeya* and *Gaṇeśa* are doorkeepers of the Buddha and Bodhisatva Manjuśrī.<sup>57</sup> *Gaṇeśa* also is worshipped as a deity keeping watch over a monastery.

It appears that many of the deities of the *Vajrayāna* pantheon continued to enjoy popularity till the end of the 17th century. However, some of these were thrown into an obscure position about that time as gods and goddesses of parochial origin began to command universal devotion and got identified with classical divinities. But to this we shall return in the next volume when we have to deal with the issue of religion as it obtained in the late medieval period.

This is all about the deities.

The large volume of Tantric literature copied between the 10th and 16th centuries is the evidence of the fact that Nepal then was mostly under Tantric influence. But this also indicates the extent of learning acquired by the Nepalese of the day.

<sup>56</sup> बज्रपाश गृहित पुरन्दर वन्दित अधो हरिहर ब्रह्मादयोमदिताः सपत्निकं विष्णु आलीढ पदेना क्रम्या वस्थितं आक्रम्याङ्गि युगेन भूतल गतं रोषात् कुवेरं स्थितम् ।

<sup>57</sup> A look into various shrines of Buddhist faith will confirm what we have said here.

There were scholars who had gained mastery of different kinds of learning. But we find that the tradition of learning and scholarship had weakened as we approach the 17th century.

### SAIVA AND VISNUITE DEITIES IN BUDDHISM

*Vajrayāna* had not only created its own divinities, but also tended to adopt Saivite and Viṣṇuite deities in the pantheon of the principal Buddhist divine figures standing on equal footing with the originals.

We have already observed how *Brahmā*, *Śiva*, *Hari*, *Indra*, *Kārtikeya*, *Gaṇeśa*, *Lakṣmī*, *Sarasvatī* and others played their role in one form or another, although these had been treated as deities subservient to the main Gods of *Vajrayāna*. The Gods known as *Chaturmahārāja* and *daśa dikpālas* in the Buddhist conception (*Agni*, *Sūrya*, *Varuṇa* etc) belong originally to *Saiva-Viṣṇu* sect. These, however, are not assigned major role. But *Gaṇeśa* came to be worshipped as a principal deity, inspite of his association with the monastery in his subsidiary character. A work *Gaṇapatihṛdaya*,<sup>58</sup> consisting of *mantras* in adoration of the God has a story to say that Gautama himself commended the worship of *Gaṇeśa* to propitiate his to ward off certain dangers to life. The initial invocation *Om namo ratnatrayāya* shows the Buddhist character of the composition.

We have a work showing collection of *mantras*, the *Grahamaṭrikadhāranī*,<sup>59</sup> which are recited to please the nine planets for different results affecting human destiny. The *navagraha* group of stars are always associated with Brāhmanical rites. But the *dharanī* shows that the Buddhist priests were equally interested in them and the nine celestial bodies were objects of their devotion.

From a work of rituals, called *Pūjāpaddhati*<sup>60</sup> it is known that divinities of the *Śiva Tantras* were freely absorbed in the

<sup>58</sup> R. L. Mitra; *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature in Nepal*, 1882, p. 89 (n. 816-A).

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93 (816-B).

<sup>60</sup> R. L. Mitra, *Ibid.*, p. 186 (No. A. 12).

*Vajrayāna* pantheon. The deities mentioned in the treatise are (1) *Kubjikāguhyeśvarī* (the secret hunchback goddess), (2) *Harabhairava*, (3) *Harasiddhidevī*, (4) *Chañḍeśvarī*, (5) *Navadurgā*, (6) *Gaṇeśa*, (7) *Brahmāṇī*, (8) *Maheśvarī*, (9) *Kumarī*, (10) *Vaiṣṇavī*, (11) *Vārāhī*, (12) *Indrāṇī*, (13) *Chāmundā*, (14) *Mahālakṣmī*, (all these (7-14) belong to *Aṣṭamātrkā* group) (15) *Kulachakreśvarī*, (16) *Revanta Mahābhairava*, (17) *Mahālakṣmī*, (18) *Jayavatsalā*, (19) *Pūrṇavatī Brahmāṇī*, (20) *Śikāsachchhaṇḍa Mahābhairava*, (21) *Nṛtyeśvara Mahābhairava*, (22) *Bhīmasena Mahābhairava*, (23) *Kumarīchāmundā*, (24) *Ugrachañḍā*, (25) *Martyeśvarī*, (26) *Jhaṅkeśvarī*.

All these deities were not only equated with the principal divinities of the Buddhist religion in respect of rank and honour but were owned in the society as much as the latter.

The *Svayambhu Purāṇa*, written in the middle of the 15th century features of religion as obtained since the introduction of *Vajrayāna* gives a list of Śaivite and Viṣṇuite gods who were worshipped either as Lokeśvara or Tathāgata Śākyamuni himself. Such is the *Nārāyaṇa (Harivāhana)* as Chāngu, and also Lord Paśupati regarded as Lokeśvara.<sup>61</sup> The image of *Nārāyaṇa* known as *Bhuyuji (Bhujungasāyi)* at the foot of the Śivapuri hill to the north of Kathmandu about 6 miles off is considered by the Buddhist laity as one of the 108 Lokeśvaras. (*Nilakaṇṭha lokeśvara*)

The *Svayambhu Purāṇa* has listed the following sites of Śivalingas as sacred: (1) Manilingeśvara in the vicinity of the Valley of Manichuḍa (2) *Gokarna* on the Bāgmati where it cuts across a hill (3) Kiteśvara (4) *Kumbheśvara* in northern quarter of the city of Patan (5) *Phaṇigarteśvara* on the Godāvari, south-east corner of the Nepal Valley (6) *Phanilingeśvara*, (7) *Gandheśvara*, (8) and *Vikrameśvara*. To Buddhists these Śivalingas represent eight *tathāgatas*, holy sages who had renounced all passions (*vītarāga*).

There are also several divinities of the other sect being wor-

<sup>61</sup> R. L. Mitra, *Ibid.*, pp. 251, 259 (No. B. 19).

shipped on their own without any attempt to impart to them Buddhist character. Such are the various *pīthas*, which though falling under Śaivite-Viṣṇuite category are visited by the Buddhists along with those of exclusively Buddhist association.

#### RESPECT FOR BRAHMANAS AND COWS

Although Brāhmaṇas are not associated with the priestly functions in regard to the ten *kriyas* in the household of a Buddhist in the society, they were specially revered and in the inscriptions of the later medieval age this is reflected in the statement enjoining not to destroy the record at the peril of committing a sin as 'that of killing a Brāhmaṇa or a cow! Considering that the priest Guvāju does not enjoy this kind of privilege, it can be definitely said that the Brāhmaṇas were treated as belonging to superior caste and deserving of deep veneration by the Buddhist laity.

The Capuchin Missionaries wrote during the early 18th century that the punishment for the offence of killing a cow or a bull or a Brāhmaṇa was death.

The society was caste ridden and in its caste system embraced both Buddhists and followers of Śaiva-Viṣṇuism. As such, the respect of the Brāhmaṇas was natural, because under the caste organisation the Brāhmaṇas occupied the highest place and they represented to popular view divinities on earth. But this attitude was also mixed with caste complex and feeling. Not to speak of the laity and the privileged caste Brāhmaṇas even the Buddhist priests were not immune from this complex. But as we are told this complex had a hoary tradition. Even while the Buddhist order functioned intact there were tendencies to cling to one's caste inside the order, which was unique and manifested only in Nepal. It so appears that on conversion to monkhood, the individual did not like to lose his caste background. In the colophons we have a *dviḥvara bhikṣu*<sup>62</sup> and also a Kāyastha bhikṣu Āchārya.<sup>63</sup> This showed that the monks

<sup>62</sup> ms. *Pingalamata* (Br. Museum Or: 2279).

<sup>63</sup> Doc. 10 of Anantamalla's reign.

were never able to shed their caste background. Perhaps this carried higher status in the order. The Nepalese Bhikṣus of the day strictly adhered to the rule of the Buddha emphasised in *Lalitavistāra*, which said that the monks should be enrolled only from the ranks of the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣātriyas. If later the Guvāju and Bāre castes functioning as priests to the many lower castes in the society claimed their descent from the Brāhmaṇas, the reason is not far to seek, it is in this dictum of the *Lalitavistāra* prescribing conversion on caste basis. Normally the heir to the monks who were converted from Brāhmaṇas were of their caste. So Brāhmaṇism if not actually Brāhmaṇas came to dominate the field. Later while castes had taken shape the Buddhist Guvā-Bāres took pride in calling themselves descendants of the Brāhmaṇas and accepted priesthood as profession in conformity to the injunction of the *Sāstras* as legacy and heritage; Brāhmaṇism again scored a victory if we were to interpret the prevailing sentiment about the origin of the Buddhist priest castes as a triumph of their ideas of social superiority and caste complex,

### RITUALS

Ordinarily the rituals involved worship of the image of the deity with Sandal paste, rice and flower (*chandana, akṣatā and puṣpa*) and offering to it a burning incense and lamp (*dhūpa and dīpa*). On extraordinary occasions there was sacrificial offering of rice and ghee over a fire alter and then killing of an animal, either a goat or a fowl at the feet of the deity or on a *vedikā* in the front.

The image was washed with water or with *pañchāmṛta* as Dharmasvāmin marked while watching the ceremonial worship of *Avalokiteśvara* (see above). Then sandal paste mixed with rice was applied on the forehead and flowers put on the head. This done, the deity was offered a burning lamp and incense. The method of worship both in the Śaivite and Buddhist household or temple was similar. The rites were conducted by priests and if it was a ceremonial connected with the worship of deities other than Viṣṇu, Śiva, Buddha or a Bodhisatva animal

sacrifice could be an essential part of the ritual if the devotee so desired.

The taking out in procession of the image of a particular deity kept on a chariot (*Ratha yātrā*) was also a common feature then as it is now-a-days. Dharmasvāmin gives an account of the chariot procession of Matsyendranātha. Although the time of the ceremony is different the practice is still carried. First the image is taken from the main temple at Buga in a small chariot over men's shoulders to the shrine in the city of Patan. This is done on a special day fixed as auspicious by astrologers sometime between November and March. There it is kept for show and worship until the car festival starts on the first day of *Vaiśākha*, bright fortnight. Matsyendranātha was supposed to bless the people of the capital city with his residence for some months in the year and he was to pass through the main road and receive offering and donation from every house that lay on both sides. On the first day of *Chaitra śukla*, the image is dipped in *pañchāmṛta* and is painted in red colour. A huge and tall chariot with four wheels is kept ready at Pulchok, and in the afternoon of the first day of the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākha* the image is placed in it. Then in a procession attended by a huge crowd the chariot enters the city. The chariot is drawn slowly and halts at places traditionally marked. At every halt the inhabitants of the locality play hosts to the deity. The procession goes on for several days until after going round a part of the city it reaches the outskirts at a point called *Jāwalākhel*. Here a special ceremony takes place, which the people of the entire Valley attend and the deity is supposed now to complete his residence in Patan and the very next day is removed to the old site in Buga.

The V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>111</sup> corroborate the ceremony of the chariot procession of *Avalokiteśvara* in Patan,<sup>64</sup> but we are not aware of such procession of any other deity until we come to the late medieval period while we are given to know of similar procession in honour of white Matsyendra in Kathmandu and Bhairava in

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<sup>64</sup> f. 40-b.

Bhatgaon. But it may not be wrong to assume that chariots of many other deities then existing were taken out in procession on particular occasion. All these, however, might not have been on a gigantic scale as in the case *Avalokiteśvara* of Patan, and probably not the sort of festival with the chariot drawn by a crowd of men was involved. Small chariots modelled on a temple structures and carried by men over their shoulders known as *Khat* are used today during festivals celebrated in honour of many deities. In such chariots the image of the deity is carried in procession through the alleys and main thoroughfare in the locality so that the devotees can have a look of the deity and worship him or her while at home. I think that this is a very old practice and might go back to the period we deal with.

Beside the annual festival, there were other occasions when a particular temple was an object of visit by the people. For example, every 11th day of a lunar fortnight was a sacred day for pilgrims to visit to the temple of Paśupatinātha. Similarly the eighth day of a lunar fortnight provided occasion to visit the Buddhist temples and *Chaityas*.

We have several dates in the ancient chronicles and inscriptions regarded as sacred for performing rites in honour of the deities.

According to V<sup>i</sup> (f.27a) King Anantamalla offered gold flagstaffs to Paśupati on *Āṣāḍha śukla 5* Wednesday. This day Jaya Sthitimalla and his wife observed *vrata* to propitiate *Lakṣmī* on 499 *Bhādra kṛṣṇa* . . . . (V<sup>i</sup>, f.30b). On *Mārga* dark fortnight 12 he paid a visit to the temple of Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa to pay his respects to the Lord (V<sup>i</sup>, f.30b). V<sup>ii</sup> states that on *Kārtika kṛṣṇa amāvāsyā* (dark fortnight), the ruler of Nepal performed *pūjā* in Deopāṭan and fed the Brāhmaṇas (f. 36-b). There are many more sacred dates in V<sup>iii</sup> as we follow them Sthitimalla receives *ḍikṣya* from his preceptor Śivadāsa Upādhyāya on 500 *Vaiśākha vadi amāvāsyā*, the day of solar eclipse (f. 59-b). A water conduit in Liviyanta was flown for the first time on *Āṣāḍha śuddhi 9 hastā nakṣatra Monday* (f.60b) Jaya Sthitimalla went on pilgrimage to the temple of Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa on *Māgha* bright fortnight, Tuesday (f.60a). On

503 *Māgha śukla 10* Wednesday Megharāma Mūlamī offers flag to Śrī Tilamādhava in Bhatgaon (f.60a). Jaya Sthitimalla again inaugurated the flowing of a water conduit on 506 *Pauṣa śudi*.

Our inscriptions also provide dates which were taken as sacred, because some pious acts were performed on these days. According to inscription no. II, an image of *Śrī Manjunātha* was set up on *Jyeṣṭha śukla 15*. Inscription n. IV says that on *Prathamāṣāḍha śukla 13* of NS 132, the image of Umā-Maheśvara was set up at Ganchanani, Patan. The image of the booted Sun God at Naksāl was set up in Naksāl on *Āṣāḍha śukla 2* of NS 179.<sup>65</sup> In NS 185 another image of Sun God was installed at Thappahiti on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of *Āṣāḍha*.<sup>66</sup> Vāmadeva sets up the idol of Sun God on *Vaiśākha śukla 7* of NS 203.<sup>67</sup> On *Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa 8* of NS 283 a hymn in honour of the Lord was inscribed on the pillar in front of Tilamādhava in Bhatgaon.<sup>68</sup> Water conduits were opened on *Phālguna kṛṣṇa 8* of 288,<sup>69</sup> *Kārtika śukla 8* of 291<sup>70</sup> and *Jyeṣṭha śukla 15*<sup>71</sup> and in *Kārtika* of 291,<sup>72</sup> all during the reign of Rudradeva II.

In the reign of Amṛtadeva, a water conduit inscription bears the date NS 295 *Vaiśākha śukla 3*.<sup>73</sup> In the same reign an image of Nārāyaṇa was installed on NS 296 *Jyeṣṭha* bright fortnight 8.<sup>74</sup> The inscription on the pedestal of the Umā-Maheśvara image lying in an area close to Kwa-bahāl shows that a temple was built to enshrine the deities.<sup>75</sup> But the date is not available. If the particular dates shown in inscriptions which give us account of certain pious deeds be accepted, we will have in our list more days characterised as holy. Let me now prepare a table showing the inscription, the pious deed performed and the particular day.

<sup>65</sup> Inscription n. VII.

<sup>66</sup> Inscription n. VIII.

<sup>67</sup> Inscription n. IX.

<sup>68</sup> Inscription n. XII.

<sup>69</sup> Inscription n. XIII.

<sup>70</sup> Inscription n. XIV.

<sup>71</sup> Inscription n. XV.

<sup>72</sup> Inscription n. XVI.

<sup>73</sup> Inscription n. XVII.

<sup>74</sup> Inscription n. XVIII.

<sup>75</sup> Inscription n. XIX.



<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Pious work done</i>
<i>Svayambhu</i> Inscription <sup>76</sup>	NS 492 <i>Āsvina śukla</i> 15	Repairing of the <i>Chaitya</i> .
<i>Itumbahāl</i> Inscription <sup>77</sup>	NS 502 <i>Āṣāḍha śukla</i> 10	Installation of an image of <i>Āryatārā</i> .
<i>Jayavāgeśvari</i> water conduit Inscription <sup>78</sup>	NS 508 <i>Mārga śukla</i> 10	Inaugural ceremony of the flowing of water from a stone conduit.
<i>Nhaikabahil</i> Copper Plate <sup>79</sup>	NS 508 <i>Jyeṣṭha śukla</i> 10	Installation of an image of <i>Buddha</i> .
Pharping Inscription of the temple of <i>Gorakhanātha</i> <sup>80</sup>	NS 511 <i>Māgha śukla</i> 5	Footprints of <i>Gorakhanātha</i> carved on a stone.
<i>Wu-ba bahi</i> Copper Plate <sup>81</sup>	NS 511 <i>Prathamāṣāḍha śukla</i> 10	An image of <i>Buddha</i> installed.
<i>Kumbheśvara</i> stone Inscription <sup>82</sup>	NS 512 <i>Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa</i> 6	A new temple constructed for <i>Lord Kumbheśvara</i> .
<i>Chañdeśvara</i> Inscription <sup>83</sup>	NS 523 <i>Māgha śukla</i> 15	Sacrificial offering to the Lord.
<i>Sundhārā</i> Stone of Patan <sup>84</sup>	NS 524 <i>Chaitra kṛṣṇa</i> 8	Installation of an image of <i>Kumāra</i> .
<i>Kochhutol</i> stone of Pharping <sup>85</sup>	NS 527 <i>Phālguna śukla</i> 3	Repairing of the temple of <i>Jhankeśvari</i> .
<i>Rajeśvari</i> temple stone <sup>86</sup>	NS 528 <i>Māgha kṛṣṇa</i> 8	Construction of the temple of <i>Rājeśvari</i> .
Taumadhitol temple Inscription <sup>87</sup>	NS 530 <i>Vaiśākha śukla</i> 3	To celebrate the occasion of the <i>Yajna</i> .
Jyotirmalla's Paśupati Inscription <sup>88</sup>	NS <i>Māgha śukla</i> 13	Flagstaff on the crest of the temple.
On the pedestal of an image of <i>Umā-Maheśvara</i> at Harigaon <sup>89</sup>	NS 534 <i>Māgha śukla</i> 3	The image was set up.
A stone at Chikambahil, Patan <sup>90</sup>	NS 536 <i>Āsvini śukla</i> 15	An image of <i>Ganeśa</i> was set up.
A <i>Kāstamaṇḍapa</i> Copper Plate <sup>91</sup>	NS 543 <i>Āṣāḍha śukla</i> 10	A declaration.
<i>I-ba-bahi</i> Copper Plate <sup>92</sup>	NS 547 <i>Jyeṣṭha śukla</i> 3	A sacrificial fire ignited.

<sup>76</sup> Inscription n. XXIX.

<sup>78</sup> Inscription n. XXXI.

<sup>80</sup> Inscription n. XXXIII.

<sup>82</sup> Inscription n. XXXV.

<sup>84</sup> Inscription n. XL.

<sup>86</sup> Inscription n. XLIV.

<sup>88</sup> Inscription n. XLVII.

<sup>90</sup> Inscription n. L.

<sup>92</sup> Inscription n. LII.

<sup>77</sup> Inscription n. XXX.

<sup>79</sup> Inscription n. XXXII.

<sup>81</sup> Inscription n. XXXIV.

<sup>83</sup> Inscription n. XXXVIII.

<sup>85</sup> Inscription n. XLII.

<sup>87</sup> Inscription n. XLV.

<sup>89</sup> Inscription n. XLIX.

<sup>91</sup> Inscription n. LI.

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Pious work done</i>
<i>Viśvakarmā Vihāra</i> Copper Plate <sup>93</sup>	NS 549 <i>Chaitra śukla</i> 10	Gold image of <i>Akṣobha</i> was set up.
Ṭhimi temple Ins- cription <sup>94</sup>	NS 561 <i>Phalguṇa śukla</i> 15	Construction of the temple was completed with <i>pratisthan</i> .
Taumadhitol Stane <sup>95</sup>	NS 561 <i>Jyeṣṭha śudī</i> 11	Inaugural ceremony of the opening of the gold water conduit.
A slab of stone at Sasu- khel in Patan <sup>96</sup>	NS 567 <i>Jyeṣṭha śukla pratipadā</i> (the last date)	Installation of an image of <i>Sarasvatī</i> .
Lubhu Stone <sup>97</sup>	NS 572 <i>Chaitra śukla</i> 11	Building a temple of <i>Nārāyaṇa</i> .
On the pedestal of an image of Gaṇeśa at Sāngā <sup>98</sup>	NS 573 <i>Māgha śukla</i> 6	Installing an image of <i>Gaṇeśa</i> .
Palace Copper Plate of Bhaktapur <sup>99</sup>	NS 573 <i>Śrāvaṇa śukla</i> 15	Ceremonial end of the construction of the walls around the town of Bhaktapur.
Pedestal of the image of <i>Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa</i> <sup>100</sup>	NS 582 <i>Dvipauṣa</i> 15	Ceremonial installation of the image.
<i>Te-bahāl</i> Inscriptions <sup>101</sup>	NS 583 <i>Kārtika śukla</i> 15	Image of the Moon God set up.
Kathmandu Copper Plate <sup>102</sup>	NS 585 <i>Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa amavasya</i>	Grant of land.
<i>Yakṣeśvara</i> Copper Plates <sup>103</sup>	NS 607 <i>Āṣāḍha śukla</i> 7 and NS 614 <i>Bhādra-pada śukla</i> 4	Grant of land for the maintenance of <i>Pūja</i> at the temple.
<i>Bhimsendhārā</i> Image of <i>Viṣṇu</i> <sup>104</sup>	NS 615 <i>Māgha pūrṇimā</i>	Ceremonial installation of an Image of <i>Viṣṇu</i> .
<i>Mimnamibahāl</i> Copper Plate <sup>105</sup>	NS 616 <i>Jyeṣṭha śukla</i> 11 and <i>Jyeṣṭha śukla</i> 15	Sacrificial offering to ( <i>Yajña</i> ).
<i>Viśvakarma Vihāra</i> Copper Plate <sup>106</sup>	NS 631 <i>Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa</i> 2	God finial set up on the roof of the shrine of <i>Akṣobhya</i> .
<i>Ganeśa</i> Image Inscip- tion of Nala <sup>107</sup>	NS 631 <i>Vaiśākha śukla</i> 3	Ceremonial Installation of the Image.

<sup>93</sup> Inscription n. LIV.

<sup>95</sup> Inscription n. LVI.

<sup>97</sup> Inscription n. LIX.

<sup>99</sup> Inscription n. LXV.

<sup>101</sup> Inscription n. LXVIII.

<sup>103</sup> Inscription n. LXXV.

<sup>105</sup> Inscription n. LXXX.

<sup>107</sup> Inscription n. LXXXIII.

<sup>94</sup> Inscription n. LV.

<sup>96</sup> Inscription n. LVIII.

<sup>98</sup> Inscription n. LXI.

<sup>100</sup> Inscription nos. LXVI, LXVII.

<sup>102</sup> Inscription nos. LXXVII, LXXIII.

<sup>104</sup> Inscription n. LXXVI.

<sup>106</sup> Inscription n. LXXXII.

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Pious work done</i>
<i>Bhairava</i> temple Inscription of Kīrtipur <sup>108</sup>	NS 635 <i>Kārtika kṛṣṇa</i> 4	Repairing of the temple of <i>Vyāghra Bhairava</i> .
Banepā Inscription of the temple of <i>Mādhava</i> <sup>109</sup>	NS 636 <i>Māgha śukla</i> 15	The image of <i>Mādhava</i> was set up.
Te-bahāl Inscription <sup>110</sup>	NS 583 <i>Kārtika śukla</i> 15	Installation of the image of Sun God.
Thalachhetol water conduit Inscription <sup>111</sup>	NS 643 <i>Vaiśākha śukla</i> 15	Celebration of <i>Pūrṇimā Vrata</i> in honour of the Moon God.

The *Chaturmāsa*, the four months of the rainy season (*Āṣāḍha* to *Kārtika śukla* in the present Calendar), have been deemed sacred for both the followers of Śaiva-Viṣṇuism and Buddhism. The month of *Śrāvaṇa* (*Guṇilā*) is sacred for the Buddhist laity in particular and every morning in this month the shrines and *Stupas* attract a good number of devotees. I think that the people in the medieval age did also regard the above four months as sacred, and during the month of *Guṇilā* the Buddhist shrines were visited by a large number of people. The practice must have surely existed in those days as all this has its origin in Buddhist *Purāṇas*.

There is a reference to *Vedic* rituals in some inscriptions. Inscription n. LXXXV of our Appendix commemorating the occasion of the repairing of the temple of *Vyāghra Bhairava* in Kīrtipur speaks of performing the ten rites with the chant of *Veda mantra*. There are other records which talk of *Vedic* rites in connection with the ceremonies commemorated through their installation. We also find that the same rituals were also adopted by Buddhist priests, although nowhere the reference to *Veda* is made in their records. The fire sacrifice (*Homa*) which was performed according to our inscriptions XXXII and LI was a common feature of ritual also in the ceremonies conducted by the Guvā priests.

<sup>108</sup> Inscription n. LXXXV.

<sup>110</sup> Inscription n. LXVI.

<sup>109</sup> Inscription n. LXXXIX.

<sup>111</sup> Inscription n. LXL.

## RITUAL PERFORMANCES FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

The V<sup>i</sup> and V<sup>iii</sup> tell us that on the birth of a child a special ceremony was performed to propitiate the Gods so that their blessing was obtained for the new born. The initiation ceremony (*vandukarāṇa*) of a boy was colourfully celebrated with music, dance and staging of plays. If he was a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya the priest gives him a sacred thread to wear round his neck in garland fashion and also *mantram* for his prayer. If he was the one belonging to a caste not desiring a sacred thread, he underwent just a ceremony of shaving his head. For the Buddhist priest class it was a ceremony of adopting monkhood, which involved mainly shaving of head in front of a *stupa* in a monastery. In V<sup>iii</sup> there is a passage to tell us that the occasion of the initiation ceremony of Sthitimalla's son was celebrated with much popular enthusiasm and rejoicing (f. 47-b). His marriage was celebrated with equal pomp and splendour (f. 61-b) and this is further confirmed by the prologue in a contemporary drama *Bhairavānanda*,<sup>112</sup> which was staged before a large audience. From certain expressions of a noting in the *ms. Jaganmohana*,<sup>113</sup> we get the information that the ceremonies covered practices of *madhuparka*, *Kanyādāna* and *karagrahaṇa*. All these practices, however, are not in vogue at the present time. It is quite likely that these were prevalent only in the royal household and amongst the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya castes. All others solemnised their marriage with probably much simpler rites.

Funerary rites to bless the path of the died to heaven and then annual *Śrāddha* ceremony performed to celebrate death anniversary are reported in the ancient chronicles. Jayasimharāma performed *Śrāddha* ceremony on 497 *Pauṣa vadi amāvāsyā* (V<sup>iii</sup>, f.60b).

In our time the following customs had also taken roots in the society and were common to all sections, both the Śaivites and Buddhists alike.

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<sup>112</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat.

<sup>113</sup> Recently acquired by the Government National Library. See back page in Ch.

From V<sup>1</sup> we learn that while Rudramalla, the ruler of the subsidiary kingdom of Bhatgaon, died in NS 446=1326 A.D., four of his wives were burnt to death along with his dead body. The noting of the ms. *Amarakośa* (doc. 36 of the reign of Yakṣamalla's sons) tells us that ten young women accompanied Ratnamalla's dead body on the pyre and perished voluntarily in the flames. We are not aware of any *Satī* practices before Rudramalla. They might have existed or might not have existed. But there is no doubt that the custom of *Satī* was widely prevalent in the time of Rudramalla and after. However, in the absence of documents it is difficult to say if the practice was observed by peoples other than the royal family.

### POLYGAMY

The fact of several wives perishing in flames along with the corpse of their husband presupposes a state of polygamy a rampant practised by the royal family. But we cannot say if polygamy was a general practice prevailing in the society. Perhaps the upper section practised polygamy and although it was not prohibited to the lower section, the latter seldom took advantage of the practice partly due to lack of economic means to support more than one wife and partly because of social inhibitions.

### BURNING OF THE DEAD AND MOURNING

The Nepalese cremated their dead on a pyre at the bank of a river, preferably Bāgmati or Viṣṇumati. For several days the relations of the deceased observed mourning. The period depended on caste status, the ruling being the higher the caste the longer is the period of mourning; the maximum was of 12 days. The table of castes given above provides information about mourning and related matters.

### INDIVIDUALS AND POPULAR WELFARE

In all manuscripts copied in Nepal the colophon mentions either the writer or the owner or both to have done job for one's own and the world's welfare (*svārtha parārtha hetunā ar*

*jaḡatoḥ hitāya*). This shows the high sense of piety entertained by individuals of the age. Manuscripts were often deposited in the monasteries. They were deposited by private individuals with a view to place them at the disposal of the general public interested in worshipping and reciting them.

Monasteries and temples also often received grants in land or cash as the case may be.

Apart from the cases of depositing mss. we have records showing the construction of roads, wells, water conduits and canals by private individuals.

People desiring to propitiate the Gods and secure their blessing for the uplift of mankind and for warding off natural calamities also tended to build temples and set up images, which became centres of pilgrimage in due course.

At the end of the volume we have added a collection of the texts of inscriptions so far available to us. Most of these have religious and pious objective to record either building a temple or setting up an idol of a deity or offering of embellishment of a flagstaff. Some commemorate the occasions of constructing a water conduit to provide drinking water to the passers-by and bring out some facts in that connection.

Inscriptions I, III, IV, VII, VIII, IX, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIX, XLI, XLIV, XLV, XLVIII, XLIX, LII, LVI, LVII, LIX, LXII, LXV, LXVI, LXVII, LXIX, LXXII, LXXV, LXXVII, LXXXI, LXXXVII, LXXXIX, LXI commemorate the occasion of completing the construction of images. According to IV, XXIV, XXVII, XXIX, XXXV, XXXVI, XLII, XLIV, XLVI, LI, LIV, LXXXV, LXXXVI, temples or *Chaityas* were built or repaired. Nos. XII and XLII show pillar set up in honour of one or the other incarnation of Viṣṇu, although they actually do not mention the fact of erecting them.

Those which record the construction of a canal or a water conduit are Inscriptions nos. III, X, XI, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, XXXI.

Grants for the upkeep of certain temples or for distribution of alms to Brāhmaṇas and *Jogis* are mentioned in nos. XXVII,

LXVIII, LXXI, LXXX, LXXXIV, XXXVI, XXXVIII, XLIII, LVIII, which also state the fact of sacrificial offering to the deities mentioned in the records.

Inscriptions n. XLVIII and LXX, record the installation of flagstuffs and finial on the crest of the temple of Paśupatinātha. The image of the mother of Yakṣamalla is placed inside the temple of Paśupatinātha according to inscription n. LIII. In n. LV Yakṣamalla is said to have built a temple and installed then an image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.

## IV

### ARCHITECTURE

No architectural creations of the early medieval age are existing at the moment. They have been either completely demolished or buried underground, which however our archaeology has not been able to rescue and bring out to the fore. Therefore it is not possible to examine the features of a temple or a monument of the period under review until we come to the 14th century.

It is obvious that the temples and monuments were wrecked by time or destroyed by iconoclasts and vandalists and by natural calamities like the earthquake. But they surely existed at any time of our history and naturally they also existed in the beginning of our period. They also might have been built on the traditional Nepalese style.

As we shall note no single reign was without its activity in this field. All rulers extended their patronage to architects, builders and artists if only to satisfy their inner urge for religious activities and themselves launched laudable programme of building themselves inaugurating finished images with zeal and devotion. The construction of the monuments was certainly inspired by religious ideals, by a desire to please the deity to invoke his blessing and register a deed to perpetuate the good name of the devotee.

The existence of some temples is attested by the few extant

images, which have dated inscriptions to show that these belonged to the first few centuries of our period. Some of these images are sheltered, but the structures do not betray signs of old age. A few of them are without any shrines of their own and are lying in an open ground. Both of these form a category by themselves.

The images are variously, (a) of Umā-Maheśvara, dated NS 132 in Patan (of the time of Rudradeva and Bhojadeva), (b) of the boot legged Sun God, dated NS 179 in Naksāl, Kathmandu, (c) of the Sun God of Vāmadeva, dated NS 203 in Saugaltol, Patan, (d) of another group of Umā-Maheśvara of the time of Guṇakāmadeva in Patan, (e) of Dīpaṅkara Buddha (in copper) of the 13th century in Guitaṭol, Patan, (f) of the Sun God of the time of Pradyumnakāmadeva in Patan Thappāhiti), dated NS 185 and (g) of God Viṣṇu in Ichaṅgu, dated NS 320, of the time of Vijayakāmadeva.

The images in (a), (d), (f) and (g) above must have been enshrined in temples since their very installation. Today also, these have their own temple structures but the original seem to have fallen to the ground.

In Bhatgaon and Kathmandu, certain extant images belong to the time of Jaya Sthitimalla and successors; such as, Sākyamuni of Nhakabahil (NS 508) in Kathmandu), the Buddha of Mimnami bahil (within Ombahāl, Kathmandu) with date line 548 and of Sākyamuni Buddha in Mubahil with an inscription of NS 568 in Patan; the image of Viṣṇu facing a Garuḍa pillar in the front in Talachhiṭol of Bhatgaon, belongs to the reign of Dharmamalla, and, the Viṣṇu image in Talachhiṭol of the same city is assigned to the time of Yakṣamalla. Within Paśupatinātha area we have two images one of *Chaṇḍeśvarī*, and another of *Durgā* (known today as Rājarājeśvarī) both enshrined and belonging to Dharmamalla. All these images have their own shrines, but they seem to be recently constructed, so that we do have no idea of the old constructions.

Some temples and monuments of the age of the second Malla dynasty of the early medieval period have survived. But these are not very many. Of the temples, those come to our notice



are (1) the Paśupatinātha (2) the Kumbheśvara (3) the Kāstamandapa and (4) the Bhatgaon Paśupatinātha (raised by Rāyamalla). Of course, we can not say that the structures as they exist are handed down to our generation without alterations from the original. Also a kind of modification of the original structure due to the impact of cultural influence coming from outside Nepal in course of the succeeding period was but natural. The structure, however, must have remained in the main the same as before. At least we take it to be so to base our conclusion in regard to the assessment of the pattern of the temple architecture.

Guṇakāmadeva's inscription attributes the construction of the temple to himself. The Kumbheśvara inscription of Jaya Sthitimalla's time (vide above) speaks of the temple of Śankara (Kumbheśvara). The Kāṣṭamandapa group of inscriptions establish the existence of this shrine in and before the time of Jaya Sthitimalla.

The Paśupatinātha inscription of Jyotirmalla (dated NS 533) speaks of his having set up a gold finial to the temple of God Paśupatinātha. A little earlier to this, the Deopāṭan inscription of Jayasimharāma (of Dharmamalla's reign) inaugurates the ceremony of crowning the pinnacle to the temple of Śankara-Nārāyaṇa on a site quite near to the temple of Paśupati. It also refers to the shrine of indreśvara built by himself. The temples enshrining Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu by himself are mentioned in the respective records of the time ascribed to Yakṣamalla's reign.

In view of the above evidence we are confirmed in our view that the temples referred to be existed in some form or other since their very inception.

At the end of the section we shall take these temples each for a short description to give the reader an idea of the type of building constructed to enshrine a deity at the time.

#### TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

We do not envisage a new style of architecture for this period. These temples look the same as conforming to the

pattern prescribed for the usual Nepalese style of building so laudably described by the Chinese annal. This style flourished as late as the nineteenth century A.D., and we have numerous temples of this style, that were constructed in course of time since the early 16th century A.D.

As a full description of the style of building has been given in '*Ancient Nepal*'<sup>114</sup> we proceed herewith to give an account of the architecture of the four temples belonging to the end of our period, which we have just specified.

A common feature of these temples, which is also a general characteristic of all such monuments in Nepal is the fact of the structure being built solely with the materials of bricks and wood. Similarly, the pattern in all these is common, and this also does not stand separate from the usual one to be found in all the temples of Nepal irrespective of age and sect, to which these are dedicated.

To describe the pattern in its entirety in our own words per lines in '*Ancient Nepal*' (P. 47).

"The body is a square entablature of bricks rising in diminishing proportions to a great height, sometimes to the sixth storey, with a roof on four sides of the wall at each storey, which are sloping and conforming in regularly diminishing proportions to the size of the entablature. The roofs, either of brick tiles or gilt copper are quadrangular and the uppermost roof is always of gilt copper save in the very ancient ones. The entablature may stand on a terraced platform of stone and of as many stages as there are storeys, as in the case with the Nyatpola temple. But the terraced platform is not very common. Here and there the entablature may rest on a colonnade of wooden pillars. The roofs are connected with entablature by struts, which are set up in a projection at an angle of 45°."

This is the exterior. We see how simple the design of the structure is. The interior is no less uninhibited. It is a rectangular plan of ground structure open to a side through a doorway, either totally shut up on three sides or ventilated

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<sup>114</sup> Chapter I, (b).

through lattice-windows. Here is the deity of the temple enshrined. In some cases the ground was covered by two plans, the outer stretch and the inner sanctuary for the divinity. The former provided a passage for circumambulation round the chapel where the deity rested. Some temples do not have the chapel in the ground floor. It is then in the first floor. In such a case the ground floor is used for storing articles and paraphernalia of the temple, and is entered through a back door. The upper floor might have a balcony as it suited the taste of the builder.

Apart from the above kind of building, we can also suggest another type in the words of P. Brown:—

“Regarded as a whole the structures of Nepal notably those of a sectarian ascription fall into two categories, those of the *Śikhara* variety clearly derived from the style of temple favoured in India, and those of the multiple roof design associated with pagodas of China, the former being mainly constructed of masonry, while the latter are largely composed of wood.”<sup>115</sup>

But the *śikhara* type of temples of the early medieval period is no more in evidence. However, such temples might have existed together with those of the ‘*pagoda*’ type.

The *śikhara* temple was not as imposing as the other one in height or its exterior and frontal embellishments. Percy Brown said:

‘The *śikhara* surmounts a single cell, to which no *maṇḍapa* is attached, but the whole is surrounded by a columned verandah, and is elevated on a series of diminishing plinths. All the main elements of the *śikhara* of India are visible such as the *Uruśṅgas* (attached turrets), the *amalaśila* (fluted finial) and the characteristic offsets (*paga*), but each treated in a manner different from its prototype’. This description applies to a temple of the 17th century built by king Siddhinarasimha of Patan. It might also apply to any temple built on that style quite earlier.

The time of the origin of the traditional Nepalese style of

<sup>115</sup> Indian Architecture, p. 198.

building cannot be ascertained. But it surely had come into existence following the advent of Buddhism. The temple in broad outline presents a *stupa* like appearance as we view the structure from the plinth to the finial, and this is suggestive of the influence of Buddhist architecture which until then was solely displayed in *stupas* and *Chaityas*. This, however, is not true of the temples of the *śikhara* model, which were introduced by architects under Śaivite influence of the school in North India. Such temples in Nepal are not dissimilar from their Indian counterparts. But the architecture of the *stupa* like temple is Nepal's own. It is grown of its peculiar environment and absolutely independent of the influence of external architectural styles.

Carving was an important feature of the monument of the temple whether *Śikhara* or *pagoda* type. The wooden struts supporting the overhanging roof at each storey, the wooden contents of the doorways, the cornices, the massive 'tympanums' over the doorway, and the windows and lattices and screens—all these are richly carved with figures of different deities in forms suiting the texture of the artistic expression of the whole edifice.

### TEMPLES

We have listed seven temple for notice of a brief character. These are all that we have to present for the temple architecture of the early middle age. Of the seven, three are quite small structures, but the other four are sizable. The former are Guṇakāmadeva's Umā-Maheśvara temple at Ko-bahāl and the two temples of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa respectively at Saugaḷṭol, both in Patan, and the latter as aforesaid belonging to the later Mallas of the early medieval period.

The Ko-bahāl and Saugaḷṭol temples occupy each about 8 × 6 square feet of ground. The plinth in all the three is hardly 3 ft., and the structure rises to a height of about 26 ft. Around the entablature there is a small platform composed of stones. The structure is of two tiers of tile roofs linked to the entablature

by wooden struts. Over the doorway which faces the west there is a woodlintel depicting in carving the images of the deities enshrined. The interior is the chapel, and the inside of the structure is hollow from bottom to the top. The finial and the umbrella are of clay. The roofs are all covered with tiles.

In the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and Umā-Maheśvara temples the image enshrined is single but the Viṣṇu temple has several other subsidiary images in sitting or standing postures on either side of the image of the main deity, and these can be recognised as the Sun God, Mahādeva, and Lakṣmī.

The bigger temples follow the same pattern in building with two tiers of roofs except in the case of the Kumbheśvara temple which has 5 tiers. The Paśupati-nātha and Rāyamalla's temple of Bhatgaon are built on the same model standing on a raised platform wide enough to allow for a passage to go around the structure. There is also a circumambulatory corridor inside the structure just round the chapel. The inner sanctuary has four openings as the outer has four doorways. The Kumbheśvara temple is also supported on a  $4\frac{1}{4}$  ft. high pavement, which has a breadth of about 3 ft. This is in three stages. The main door of the temple is approached by a flight of steps. The structure rests on  $27 \times 25$  sq. ft. of ground at the base. But the whole temple area inclusive of the platform is about  $38 \times 36.4$  sq. ft. The height of the structure is approximately 75 ft. It is said that looked from a distance atop a house in the heart of the Patan city this temple appears to rise as high as the top of the Matsyendranātha temple, which is situated at a higher altitude.

The Kumbheśvara temple was built originally on NS 512 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 6 Sunday (garakarāṇa śravaṇa nakṣatre eindrayoge)* by one Ananta Lakṣmī. The idea of building the temple was at first conceived by her father-in-law, one Jayabhīma. But he died without his desire being materialised. This was left to his daughter-in-law who built the temple.

Here all roofs save the fifth one are of tiles. The fifth one is made of copper brilliantly plated with gold. The copper roof was the contribution of a recent king of Patan. It is difficult to say whether the present structure maintains the original form.

The temple was much damaged during the earthquakes of 1834 and 1934 A.D. No idea of the original structure is obtained from the inscription. But the illustration of Bendall shows that it was not very severely affected by the earthquake of 1934.

The Bhatgaon temple of Paśupatinātha is larger in dimension than the structure of Kumbheśvara. But it is not so tall as the latter. Its height is approximately 50 ft. It has also only two tiers of roofs of tyles. In height and dimension the temple of Paśupatinātha in Deopāṭan is its nearest prototype. Another similarity both possess is the large door-frame on four sides, which also provide entrance through a flight of steps from the stony basement.

The temple of Paśupatinātha does not retain the old simplicity, it is much too changed in appearance on account of later additions of decorative elements in the struts, lintels door frames and windows and lattices. The usually simple brick tyles in roofs have been also replaced by copper ones plated with gold.

The Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa is the biggest of all the temple monuments in Nepal. It stands on a raised plinth which is as high as  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. It is a three-storeyed building with three tiers of roofs. The huge edifice with a corridor on three sides at each storey gives an appearance of an umbrella wide open. The entrance into the interior is provided by a flight of steps. The inside looks like a large hall with the chapel at the centre which enshrines an image of Gorakhanātha. The total area occupied by the temple structure is 70 ft. square. The outer space covered by the corridor is about 6 ft. in width. The height of the structure is 65 ft. and unlike other temples the structure does not present a hollow structure. Every storey is ceiled with wood beams. The first storey shows a super structure resting on four massive pillars of woods, that look almost like stone columns.

The Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa literally means a house of wood. It was said that the entire wooden material required for the building came out of a single tree, and the whole was designed and constructed in a night's time by a divine superarchitect. The construction otherwise is attributed by some to Siddha Luipa or to one of the *Siddhas* of the *Nātha* cult. According to modern

chronicles the Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa was built by Rājā Lakṣmī-narasimhamalla (NS 740-761). But this is absolutely wrong. The name Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa occurs for the first time in a record of Narendradeva<sup>116</sup>. We have a number of copper plate inscriptions attached to a wall on the ground floor facing the main shrine. The earliest of them belongs to the year NS 454. However, the structure must be older than this date.

### THE MAHABAUDHA IN PATAN

According to the chronicle this temple was built by one Abhayarāja Vajrāchārya in the thirteenth century on the model of the Bodh Gaya temple. This temple is known as Mahā-bauddha and is a replica of the Bodh Gaya temple. The upper half of the structure fell to the ground in the earthquake of 1934 A.D. But the same was restored by architects who drew the model down to the details from the replica preserved in a monastery in Patan. Even if it is of a recent creation, the temple is still conspicuous as it maintains its original model. The structure is entirely made of bricks, and represents a pagoda-like building with all the paraphernalia of a *stupa*, niches, the pinnacle, finial and the pavement supporting the whole of the structure. The structure is flat upto the first storey about 30 ft., but thereafter assumes a tapering shape. The first storey is more or less an elevated platform, which has also at four cardinal points in each a replica of the main temple. There is a balcony around the structure at the first storey, and at every corner, a miniature of the structure stands as a watching sentinel. All this is in imitation of the details of the Bodh Gaya temple. The images in the niches are also of baked clay, all of them burnished red and could be designated as terracotta.

The monasteries had ceased to exist since the advent of *Vajrayāna* in the 12th century. But the sites do still exist. The structural background, however, is so changed that it is difficult to determine how the monastery exactly stood in those days.

<sup>116</sup> Doc. 4 of his reign in Petech's book. The date is 263 *Aśvina śukla 15*.

We are attempting to describe the situation on a meagre evidence.

The present sites of the 'bāhā' is supposed to have been the original monastic settlement: 'The bāhā' is taken to be corrupt form of the original word 'bihāra' meaning a Buddhist monastery. The 'bāhā' today is of two kinds, the 'bāhā' and the 'bāhi', the big settlement and the small settlement. But all that exists of the original monastic settlement is the rectangular courtyard with a *Chaitya* occupying the centre as well as a shrine occupying one of the houses just in the midst of the row on one side. The houses surrounding the courtyard are in many instances private dwelling quarters for laymen except if the same is an accommodation set apart for collective prayer and where to preserve images and manuscripts. They have assumed a new look and it does not seem if the original structure of houses where the monks lived is in evidence anywhere. Obviously, the bāhā or bāhi had long ceased to harbour the monks, and it has surely shed off its primal character. Today, these sites bear importance only on account of the various Buddhist Mahāyānic deities they support in the main two roofed structure of the shrine.

The monasteries big or small, have been listed districtwise, 120 for Kathmandu, 167 for Patan and 24 for Bhatgaon. The big of them occupy an area of 143'L×143'B (Yaṭkhābahāl) or 296'L×65'B (Itambahāl) in Kathmandu or similar other sites in Patan, (Nāgbahāl, Bhiñchebahal, Mubahāl etc.), while the smaller ones are situated within a space  $\frac{1}{4}$  or even  $\frac{1}{6}$  of the big one. The main shrine houses generally the Lord Buddha Śākyamuni. But a few shrines we have as the case may be either Lokeśvara or Maitreya Buddha. The shrine is like any other temple of the usual Nepal style in shape and size. In general they are of two storeys with two layers of roofs. The interior presents the same appearance as that of a traditional temple. The exterior, however, wears a gala appearance with images of Buddhist pantheon in metal and woods. Every monastic area has at the entrance the image of Mahānkāla and Gaṇeśa as door keepers and guardians.



Round the courtyard we have a double storey building, where hall-like rooms harboured the monks. As the sacred order disappeared, their utility as dwelling apartments was gone but they yet formed places of study where Buddhist texts were recited.

Unless a thorough assessment is made of the different forms of *Chaityas* in respect of their historical past and of modifications undergone in course of the ages, we are not in a position to know how the *Chaityas* originated and developed to assume the several forms that stand before our eyes at the moment.

The *Chaitya*, whether a small or a big structure, is known as *Chi-bā* to the local Buddhists. Whatever might have been its origin, today the structure does neither contain a relic nor is associated with the memory of any Buddhist saint or preacher. It is simply erected to honour and respect Lord Buddha Sākyamuni or the future Lord Maitreya or the all compassionate Bodhisatva of the time, Lokeśvara.

If we assign the simple and unembellished structure of the *stupa* of a mound of earth to the early period of the Nepalese history, then all the other structures with elaborate designs and accompaniment of a pavement, the slendering dome, the four niches harbouring the four of the five Buddhas around the dome, the 13 tier pinnacle supporting a finial and an umbrella over it (this, however, may not be present invariably) must belong to the medieval period.

All this bears the imprint of the religious beliefs of the age. But we notice that inspite of some elaboration, the original simplicity of the structure is not yet lost.

There is no particular location of the *Chi-bā*. It can be sustained anywhere. Ordinarily, the courtyard of the monastery is the usual place to erect a *Chi-bā*. The size differs with the area of the courtyard. If the courtyard is a spacious one, the structure it maintains is huge enough. Otherwise, we may have a small *Chi-bā* covering 4 to 6 square yards of space at the plinth and its height up to the last tier of the pinnacle may not exceed 15 ft. We have yet smaller *Chaityas* scattered throughout the Valley of Nepal; wherever space can allow them, in the outer fringe of the Śaivite temples, in the court-

yard of the water conduit, in the *bāhās* and *bahis* and in the open rectangular yards of the streets and by-lanes all over the cities of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon.

Some *Chaityas* have inscriptions to show their existence at the time e.g. the *Pimbahāl Chaitya* repaired by Mahāpātra Meghapālā Varmā (NS 477) the *Ko-bahāl Chaitya* of the time of Dharmamalla (517-528) and the great *Chaitya* of Kīrtipur, the repair of which was done in NS 635 by Yaśamalla's sons. Here also we do not trace a new style. Possibly the same pattern continued. But there was one innovation in the decoration of the structure. The elaborate finial at the top, simple in design or like 'the conventional three-fold umbrella' 'the gilded *toran*, the series of thirteen rings gilt and supervened over the dome', and the four Buddhas in the niches on four sides of the *garbha*, all these were unknown for the age previous. Since the 11th century these were introduced following the advent of *Vajrayāna*, with which new deities with novel forms of worship appeared in the scene.

We have come across three distinct types of the *Chaitya*, (1) The first is the *stupa* of a brick structure of a hemispherical dome, overlain with grass and supporting a small chapel-a Kiosk (*hermikā*) at the top. This has no platform, and no tiers of stones visible to the eye to mark the stages of the pyramidal dome. The niches on four sides do not appear to have been originally put in the structure, 2. The *Chaitya* proper, which is a diminutive *stupa*, composed of stones has a pavement over which the structure rests in several stages in diminishing proportions, the top being the pinnacle and finial and 3) the *Chi bā*, which is still a smaller *Chaitya*, covering a little space, is the third specimen. But the same retains every detail of the additional decorations of the medieval *Chaitya*.

There is a simple type of *Chi-bā*, known as the *Aśokan Chaitya*. There are no images attached or carved in such constructions. The niches are there but they are empty. We have also the traditional symbols of Buddha carved on the outer wall and in the friezes like tree, footprints, bells, etc.

## V

## ART

## (a) Sculpture

When we speak of the sculptural art of the age, our attention at first goes to sculpture in stones. No carving in wood of the time is under notice except in a few cases. There is also hardly a terracotta or plastic rendering in view. All we have, whether in friezes or panels attached to the monuments, belong to stones. Probably all other types disappeared with the passage of time as temples and monuments supporting them fell to pieces and vanished out of sight.

There are numerous pieces of sculptures in stones spread over a period of four hundred years to the end of our period. They lie scattered all over the Valley in every nook and corner, streets and by-lanes, in ruins and rejuvenated monuments and courtyards of the water conduits. It should be understood that the Nepalese art of the time whether sculptured or painted does not contain iconographic representation of anything like the picture of real life in human society and nature. It is intensely religious excluding anything but the image of divinity with halo and flame vesica in the background. The principal divine characters of representation in Brāhmanical images are Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya and their respective satellites and incarnations. In the Buddhist shrines we find generally Śākyamuni Buddha's image, but often there come to view iconographs of some of the five celestial Buddhas, the Buddha Dīpankara and Bodhisatva Lokiteśvara. Here we deal only with some of the specimens available under date lines.

The earliest of such images is the one of Uma-Maheśvara group otherwise known as the Śiva family of the time of Bhojadeva-Rudradeva, dated NS 132 (Tyagaltol, Patan). The same group of the time of Guṇakāmadeva (NS 307-315) represents another contribution in continuity of the same art conception and style close to the latter in the Ikhalkhu (near the Patan Darbar). There is another image of the group

enshrined in a temple. But this goes without a date. There are other pieces with the same iconographic representation belonging to various phases, which extend over a period of four hundred years.

We have five more pieces, one in Bhatgaon, another in Chyasał ʒol courtyard of the water conduit of Patan, and yet another in the Naksāl water conduit. The Mṛgasthali (within the Paśupatinātha area) has also a relief image of the Śiva-Pārvatī group of Kathmandu. In Kathmandu on a site in front of the Mahānkāla temple (west extremity of the parade ground) there is one more image of the Śiva family. As there are no dates given to these images, it is difficult to ascertain their time. But they seem to belong to Jaya Sthitimalla's age.

The Umā-Maheśvara group is a high relief cut in stone showing the family of Śiva. The main theme in all the pieces is the same but the details vary. Comparing all five sculptures, it will appear that the Nepalese craftman's chisel has produced in each a superb work of art which is at once lively and vigorous in conception and symmetrical in composition.

According to the inscription of Lakṣmīkāmadeva as above cited the God Śiva who is the hero of the sculpture, is seated in the Kailāśa mounted 'with the daughter of the *Himagiri* (mountain of snow) in his lap on the left, himself wearing a garland and using a serpent hood as crest and supporting the three channelled *Gangā* on his head, praised by *Gaṇapati* and other deities'. The inscription is damaged at several points. Therefore we cannot describe all the details of the group in terms of what the records conveyed.

But this provides a clue to the understanding of the motif of the sculpture. All the Umā-Maheśvara groups of images have the following elements in common; an outline of a mountain in the background to represent Kailāśa, subsidiary deities on both sides at the top, the central space with Maheśvara and Umā; head of the bull, Naṇḁi, to the right as if to show that God Śiva was resting his back on the beast, and below dancing Gaṇeśa and his *gaṇas*. The relative position of Umā and Maheśvara slightly differs from one to the other in some

illustrations. While in the majority of the image Umā is seated by her husband's side leaning against him with her right hand resting on the latter's lap, she is sometimes (in two) actually seated on the lap. Maheśvara is seen placing his left hand on Umā's shoulders in all the pictures except two. In the latter (Bhatgaon, Talachhiṭol) Umā is seated on the lap, and Śiva's left palm is over her breast. In others the hand is placed on the side close to the breast. Another feature of the Bhatgaon icon is the existence of Sun God images on each side at the top; the image of the Sun bears a close affinity with similar images standing by themselves, the posture being of lotus seat and the fully bloomed sun flowers held aloft in the two hands. In all the images, both Umā and Maheśvara wear fine ornaments, (crown, necklace, earrings waist-band, etc.), the latter is four handed and sits with the right leg bent at the knee otherwise raised. The face of Śiva wears a majestic appearance, calm and serene and eyes almost closed, lips pressed to appear slightly smiling. Umā has a *bhaṅga* (bent) pose, and she also appears equally majestic and serene; but at the same time both are sportive. Both Śiva and Pārvatī are represented as youthful figures with healthful face, and developed physical features. All the figures are delicately poised in a poetic imagery which depicts the scene of the *Divine Being* with his consort in the most blissful moment of the family union.

The style of sculptural art in the images is robust and also quite elegant. The divine element is conspicuous in the composition and modelling of the various features of the image.

The *Śiva Parivāra* is represented in a different way in an image of the age now lying at a shroff's shop in Indrachok, Kathmandu. Śiva and Pārvatī form one single whole, half male and half female. The stone has two parts, down below there are two carriers (*vāhanas*), the bull Nandi on the right, and lion on the left. The two sons of Śiva and Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa and Kumāra also occupy the lower portion of the stone, the former sitting on his mouse and the latter on the peacock. The Umā-Maheśvara images of the time of Jyotirmalla (NS 543) lying on a corner in the compound of the Satyanārāyaṇa temple

shows that as late as that date the cult of Śiva was popular and as art representation the usual form displayed in the image of Ganchanani, Patan had continued to dominate. It appears that Umā-Maheśvara representation in a single image was equally popular. In Naksāl we have an eight handed image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. The image has one side to indicate femininity with slightly raised surface in the left chest looking like feminine breast. The other is a male countenance and possesses bodily vigour of a male in all its robustness. The Chāṅgu site contains four Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa images of fine workship.

There are a number of beautiful images of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa at several temple enclosures e.g. at Deopāṭan, Patan and Kathmandu. In the courtyard of the water conduit at Saugaḷṭol, Patan we have an image of the time of Yakṣamalla. This is dated NS 574. Others are undated but show the indelible imprint of the age. The representation of symbols in the steles of Yakṣamalla are also beautifully done enough to give one the idea of fine workmanship attained by the age as is evident in sculptures aforesaid. The group known as the Śiva family represented in images carved in stones is commonly traced in sanctrums associated with this age, some with ascertained date figures and more without them, but all presenting a high degree of artistic excellence and all pervasive expression. The earliest of such images belongs in the preceding few pages.

The Saugaḷṭol image is of a smaller size but this is eight handed holding all the emblems of God Viṣṇu and his espouse Lakṣmī. The *Vāhana* Garuḍa is in a flying pose and supports the figure which is standing.

Belonging to our period, but without date, we have a dancing image of Śiva (In the possession of Bir Library). The figure (L. 50" × B. 30") looks dynamic and hands and legs are shown in an adjustment with a lineament to give mobility to the limbs while in the act of dancing. It is a four headed figure, one head placed just above the three (the fifth is not visible) with four hands bearing an axe in the right (back-side) and a human skull in the left one, but the right front hand is damaged. Mahādeva is seen wearing a garland of human skulls; he places

his right leg in a dancing pose on the hind of the bull. Nandi, his carrier. In the lowest portion there are ten small figures kneeling with folded hands. All the four heads wear crowns, and to each a serpent hangs round the neck as a lace; eyes are closed, but the smiling countenance radiates warmth, cheerfulness and placidity all equally.

The image of the Sun God with booted legs carved on a stone 25" L  $\times$  18" B (the image covers 16½"  $\times$  8½") is another deity whose image is available in different positions and features. This stands on a pedestal 16½"  $\times$  30" with a height of 6". The image is locally known as the Śaka Sūrya and the inscription at the base is dated *Samvat* 179 (= 1059 A.D.). This image was originally lying in the courtyard of a water conduit in Naksāl quarter of Kathmandu but now is kept at the Bir Library premises. It is a standing figure of the Sun God with a bejewelled crown on his head and necklace hanging to the breast as well as earrings of sun-flower shape with two hands each holding a full bloomed flower with the stalk (the *Sūryamukhi*). The Sun God also wears a waist band, and below descending up to mid thigh a drapery with three tiers. The boots rise as high as the knee. He has an armlet and also a band in the wrists. The figure is in a pensive mood with eyes closed. The lips closed betray a smile indicative of inner cheerfulness.

The background is a surface of floral design and to the image it also provides halo and vesica flame. The figure is well shaped, and endowed with well built and stout physique, which has imparted vigour to the iconographic representation.

The illustration on the whole is beautifully done and gives an impression of a high quality of craftsmanship. It is expressive as well as impressive.

We have yet one more piece of the sculptured image of the Sun God with booted legs and this is lying in the temple of Santāneśvara at Maruṭol, Kathmandu. The appearance of the image is the same as that of the Bir Library piece, but it is smaller in size, being about a foot and quarter in height. The image bears no date, but it might be as old as the image of Naksāl.

The Sun God image of the water conduit (Thapāhiti) near Saugaltol Patan, with inscribed line to show the date NS 185 in the reign of Pradyumnakāmadeva on a pedestal, 15" (the length of the stone is 32", and the image covers a space of 20" L and 15" B) has all the elements of embellishment like that of the Śaka Sūrya. But the figure looks not endowed with a physique as stout and fleshy as that of the former. The background is plain but the halo round the head and vesica flame around are well marked. The two figures of devotees on either side at the lower portion are standing unlike in the preceding image where they are shown kneeling. The Sun God is described as *Mūlāditya* in the record.

Quite resembling the above but of a later date is another image of the Sun God, also in Saugaltol, Patan. This belongs to the reign of Vāmadeva and dated NS 203.

The Nepal Museum has also acquired an art piece of the image of Sun God of the type as the above two, but differs in the fact that a *maṇḍala* surrounds the figure of the Sun God. The *maṇḍala* is composed of several figures. The image is much defaced. But the broad outline shows the Sun God standing with two hands holding aloft the flowers by stalks. Above, on each side there is a figure of flying *Apsarās* with a garland.

In Bhatgaon (courtyard of the water conduit at Thalachhiṭol) there is an image of *Agastya* in the niche of a wall in a courtyard of an old water conduit. The Socle has an inscription to show that the image was set up by one Jayarāja Bhāro in NS 641 (*Bhādra amāvāsya*). It is a small image carved on a stone seated on a jar with legs crossed in *Yogāsana* pose (of meditation) having the knees slightly raised. The head supports a bunch of matted hairs as a knob.

The jar bears certain geometrical and floral designs, and so does the background of the whole relief, and is covered with a lid. The image is four-handed, and in the right hand (backside) there is a rosary. The figure looks emaciated much in the likeness of a mendicant undergoing a rigorous penance. We do not see any ornaments in the body, but the earlobes seem to bear



rings, and there is a band, obviously of jewels, tied round the waist visible distinctly below the navel.

In regard to sculptured images, which are invariably all on stones and wood the time of Jaya Sthitimalla and his successors, from NS 500 to 600 is important. This is so for the reason that we have an abundance of images with ascertained dates in this period.

We have already said that Jaya Sthitimalla and his family were devoted to Śiva, Viṣṇu and the Sun God, Sūrya. Images of these deities either set up by these monarchs or by other devotees in their reigns are scattered here and there in the Valley of Nepal. Art seems to have received fresh impetus in this age.

Belonging to this period contemporary images of the Sun God in stones in sitting or standing pose as the case may be with fine reins tied to the necks of seven galloping horses in the hands have been found in different places of the Valley and outside. The Banepā image of the time of Jayasimharāma was constructed and placed in the courtyard of the water conduit in NS 514. There are images extant at God Satyanārāyaṇa's courtyard at Harigaon, in their pedestal the lines inscribed reveal *Asuranārāyaṇa* and this piece could easily be attributed to the reign of Jaya Sthitimalla; similarly, in regard to the image in the enclosure of the Minanātha's conduit outside the main gate the same date could be ascertained but the *Siddhapokhari* image dated 585 must belong to the age of Yakṣamalla. All these stone images are beautifully sculptured and show a workmanship of high attainments.

In Tebahāl, Kathmandu there is an image of the Sun God with his *maṇḍala*, himself standing with hand raised aloft holding two *Sūryamukhi* flowers. The lower portion of the stone is his chariot drawn by seven horses whose reins are held by a small figure of *Aruṇa*, the God's driver in mythology. The inscription on the pedestal is dated 583 and belongs to the reign of Yakṣamalla.

The Sun God image of Banepā carries an inscription (NS 514) with a verse invoking the blessing of Sūrya '*sura rupāya sūryaya karuṇātmane saptāśva rathārudhāya*'. Here we have the

Sun God driving a chariot drawn by seven galloping horses.

The image of Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa in Deopāṭan close to the sanctuary of Paśupati-nātha has an inscription of date *Samvat* 489 (= c. 567 A.D.) . This shows that this type of image was popular as early as the 6th century A.D. and devotees worshipped as one God the two Śiva and Viṣṇu together in the same manifestation. Jayasimharāma had repaired the temple enshrining the deity. But at the moment no shrine exists to protect the image. In our time, there are several images of Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa of the same conception. One image of the type is enshrined in a temple in the Saugaṭol quarter of Patan, and must belong to Yakṣamalla's reign. It is a medium sized image. The figure has four hands holding Saivite emblems in the right (trident and bead) and Viṣṇuite in the left (*chakra* and *sankha*). The head wears a richly bejewelled crown, and brilliant earrings hang on the lobes of the ears. The *Vāhana* (carrier) consists of the bull Nandi and Garuḍa to the right and left respectively. The image rests on a lotus pedestal.

The *Śiva linga* in the Paśupati shrine set up by Jayasimharāma in NS 482 is carved on black sandstone with four faces, eyes closed to indicate a pensive mood. This model is also enshrined in Rāyamalla's temple in Bhatgaon, and in the Darbar Square temple of the same name in Kathmandu. The face of Śiva is so deftly carved that it shows a youthful figure of eminent beauty, radiating fresh joy and looking blissful.

There are many more *Śiva lingas* of the age. One very peculiar but extremely beautiful and artistic is the one called by name *Nepāleśvara* placed at a corner in the vicinity of the temple of Satya-Nārāyaṇa at Harigaon.

There are several standing images of Viṣṇu with four hands holding traditional emblems, lotus, mace, disc and conch shell. All these belong to the second phase of the early medieval period. These are quite common, and therefore we do not take notice of them here individually. But one particular image of Viṣṇu in Tulachhiṭol quarter of Bhatgaon is worth notice. The figure of Viṣṇu has a *maṇḍala* with 12 miniature figures of the 12 incarnations, all four-handed and holding traditional emblems.

The figure at the centre is eight handed with long arms, wears a crown with three coronets, has large earrings, and lastly a *dhoti* like a thin veneer to cover his lower limbs. The figure is standing on a lotus.

The image of Sarasvatī at a site close to the shrine of *Bālkumārī* in Patan is accompanied with an inscription on a stele to show that it was carved by one Jayata. The inscription is date 567 *Jyeṣṭha śukla pratipadā*. The image has four hands with the traditional flute and book in two. It is an excellently wrought image, the goddess wearing an appearance of extreme grace and beauty.

The above are *Śaiva* images. Besides these, there are many other art pieces with motif of Buddhist conception expressed through the images of the Buddha and his different manifestations, Pañcha Buddhas, Bodhisatvas, and their female counterparts.

One of the earliest images of the type suggested is that of Padmapāṇi Bodhisatva now deposited in the Nepal Museum. This is a much damaged sculpture, of which only the three quarters of the image is preserved and along with the same the right hand. The head is missing. But the outline reveals a beautiful shape. There is yet another piece which brings out the whole body. But this cannot be much old. Lokeśvara is a popular Buddhist deity in Nepal even today.

In the Svayambhu area of Kathmandu a life size image (5 $\frac{1}{3}$ ') of Śākyamuni Buddha though without a date can be ascribed to our period. This image is a fine specimen of Nepalese art on stone. The Buddha is standing and wears a monk's cloak. The carving of the cloak is so done that the inner body is visible. It looks like a thin veneer thrown round the body down to the anklet. The figure has a matted hair and a *Uṣṇiṣa*. No jewels adorn his body. The right hand is stretched down and the palm presents a *mudrā*. The left hand is carved and the right hand is so placed that the fingers touch the armpit of the other hand.

Another image in stone of the same age is that of Bodhisatva Manjuśrī in the city of Kathmandu. As we have said in the

section under religion the image must be ascribed to the 8th or 9th century A.D. It is a standing image of Manjuśrī about 2 ft. long flanked by two other images of devotees of half the size. The Bodhisatva has two hands stretched to the knee, and wears a cone shaped crown.

In the Chyasaṭṭol of Patan a *Bāhā* (*vihāra*) has an inscription of the time of Jyotirmalla (NS 536) consecrating the image of Gaṇeśa. Obviously the image of Śkyamuni at the *vihāra* to which Gaṇeśa most probably was stationed as a doorkeeper seems to have existed since long before.

The image of Chintāmani Lokeśvara of NS 459 (inscription on the base) is another wonderful art creation of this age. We have a standing figure of Lokeśvara with crossed legs, right hand stretched, and left hand bent upwards to hold a branch of the tree under which the divinity is sheltered. The deity is dancing and profusely ornamented. The figure wears a crown on his head, his breast is garlanded with a jewel lace; similarly his arms, wrists and ankles have ornaments; the drapery of a *dhoti* hangs on two sides. In the upper space the folios of the tree provide an artistic and meaningful background.

#### WOOD

The *Mu bahāl* inscription of the time of Yakṣamalla NS 547 talks of the image of Vajrasatva in wood. Similarly the image of Śākyamuni in *Mu-bāhā* is of wood. The shrine belongs to the time of Jaya Sthitimalla. But the image must belong to an earlier date.

#### METALIC SCULPTURE

The image of Dīpaṅkara Buddha in Guitaṭol (Patan) which has an inscription but with date lines damaged is built of copper. The image in copper is a torso, but the lower portion of the body is put in a bamboo frame covered by clothing. The exterior of the trunk is covered with clothing and ornaments so that we are debarred from giving an assessment of the limbs and all parts of the body below the neck. But the face is visible. This shows a pensive meditating appearance.

We have also an image of the period sculptured in bronze.

But they are not very many. There are sculptured images exhibited in the Museums of India, Europe and America, which are presented as belonging to the early medieval period. But the objects I have examined do not seem to be so very old. It appears however true that on account of natural seclusion provided by its mountain fastness Nepal continued to preserve the classical style of art, which had almost died in India since the days of Mahammadan conquest.

On the whole the art of sculpture in stones of the early medieval age of Nepal bears general affinity with the art of the Gangetic plain during the contemporary period. In all the creations the influence of the Guptan classical art was indelible. The Nepalese artists in the age had continued to maintain the traditional motif and style of their ancient past. At this stage this had a close affinity with the school of *Pāla* art, because both derived their inspiration from the classical art of East India, which broadly evolved in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. It should be borne in mind that bronze images are quite rare for this period, but the sculptural art of the Nepalese was certainly superb. It at once draws profuse appreciation of the critic. One wonders at the majesty and balance of the composition and at its rhythm and vigour. It is an art vibrating with life; there is no dullness about it; it is lively yet serene. We know that the art of Nepal of this period is religious, but it is free from the impression of a narrow outlook. The representation looks secular enough to share in common the quality of expression determined by the metaphysical concept of art. Our artists had always stuck to the ideals of a synthetic faith; antagonism and intolerance never entered their life. Although they sculptured images of Buddhist and Śaivite deities, and panels depicting scenes associated with their incarnations and manifestations, the underlying idea in the composition was metaphysical so that the approach to art remained as much integrated and syncretised.

Stone sculptures of Nepal of the time are not rare; they are found in abundance scattered in the many localities in temples, courtyards of water conduits and monasteries within and outside the Valley of Nepal.

The style whether in stones or bronze was common. Some bronze images belong to our period, and they betray the common style of other art objects.

Percy Brown says "Not only is Nepalese art of the intensely religious character, but hand in hand with this it is also supremely symbolic. There is an unmeaning ornament almost every element in its composition being emblematic of the creed it adorns. In other words, art was utilised by the priesthood to catch the eye of the illiterate many to put before those who could not read a visible tangible object which illustrated a legend or emphasised a dogma. And to do this it required to be powerfully dramatic, to depict to the masses the good and bad in its most graphic and forceful interpretation, so that the Nepalese artists either elevates the observer by the transcendental nature of his celestial conceptions or terrorises him into docility by his suggestions of purgatory. It is an art, therefore as far as the people themselves are concerned; which inspires awe and veneration more than pleasure and is worshipped rather than admired."<sup>117</sup>

Prof. Nihar Ranjan Ray says that the Tibetan art owes its inspiration to the Nepalese and the Nepalese art was definitely superior to the Tibetan in quality<sup>118</sup> and standard. I think that this is the correct appreciation of the position of Nepalese art vis-a-vis the art of Tibet. We have already said how an unending stream of artist visitors from Nepal helped to build up *stupas* and temples in Tibet and painted the walls of its monasteries and carved in bronze and stone the various images of its divinities.

#### PAINTING

No instance of mural painting or frescoes as belonging to the early medieval period is come to light. Also, the *Paubā*, the painted scrolls, in square or rectangular cotton pieces are missing. All that we have of the art of painting is from the illustrations

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<sup>117</sup> *Picturesque Nepal*, p. 129.  
pp. 145-46.

<sup>118</sup> CHI, V, p. 667.

contained in manuscripts, of which a lot has been said in the beginning of the present book. The illustrations are of various deities, Śaivite or Buddhist and are drawn either in the two wooden covers or in spaces between lines in the body of the text. The kind of illustration is determined by the subject matter of the text concerned. These are dedicated to the deity or deities whose manifestation they seek to represent.

We have to bear in mind that all arts in Nepal including painting are religious in inspiration as well as form.

Speaking of the Nepalese painting A. K. Coomaraswamy wrote, 'Nepal possesses an important school of painting, which in the same way as the bronzes reflects Indian forms, and has preserved even up to modern times a hieratic style, comparable to that of the *Pāla* and *Gujerātī* Schools in the eleventh century, the distinction of style as between the *Bengāli* and *Nepāli* illustrated manuscripts, is so slight as to be scarcely definable in few words.'<sup>119</sup> Benjamin Rowland, another authority on Indian art said about an illustration of a manuscript of the early medieval period 'A manuscript in the collection of the Boston Museum (Plate 99-A) dated 1136, reveals an hieratic linear style, which, in the character of the figure drawing and ornamental frame, is extremely close to the surviving example of *Pāla* painting. The manuscript is in the form of a palm leaf prayer book enclosed in painted wooden covers and contains invocations of the divinities in the Tāntric pantheon, with illustrations of the principal beings in the hierarchy. The miniature illustrated is of Tārā, offspring of the tears Avalokiteśvara shed for the miseries of the world. It is completely characteristic of the style of later Buddhist painting. Although the figure preserves something of the sensuous elegance of the Ajantā manner, the entire conception has become flat and decorative with the figure of the divinity of no more importance than the ornamental accessories. The conception is entirely linear with an employment of flat, jewel-like colours, a close imitation

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<sup>119</sup> *History of Indian and Indo-Asian Arts*, London, 1917, pp. 145-46.

of the surviving fragments of manuscripts from the *Pāla* School in Bengal.<sup>120</sup>

Coomaraswamy in his book gives three illustrations, (1) two representations from *Vessantara jātaka* (ms. cover, *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, 13th century, Tagore collection Calcutta) (2) a figure of the Green Tārā and (3) Manjuśrī painted in the wooden cover of the ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* dated 1019 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). The last has in the body of the text 18 miniatures. As I examined the copy of the last named ms. I found that this is not a Nepalese work. The copy was prepared in the reign of the Pāla king, Gopāladeva. So Coomaraswamy's comment about the pictures as Nepalese will not be accepted. But his appreciation of other illustrations will apply to the general description of Nepalese painting of our time. In the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal we have two mss. of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Add. 1643, A 15) having 85 and 31 miniatures respectively. The pictures reproduced in Coomaraswamy's book (n. 280, 281) reveal a highly developed art representation with natural expression in the images drawn.

Painted art is available but not on a very large scale. As observed earlier we get their specimens from the painted wooden panel covers and relevant pages of the ms. works in palm leaf or thick paper. It is true that there is much of Pāla influence in them. This might be due to the influx of scholars from Vikramaśilā and Nālandā on the eve of the Muslim conquest of Bengal in the 12th and 13th centuries and to the impact of Tāntric influence entering from Bengal a little earlier.

In the libraries of Nepal the collection has many manuscripts containing illustrations, which show in the colophons some of the eminent names of the *Pāla* and *Gāhadvāla* dynasties. These illustrations are in no way different from those we obtain in

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<sup>120</sup> *The Art and Architecture of India*, Penguin Books London, 1955, pp. 158-59. For a study of Nepalese Sculpture and Architecture see the following: A Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 144-46 and all references therein. Also see ante in this book, the article on *Art and Architecture*; Havell, *Indian Art and Architecture*; P. C. Brown, *Picturesque Nepal*.



manuscripts copied in Nepal. They look so similar that it is difficult to deny the influence of the *Pāla* school of arts on the Nepalese painting of the time under review.

The first illustrated ms. claimed hitherto as Nepalese and the one generally taken to have inspired the art form is a copy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 381).<sup>121</sup> But as its colophon shows, it was the work of some artist in the Gangetic plain in certain time of the *Pāla* regime. Similarly, the second work in the line is a ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Nat. Lib. n. 58). This was written on *Kārtika kṛṣṇa* 13 of the 15th year of Govindapāla's victorious reign. Another copy of the same ms. (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 83) of the same reign with date 16th year *Kartika dina* 21 has illustrations. But no comment should be made about them as Nepalese illustrations.

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* has ten miniatures in the *gātā* (wooden covers) and 12 altogether in different folios of the text. All these illustrate variously the Pañcha Buddha and other deities of the *Mahāyāna* sect. Both the copies of *Pañcharakṣā* bear in illustration of Mahāyānic deities. In the latter copy (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 83) we have 6 pictures distributed over 3 folios and these illustrate *Sahasramardinī*, *Śītavatī*, *Pratiśarā*, *Māyurī*, *Mantrānusarinī* and *Amoghasiddhi*. We are to know from these that they are solely the portraits of deities, and we do not find any kinds of representation from natural or social setting. But all the miniatures are masterpieces as art objects drawn by an artist, where the masterly adjustment of lines gives the warmest natural expression to the form rendered graceful and beautiful. There is no doubt that all these stylistically belonged to the *Pāla* school of art, which in its turn continued the tradition of Gupta age for its theme and style.

It will follow that the illustrations in the Nepalese manuscripts closely resemble the miniature contained in the manuscripts above cited and both in style and in the suggestion of deep religious feeling conveyed in them they carry the imprint of the

<sup>121</sup> The ms. has altogether 22 illustrations, 12 in the pages of the text, and 10 in the wooden covers.

art of the Gangetic plains of the Pāla period.

Now coming to a description of Nepalese painting of the age. I have no intention to deal at this place with all the types of pictures available to me. They are a vast multitude scattered in at least a hundred manuscripts. It is outside the scope of the work to treat the subject matter in detail. But I do like to present a short description of some pictures representing the type we often witness in the painted art of the age.

Before me I have eight manuscripts of the age and all with some or other kind of illustrations. The three libraries, *The Durbar Library*, *The Kaisar Library*, and *The Government National Library* have each two. The seventh is in my possession, and the last and the eighth belongs to the Nepal Museum.

The Darbar Library manuscripts are (1) *Viṣṇudharmot-taram*<sup>122</sup> (210 *Jyeṣṭha śukla navamī*, reign of Harṣadeva) and (2) *Śivadharma*<sup>123</sup> (no date is given, but the ms. appears as old as the (1)). The former has 16 miniatures all in the two *gātās*. The latter has two each in a folios, both of Śiva, one with 6 hands in sitting posture and another standing with four hands and in a dancing pose besides 9 in the one *gātā* covering the folios.

At the beginning the two figures in the folios are painted in the traditional white colour against a green background, but other elements are of various complexions. The figure wears a crown with three coronets, has hands at the wrists, arms and waist and a drapery of *dhoti* hangs upto the knee. In the three hands are held variously from right to left, a rosary, trident and *kalasa* (finial) of blue colour. The fourth hand (right lower) is empty, and is stretched in a particular *mudrā*. The *gātā* pictures are all of Śiva and his devotees. At the centre there is Śiva sitting with Pārvatī on his left side. The first miniature in the *gātā* at the right end is that of Bhairava in blue colour at the left end a *Rṣi* with white beard is sitting cross legged in worshipful attitude and on the right of the Śiva Pārvatī figure, there is another *Rṣi* with emaciated body also doing *tapasyā*.

<sup>122</sup> I., 1002.1.

<sup>123</sup> II., 48.

Two of the miniatures have women worshippers in an environment where different articles needed for worship are collected, like *dīpdāna* (*pānasa*), and *dhūpadāna*.

The sixteen miniatures in *Viṣṇudharmottaram* spread over the two *gātās* are different pictures of Viṣṇu with his devotees in different poses of meditation. They are all painted in traditional colours and drawn in classic poses in a simple background. Included in these are four pictures of Viṣṇu with his divine Śaktī, Lakṣmī.

There is yet one more copy of *Viṣṇudharmottara*<sup>124</sup>. This is of a later date (NS 340 *Aśvina śukla* 5, the reign of Abhayamalla) with 12 miniatures in one *gātā* (the end *gātā* is unpainted). All these represent 12 incarnations of Viṣṇu including the Buddha and Kalki.

From the Kaiser Library we have obtained the following mss with illustrations, (1) *Nāmasangīti* (n. 725) and (2) *Manthānabhairavatantra* (n. 592). In one wooden cover of the copy of *Nāmasangīti* there 3 miniatures, of Ratnasambhava, Nāmasangīti and Manjuśrī. We have one more picture of Nāmasangīti in a page in the body of the text. The *Manthānabhairava Tantra* has all the illustrations in the inside of the two wooden covers. These represent various images of the dancing Śiva, and his devotees praying the Lord. In the outside of the covers there are several pictures of some beasts and birds but as the colour is faded they cannot be recognised. However, the swan can be distinctly recognised.

The Government National Library provide two mss. for our purpose. One is a copy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (n. 210), which has two miniatures of the goddess. The figure in red colour against white background has six hands four being outstretched; but the crown which is in golden colour is painted in blue background. The female divinity wears the traditional ornaments, has been seated cross-legged in traditional pose.

The next item in the National Library is a copy of the ms. *Nāmasangīti* (n. 166) written in the reign of Indradeva in

<sup>124</sup> II., 51.

NS 256. It contains five pictures, (1) of Vasundharā in yellow colour drawn against a background of rosy complexion, having six hands and posed in *Lalitāsana*, (2) of Mārīchī with six hands in yellow colour also drawn in background of rose colour, (3) of another deity of white complexion, wearing a crown, and other ornaments including earrings, (4) of twelve handed Nāmasangīti of red complexion, cross legged, and two hands folded above the head in a position of salutation and (5) of Prajñāpāramitā in yellow colour, and cross legged in the usual pose.

The manuscript in my possession is a copy of the *Aśvavaidakāśāstra*, (date 517 *Bhādra śukla* 6) which has a fully illustrated set of two *gātās* (wooden covers). There are three figures in each setting. At the centre, there is the figure of the deity flanked by a male *gandharbha* on the right side and a female *gandharbha* on the left side in a flying pose amidst scene of colourful clouds. The *gandharbha* figures face the deity and with garlands seem to appear in an attitude of offering the same; the two deities represent the Sun and Moon respectively. The Sun with red complexion wears a blue cloak half sleeved. The cloak spreads to the knees. He holds the stalks of two sun flowers each in one hand; the flowers in full bloom appear just above his shoulders. The figure of the Sun wears a crown, earrings, a necklace and is seated on a green horse. Two strings from the back of the horse reach his hands, and gives an appearance of reins held in the act of driving a chariot. The background of the image is red but the immediate background of the body is a flowery design in brilliant colour; the nimbus is greenish white. The other picture, that of the Moon is of white complexion and is seated on a swan, otherwise looks similar in ornamentation and position. It is a swan chariot over which the God Moon is seated. Both the Sun and Moon figures are seated in lotus pose (*padmāsana*) with crossed ankles.

We have ten miniatures in the manuscript (*Saptaśatī* of NS 226 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa* 13) belonging to the Nepal Museum. These represent different manifestations of the Goddess, Durgā,

the heroine of the text. The deities in different colours and poses are known as the *Daśamahavidyās*. The style of the picture is the same as that adopted in the illustration of Buddhist deities.

Regarding the painted images in ms. *Piṅgalamatam* (CPMDN, II, p. 69) of the reign of Rudradeva written in NS 294 *Chaitra śukla pūrṇimā somadine uttaraphālguni nakṣatre* H. P. Shastri observes, "The wooden boards have six illustrations, Brahmā with four hands and one head on his *Hamsa*; Śiva with four hands, embracing Pārvatī on his ox; Viṣṇu with four hands, riding on Garuda, who is represented as half bird and half man with his beak; Gaṇeśa, with four hands on his *Musika*; a *Śivalinga* with eyes on, worshipped by the votaries, one Newār with his Newārī cap, and an Indian with a *Mukuta* both these worshippers have no upper garments. The sixth illustration is Kārtikeya with four hands riding on a *Mayūra*." Except the distinction he makes in dresses of the devotee, all other features described by him are correct. The Newārs used every kind of dress as the Indians did, and it will be height of folly to distinguish him just by his cap.

The *gātās* of ms. *Dirghanāmasangīti*<sup>125</sup> in the National Library are of copper with floral and geometrical designs. These *gātās* are silver plated. There is a gold plated *gātā* covering a copy of *Śivadharma* in the Darbar Library. One more ms. the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* without date but seeming to belong to our age has a copper plate *gātā* plated with gold, which also shows delicate flowery designs on the surface.

Above, we have described several miniatures from the manuscripts of the period under review, some in details and others briefly. Although these illustrations are works of many artists, they have been, however, drawn and painted under a common tradition and following a common style. The conception of iconographic design is also quite similar to all of them.

We have not included in our description of painting the

<sup>125</sup> Govt. Nat. Lib., n. 167; written on NS 363 *Bhādra pūrṇimā*.

form of scrolls known as *Paubā* in Nepal. The earliest of them I have ever seen belongs to the time of Jaya Sthitimalla. They are quite rare for the whole of the 14th, 15th and middle of the 16th centuries, but grow numerous for the period thereafter. Since the treatment of the *Paubās* could not be confined to rare specimens available for the earlier period, we have put off writing about them to the next part, which will deal with the history of Nepal covering the time while the country lay divided in three separate kingdoms.

The Nepalese artist painted in the main images of divinities. He had to use colours which conformed to their representation according to ritualistic pattern described in the texts. They used according to specific canons in different shades all available varieties of colours mostly orpiment yellow (*haritaki*), white, indigo (*nīlā*), black from oil-flame (*kajjal*), green, cinnabar red (but not wholly red). All these were colours become conventional in classical painting. The artist in Nepal used the same colours as late as the 18th century. The usual method of preparing a picture was to draw an outline in black, keeping the space vacant, which was later filled with colours to suit the requirement. The background was either sky blue or black or even red.

In the arrangement of the illumination the principal deity occupied the centre if it is a composite representation with the deity and satellites or a *Paubā* with a *maṇḍala*. The size of the main figure is definitely larger than any other representation in the same picture. Usually, the satellites surround the main figure or it may be the scenes connected with the divinity, clouds or winged heavenly beings, around which are drawn in the same manner. If it is a single figure, then the miniature is a portrait and here the painter has shown himself to be master artist of portrait painting, which appeared full of dignity and poise in the drawing. Describing the illustration in the *Prajñāpāramitā* ms. in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (n. A 15), Professor Nihar Ranjan Ray says 'the modelled mass is held by definite but sinuous lines, following curve of the contour of the body and the lower abdomen as well as the sensitivity of the finger curves are unmistakable heritages of the classical tradition'.

Speaking of another Nepalese ms. illustration (ASB. n. 4203) he adds 'modelling in colour is faint and thin, and the line is not so crisp but is equally unrefined by any grace or sentiment . . . . . the upward stiffening of the pale like erect bodies, and the curt and broken, and almost stagnant character of the line . . . . the tendency towards linearisation is unmistakable'.<sup>126</sup>

According to the same scholar the Nepalese painting adopts a different tendency as we proceed onwards to the years from the 13th century 'the figures stiffen increasingly, they are erect and vigorous, and yet without any substance; curves become shorter and clipped, the line becomes crisp and dry'.<sup>127</sup> The writer cites the examples from ASB ms. n. 4203 of NS 268 date, and Darb. Lib. Cat. ms. *Nityānhikatilaka* of NS 515 date.

As I examine the illustrations I have described from my own study I find that Nepalese painting is marked with characteristics belonging to an advanced art productions. It is perfect in technique, bold in imagination and style and represented a very high standard of aesthetic sense.

Painting in the palm leaf is Nepal's own special field. Here the artist could interpose his pictures in between the lines of the text. He used 'a dark red background, flexible tendrils which turn with capricious curves delicately embroidering the haloes'.<sup>128</sup> There is no vacant space but 'strewn with flowers and leaves'. According to Tucci, 'there was a tendency in Nepalese manners to isolate the figures of deities and to leave each by itself, perhaps through the influence of miniature-painters, we hardly ever find a composition in the true sense of the term but rather long series of divinities, each self contained. An art extremely hieratic, a faithful and schematic reproduction of the meditation rules (*sādhanā*) which teach how to visualise the images of the gods without the least profane intrusion. Consequently the artist's whole ability consists in retouching details'.<sup>129</sup>

Nihar Ranjan Ray thinks that there 'is hardly any appre-

<sup>126</sup> CHI, V, p. 692.

<sup>128</sup> Tucci, Op. Cit., p. 279.

<sup>127</sup> CHI, V, p. 692.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

ciable major stylistic difference between the illuminations of Bihar and Bengal or Bengal and Nepal at least till as late as the 13th century, and they may conveniently be studied as belonging to the same school'.<sup>130</sup> He further says, 'they reveal an already developed form and technique intimately linked with an art practice and tradition that must have carried the earlier tradition of Bagh and Ajantā in an uninterrupted sequence'.

It is true that the style of painting followed in these pictures is what one would observe in similar illustrations available in the Gangetic plains in the contemporary period. In the three Libraries we have referred to above for the search of manuscripts. We have come across many illustrated works written in Banaras or Mithilā or furtherest in the Gangetic plains, and these pictures well nigh show the same concept and style as we find in Nepalese pictures. One copy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* copied in the reign of Govindachandra (*Gāhadvāla*) is the case in point.<sup>131</sup> This work in palm leaf contains illustrations of Goddess Prajñāpāramitā, Āryatārā, different Bodddhisatvas and some *Vajrayāna* deities. All these, however, do not betray the least sign of difference in style and composition from those we are used to seeing in the manuscripts copied in our own country. However, it must be admitted that the Nepalese artist did not copy as a second rate imitator of form and style. He had his own ideas to inspire his creations, and also a tradition of his own to follow, which conform to Nepalese history and environment. The Nepalese picture art is also religious as is the art of sculpture. In fact all plastic arts in Nepal in the medieval period are religious in content and divine in inspiration. We have seen that the illustrations are solely religious objects of worship as the representation of various deities, to whom a human being pays homage. But all these are living heavenly beings with bright eyes and smiling faces, who look as much human. Like the sculptured images in stone the illustrations in papers also are beautifully done. They

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<sup>130</sup> CHI, V, p. 690.

<sup>131</sup> Recently acquired by the Govt. Nat. Library, Kathmandu.



are elegant, vigorous and balanced. The Nepalese art of painting is of a high standard even as art. The Nepalese artist certainly assimilated concepts and experiences of Indian art. But he added also to this assimilation something original born out of his own personality with the result that in some cases Nepalese art excels contemporary Indian art in lineal perspective, colour blend and craftsmanship. It will be wrong to designate Nepalese painting as just a derivative of the Indian painted pictures of the age. There cannot be any doubt that Nepalese painting and other forms of art, though developing under Indian influence, have many original features that have earned appreciation of the specialists in the field.

## VI

### OTHER CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

#### *Nepal as a Centre of Learning*

The Valley seems to have been a very important seat of learning, to which scholars flocked from all parts of India, some enroute to Tibet and China, and more to learn in the Nepalese monasteries. They brought valuable manuscripts with them and deposited all these at local centres. The Indians were not the only visitors. Many monks from Tibet came to Nepal to learn of Buddhism and Buddhist art.<sup>132</sup> There were also Chinese travellers and visitors. A few scholars from Vikramaśilā and Nālandā had found shelter here at the time of Mohammadan conquest of those places and it was largely owing to the hospitality they enjoyed in Nepal from its king and people that they escaped torture and annihilation. There were also others from India coming to Nepal to obtain sacred knowledge from Nepalese teaching. And Nepal also owes much to these scholars who have left a good number of literary works, many of them composed in the age they lived as noted in the colophons of the mss.

For a long time since the Buddhist institutions in Nālandā

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<sup>132</sup> Levi, II, p. 214.

and Vikramasīlā were founded, Nepalese scholars used to study in these centres of learning.

It appears from the Tibetan annals that *Achāryas* who went to Tibet from India passed some of their time in Nepal. According to the *Blue Annal*<sup>133</sup> two Indian preachers Śāntirakṣita and Padmasambhava visited Nepal and lived there sometime, while Śāntirakṣita was persecuted in Tibet he had returned to Nepal as one comes back to the base camp. Śāntirakṣita came to Nepal from Tibet to seek the aid of Padmasambhava, because the latter was dwelling in a monastery there.<sup>134</sup> We have already recounted the story of Atiśā's visit to this country.

### THE MESSAGE OF NEPALESE CULTURE

This was altogether a glorious age for Nepal. Except for that factor contributing to territorial dismemberment and series of foreign invasions that affected the events of the period, Nepal recorded proudful achievements in many a significant sphere, particularly in those of literature and arts. Late as the process of disintegration started even that factor could not affect their progress in its earlier history of the time so that Nepal's cultural background remained practically untouched, and it was, therefore, not a surprise that cultural achievement was maintained while decay obtained elsewhere.

Indeed, the cultural aspect of national glory was remarkably great for the period. Apart from its contribution to the development and consolidation of the cult of *Vajrayāna* in Tibet, which was no less valuable, and *Vajrayāna* was introduced into Tibet mainly with Nepalese efforts, Nepal gave to Tibet largely in this period of its history what yet the latter lacked in the cultural field, e.g. fine art, painting and sculpture. But the stream of Nepalese teachers of Buddhism had not been dry. The Tibetan annals speak of numerous visitors from Tibet

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<sup>133</sup> *Deb-ther snon-po* translated by George N. Roerich, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1949. *The Blue Annal* was composed in 1476 A.D., Vol. I, pp. 42-43.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 214.

coming to Nepal, who learnt Buddhism in monasteries at the feet of the learned Nepalese *gurus*. In the 11th century A.D. two monks Rwa lo-tsa-ba and gNan lo-tsa-ba came to Nepal to learn the doctrine of Maitreya.<sup>135</sup> Towards the end of the 11th century and beginning of the 12th century Ma-gcig's brother Khon-phu-ba visited Nepal to meet the learned descendants Ye-ran-ba, Atulyavajra and Mo-han rdo-rje of the famous Nepalese scholar of *Guhyasamāja*, Pham-mthin-pa or Vāgiśvarakīrti who had died 'at Zo-chia-t'un near La-chou in Kansa on his return journey from a pilgrimage to Wu-t'ai-shan'.<sup>136</sup> He learnt from Ye-ran-ba 'the doctrine of *Maitri-pa*' and Vāgiśvarakīrti taught him precepts of *Kālāchakra*, while Atulyavajra initiated him into the practices of *Yogaratnamālā Hevajra-pañjikā*. His son Lha-rje-zla-ba'i known as the incarnation of *Dharma-pa* also spent sometime in Nepal to learn secret precepts. Both father and son had passed long time also in India. About this time one more monk Nog Lo-chen-po (1059-1109) came to Nepal and learnt *Tantra* from Atulyavajra, Varendraruchi and other.<sup>137</sup> Dam-pa skor (b. 1062) had preceded him there and it was said that he met two Nepalese disciples of Atiśā named Anutapagupta and Vajralochana. The former taught him grammar.<sup>138</sup> In the beginning of the 14th century Zig-po Kun-grol, another monk, claims to have learnt the Doha under the Nepalese teachers 'Bum-me and Grags'bum'.<sup>139</sup> During all these years several Nepalese scholars were living in different monasteries of Tibet. Of these scholars, there was one Ravindraruchi (Ni-ma' idban-po'i 'od-zer), who taught *Guhyasamāja*. Kanaka Śrī and Mahākarunika, two Mahāyanist teachers of Nepal, attracted Tibetan pupils to them in Nepal. Vāgiśvarakīrti taught to many Tibetans 'exposition of the cycle of Hevajra and other cycles, according to the system of Na-ro-pa'.<sup>140</sup> From the Indian Vajrapāṇi and Nepalese Ha-mu,

<sup>135</sup> *The Blue Annals*, Vol. I, p. 71.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227; *Ibid.*, p. 228.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 850.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 320.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395.

both of them, living in Kathmandu, the Tibetans learnt the 'precepts of *Vajravārāhī* cycle'.<sup>141</sup> It is on record that the great Lord translator Marpe spent 3 years in Nepal and there he was taught *Tantra* by the local teacher Benda-pa.<sup>142</sup> Marpa was devotedly on the look out for a meeting with his *guru* Naropa. From the biography of Dharmasvāmin we know that he had lived in Nepal for sometime (1224 A.D.) to study the *Tantras*.<sup>143</sup> Khro-phu lo-tsa-ba (b. 1173 A.D.), a disciple of Lord rGyatsha, was in Nepal while he was just 24 to learn *Tantras* and *Sūtras* with Mahāpaṇḍita Buddhaśrī. This man took to Tibet the learned Mitra to preach at the monastery of Khro-phu, where he passed 18 months before he came back home.<sup>144</sup> Early 13th century saw more Tibetan *yogins* coming to Nepal. Of the Nepalese teachers of the age one Paṇḍita Vibhūti-chandra stands eminent. He is said to have gone to Tibet to teach the famous *Lotsava*, Ko-brag-pa the precepts at Sabarī dBan-phyng. Besides these visitors, several Buddhist sects claim to possess knowledge of the cycle of *Guhyasamāja* and precepts of *Mahāmudrā* from Nepalese *Āchāryas*. Some of these are described to enjoy miraculous powers.

People visiting Nepal from different parts of India were also numerous. We have said about the visits of Santirakṣita and Padmasambhava. They were followed by Atiśā. While Atiśā was living in Tibet, Bhikṣu Jñānakara of Kashmir was in Nepal.<sup>145</sup> In about the middle of the 12th century the Indian teacher Vajrapāṇi (Phyag-na) was doing Tantric practice in Nepal.<sup>146</sup> In the early 15th century we have the prince of Sadnagar (modern Chittagong) by name Śrī Vanaratna visiting Nepal in search of knowledge amongst the many countries such as Orissa, Ceylon, Kashmir and Tibet. Śrī Vanaratna resided 'at the *vihāra* of Śāntapurī of Phags-pa Sin-kun (Svayambhu *Chaitya*).<sup>147</sup> He came to Nepal several times, and once he met

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p. 396.

<sup>143</sup> See above.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., I, p. 260.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., II, p. 799.

<sup>142</sup> Part II, p. 400.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., II, p. 256.

Lu-i-pa. He died in Nepal in 1469 A.D. at the ripe old age of 85 and was cremated at the Ram do-li burial ground.<sup>148</sup>

We have seen how in the court of Kublai Khan, a Nepalese master sculpture and builder A-ni-ko by name was serving as the head of the Arts Department and he built for the Emperor in Pekings some fine specimens of images and temples.<sup>149</sup> It is said that he started a new school of art, which was closely allied to the Indian School of the time. Archaeologists tell us that the Tibetan form of *stupa* with a little exaggeration of the range of umbrella is a copy of the Nepalese prototype of the 12th and 13th centuries. Tārānāth speaks of a School of Nepalese painting which was closely allied to that of Eastern India. It was the time when Nepal maintained a close diplomatic and cultural links with India and Tibet and exchanged students with the University at Vikramaśilā, and they in turn did a lot of preaching work in Tibet. Tārānāth mentions Buddhaśrī, a Nepalese monk, who was a *sthavira* of Vikramaśilā.<sup>150</sup> According to the Tibetan monk, Ratnakīrti, Vairochana and Kanakaśrī—all Nepalese scholars went to Tibet as cultural ambassadors.<sup>151</sup> Ācharya Ratnarakṣita of Vikramaśilā had come to Nepal. Another Indian monk Śākyaśrī also was in Nepal for sometime, and while here he wrote a commentary on *Samvarodaya* for the benefit of the people of Nepal.<sup>152</sup> Influence of Nepalese art on Tibet is no less great. Since the 12th century Tibet received a number of artist visitors along with learned monks from Nepal. The Nepalese went to Lhasa and other areas in Central Tibet. The art influence they carried to these places was certainly of the classical Indian style that flourished in Bengal in the reign of the Pāla Emperors. But Nepalese features of that style were

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., p. 804.

<sup>149</sup> S. Levi's article on the *Art of Nepal in Indian Arts and Letters*: 1, 2, London, 1925, pp. 63-65.

<sup>150</sup> Op. Cit., pp. 214, 237, 249, 253-55, near about 1197, Buddhaśrī of Nepal who was *Sthavira of Mahāsaṅghakas* in Nālandā resumes the journey to his native land.

<sup>151</sup> IHQ, XXVII, n. 3, p. 8.

<sup>152</sup> G. Tucci: *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Vol. I, pp. 272-280.

nevertheless distinct and these were indelibly printed on art creations the Nepalese wrought in Tibet.

Because of the shrine of Svayambhunātha. Nepal was one of the sacred spots for Tibetan pilgrims. Their monks while on pilgrimage also utilised the opportunity to learn Sanskrit and through its medium obtained knowledge of various branches of learning including arts and crafts. So actually it was a two-way traffic. But in both cases, Nepal helped to educate the Tibetans and enrich their culture.

Prof. Tucci observed "Although the names of the Nepalese artists are lost, the eulogies of monasteries and biography of Lāmās abound in general allusions to makers of statues and painters from Nepal".

We have already recounted the story of A-ni-ko and his eighty artist followers who had worked in Lhasa and later in Peking.

After him we hear two names, one of Vanguli who had worked to decorate the Nor monastery, and another A K'o ra dsa.<sup>153</sup>

In his autobiography (P. 219) Tārānātha says that there were 20 Nepalese artists carving statues on bronze. They obtained *dakṣiṇā* and were not paid wages. The articles they were offered were 'Chinese cloths, dust, silk, turquoises'. Tārānātha further stated that a statue of Jambhala and haloes for seven other statues were being done by the Nepalese artists in his presence. The Fifth Dalai Lāmā in his autobiography names Dsyo bhan, Siddhi, Kar sis (*Mangal*), Dhar ma de vo, Dsai sin (Jaysingh), A ma ra dsa ti (Amarajati), Dse la K'ran K'ra pa su tsa as Nepalese artists working in Lhasa. Amongst other images, they made one of the Dalai Lāmā. Prof. Tucci adds, "Until 18th century Nepalese arts and crafts held undisputed sway; we have observed this in the main convents, which after having been laid waste so many times, are full, even now of imposing collections, in which all the epochs and landmarks of Nepalese art are reflected, from its ancient glories in which

<sup>153</sup> *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, II (1948), p. 277.

Bengal's artistic tradition is still a living echo, up to the formulas of its decay".<sup>154</sup>

It may be also noted here that Nepal's diplomatic and commercial contacts with Tibet and China were very intimate. Nepal's role as a liaison and entrepot trade carrier between India and the Celestial Empire was not insignificant. For Tibet the Government in the Valley of Nepal even minted coins and naturally its hegemony over trade and commerce of that region was acknowledged there.

### LITERARY ACTIVITY

In the list of colophons reproduced in connection with the various reigns of the period we have noticed several works in Sanskrit widely read in Nepal. This shows the broad range of interests on various aspects of learning evinced by the learned of the country. The subjects of the manuscripts include literature in general from *Vedic Samhitās* to anthologies, epics and *Purāṇas*, lyrics and dramas, grammar, lexicon, rhetoric, fine arts with music and painting, politics, *dhanurveda* (knowledge of weapons), erotics, philosophy, medicine, astronomy, and esoteric texts (*tantras*), logic (both Hindu and Buddhist) and *mimansā*, Buddhist *purāṇas* and other cognate works.

There are both original contributions made by the Nepalese authors as well as external texts copied in Nepal by local scribes.

In sum total the works of both the categories are abundantly traced. But for our period original works composed by the authors of Nepalese origin are extremely limited.

We do not intend to deal with manuscripts which are only copied here. These only prove the wide gamut of interest felt by persons in different aspects of learning. Some of them also throw light as to the age of the prevalence of a particular belief or worship in Nepal; for the date of the work concerned provides a clue to the same. Now, in regard to original works, for different reasons it has been difficult to distinguish authors of

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

many works as Nepalese. But a few works of the time can be definitely ascribed to the Nepalese composers. We list the following works and authors of Nepalese origin in the field of Sanskrit literature.

(1) *Mahirāvaṇavadha nāṭaka* in Sanskrit (CPMDN, II, p. 25)<sup>155</sup> written by one Jayata in the reign of Jayārimalla, 457 *Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa dvādaśī* etc. (see above for the whole colophon). This work is a drama dealing with the subject of the death of *Mahirāvaṇa*. The performance took place at Bungmati in a monastic area, which lay close to the capital city.

(2) *Madālasājātismaraṇanāṭaka*, a dramatic work composed by Nepāliya Rāmadāsa in the reign of Jayarājadeva.<sup>156</sup>

(3) *Bhairavānandanāṭakam*<sup>157</sup> by Maṇikya written in the reign of Jaya Sthitimalla and staged on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of his son.

(4) *Rāmāyaṇanāṭakam* in four acts by Dharmmagupta, son of Rāmadāsa, staged on the order of Mahārābutta Śrīmat Jaya Yūthasimha at the time of the chariot driving ceremony performed in honour of God Hari Śankara. Jaya Yūthasimha is addressed as *Gopāleśvarādhanaparāyanena Śrī Śikharanārāyaṇa charaṇasevakena Śrī Jhaṅkeśvarī tatparena Surakikulakamala-kānanaikāsanaika bhāskara* etc.<sup>158</sup> Jaya Yūthasimha is identified with a feudatory of the principality of Pharping, of the same name who figures in the *Gorakhanātha pādukā* staircase inscription of 511 NS (see above Doc. 18 of Jaya Sthitimalla). It appears that with Jaya Sthitimalla in power Dharmmagupta had left the capital to settle in feudatory Pharping. As we noted in the document n. 2 above Rāmadāsa was a court poet in the time of king Rājadeva, and his patrons were the king as well as the minister Anekarāma and his son Jayasimharāma. In this work, besides Yūthasimha, other persons noted are his brothers Jaitrasimha nṛpati, and Jayarājasimha, and Jaya Yuddhasimha, son of Yakṣasimha.

<sup>155</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III., 362.

<sup>156</sup> Govt. Nat. Lib., n. 787.

<sup>157</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 119; Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1078.

<sup>158</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 246; Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1418.



(5) *Rāmābhiṣekanāṭakam*<sup>159</sup> by Dharmagupta.

(6) *Rāmānka nātikā*<sup>160</sup> (a copy of the original work) by Dharmagupta composed in the time of Mahāpātra Jayasirīha in NS 534. This was staged on the occasion of the ceremonial completion of a palace of a nobleman by name Jasakīrtirāja who is addressed as *Ṣakalapātrakulatilaka* and *Nāyaka*.

(7) Another dramatic work *Rupamanjarīpariṇayanāṭakam* composed in the reign of Yakṣamalla; its author is known<sup>161</sup> as poet Śubharāj, son of Paṇḍita Abhayarāja.

(8) *Pāṇḍavavijayanāṭakam*<sup>162</sup> by Śubharāja, son of Kaviśvara Abhayarāja belonging to the Śūdra family. It is a dramatic work based on *Mahābhārata*. The theme starts with the inauguration of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice ceremony. The first act depicts the scene of the killing of Śiśupāla by Lord Kṛṣṇa. The work is described as *Gītavādya (nrityayojitam) bhinaya nava nāṭyarasamudāyam samastanāṭaka chamatkāra ramaṇīyam nāṭakam*. The play was staged on the occasion of Mādhavamalla's marriage ceremony<sup>163</sup> in Banepā.

Dharmagupta, son of Rāmadāsa, is called *Bālasarasvatī* (a child incarnate of the Goddess of Learning). He must have been a prodigy. In the *Antavākya* of (6) above, he writes in the colophon that his father who was a *Guru* of the kings and princes of Nepal (*Nepālāvanipālamaṇḍalaguru*), taught him all branches of learning.

Jayata, the composer of *Mahīrāvaṇabadhanāṭaka* is called the Sun of the family of poets in the post colophon statement.

Maṇika, the author of *Bhairavānanda* is called the son of Rājavaradhana and proficient in the dramatic art. Śubharāja, is called simply 'a poet'.

We have seen that all these dramas were not mere literary works. They were also stage plays. This presupposes a developed stage in Nepal whatever be its nature.

<sup>159</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1462.

<sup>160</sup> Dar. Lib. Cat. IV.

<sup>161</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. IV.

<sup>162</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 694. Published Catalogue, III, pp. 28-30.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

In the deposits of the libraries there are available many works of drama written by classical poets of India. These might have been also staged in Nepal according to Nepalese way of theatrical performance and in the type of stage their existing.

One work of stage drama called '*Vīrabāhu*' performed on the occasion of the installation ceremony of the gold image of Bodhisatva in I-ba-bahi. The staging was witnessed by king Jyotirmalla in NS 547.<sup>164</sup>

We shall have occasion to say more specifically about the dramas in general in the narrative dealing with the late medieval period.

All these plays drew their plots from either the epics or the *Purāṇas*. We find that the majority of our plays under consideration are based on *Rāmāyaṇa* or *Mahābhārata* or *Purāṇic* legends. They are full of songs (*sangītamānusṛtya*). The poetical compositions are interspersed in between the dialogues. The dramatist was also a poet par excellence and therefore the poems, the dramas contain in the texts are of high quality.

The form of drama followed the classic pattern. It starts with the benedictional verse in honour of the Lord of dances, *Nāṭyeśvara*. Then *Sūtradhāra* (director or stage manager) addresses the audience to tell them about the occasion on which the play was going to be staged. If the drama was staged in the royal court, he suggested that the order came from the sovereign whose name with full epithets was announced with reverence and who was praised as a patron of learning and art. This was followed by the utterances of *Naṭī* who explained the theme of the play and introduced the writer.

In the cases of a few dramas (n. 4, 5, 6) the dialogue between Gaṇeśa a sage *Bhṛṅgī* follows the Nandi song and precedes the *Sūtradhāra's* announcement. *Bhṛṅgī* narrates the plot of the stage play and also speaks some words of praise about its author. The colophon or post-colophon statement presents to the audience the name of the patron who is either the sovereign himself or a powerful chief or a minister of the court. It may

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<sup>164</sup> Inscription, n. LIII in our Appendix.

also sometimes use additional words of praise for the dramatist.

Invariably all female characters, servants and illiterate persons spoke in *prākṛt* while the principal ones, the hero, the king or the prince and ministers and chiefs expressed themselves in Sanskrit.

There is one work on astronomy called *Siddhisāra* composed by king Jyotirmalla, the writing of which was completed on 532 *Mārga śira śukla 7* (Camb. Uni. Lib. Add. 1649).<sup>165</sup>

Besides these, we have also a few more works in Newārī. It may be recollected that the first attempt to write in the Newārī language was made towards the latter half of the fifth century Nepalese era.

(1) *Svarodayadaśā*, written in the Newārī language profusely interspersed with Sanskrit relates to *Svarodayaśāstra* i.e. prognostication by means of breath and is regarded as part of Astrology and fortune telling. The date given by H. P. Shastri is NS 482.<sup>166</sup> which is not correct. It is 582.

(2) A commentary of *Nārada* on the work of Manu called *Mānavanyāyaśāstra* rendered into Newārī for *mantrīndra* (Chief Minister) Jayata in the reign of Jaya Sthitimalla.<sup>167</sup>

(3) *Nepālabhāṣāchikitsā*, author unknown but composed in the reign of Yakṣamalla (561 *Mārga śukla 10*). This is a work on medicine<sup>168</sup> written in the mixed Sanskrit-Newārī language.

(4) *Jyotirājakaraṇasya Nepālabhāṣā* written by Daivajña Jyotirāja<sup>169</sup> on 541 *Chaitra śukla pūrṇimā*. This is a work on Astronomy written in mixed Sanskrit cum Newārī language.

(5) *Amarakośa*, with a translation of commentary in Newārī.<sup>170</sup> The Newārī commentary was prepared to teach Chief

<sup>165</sup> CBMC, p. 155.

<sup>166</sup> CPMDN, II, p. 46; Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 364.

<sup>167</sup> CPMDN, I, p. 43; Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1231.

<sup>168</sup> Govt. Nat. Lib., n. 437.

<sup>169</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 440.

<sup>170</sup> Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1698; CBMC, p. 84.

Minister Jayata's son. The date of the ms. is 506 *Chaitra kṛṣṇa 13*.

In the colophon the scribe writes:

स्व पुत्राय विधिबद्ध मिमांटिकामचीकरत् ।  
 श्रीमत् पात्रा कुलानां यो विशिष्ट मण्डनोचितः ।  
 माणिक्यमिव माणिक्या नाम् पण्डितोत्तम ।  
 कृतेषाड मरकोषस्य नेपाल भाषया विवृति ।  
 नामलिङ्गानां टिप्पणी बालबोधिनी षट्त्तर  
 पञ्चशते गतेन्दे माणिक्य विरचितोरमरको  
 षस्य नेपाल भाषा टिप्पणीं समाप्तेयम् ।

In the 13th century A.D. and onwards Nepal had been practically the only place of Buddhist learning in India and as we have it from various ms. sources, scholars from India and Tibet were hailed and allowed to work under its care in the multiple monasteries. Tārānāth says that Vajradeva, a citizen of India, went to Nepal, and wrote *Lokeśvaraśataka*.<sup>171</sup> Near about 1197 a *Sthavira of Mahāsaṅghika* in Nālanda, Buddha Śrī, who hailed from Nepal returned to his motherland to resume his work.

Above all this was the age when for the first time Newārī, the indigenous language of the place, had come to be adopted in the epigraphic records. In the Nhaikabahil copper plate inscription of Jaya Sthitimalla's reign, the tail portion of the record is in Newārī. This is dated 508 NS. Since then epigraphic documents in Newārī are numerous. We have some literary works of the time written in Newārī (see below), of which the *Gopāla Rājavamśāvali* is prominent. It will be wrong to attribute the rise of Newārī to Yakṣamalla's reign. The start was surely made during Jaya Sthitimalla's reign.

The period of Nepalese history from the 11th to the 17th century was one of the most prolific also from the point of view of literary activities including both Sanskrit and Newārī. For the first time the Newārī language came to be adopted in

<sup>171</sup> Levi, II, p. 214.

records of the inscriptions. A chronicle was composed in Newārī in the 14th century. There were also compositions of literary character in the mixed languages. Further, we have seen how a very important part of history writing i.e. fixation of dates could be done only with the help of the mss. colophons of the regimes concerned. But for these mss. the whole period would have remained in dark, as we know how the later chronicles have proved thoroughly inaccurate and unreliable in this respect. The mss. were not only copy works but also included independent and original contributions of Nepalese authors who were born and brought up in Nepal.

### INDIAN SCRIBES IN NEPAL

Several colophons reveal the names of writers who belonged to different parts of India. The writer of the mss. *Charakasamhitā*, one Kāyastha Paṇḍita Śrī Ratnapāla calls himself an inhabitant of Jejabhukti identified with the capital of the Chaṇḍellas. This ms. is dated NS 303 *Chaitra śudī pañchamī somadina*.<sup>172</sup> One of the documents belonging to the reign of Arimalla, ms. *Amṛteśvarapūjā* dated NS 336 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 7 budhadina*, was written by one Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitāchārya who claims to have come from Chamatkārapura of Gurjaradesa (*Gurjaradeśiya Chamatkārapurādāgata*).<sup>173</sup> A man who claims to have emigrated from the city of Kashmir wrote the ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* with date NS 264.<sup>174</sup>

If all the manuscripts are examined, they might show more names of writers who came from India.

All these writers were not probably mere copyists who possessed little knowledge of the subjects the works dealt with. They might have been learned men in their own right and probably had been responsible for any kind of literary activity of the day. Their place lies with those who were attracted to Nepal because of its importance as a seat of learning.

<sup>172</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1648.

<sup>173</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1365.

<sup>174</sup> As. Soc. Bengal, n. 4203.

## VII

CASTES IN THE MIDDLE AGES  
SHTHIMALLA AND CASTES

Having already observed that we confront a very orthodox caste ridden society in the middle ages it is now for us to examine fully the system of castes as they obtained.

The later chronicles attributed to Jaya Sthitimalla making of several laws of social and religious importance. It is said that in this task he was assisted by five Paṇḍits, Kīrtinātha Upādhyāya Kānyakubja, Raghunātha Jhā Maithīlī, Śrīnātha Bhaṭṭa, Mahinātha Bhaṭṭa and Ramānātha Jhā. At Jaya Sthitimalla's behest these learned Brāhmaṇas 'compiled from *Śāstras* such laws as were formerly in existence but had fallen into disuse through lapse of time'.<sup>175</sup>

In respect of castes Wright's chronicler observes, 'the five councillors had to consider that the bandyās has been converted in the *Tretā Yuga* by Krakuchhanda Buddha, from the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya castes, and had become *bhikṣus*, and that these again had been made *gṛhasthas* by Śaṅkarāchārya (but without passing through the four different kinds of lives); and thus being father of families, they were obliged to attend to worldly affairs, but still they were respected by the four castes. Hence it was determined to class them as Brāhmaṇas or Kṣatriyas, their customs and ceremonies being the same. Bandyās, therefore, are like the *Sannyāsis* who are all of one class without any distinctions of caste'.<sup>176</sup> Altogether 64 caste divisions had been emphasised, respective rules for the observation of each redrawn and punishment prescribed for infringement. But the *Jātiyamaṅgalā*, which is also a work of the early eighteenth century, gives eighty divisions of castes. It is also suggested that these castes were created by Jaya Sthitimalla borrowing ideas from the *Dharmaśāstra* (Scriptures).

One of the later chronicles describes in detail the process of

<sup>175</sup> Levi, I, pp. 232-36; Wright, pp. 185-86.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., Wright.

the formation of caste divisions. It says that all was done within the traditional framework of four *varṇas* and 36 *jāta* (castes). But there were as many subdivisions within each *jāta* and the lowest caste was untouchable. So a host of castes came into being, which could not be counted. But in the main there were 10 subdivisions of the Brāhmaṇas, 32 of the Jyāpus, 8 of Kumhāla, 72 of those castes whose nails were cut by the butcher caste, 4 of Bāndās, 6 of Khasas, 4 of Kusalyās, 4 of Poḍes and 4 of Charmakāra (Kulu). We shall identify all these classes as we table them with others in the next page. A somewhat different account of castes is given by the chronicle group B<sup>2</sup>. The chronicle<sup>177</sup> states that Jaya Sthitimalla defines professions for all the castes and he also specified the type of priests for them, whether a Brāhmaṇa or a Guvā. It will appear from the table that this chronicle though not producing a very exhaustive list of castes does nevertheless provide us a correct list as far as it goes. At the sametime it does not say that Jaya Sthitimalla created them. The monarch is credited only with emphasising their duties in the society and enforcing punishment if any caste neglected its traditional profession.

They also state that the Brāhmaṇas who were in Nepal at the time belonged to *Pañchagauḍa* (from Gauḍa) and *Pañchadra-vida* (from South India) groups—‘each containing five divisions and numerous subdivisions’. They add to say ‘there were Jaisi Brāhmaṇas of four divisions, Āchārya, Baida, Śreṣṭha and Daivajña. But they were sacred. Āchāryas were divided into three classes; Baidas into four and Śreṣṭha into many classes, of which ten were allowed to wear Brāhmanical threads, as were also the three classes of Daivajñas. Of Śūdras there were 36 classes, amongst which the Jyāpu had 32 divisions, and the Kumhāl 4’.<sup>178</sup>

In the list of Wright 34 castes have not been identified. Of these Levi attempted to identify a few, e.g. (39) Takṣaka as carpenters, (45) Marikāra as confectioners (26) Tanṅadhāri

<sup>177</sup> In my possession.

<sup>178</sup> Op. Cit., Wright and Levi.

as worker in mints (18) Naṭijīva, actor who lives by prostituting his wife, (13) *Kirāta* as hunter, Tandukāra as weaver (55), Achārya as priest, teacher and sacrificer of the Hindu Newārs. But the list of unidentified castes is yet enormous. Side by side it is also true that identification is rendered difficult because of the mis-spelt names of these castes. Mis-spelling has so corrupted the wording of the caste name that in many cases the original is completely lost. The *Jātīyamālā* scores an improvement. As we have seen from the table Wright is very much corrected both in respect of misspelling and identification by the *Jātīyamālā*. In the *Jātīyamālā* the 80 caste divisions include the 3 classes of monk converts 4 subdivisions of Achars, and the Vaidya sub-caste of Dhanvantari and others of the Śreṣṭha class. These have been omitted by Wright's chronicler in enumerating 64 castes.

The chronicle (B<sup>2</sup>) lists, (a) Bhāt (musicians at court), (b) Bhā (mahābrāhman taking gifts on the 11th day during funeral rites), Vepak bade (doing Goldsmith's work) (d) Nari (painting figures on the wall and pounding to make flat rice with musal), (e) Sabal, who used leeches to suck diseased blood and this they did as profession. (जुका लगाई कमाइ खांनु) Of these c, d, and e have Guvā priests. Although each caste had a special and defined occupation some could go outside it and take also to agriculture. These castes are Nari, Nau, Pun, Tepe, Khusal and Kasai and Nakarmi. In the hierarchy of caste there were 3 broad strata each below the Brāhmanas and Kṣatriyas, and their position was determined with reference to the number of days reserved for mourning, the longer this term the higher the position. This applied to every caste except the Guvā and Bade who mourned only for 7 days irrespective of their very high position in the social structure. The lowest in the hierarchy like the Poḍe and Dom performed funeral only for 2 days. Then above these were castes who mourned for 7 days, e.g. all those belonging to the castes of Kusule, Kulu, the Nayo (butcher), Sanghat (Washerman), Lukami (goldsmith), Khusal—all of them touchables but from whose touch water got polluted. The following castes which were placed below the Śreṣṭhas mourned for 10 days: Nari, Sabal, Gathu,



Nau, Konal, Bhā, Pulpul, Chhipā, Chitrakara, Tepe, Sikami, Tatti, Kasā and other subcastes of Udas. The Śreṣṭhas included all the four types of Achārs and others like Amātya and those classed as Kṣatriyas under the name of *Chhathari* and also Gwas and Kumhāls below the pure Kṣatriyas, who observed mourning for 12 days. All of these were regarded as of Vaisya caste and the regulation enjoined on them to practise trade of the Āchārs; the one permitted to wear sacred thread from the Brāhmaṇas were Pīthāchārya, Gurvachārya and astrologer Daivajña.

The Brāhmaṇas were forbidden to act as priests to castes other than the Kṣatriyas and Śreṣṭhas. The chronicle specifically mentions some castes which do not have an exclusive set of priests. Their members were divided as to the choice of priests while some of them chose Brāhmaṇas as priests, some took Buddhist priests, e.g. the Tamos, Barahis, the Tattis, the sweetmakers (Madhekarmi or Halwais).

The chronicle suggests that the five Āchār subcastes were the offsprings born out of the union of Brāhmaṇa fathers and mothers of lower castes. Although there were five families in count, the divisions were only two, (1) those born to a Brāhmaṇa father by a high Kṣatriya widow and (2) by an ordinary Kṣatriya woman. The former was entitled to wear a sacred thread; he did astrologer's job and rendered part of the priestly functions in ceremonies; the latter known as Karmāchārya obtained sacred *mantras* but not a thread and performed worship at the shrines of Taleju rendering also priestly duties partially. The Āchārs were to intermarry with the Śreṣṭha families, in whose ceremonies they also acted as priests. In other parlance the Āchārs were known as Jaisis referring to their profession as Jyotiṣi or astrologer. If any one of them transgressed the rules made for him, he lost his sacred thread and became at once a Śreṣṭha in the third order of the Brāhmanical hierarchy. No one could wear a sacred thread if such practice was absent in the tradition of his family. Any deviation from the tradition brought him punishment involving loss of caste.

The distinction between a high and a low caste whose touch made water undrinkable was strictly maintained. If somebody unknowingly drank water at the hands of the untouchable castes, he had to go through a purification ceremony, which also involved fines paid in cash to the state and to his own caste-men. One of the untouchable castes the Po or Podya could not enter the premises of the town after sunset unless specially required. All castes at that level suffered grievous discrimination in matters of ownership of land and choice of profession. They could not erect a building of a dimension and height beyond a certain prescribed limit. They could not wear ornaments of gold, nor they could wear shoes of textile materials. As we shall come to know from the next passage, the lower castes paid a higher penalty for the same offence than does the caste above. For sexual offence involving a woman of a high caste the low casteman even lost his life. The penalty in many cases also covered amputation of his organ.

From the same chronicle we also learn that the state enjoined on every caste-men to fulfill his obligation due to other castes and in the event of nonfulfillment laid down fines to be paid in cash and kind (grains); part of which would go to the aggrieved party.

For example if a barber serving a family did not attend to the work to be performed by him on certain occasions he was fined 12 *dams*. If the offending party was the family to which the barber was traditionally attached then it was that family and not the barber who was fined, which means if the barber was not called in for the performance of the required job in the ritual then the regulation prescribed fine against such a family. In the case of the washerman disregarding the call, he paid 3 *dams* but the man trying to bypass his family washerman paid double the amount as fine. The rules were comprehensive and covered all layers of society including the priest who was required to be present on occasions of ritual for the whole year round. From these rules, it appears that every family was bound to the other by ties of tradition. No one was exempt and each one had its own role to play. But the most concerned

were those who performed manual work such as the sweeper, the washerman the navel cord cutter, the barber, and the midwife; their functions and relations with high caste families were traditionally ordained.

There was also an elaborate provision for corporal punishment or fine or for both when causing transgression of marital laws. The society allowed marriage only within the caste. But the punishment was severe often involving death when a low caste man was found cohabiting with a woman of high caste. The Brāhmaṇa lady was the most sacred object. If a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya or Śūdra mixed with her, he lost either his sexual organ or his life. The husband's marital rites were well protected. But only the high caste could ask for corporal punishment to be meted out to the offender, others obtained part of the fine levied by the state. A Brāhmaṇa, however, could live with a Brāhmaṇa widow on payment of some fine. In all cases the high caste woman lost her caste if she cohabited with a low caste paramour. If an untouchable woman was involved, then the high caste man could not retain his caste but was absorbed into the caste of the woman he cohabited with.

A Brāhmaṇa paid Rs. 120/- as fine if he cohabited with a Khusal woman. He was fined the same amount if he inter-coursed with a Tepe or a Mosal or a Sāyamī or a Puñ or a Bhāṭ or a Koṇal woman. In addition he paid Rs. 24/- to his castemen, and went through special ceremonies of purification. The Brāhmaṇa was awarded a fine of Rs. 140/- if he kept a woman of Sanghat or Nau castes. If he mixed with Lhokar or Pulpul or Mahutyā or Chhipā or Balhami or Kusulay or Majhi woman, the fine imposed was Rs. 480/-. He lost his caste if he knowingly had kept a Kulu or Po woman. If he had done so unknowingly he paid a fine of Rs. 240/-. All these cases also involved him in another kind of fine called *Chāndrāyaṇa*, which was a cash or kind payment for being purified. The fine imposed on a Kṣatriya and a Vaiśya male for the same offence was the half what was paid by a Brāhmaṇa, while the Śūdra paid  $\frac{1}{4}$ . The fine was Rs. 60/- in gold mohars (with a lion's image) if the woman happened to be the one with her husband living.

The Kasais had to wear jackets without sleeves. No caps, shoes, gold ornaments were to be worn by Pos, Kasais, and Kulus. The Pos were not allowed to have their houses roofed with tiles.<sup>179</sup>

Now we produce a table of castes given by the later chronicles and *Jātiyamālā* and their identification in terms of modern caste names.

<i>Later Chronicles</i> (Wright and Levi)	<i>Jātiyamālā</i>	<i>Modern name</i> <i>in Newāri</i>	<i>Chronicle B2</i>	<i>Priest</i>
(1) Charmakāra	1. Charmakāra	1. Kulu	1. Kulu	Guvā
(2) Mātanga, workers in leather <sup>180</sup>	2. Mātanga	2. Po	2. Po—keep guard in temples and fish and hunt sparrows	
(38) Śrinkhari <sup>181</sup>	3. Baikāri	3. Doñ		No priest
(4) Rajaka	4. Darśanadhāri	4. Jogī	4. Kusulay, beg and sweep	No priest
(5) Dhobi, washerman	5. Śankhakāri	5. Sankhwā	9. Saṅghat—washerman	No priest
(3) Niyogi	6. Parakāri	6. Dutawār	12. Gathu — selling flower bringing from forest	Guvā
(19) Suravija	7. Mūlmī	7. Pāluse		
(23) Natevarudra <sup>182</sup>	8. Rajaka	8. Dhubyā	11. Kasai—cutting nails and also playing instruments on funeral day and also butchering buffaloes	Guvā
(18) Natejiva	9. Ranjika	9. Sanghata	14. Sāyami—oil makers	Guvā
(24) Surpakara, cooks	10. Kaibarta	10. Pahirā	2. Pode, guarding the cremation ground and tem-	
(25) Bimari	11. Niyogi	11. Nāyo		
(26) Tangkadhari	12. Vanamālaka	12. Gathu		
(9) Nadi(vi)chhedi	13. Suravijakāra	13. Bhaumanājyaka		
(14) Mamsavikri,	14. Tailakāra	14. Sāyami		
	15. Naṭaka	15. Natuwār		

<sup>179</sup> Wright (second edition), p. 110.

<sup>180</sup> According to Petech Mātangi means an elephant driver.

<sup>181</sup> Probably a mistake for Shankhakari.

<sup>182</sup> Mistake for Naṭa and Varudra.

(Wright and Levi) <i>Later Chronicles</i>	<i>Jātiyamālā</i>	<i>Modern name in Newārī</i>	<i>Chronicle B2</i>	<i>Priest</i>
butchers	16. Varudra	16. Badeta	ples nearby	No priest
(20) Chitrakāra,	17. Surpakārī	17. Hāsājya	20. Chhipā, dyers	Guvā
painters	18. Bimārī	18. Bhinkapaugatha	21. Pichini	Guvā
(16) Vyañjanakara,	19. Tangākārī	19. Agrī, Sijahmuipi	22. Mosat, packing raw meat at the shop of the Kasai	Guvā
cooks	20. Ranjaka	20. Chhipā	25. Koṇal, manufacturing incense for sale	Guvā
(42) Nāpika	21. Navichcheda- kāra	21. Katā	27. Chitrakara, painter	
(10) Tamrakāra	22. Māmsatulādharma	22. Mosolu	28. Tepoe, selling palung leaves and also playing Kaha instrument during funeral	Guvā
(36) Kumbhakara,	23. Karjī	23. Bhadata	29. Khusal, carrier of Doli and also play Kaha	Guvā
potters	24. Kāpālīka	24. Bharaku	31. Pulpul, carrying lamp in funeral procession	Guvā
(32) Svarnakara,	25. Dhūpakṛt	25. Kotad	33. Nau, cutting hairs and nails of all castes from Brāhmana to Jyāpu	Guvā
goldsmith	26. Betrakaraka	26. Valī (Teli)	& 35. Kumhār, potters	Guvā
(35) Tuladhar, weighers	27. Chitrakārī	27. Poon	36. Tati, weavers of coffin	
(44) Shilpikāra <sup>183</sup>	28. Vyanjanakārī	28. Kepoya (Tepeta)	38. Goldsmith, lukami	Guvā
(33) Kansyakāra,	29. Tandulkara	29. Khusata	30. Nakami, workers in iron	
bell-makers	30. Lohakara	30. Kau	40. Lohankarmi, workers on stones who make also	
(31) Tamrakāra,	31. Bedita	31. Pulpul		
copper smith	(Chitradipaka)			
(34) Karṇika	32. Sthapika	32. Ilnachu		
(39) Takshaka	33. Nāpika	33. Nau		
(41) Lepika	34. Melaprajāpati	34. Hākubhālākumhā		
(47) Supika	35. Kumbhakāra	35. Dhadapakumhā		
(30) Gopāla, cowherds	36. Brihasthaka	36. Tatita		
(15) Māli, gardeners	37. Patuwakara	37. Pachhuwā (Putuwā)		
(38) Śrinkhari				
(48) Sajakara				

<sup>183</sup> (7) Lohakara (stone mason).

(37) Kṣatrakara, measurer of lands	38. Svarṇakara	38. Lukamī (Goldsmith)	images	Guvā
(58) Amātya, minister	39. Tulādhara	39. Udai	41. Kasā, workers in bronze	Guvā
(61) Kāyastha, scribe	40. Shilpakara	40. Lohaṅkarmī	45. Sikami, workers in wood	Guvā
(51) Daivajña	41. Kanskāra	41. Kasā	39. Udāya, who carried trade with Lhasa	Guvā
(52) Gaṇaka	42. Tamrakāra	42. Tamo	50. Māli, selling flowers from one's garden	Guvā
(53) Jyotiṣa	43. Karṇikara	43. Madhikamī	54. Sūdrabhāro, trader	Brāhmaṇa
(54) Grahachintaka	44. Takṣakara	44. Bārāhī	37. Kṣatrakara, land measurer	Guvā
(63) Kṣatri (Bhūpa, rājā, narendra)	45. Visvakarmā	45. Sikamī	63. Vikhubada	Guvā
(64) Brahman (Dvija or Vipra)	46. Lepika	46. Labatkarmī	62. Bade	Guvā
	47. Sṛstikara	47. Newā	64. Śivāchārya	Brāhmaṇa
	48. Śupakara	48. Suwā	66. Pithāchārya	Brāhmaṇa
	49. Gopāla	49. Khagwā	67. Karmāchārya	Brāhmaṇa
	50. Mālākara	50. Māli	65. Gurvāchārya	Brāhmaṇa
	51. Śrinkhali	51. Āwā	67. Devāchārya	Brāhmaṇa
	52. Suchikara	52. Suchikā	73. Daivajna	Brāhmaṇa
	53. Vamsabhedi	53. Gamālu	78. Pātravamśa	Brāhmaṇa
	54. Śūdra	54. Dhāmoo (Pwangula)	77. Rājalavaṭ	Brāhmaṇa
	55. Gopālanandaka	55. Nandagwā	70. Bharośreṣṭha	Brāhmaṇa
	56. Sindurakara	56. Sinhālakhu		
	57. Chhatrakarī	57. Badākumajyā		
	58. Khadgadhikārī	58. Khadgahidalina		
	59. Mritabādhaka	59. Palanunga		
	60. Paropakārī	60. Kalaka		
	61. Vajrāchārya	61. Gurubāju		
	62. Śākyavamśa	62. Bandeju		
	63. Bhikṣu (Chailak)	63. Bikhuta		
	64. Śivāchārya	64. Ghasuyakanjachā		
	65. Gurvāchārya	65. Homayākācha		
	66. Pithāchārya	66. Pīthapūjāyakāchā		

<i>Later Chronicles</i> (Wright and Levi)	<i>Jātiyamālā</i>	<i>Modern name</i> <i>in Newāri</i>	<i>Chronicle B2</i>	<i>Priest</i>
	67. Karmāchārya	67. Āgamasapūjayāka		
	68. Amātya	68. Mahatta		
	69. Bhaṇḍārī	69. Bhatiru (Bhandel)		
	70. Gulmi	70. Śreṣṭha		
	71. Kāyastha	71. Kasulu (Kasata)		
	72. Dhanwantarī	72. Vaidya		
	73. Daivajñya	73. Grahajyākajoṣī		
	74. Gaṇaka	74. Pātrajyākajoṣī		
	75. Jyotiśa	75. Grahadaśājyāka- joṣī		
	76. Grahachintaka	76. Grahajyākajoṣī		
	77. Raghuvanśa	77. Rajalavata		
	78. Pātravanśa	78. Tha ku		
	79. Varṇaśankara	79. Lawata		
	80. Vaiśya			
	81. Kṣattrī			
	82. Brahmā			

The later chronicles list amongst the castes also (56) Devachinta (57) Pūjita (50) Sachiva, (60) Mañtrī, state officials in recent times, (62) Lekhaka, and scribes and then Lohakara (7), (8) Kunda-Kara, (11) Dhānyamari (12) Badi, (13) Kirāta, (17) Maudhura (21), Gāyana musicians, (22) Bathahom (27), Tayoruta (28), Srichante and (43) Darukara (wood cutters).

The above is the chronicler's account of caste divisions as they were shaped at the end of the 14th century A.D. It appears that the occasion for a proper and adequate definition of castes and their divisions arose because the problem the society faced was the absorption of former Buddhist monks into the community. But could it be true that the caste divisions were created by Jaya Sthitimalla as suggested by the chronicles?

Sylvain Levi while narrating the story of the Nepalese caste system seems to recognise the validity of the suggestion that Jaya Sthitimalla was responsible for the caste system. There are so many mistakes Levi commits in his presentation of castes. All these, however, do not matter so much as his hypothesis that one man (however powerful) created castes in Nepal. S. Levi has also a bias in favour of casteless Buddhism. That way he is led to make a statement which implies that uptill the time of Jaya Sthitimalla caste ridden Śaivism was not a force in Nepal. Very recently we have another writer Professor Luciano Petech who holds concurrent views on the subject. In the subsequent paragraphs we shall try to prove that the views expressed by Levi and Petech are not correct.

Jaya Sthitimalla's scheme of castes is unknown to the Ancient Chronicles. Obviously castes could not be attributed to the work of a single person. Whenever they arose, it must have been in a particular situation after a process of transition. Even if one individual would have given a legal shape, the sanction must have come through long standing usage and tradition. As to what forces led to the formation of castes, we must go back to the very early period of our history. The medieval period is credited with the introduction of the cult of *Vajrayāna*, which had certainly produced an impact on the social framework of the various communities. It might be argued that *Vajrayāna* was solely responsible for the creation of castes amongst the Buddhists admitting of course, that there was existing a Śaivite society with its own caste structure. But concomittantly there are several other factors to be considered, such as what relation the Śaivites had with the Buddhists were the



latter grouped into a separate community, etc., etc.

Petech thinks that the context in which castes had begun playing dominant role in Nepal changed slowly since the 12th century A.D. after the Mallas came to power in Nepal.

According to him until such time the condition obtaining was that 'The rulers adopt an easy going sort of Hinduism with a good deal of laxity in the observance of social code, and the Buddhist populace of Mongoloid stock with racial peculiarities such as social scaling in a more feudal than castal way, laxity of marrying with no bar to widow remarriage and with no high fidelity standard of women and few if any food taboos' (P. 179). The Italian author suggests by way of implication that the people of Nepal were by and large Buddhist with 'no serious problem to cope with while adjusting the balance between their heritage and their religion'.

Petech further said attributing caste of 'tightening of the social system of Hindu Nepal' to Jaya Sthitimalla that he and his pandits did not lay emphasis on the classical four *varṇas*, for which there was little justification in the reality of the local conditions but divided outright the people in a series of what in India would have been called subcastes. They had reorganised the ruling classes and common people according a new rigid scheme, which closely followed the orthodox rules and yet tried to take into account at least some of the peculiarities of local society' (P. 181).

I fail to understand how Petech was led to think that while the rulers in Nepal till the 13th century were Śaivites, their subjects were all Buddhists: From the inscriptions of the very early period we know there were people of both sects. There were also caste divisions. Similarly the characteristics Petech ascribes to the Buddhist society are as much applicable to the Śaivites in the medieval period. As far as I know the customary rules of marriage are the same for both the so-called Buddhists and Śaivites. While Harasimha had not even gone to the Nepal Valley, how could his activity lead to the increase of influence of foreign Brāhmaṇas. But this is what Petech means to say in his treatment of castes (P. 180). To support his contention

Petech quotes a late text the *Jātisaṅgraha*, which says 'The Nepalese became followers of Śiva since Harasiṃha entered Nepal in *Saka* 1247 and brought mother Taleju with him. There were Brāhmaṇas from Karnāṭadeśa and Mithilā and also some Nepalese Brāhmaṇas, their disciples in thousands were Kṣatriyas, some were Sūdras, they became followers of Durgā and followers of Śiva in hundreds!' Although he characterises the statement of the text as highly exaggerated, he seems to have attached some importance to it. We, however, feel that the statement is totally absurd. We have also no means to know if the 'division of castes' as laid down in the chronicles was due to Jaya Sthitimalla. Even less we can say if the division had not stressed the importance of *Varnas* and had just framed a structure of sub-castes. As we have already observed, the castes in Nepal are within the confines of the *Varnas*. This fact the *Jātiyamālā* stresses in the last portion of its statement. In this regard we cannot take with any seriousness the lists as provided by the chronicles. It is not a systematic list. It is a putting together of various castes and sub-castes in the most haphazard manner.<sup>184</sup>

The legend of the formation of castes during Jaya Sthitimalla's reign is unknown to the ancient chronicles. They say nothing about Jaya Sthitimalla's activity in respect of castes. As they do not mention Harasiṃhadeva save as a refugee who died while escaping from Simaraongarh to Dolkhā, it is but natural that he is totally missing from the description any kind of activity of the period. Thus we do not obtain any higher basis for the legends. The utmost we can concede to the legend of the chronicle is to accept the probability of a redefinition and re-emphasis of caste rules and re-arrangements of caste hierarchy

<sup>184</sup> जातिसंग्रह , CSPMIO, p. 1411, n. 7767, Hod., 37/6-1001.

वानाग्नि युगं शशि सम्मितं शाकं वर्षे पौषस्य शुक्लनवमी रवि सुनुवारे । कर्णाट  
संज्ञकं नगराद् हरिसिंहं देवो नेपाल देशमनयस तलेजुमाज् प्रवेशिता तदारम्य  
नेपालीया शिव मार्गियावभूवु । कर्णाट देशीया मैथिल देशीया विप्राः केचन  
नेपाल देशीयाः तच्छिष्याः सहस्रेषुः क्षत्रियाः केचन शूद्रा दुर्गामार्गीयाः शिवमार्गीयाः  
शतेषु वभूवुः इति

in the time of Jaya Sthitimalla. But to suggest anything more than this will be patently wrong.

It may be suggested that while the Śaivite society was caste ridden, the Buddhists were free from the influences of castes.

But even here we have to be cautious in airing our views. In fact as it will appear there was a very thin line of demarcation between the Śaivite and Buddhist societies. I do not know if we are justified to divide the society into two segments. But there was a Buddhist monastic order which stood unmixed with the followers of Śaivism.

The conception of castes might have been unknown to the Buddhist monastic order. But castes had appeared with the monks as soon as the monastic order disintegrated. In the ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* of NS 285 *Śrāvana śukla 8* we have one Śākyabhikṣu Manjuśrī as the writer<sup>185</sup>. A Vajrāchārya Bhikṣu figures in ms. *Kriyāsaṅgrahaṇīkā* of NS 273 *Mārga śukla 2*.<sup>186</sup> Obviously, these caste titles showed that the monastic settlements had disintegrated at the date we confront them. In *Pañcharakṣā* of NS 183 *Jyeṣṭha*, we have a custodian of the ms. *Mānadevamahāvihārādhivāsina Āchārya Sthavira Ravindradeva*.<sup>187</sup> *Sanḥabhaṭṭāraka* as the donor is mentioned in a ms. *Hevajraṭīkā* of NS 210 *Māghamāsa*.<sup>188</sup> But these are the only two instances where we hear of *sthavira* and *saṅgha*. It seems that since the early 12th century, the influence of *Vajrayāna* was so largely felt that the old monastic system had disintegrated to give in to the formation of castes amongst the community of monks.

In the background where Tāntric Buddhism with its rituals had captured the imagination of the laity, the change over occurred with ease and was welcomed. Besides Buddhism had now entered the daily life of the masses with their caste hierarchy and caste rituals.

<sup>185</sup> CBMC, p. 182, Add. 1693.

<sup>186</sup> See above.

<sup>187</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 688.

<sup>188</sup> See the narrative.

The few inscriptions which precede Jaya Sthiti's reign have words connoting priest class like Vajrāchārya and Śākyabhikṣu, and this fact is an evidence of the existence of castes also amongst the Buddhists at that time under the influence of Tāntric ritualism. So the account of his having created the caste system is untrue.

Although we fail to obtain considerable information about the caste system as it prevailed in ancient and medieval Nepal, we consider the problem on four premises.

(1) That the caste existed from the early times,<sup>189</sup>

(2) that it was based on the traditional conception of four castes (*Varṇa*) with thirty-six sub-castes (*Jāta*) and the lowest untouchable,

(3) that the divisions of castes broadly corresponded to the four main functions of society:

(a) the priest,

(b) warrior and official,

(c) traders and merchants and

(d) artisans and peasantry, and others excluding untouchables.

Below these four *Varṇas* were the untouchables who performed essential but unclean duties.

(4) That the various tribes outside the Valley of Nepal were treated within the pale of the system as a distinct caste at par with the fourth one.

For the very early age we have a very meagre account of the castes from the inscriptions. The medieval period, however, can be taken to have presented the same caste structure as the present.

The question of the formation of castes amongst the Buddhists had to be viewed in the context of a society that could not be divided on the basis of religion. As we have stated earlier while making an observation on the state of religion, it has to be known that there was no such community as exclusively Buddhist except for the order (*Saṅgha*) belonging

<sup>189</sup> See *Ancient Nepal*, Calcutta 1960.

to either Vehicles. The laity enmasse respected the Śaiva-Viṣṇuite deities and the priests, who directed the rituals of the sect as well as the divinities and the monks in the various monasteries associated with Buddhism. There was no watertight compartment between those who paid homage to Śiva-Viṣṇu and those who did not do so and in contrast followed Buddhist precepts and practices. The mass of the people were certainly divided into castes. So, strictly speaking as we understand the position, it is a misnomer to say that castes came into Buddhist society in the medieval age.

It appears that what really happened in the medieval age with the introduction of *Vajrayāna* rituals and practices was the return of the Buddhist monks to domestic life, which created a caste that could be called Buddhist. Because these could not be accepted back to the fold of the caste they left on their conversion to monkhood, they had to be grouped into a new caste. The monk ministered to the spiritual need of the community, had themselves renounced worldliness and taught the people in general the eightfold path of a virtuous life. Therefore, naturally they were held in high esteem if not by high caste people but surely by those who belonged to the middle and low strata of the caste hierarchy.

After returning to domestic life their position vis a vis the society underwent a change. But they were treated with respect by those who were used to revere them. Ultimately they entered the hierarchy of castes as priests.

Circumstancially the poor number of Brāhmaṇas had helped the Buddhist ex-monks to secure the position of priests in the society. But it appears that not all of them had taken to performing the functions of priests.

Castes in Nepal seem to have developed in accordance with the occupation assigned to each of them in historical setting. We do not know for certain if the traditional division of castes existed in its totality in ancient Nepal. In our records we come across references to Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas and also to the classes engaged in trade and industry and agriculture. The Śudras and Antajas or the Chāṇḍālas, the untouchables do not

figure but we cannot rule out their existence in view of the general feature of the society, which had a sure foundation of castes and classes.

It is argued that the Buddhist section of the society had no caste basis. In view of the very wide Buddhist influence in the country, the situation precluded discrimination between caste and caste as far as the followers of Buddhism were concerned. But the Buddhist section was not self contained and isolated. They had not only to maintain close knit relationship with their counterpart in the other section, but they had also to depend for various social services on castes rendering them according to tradition. It is true that Buddhism commanded a sizable following amongst the peasantry and artisans. However, there is nothing to suggest that these were living in splendid isolation from the other sectors of the society. Perhaps their following was limited to these two classes. Surely as in the Gangetic plains, the Buddhist preachers and monks drew their followers both from the upper class and the very lowly. But they had not done away with the caste discrimination as such. Castes continued to exist inspite of them and the Buddhist laity obtained services from different sections of the society as their need demanded. Altogether, the fact of their existence did not introduce any revolution in the social make-up but it all meant largely a matter of adjustment. As conceived generally, Buddhism had emphasised a new way of life, but it had not ordained a society of its own based on its ideology.

We shall find subsequently in the next passage that the Buddhist ideal of nondiscrimination had lost force even in the limited of its *Upāṣaka* class, the Udai artisans and traders. The Kirātas do not find a place in the data of the inscriptions. We can take it that they were merged in the broad strata of the agriculturists and artisans.

As the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas continued to wield powers of state, their communities remained unaffected by adjustments effected due to appearance of castes in the Buddhist Section of the society. Even the Buddhist priest class was to acknowledge their superiority in many spheres of life. The Buddhist traders,

however, had an acknowledged status enjoyed on equal footing with the Śaiva Śreṣṭha.

The feudal land owner *Śāmantas* of the Lichhavi period were no more. The remnants of the local *Rājās* were not to be heard of since the advent of the age of Tāntric Buddhism. From the beginning of the fifteenth century had emerged new families of courtiers picked up from the castes known as the Pradhānā Śreṣṭha which claimed to itself dignity and status of the Kṣatriya clans.

Together with the Brāhmaṇa priests, the Rājopādhyāya, these families controlled key posts of the administration, and gained vested interest in the land by acquiring feudal rights over holdings. Sometime these made and unmade kings and ministers.

After the dissolution of the monastic order the monks took to domestic life and discarded celibacy and married women from other castes. But as we stated earlier they have been treated as a distinct caste. They are divided in four groups, (1) the Vajrāchārya, (2) the Brahmāchārya Bhikṣu (3) the Śākya Bhikṣu and (4) Chailaka. All these still have their heads without a pigtail, which is considered to be a mark of monkhood. Each of them also undergoes a ceremony of purification on leaving childhood, which has a linkness to the ritual associated with the initiation rites of a monk. The ceremony is performed either in a *Vihāra* or before a *Chaitya*.

The Vajrāchārya is known as Guvāju and renders priestly functions in Buddhist households. The others are collectively known as Bāde. They assist the Guvāju in conducting ceremonies as the occasion arises. But ordinarily they had debarred from doing priestly duties.

The Chailakas are initiated in the precinct of a *Chaitya*, while others have the rites of initiation performed in *Vihāra*. This places the Chailakas lowest in the rank of Bādes. But all of the descendants or ex-monks, whether a Bāde or a Guvāju trace their family connection through a *Vihāra*.

The Guvāju Vajrāchāryas claim to be the descendants of those Brāhmaṇas who had taken to monkhood. The Brahmā-

chārya Bhikṣus also claim similar status. The Śākya Bhikṣus however claim a descent from monks converted from the Kṣatriya class. The Chailakas represent a heterogenous group coming from all *dvija* castes.

Ritual practices conducted by Guvājus are as much elaborate as those of the Brāhmaṇas. The *mantras* and hymns of prayer are in Sanskrit. The annual ceremonial performances are also alike. It is certain that they borrowed freely from the Brāhmaṇas, but they renovated the ritual practices as suited their purpose.

It is said that because the classification of castes 'referred not to castes as such but to occupational groups'<sup>190</sup> the Buddhist laity needed no distinction and were put together with the Hindu sub-castes. But as I have said earlier there is no need to think of exclusively of Buddhist laity in this connection as we know the caste basis did not recognise difference of faiths.

An inscription of Yakṣamalla, the Bhatgaon door gold plate, dated 573 states that the work of constructing the wall of the fort was done by the four castes, the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The record does not distinguish the community on the basis of religion or sect. It implies that castes were commonly distributed in the two religious communities and whether its members are Śaivite or Buddhist, each caste was one community. This was more in evidence in regard to the Kṣatriya caste.

It also appears that intermarriage existed between the followers of the two religions in the same caste. For example, the wife of Madanasimharāma in the Itambahāl inscription (1382 A.D.) happened to be a follower of Buddhism, while her husband was an out and out Śaivite calling himself *paramamāheśvara*. This lady called herself in the record *sugatavaṃśāvatariṇī*. We also mark that castes on the whole appear to be complementary to another in spite of differences of emphasis.

While all this is being considered, it should be remembered that the distinction as to the faith one follows is maintained

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<sup>190</sup> Petech, p. 184.



according to the character of the priest who comes to direct the rituals in the household. If the priest is a Guvāju Vajrāchārya, then the household is a Buddhist. If he is a Brāhmaṇa, it follows automatically that the family under his spiritual guidance is Śaivite. It does not matter if divinities and rituals concerned are the same. There is no doubt that the form of religion prevailing in the Nepal Valley had shaped the caste frame as it is today divesting it of exclusiveness. As in the nature of the faith they followed, the people of the Nepal Valley in the medieval period did not accept castes based on religion.

One thing, however, has to be marked in this connection. Although at the lower grade difference of faith is totally blurred, it remains all the same at the higher level but even this may not look as partition. For example the Guvās (Buddhist priests), Bares (near priests) and Udais (*upāṣaka* or Buddhist laity) have a tendency to regard themselves as separate from the Seśyos who are Śaivites. But on the whole there are so many common grounds where all of them meet; they have common custom of marriage and mourning and funerary rites are also the same for the two sects. Besides this, there are deities worshipped in common. All this taken together the line of demarcation between the two divisions looks very thin. It can hardly stand to call their relationship as mutually excluding. But in society the Seśyos are used to position of vantage politically and economically perhaps they are associated with wealth. So in practice the Seśyos might be regarding themselves as superior to Udais. The peasant (Jyāpu) and artisan (Udai and Bādes) castes classified as *Buddhamārgīs* but they are adjusted to the situation to be placed in the third order below the Kṣatriyas. Similarly, untouchable castes, whether Buddhist or Śaivite are placed together in the lowest ring of the ladder, no matter whether castes above them professed Śaivism-Viṣṇuism or Buddhism.

It is true that the castes were based on social functions each performed, and that one's place in the hierarchy was determined with reference to the nature of the job done. If it was a function the society generally detested but needed by it, the

caste rendering the same was naturally placed on the lowest rung of the ladder irrespective of the nature of its faith.

Special features of the caste system as it is developed in the 15th Century in the context of religious beliefs and faith:—

1. The castes formed one integrated whole irrespective of the sects each individual caste belonged to, adjustment between castes being entirely an internal affair.

2. Distinction as to loyalties and adherence of castes to sects was made through the priests who were invariably Guvāju Vajrāchārya in case of the Buddhists and Deo Bhāju Brāhmaṇas in case of the Śivamārgīs.

3. Most of the rites and deities thereto associated with ceremonial occasions were common both to Śaivite and Buddhists, and therefore not only the appearance of an assimilated way of life was preserved in regard to the fusion of the two sects—the *Vajrayāna* and *Śivamārga*, but the very basic structure of society was so influenced that it exhibited from top to bottom a synthesis of its own to become a unified caste hierarchy under a single faith.

The castes according to their functions reveal a Socio-economic basis.

4. While we talk of the priest class amongst the *Buddhamārgīs* it has to be borne in mind that although this was an innovation for this community, the adoption was not so much accompanied with discomforts as the Brāhmaṇa born monks became natural heirs to the situation where the old relationship between the order and the laity had changed from one such to that associated with the priests, and the different castes following their lead.

#### CRITICISM OF CASTES AS LAID DOWN IN THE CHRONICLES

The Chronicler's list of castes appears to suffer from so many defects. It is exaggerated, irregular and far removed from the real caste structure of the time. It may not be as fictitious as the historical narratives appearing in the chronicles. But with

so many drawbacks we can not depend on them for a true information of castes as they existed in our period.

Yet this is not to say that they are wholly of no utility to us. There are some features in them which agree with the reality. We start our criticism with these features and then proceed to point out grave irregularities the chronicler's list suffers from.

In the above passage we have examined statements in regard to the origin of castes in Nepal. We have seen that the chronicles or *Jātiyamālā* were not far from being correct in saying Buddhist monks were accepted in the social order without any difficulty as they returned to domestic life. They also correctly stated that the society was not divided on the basis of religion but was being built as one whole which comprised followers of both Śaivism and Buddhism.

As it goes, each caste found its place in the order high or low as it may be irrespective of the faith it practised. Thus far, the chroniclers have gone right. But there are more points in their writing which do not conform to the logic or the fact of the situation as we can judge it from the list of castes provided to us. We have already criticised the proposition that Jaya Sthitimalla created castes.

The list of castes suffers from so many irregularities. Firstly, it does not present a compact caste structure what it utmost does is to give us a haphazard conglomeration of caste groups, which are partly castes, partly subcastes within a caste and partly professional groups all passing in the chronicle as fullfledged castes. In some cases they go even beyond this and enlist certain officials as castes. For example, there could not be a caste or subcaste or even a profession group like *Amātya*, *sachiva*, *mantrī* which all denote some office holders. The chroniclers also terms like *pūjita*, *lekhaka* and *bhūpa* as castes forgetting that they were not even titles of offices. How can there be an exclusive caste of a king or of a respectable fellow or a writer. The *Kāyastha* was there to render the function a scribe, and the *Brāhmaṇa* was the most respectable fellow. The kings invariably belonged to the *Kṣatriya* caste, traditional or other-

wise elevated. Secondly, the chroniclers introduce even caste elements in the list from outside the Newar society, such as, *Kirāta* (a tribe living in the eastern mountains of Nepal) and *Gāyana* (an untouchable bard caste belonging to the non-Newar Parbatiya community). Thirdly, the Sanskritic names of castes create confusion as to their profession and status in the society. Take for example caste names the *Dārukara* or *Kāṣṭakara* (worker in wood), *Vyañjanakāra* (cooker of dishes), *Kundakāra* (ivory carvers), *Mātangi* (literally elephant driver). I do not think there could be any such caste as a caste of the cooker of dishes. The worker in wood is generally one of the eight subcastes of Udai, but we are not certain if the chronicler meant this one, we have seen that *Mātangi* is identified by a commentator of the *Jāṭiyamālā*; but the identification goes against the sense conveyed literally by the expression. The elephants were not a regular sight in the Nepal Valley, so if *Mātangi* is to be translated as an elephant driver it does not follow how he enjoyed a separate caste for himself. *Kundakāra* has to be considered in the same way as we did *Kāṣṭakāra*. Was there a separate caste of workers in ivory? And again we have to consider the comparatively limited use of ivory works in Nepal to say anything on the possibility of caste of ivory makers or dealers. Add to these factors a host of unidentified castes, which are also placed in a haphazard fashion one after the other without any regard for their actual status in the society as a whole. But the same criticism cannot apply to the chronicle Group B<sup>2</sup>, which in its limited scope tries to present a picture as correct as possible. We shall find as we proceed to deal with the present caste structure of the Newar community that the statement of the chronicle B<sup>2</sup> on the castes does come near to any kind of real picture of castes in modern society. But other chronicles, more specially those used by Wright and Levi are not only far wide of the mark but also give us a misleading picture of the whole thing. For a study of the caste system of the period or of any period they are practically useless. Levi's uncritical acceptance of chronicles led him to recast the order of castes as given in Wright's version

and also attempt identification of several of them. He had certainly overlooked the untenable nature of some castes. He also was unaware that it brought him little benefit as he rearranged the order of castes appearing in Wright's list. Thus he thought that he has established a hierarchy of castes ranging from the highest to the lowest but his caste structure does not show improvement on what the later chroniclers have presented. It is obvious that Sylvain Levi did not do any kind of field research on the subject while he was in Nepal. Instead, he drew his information from the unreliable estimate of the chronicle. We shall take up more points of criticism in regard to Levi as we proceed further in consideration of the matter.

It is my belief that with a few exceptions the castes in the Newari community today form a projection of their picture existed in the 13th and 14th centuries A. D. They provide the only clue to the understanding of the castes generally existing in those days. Wherever castes have ruled traditionally they have existed for quite a long time resisting even the impact of modern ideas. In Nepal where modern ideas had scarcely entered uptill the recent past, castes are still a living reality and retain their rigid structure. I do not think we face yet a situation where we can look for the old medieval scheme of castes to disappear although there might be a few cases of departure in profession at the moment on account of disintegrating tendencies experienced by the society as a whole in the modern world.

As I do not accept the version of the chronicler's story of castes, the problem before me is not one of examining how far Jaya Sthitimalla's scheme has survived and valid today. I also think that Levi not only failed to deal with the problem of medieval castes in its proper light but gave a distorted picture of the system as he depended entirely on the later chroniclers for his source. In this respect Hodgson and Oldfield did a more useful work and produced a more reliable list of castes as they existed during the thirties and forties of the 19th century. And who can deny that the list of castes appearing in their writing, however, limited in scope, did not represent the caste

structure of the medieval age. Hodgson gathered his information as early as 1824. This was nearly fifty years after the capture of the Nepal Valley by the Gorkhālis. We know that there was no attempt to interfere with the Newari customs and manners by the Gorkhāli rulers. Therefore we can take it that the same castes had continued to exist as were existing in the pre-Gorkhā period.

In the following pages I add a schedule of castes as I find them today on my field study. I find this schedule to represent the entire caste structure which obtained in the middle ages. It is for any one to judge how far Hodgson's list agrees with the list produced here. Apparently they do agree in their main features; Hodgson however committed mistakes but these were confined to details. His errors were due to the fact that he was a foreigner to this country, who in spite of best efforts could not probe the depth. But of the foreigner, he and Dr. Oldfield are the two persons who seem to reach anywhere near the truth in regard to the problem we are dealing with here. Levi stands very far from this position.

My intention is not to compare the estimates of different writers on this subject as this does not serve any purpose. I have, therefore, confined my attention to presenting my own schedule of castes. After the schedule follow passages where I have shown cases of departures in caste names or profession or caste status from the medieval pattern. On the whole, however, people have stuck to their caste names although these appear in a Sanskritised form. Besides, the neighbours call them by their old caste names. Even if for a generation or two, caste names might have changed, we may get the original name by asking the aged people about these. Thus it will be seen that except in a few instances the schedule without doubt reflects a complete picture of castes as they obtained since the early medieval period.

#### CASTES AS THEY EXIST TODAY

We have the following table for castes as they exist in the present day society—

## I.

Brāhmaṇa or Deobhāju or Jujubāje. All of them claim their descent from Kanyakubja Brahmans. They are not very many in number and are confined to 3 gotras, Garga (Kathmandu) Bhāradvāja (Bhatgaon) and Sāndilya (Patan)

Highest in the social order. Performing priestly duties in the household of Śivamārgī Newars of high caste, e.g. the Sesyos and others

## II.

## 1. Kṣatriyas:

(a) Thakuju

(b) Malla

(c) Rājāvat or Pradhānānga

There were the real Kṣatriyas who held regnal or ruling or ministerial powers in the past but are now absorbed with the Sesyo community regarded as the Vaisyas. Royal bastards enlisted in the army without discrimination along with the Kṣatriyas. They constitute the Vaiśyas following profession of trade and commerce and also they are found in large number in government services in civil departments. Previously they also occupied ministerial posts in the state

Brāhmaṇa.

## III.

## Kṣatriyas-Vaisyas

(A)

Chhathari:—

(1) Hāwā or Rāya or Mulepattī

(2) Hāḍā or Lorā

(3) Rāthore or Gongaju

(4) Hārā or Hāvā

(5) Chandel or Dhonju

There are three different classes of Sesyos, who follow the profession of the Vaiśya varṇa, i.e. trade and commerce

The Brāhmaṇas are the priests of all the Sesyos. But some e.g. those of Thabahil and a few of Patan have Guvā priests.

<i>Castes</i>	<i>Status and Occupation</i>	<i>Priest</i>
(6) Bhandel or Bhadel or Rājabhaṇḍāri		
(7) Timlā		
(8) Mulami Śreṣṭha		
(9) Kasaju or Kāyastha		
(10) Lākhe		
(11) Māskey		
(B).		
(1) Palyachhi		
(2) Singhami		
(3) Tamo (copper-smith)		
(4) Marikarmī (Sweet-makers)		
(5) Achāju and several other families who are not accepted by the Chhatharis in their rank		
(C).		
The Joshi are in both the groups but as we know they are variously known as Achaju who perform part of the priestly functions and conduct rites on festive occasions.		
(1) Guruvāchārya:	Their duty is also to give dīkṣa	(Hodgson follows the
(2) Karmāchārya:	Are also appointed to serve at Taleju temple—also astrologers and physicians. The Achārs according to the chronicles are the offsprings of Brāhmans by their Kṣatriya or Vaiśya wives. The Achār also wear the sacred thread	chronicle B <sup>2</sup> ) in giving five types of Āchārs including Gurvāchār, Pīthāchār, Śivāchār and Pretāchār.



<i>Castes</i>	<i>Status and Occupation</i>	<i>Priest</i>
IV.		
(D).		
(a) Nanda Gwā	} These formerly belonged to immigrant Ahir caste but now comprise a section of the Sesyos at the lowest ring of the ladder. The Nanda Gwā were born of Jyapu mother and Kha Gwā born of Khusa mother	Brāhmaṇa priest.
(b) Kha Gwā		Brāhmaṇa priest.
(c) Dhau Gwā		Brāhmaṇa priest.
(d) Thimi Śreṣṭha	} Cultivators	Brāhmaṇa priest.
(e) Majhi Śreṣṭha in Bhatgaon and Banepā		
(f) Nikojoo	They paint the image of Red Machchhindra (Lokesvara) in Patan. They stand lowest in the order of the Sesyos. They are traders as well as agriculturists. They have Brahman priests, but some families have Guvā priests	Brāhmaṇa priest.
(g) Dhau (धौ) of Patan		
(h) Chhipi with various subdivisions like Nhyāma, Bala, Lakhia, etc. (altogether 11 divisions).	The Chhipis go about selling clothes to house holders. During Indrajätrā they have to appear in the form of Mupatra who cuts the figure of ynama dyo (God Indra). The Mupātra with a mask is chased by Indra's elephant Eirāvata. The ceremony is held at the end of the festival. The Chhipis are mostly found in Bhatgaon. Their priests are Brahmans	Brāhmaṇa priest. Brāhmaṇa priest.
(j) Tiniju in Bhatgaon	They perform the purification ceremony of every Śiva-mārgī high caste household on the 12th day of the mourning. The Tinijus also act as priests to the Bhā (see further below)	Brāhmaṇa.

## General:

- (1) Tamo or copper-smith in Patan and Bhatgaon belong to Sesyo community and have Brāhmaṇa priest
- (2) Marikarmi or sweet-makers of Patan and Bhatgaon are classed as Sesyos with Brāhmaṇa priests
- (3) Barāhi in Patan
- (4) Bāgha Sesyo means half Śreṣṭha.

They do all kinds of carpenter's work in wood while the car of Red Matsyendranath is being constructed. They intermarry with the castes of Tamot and Halwai. They have Brāhmaṇa priests

They are born to Sesyo fathers by women of lower castes. Some of such offsprings take the parentage of their mothers. Those not doing so are called Bāgha Sesyo. They cannot intermarry in the Śreṣṭha caste

## II.

- (2)
  - (a) Vajrāchārya known as Guvā act as priests for many castes in the community.
  - (b) Brahmachārya known as Bare
  - (c) Śākhyabhikṣu known as Bare

*Castes**Status and Occupation**Priest*

(d) Chailaka known as Chibā  
Bare

The (b), (c) and (d) are gradually following the crafts of goldsmiths and silversmiths but they are still respected as 'Guruju' meaning teacher by all the castes below them. I think they are employed as priests in the same way as are the Āchārs. But as we have said that the Brahmans because of their poor number could not reach many castes in the lower grade, the Guvas obtained the sole right of priesthood and monopoly of priestly functions

(3)

Nhayo Guvā

There is only one family now residing in Patan. They are priests of the Guvā castes. They are considered a little below the Bares

The Udais are considered equivalent to the Sesyos but professing in the main Buddhism with Guvā priests. The Guvās, because some respect the Brāhmaṇas, so it would be wrong to be considered above them. But the Guvās at times act as priests to Seśyos. But they do not occupy a position equal to that of the Brāhmaṇas. The utmost we could say of them is that they can be classed with *chhathari Āchārs* in status.

### III.

The Udais or Upāsaka

They do not consider themselves lower in caste rank than the Sesyos

- (a) Sthapit—artisans
- (b) Kasa—workers in bronze
- (c) Tamo—workers in copper

All Udais have Guvā priests. They also intermarry within the

*Castes*

*Status and Occupation*

*Priest*

- (d) Sikamī—Carpenters
- (e) Lohñkamī—stone masons who also carve images of deities
- (f) Marikamī—confectioners called today Halwais
- (g) Āwā—tile makers
- (h) Tulādhara—traders
- (i) Siñkhwo—according to Hodgson formerly makers of red lead powder, now husbandmen, although still returning themselves as Sindurakara

framework of eight subcastes. Certain Tamos in Patan have Brāhmaṇa priests. So do have some Halwai families of Marikarmi.

Below the Sesyos of the three grades and Udais come the Jyāpus who have twelve divisions.

*Jyāpus*

- (1) Maharjang                      The most respectable subcaste mainly engaged in agriculture who served in the regiments of the Newar rulers.
- (2) (a) Dangul                      Measurers of corn fields, agriculturists. They also lay bricks.
- (b) Kusatha                      Makers of umbrella
- (3) Suwāl                              They can cook rice for use in festivals during the Jātrā
- (4) Māli                                of Matsyendranātha, Gardeners

All the Jyāpus have Guvā priests. But in Bhatgaon they have Brāhmaṇa priests.

- (5) Kumhal There are two divisions, one (1) making pots of red colour called kumhā (2) another making black earthen wares. The latter are considered to be lower in status. They are known as Hākujyā
- (6) Yañba They do all works in canes connected with the making of the car of Matsyendranātha. They also prepare cots of canes
- (7) Ghaku A little lower in status than Yañba. They are employed 'to stop the wheels of car of Matsyendranātha when they go out of their way' (Hodgson)
- (8) Gwañ Their profession is to burn the dead bodies of high castes Newars like Guvaju, Bare, Udai and Śreṣṭha. They enjoy the possession of land grants made by the Malla rulers in the past for livelihood. In Bhatgaon they are called Cheo
- (9) Bawñ They cultivate the fields. They sell 'Palong leaves' used as vegetable
- (10) Tepe According to Hodgson's informant they are 'born of the union of Vaiśya Rājā and his Khusal concubine'. But they are now regarded as one of the lower caste Jyāpus
- (11) Mau They bring from nearby forest a flower strongly scented called Musvāñ in Newārī and Bābari in modern Nepali to be offered to Matsyendranātha. It is said that they came to Nepal along with Matsyendranātha

<i>Castes</i>	<i>Status and Occupation</i>	<i>Priest</i>
(12) Gaṭhu	They pick up wild flowers and bring to the market for sale. In the words of Hodgson 'at the festival of Aṣṭamā-ṭṛkā, they take a live hog and tear it with their teeth and nails like rapacious animal and drink the blood'.	
(5, i) Hākoo-Kumhāl	They make earthen pots for use of rituals associated with Matsyendranātha. They have lands assigned to them in return	
(5, ii) Śhāpu	Cowherds	
(5,iii) Mepu	Buffalo-herds	
(5,iv) He-pu	They rear geese and sell eggs	
(5, v) Pinu-pāndā	They cultivate ginger and radish in Deopatan. Subcastes (1), (2), (3), (4), (5) and (5, others) and (6) do not intermarry and dine with other subcastes in the grade. There is intermarriage and interdining amongst these five castes	
Equal with the Jyāpus but outside of them are the following castes:		
(1) Chukamī or Rajavāhak	They prepare flattened rice (च्युरा) They are commonly found in Bhatgaon and Bode	Brāhmaṇa.
(2) Sikamī in Bhatgaon	Carpenters All classes of Jyāpus take boiled rice touched by upper caste Sesyos and Udais	Brāhmaṇa.

The following are the castes which are definitely placed in the fourth order. Each of them has no caste subdivisions in the way the castes above them have. Each intermarries and dines within its own caste. Although only a few subdivisional castes are considered to be impure in the higher groups, freedom of intermarriage and dining is much curtailed for various reasons. But this is not so in the lower castes.

<i>Castes</i>	<i>Status and Occupation</i>	<i>Priest</i>
(1) Tatee	Makers of 'ponga' the cloth with which the dead-body is wrapped before it is cremated	Guvā.
(2) Pulpul	"They go before the dead of high caste Newars upto the Ghāt carrying in a basket an earthen lamp in a small basket and also another basket with a bell". Hodgson. In Bhatgaon they are called Maki and have Brahman priests	Guvā.
(3) Puñ or Chika (Chitrakār)	Painters of religious pictures they also paint walls. They distil liquor and sell them	Guvā.
(4) Khusal	They cultivate and thrash rice. In medieval times they used to play Kahā instrument in the funeral	Brāhmaṇa.
(5) Chhipā (Dyer)	They dye cloth. They also persue agriculture and make umbrellas	Guvā.
(6) Nāu (Barber)	They shave and cut nails of high caste Newars e.g. Brāhmaṇas, Guvā, Bare, Sesyos, Udai and Jyāpu	Guvā.
(7) Bhā	They accept gifts on the eleventh day of funerary rituals of Śivamārgī Newars. They also dye cloth of red colour, woolen blanket and waist band	Guvā.
(8) Kau	Iron-smiths	Guvā.
(9) Kaṭa	Mainly following agriculture; Pichinī, the female cuts naval cord	Guvā.
(10) Sāmi	Oil extractors and sellers	
(11) Koṇār	Makers of perfumed incense to be burnt during auspicious ceremonials. They also make the spinning wheels, which no carpenter does. According to Hodgson's information, the Koṇār is descended from a Barahī-Kamī father	

*Castes*

*Status and Occupation*

*Priest*

- (12) (a) Duiñy They live at a place called Halchok about two miles due west of Kathmandu. They hunt and also cultivate. Their women sell red earth in the town. They play the Bhairava during the Indrajätrā ceremony
- (b) Dali or Lamo or Putuwār Tose of the Duins who were in the army during the pre-Gorkha regime. Some of them also served as door-keepers and guards in the royal palace. They have Guvā priests
- (c) Ballahmī load carriers, peons also soldiers. They live about 3 miles to the west of Kathmandu in Sitā-pailā and Raniban But the Duiñs and Ballahmīs in general do not have priests. Birth and marriage ceremonies are performed by the village headman. The funerary rite is very simple. On the eleventh day the Kāpālika is offered some gifts and is fed. The latter performs a very simple rite of purification
- (13) Mosat or Musa In the past they weighed and packed the flesh for sale. Today they are cultivators. Their remnants are few families in Bhatgaon
- (14) Sabal They bred the leeches and used them to suck the human blood, for which they obtained some money to meet their needs. At the present they till the land
- (15) Kahabūjä or Kahāl They play Kahā instruments, a kind of pipe, while the dead of the high caste Newars is being carried to the cremation ground. There are only a few families of Kahā-booja, all confined to Patan. They cultivate the fields as their main profession
- Guvā.



<i>Castes</i>	<i>Status and Occupation</i>	<i>Priest</i>
(16) Pasi	They wash the Nakāpa, a piece of cloth covering part of the head and chin during the mourning. Nakāpa is washed on the tenth day. The Pasi gets 4 dams as his usual fee. There is just one family in Bhatgaon	Brāhmaṇa.
(17) Kaivaidya	Inoculator of smallpox vaccine	Brāhmaṇa.

All these 17 castes are known as Ektharis. Ekthari means having only one caste group.

The following castes are just touchables. But their touch pollutes water. The high caste will not drink water at their hands. Similarly they can enter the house but they cannot go above the ground floor.

(1) Dhubyā	Washerman They were washermen to the Newar Raja. At the present they have abandoned their profession. They are only a few families, living in Deopatan	Śivamārgī. Their priest is called Gubha-Nhayo.
(2) Śaṅgo (सगो)		
(3) Nhāyo	Butchers who cut buffaloes and sell their flesh. They also shave and cut nails of all those castes which cannot enjoy the same service from the barber (Nau) caste	
(4) Kulu	Working in leather. They make all musical instruments. Requiring leather as one of the raw materials	
(5) Jugī		
(a) Kāpālik	Tailors and players of musical instruments during festivals and auspicious occasions. On the 7th day of mourning they are given gift, which is known as nhyānumā	Śivamārgī.

<i>Castes</i>	<i>Status and Occupation</i>	<i>Priest</i>
(b) Dombi Jugī or Doñ (ढँ)	They also play instruments on auspicious occasions. They play dholak, a kind of double drum. It is said that in medieval times their women appeared as singers and dancers to entertain the public. This was their chief source of livelihood. They also are now employed to guard and sweep temple precincts	
(c) Guli Jugī	Snake charmers	
(d) Napi Jugī	They shave and cut nails in the community of Jugis.	

Except (4) above all the castes have simple rituals performed either by the head of the group or by nearest relation through one's sister or father's sister.

Untouchable castes:

- |                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| (1) Po or Poria | Catch fish and sparrows, also guard temples situated near the cremation ground. They also clear the temple sanctuary along with the image. They took clothing of the dead. They are employed as sweepers at the moment. They used to be employed as public hangmen and executioners. On occasion of eclipse the Po accepts gifts |
| (2) Chyāmkhala  | This is the lowliest of the Newar castes. Its status comes lower than that of the Po. The Chāmkhala's profession is to remove night soils. He also sweeps the streets and courtyards. He also accepts gifts from the Kulu castes on the 11th day of mourning   |
| (3) Hārāhuru    | Still lower than the lowliest. They also sweep public thoroughfares and courtyards   |

All these castes were known to Brian Hodgson who was in Nepal in the years between 1823 and 1843 A.D. Oldfield who worked as Residency surgeon in the years between 1848 and 1860 also knew them. If the chronicle Group B<sup>2</sup> was compiled in the beginning of the 19th century A.D., as all other later chronicles were done this means that these (in some case without divisions) existed as far back as the early 19th century. Presumably the caste structure as it exists to-day goes back even earlier. They must have been there throughout the medieval ages.

However, we can notice some changes in the caste structure as it developed in our days since the middle ages.

In the castes that continue till today, a few of the medieval castes are missing. No trace is found of the Luñkamī, the goldsmith, who was placed in the fourth order of castes. It was one of the Śūdra castes down graded from the Vaiśya caste since the late 14th century A.D. Probably his job is taken over by the Bares. We have already said how the Kṣatriya castes had been merged wholly in the third order with the Vaiśya Sesyos. This was also the case of the Kāyasthas who had merged their identity within the Sesyos castes. But the Kṣatriyas and Kāyasthas can be distinguished from the other Sesyos by their family surnames. Similarly comparing with the data of the chronicle (B<sup>2</sup>), we see that the status of the Khusal, and a Sāyamī castes seems to have gone up. At the moment quite a few castes have also left by and large their traditional occupations. This is true of castes like Musa, Pulpul, Khusa, and Dali who have by majority abandoned their occupation. Oldfield reports that some of the Sāyamī families have gone over to the occupation of traders and merchants and consequently become very rich. The street singer and dancer wife of Dombi Jugi has completely disappeared. Because of the other devices to manufacture incense pastilles, the Koṇār is no longer making these and the tradition is completely lost.

As we look into the present caste structure, one more misstatement of the later chronicles (not chronicle B<sup>2</sup>) come to view than what we have already suggested earlier. It was said

that the Brāhmaṇas were divided into two groups, the *Pañcha Gauda* (five divisions of North Indian Brāhmaṇas) and *Pañch Draviḍa* (five divisions of South Indian Brāhmaṇas). But there is no trace of the Brāhmaṇas other than those belonging to one branch, those known as the Kānaujiyas. It was true that some Brāhmaṇa families came from South India. There were many families who came also from Mithilā and Bengal. But these never rendered priestly functions to the community. As such they were kept outside the pale of the Nepalese caste structure. We have a few temples such as the famous shrine of Paśupati-nātha and Gokaṛṇeśvara where a Draviḍa Brāhmaṇa is working as priest since a long time, perhaps from the beginning of the 15th century, I have heard that the Taleju and Degutale temples had also at one time Brāhmaṇa priest from Mahārāṣṭra. Today they are looked after by non-Newar priests assisted by the Newar Achājus. We hear of court poets and politicians from Mithilā during the later Malla period. But none of them was accepted as a member of the community in the Nepalese caste system. In this connection I have to say that Luciano Petech giving a table of castes as late as 1958 was misled by his informants to include the Bhaṭṭa (Mahārāṣṭra) and Maithila Brāhmaṇas as priests of the Śaivite Newars. As we have seen it is absolutely wrong to count these Brāhmaṇas within the frame work of the Newar community. The reader might have noted that Sylvain Levi had earlier committed the same mistake.

Notwithstanding the fact that the later chronicles gave largely a false picture of castes Levi in particular took them quite seriously and accepted in varbatim their account.

I do not think more misstatements of the later chroniclers are worth considering. As in genealogy so in respect of castes, these chronicles are absolutely unreliable. We, therefore, no longer take their statements into account further on. But having dispensed with the later chronicles, it is now necessary that we examine the flaws contained in the accounts of modern writers who claim to have written their notes on a first hand study of the problem.

We exclude Levi from the scope of the treatment. He has already come in for a good deal of notice for following the later chronicles in respect of the caste system. Besides, he does not deal with the subject of castes from field study. Therefore what we have already said about his approach to the subject is quite sufficient for our purpose. Here, we confine our attention to Hodgson, Oldfield and Petech. The last follows Levi as far as the medieval castes are concerned, and as such he could be left out, because the same criticism levelled against Levi also applies to his case. But he also purports to provide us a list of modern castes, which he claims to have produced on field study. So we think that he should not be left out of consideration. As we correct the errors in their writing, it shall be also our endeavour to cover all those points in the treatment that have not been fully explained.

Unlike Levi and Petech, Hodgson gives correct information about the Brāhmaṇas of the Newar community. The same statement can be made in regard to the Kṣatriya caste also. But Oldfield incorrectly mentions two categories of Brāhmaṇas. Also, he mentions some inferior subsections of the Sesyo community as Kṣatriyas (e.g. Nikoju). Similarly, Hodgson wrongly differentiates Thākur from Thākuju and calls the later descendants of the old Vaiśya Rājās. Oldfield fails to note that the Kṣatriyas have been merged in the Sesyo group of the Vaiśyas. Hodgson and Petech have, however, rightly stressed this point, although they have made mistakes classifying other subsections of the Vaiśya caste.

In regard to Sesyo castes in general all the three writers, Hodgson, Oldfield and Petech produce an incomplete and confusing list. All of them bring into the picture of castes some family surnames. But most of all it was quite wrong of Petech to have said that the Achār, Gaoku Achār, Bhanī and Māyake (Māske) were originally Brāhmaṇas. It appears that writers so far have failed to grasp that there were at least four different layers in the Sesyo caste. I also find that while Hodgson and Oldfield give a nearly correct idea of Buddhist priest caste, Petech's treatment is not based on a sure ground

and the list leaves out two prominent sections. Petech makes a further mistake in putting Kāyastha, Nikhu, Lākhe and all the mixed progenies in the Seśyo rank as Buddhist.

As for the Udai caste of artisans and traders, none of these scholars seem to have made mistakes, although they would not notice that we have also Sikamis, Marikamis and Tamos belonging to castes with Brāhmaṇa priests. Hodgson has committed a mistake in calling Barahi and Kotoju subsections of the Udai caste. Petech wrongly omits Sinkhwo. And both Hodgson and Petech have shown a caste as Udai proper, which is wrong. Although Oldfield has rightly drawn seven classes of Udai caste, he has wrongly shown a subsection Mahājan which does not exist. Lohaṅkami (stone mason) might have been a separate caste in the past, but it is not so at present. Therefore Hodgson, Oldfield and Petech have made a mistake in taking Lohaṅkami (mason and ivory worker) as one of the artisan subcastes of the Udais.

Coming to the Jyāpus and castes below them, we notice that Hodgson is the most reliable writer as far as enumeration of castes concerned but Oldfield agreeing with Hodgson in a large measure commits as many mistakes, while Petech seems quite misled by his information both in the matters of classification and enumeration. However, Hodgson has also given some wrong finding in regard to some castes. For example, he puts Kahābujā, Dalī, Musa in the same order as the Jyāpus of Suvāl, Dangool and Mu castes. We have known that this kind of affiliation between two separate castes, and these also a higher and lower one, goes against the existing conception of caste order. Hodgson also included the Tepe, Nhyāyo Gubha, Bala and Khosa altogether in one broad division castes. But we know that all these five groups belong to different orders of castes. The Tepe is a subsection of the second class Jyāpu. Bala belongs to the third order of the Seśyo. The Nhyāho Gubhā is no less inferior to other Gubhās, he is not prevented from commensality and intermarriage with other Gubhās and Bāres. Similarly Khagwā and Nandgvā as well as Thimi Śreṣṭha do not come in the category Hodgson put them

into. The Duiñ is entirely a separate caste which has nothing to do with castes like Tatti or Gatchu or Pulpul. It seems that the mistakes committed by Oldfield in this respect are of the same nature as those of Hodgson. Oldfield, however, mentions some castes omitted by Hodgson e.g. Kausso or Kaivaidya (in-oculator of small-pox), Katihār (wound dresser), while at the same he also commits further mistakes not found in Hodgson e.g. he wrongly removes the Tepe, Konār, Yañgwā from the list of the Jyāpu. It was not expected of Petech that he would commit mistakes in a book written so late as, in 1958 which he also claims to write on the basis of his field study. Because he conducted his research in a scientific age unlike Hodgson and Oldfield, and with facilities of latest instruments and knowledge of research denied to the latter, it was natural that one felt disappointed at this result of Petech's study brought to us. I fail to understand how he put Udai, Jyāpus and caste like Chhipā, Sāyami, Pun, Duiñ, Pulpul and Tatti in the same social level calling them to have belonged to the Śūdra. The Udai is definitely superior to any other castes in the Buddhist section except the Guvā and Bāre. To my knowledge the Udai is always placed equal to the Seśyos, the Vaiśya *varṇa* of the community, although there is no commensality and inter-marriage between the two. In the caste hierarchy the Jyāpu comes next to Sesyo and Udai and ranks high above the other touchable castes in the order. It is difficult to know how Petech thinks that the Jyāpu has the same status as that of Khusa or Puñ or Sāyamī or Chhipā. Petech fails to give the various subcastes of the Jyāpu. He further commits mistakes in putting one of the high subcastes of Jyāpu, the gardener (Māli) in the same category with blacksmiths, dyers and oil extractors. There is no subcaste as 'Singh' in the Jyāpu caste. This is a family surname adopted by wealthy Jyāpus but not a caste. But Petech quite wrongly shows 'Singh' in the subcaste of the Jyāpus. Other mistakes committed by Petech are those of Hodgson and Oldfield. In addition, he treats the Kulus and Chām Khalaks in the same manner, committing one more error. The Kulu stands above the Chām Khalak in as much as his person can be touched

without feeling a sense of defilement. But a touch of Chām-khalak defiles one's body. However, a casteman would not take water at the hands of a Kulu. Petech has been informed that Bhā, Koñar, Kattihar, Balhaizī (Bārāhī), Yuñgwār (Yañgwā), Pihī, Nallī have disappeared. But these castes exist, and obviously Petech was misled by his informant. Petech also is wrong to say that the Duiñs and Balamīs live outside the Valley. They live not only inside the Valley but just within two miles of the city of Kathmandu.

I did not think it necessary to reproduce the lists of castes as given by Hodgson, Oldfield and Petech. The reproduction would have added to the volume of the text, but would not have gone to lighten my labour of seeking and producing a thoroughly reliable caste lists. I thought I would make the task of the reader easier by the method I adopted. But people interested in the problem could very well compare my own list with those of the writers mentioned above by referring to the texts where the caste lists appear. I need not say that the various attempts to study the medieval castes of Nepal have not been as thorough as they should have been. Except in the case of Hodgson and Oldfield, there had not been a well conducted field study. I believe that unless one tried to get himself personally acquainted with the persons belonging to different castes, he would not be able to get to the heart of the problem. This would involve a hard and patient search of facts, which one could do only if he lived in the Valley for a long time. We can understand how comparatively the two European writers Oldfield and Hodgson could give us better information on the subject because they lived in the Valley for a long time. But they suffered certain handicaps because of language and their alien background with the result that their understanding of the subject was inadequate to answer the requirement. In the last few pages we have dealt with the subject matter of modern castes of the Newārī community in great detail. Although the structure of castes obtaining in the medieval ages remains partly unknown to us, a real picture of castes as existing can be a guide for a similar picture of the past. It was with the inten-



tion of providing an exact idea of castes in the middle ages that we have ventured to discuss the problem at great length. It is hoped that by now our discussion will help the reader to form some idea of the castes as they functioned since the early middle ages.

Even agreeing with the views that information about castes of the time of Jaya Sthitimalla is meagre and they are quite unrecognisable today, it is nevertheless true that the 'general outlines and inner spirit' continue to be the same uptill now as they were before; so there is nothing to prevent us from drawing a picture of medieval castes on the basis of their scheme of the present. The point, however, has been already emphasised earlier and we need not pursue it further at this stage

In respect of any observation on castes one factor has to be borne in mind while considering the process of their formation and consideration at the present time. This is the fact of free absorption of emigrants into the caste structure of the country at any time in the middle ages.

We have seen that caste surnames indicate the fact of a large scale emigration of different peoples from India. Peoples belonging to different castes had found place in the Nepalese society. There were Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas from Rajputana as well as from other parts of North India. There were Kāyasthas who had merged in their counterpart castes of Nepal. Apart from the traditionally existing castes which denote their Kāyastha origin we have colophons to say that Kāyasthas and Brāhmaṇas had come from different parts of India. In the twelfth century a Kāyastha from Jejabhukhti settled down in Nepal, and he was the scribe of a ms. dated NS 303.<sup>191</sup> Earlier about the end of the 12th century another Kāyastha had come to Nepal, and he had also written a ms.<sup>192</sup>, which is dated NS 213 (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*). A Kashmiri following Tantric Buddhism who had settled down in Nepal in the reign of

<sup>191</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1648.

<sup>192</sup> Doc. 4 of Harṣadeva's reign.

Ānandadeva is known to us as the scribe of the work *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*.<sup>193</sup> In the reign of Arimalla, a Brāhmaṇa of Gujerat is noted as the copyist of the ms. *Amṛteśvarapūjā*, which was compiled in NS 337.<sup>194</sup> In a stone inscription of the late 17th century a south Indian Brāhmaṇa coming from the District of Godavari claims himself to have been the minister of a king of Patan.

We have only enumerated a few instances of migration and this is not the whole story, but there is no doubt that Nepal received emigrants from India from time to time and they were absorbed into the society each into the caste he originally belonged to in his place of birth.

No one caste betrays a single ethnic feature. Its facial expression varies from group to group within one single caste. Surely different types of people had merged in a caste during a long period of crystallisation. All these people had immigrated to Nepal from different parts of India and although they brought their caste origin with them, it did not mean that the caste was a reflection of their ethnic affinity. In India taken as a whole the caste ethnic origin of an individual differed from place to place within the same caste group. Even the highest caste of the Hindu community was no exception to this generally accepted *modus operandi*. We should remember that in different ages the Hindu community in India received new hordes of immigrants who had to be adapted into the caste structure and who did find a place in the society sometimes arbitrarily and sometimes in persuance of an existing code or as it suited the convenience of the priestly class. Apart from this many families belonging to indigenous tribes, who had risen to position of strength, were also being accomodated in the higher echelon of the society. It also appears that in India while caste was in the process of the formation, no regard was paid to take into account ethnic factors with the result that although in theory purity of origin was stressed. This was

<sup>193</sup> As. Soc. Bengal, n. 4203.

<sup>194</sup> Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1365.

ignored in practice as admission into the caste was made on several extreme factors. All these had played an important part in shaping the Nepalese caste system. This explains the variety of ethnic features betrayed by people within the same caste as is found so commonly in our country in practically all the communities. There is one thing more. Initially the Brāhmaṇas in Nepal must have preferred to admit people into the caste hierarchy as they thought fit to do. No single consideration weighed with them in respect of granting recognition to the caste status of a tribal or the primitive settler of the Valley. In this connection we should bear in mind that up till now the tribals all over Nepal enjoy a status below the *Dviija* castes and much above the untouchables and marginal castes. By marginal castes we mean those who rank equal with the lower section of the castes equivalent to the Śūdras. Whatever the complexion, the Jyāpus perhaps represent the early tribals. All the castes below them seem to have come to Nepal with their caste status already defined. It was because of their common tribal origin, the Jyāpus appear to be ethnically a homogenous group, while all castes below or above them show mixed descent and hence variety of ethnic features.

#### DHARMA ŚASTRA AND NEPALESE CASTES

The scheme of castes in Nepal seems to have developed according to the pattern of a complex Hindu Society of India. Naturally their position in the hierarchy and their privileges and disabilities were determined with reference to the injunctions of the ancient law givers. The Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas occupied a dominant position in the society. In fact they occupied the most advantageous situation and dominated all others below them. The king was a Kṣatriya and so were ministers. The Brāhmaṇas tended spiritual advice as well as functioned as counsellors in political matters. They often became also the king's ministers. Together with the Kṣatriyas they were landlords and also controlled the trade and commerce of the

country.<sup>195</sup> All this was in conformity to the principle enunciated by our ancient *Dharma Śāstras*, *Smṛti* texts and *Purāṇas*.

In view of the numerical paucity of the Brāhmanas in the Newar community at the present time, it does not seem that they were in the past a larger group. Similarly the Kṣatriyas also appear much limited in number. Both the castes had gained enormous social influence, although they constituted a small section by themselves.

The Brāhmanas were seldom taxed,<sup>196</sup> received huge gifts from the kings, were exempt from capital punishment<sup>197</sup> and enjoyed concessions in regard to punishment for certain crimes.<sup>198</sup> A Brāhmaṇa could not be enslaved even in condition of utmost hardship. Alberuni who reported of conditions in North India during the 11th century observed that the Brāhmanas generally escaped capital punishment and they were also not subject to taxes levied by the king.<sup>199</sup> I think this picture also reflected the privilege which the Brāhmanas enjoyed also in Nēpal.<sup>200</sup> Because the lands owned by the Brāhmanas were in almost all cases freeholds gifted by the kings or feudatories, there was no question of paying land tax by them. The Brāhmanas were not involved in trade or commerce because this was prohibited to them; so here too, they did not come into picture. Alberuni informs us that the Brāhmanas and Kṣatriyas were regarded as having been created by God through his head and arms respectively and therefore they were deemed superior to other castes.

The *Mahābhārata Śāntiparva* states that the Brāhmanas and

<sup>195</sup> Apart from original sources I have also consulted B. P. Majumdar, *Socio-Economic History of Northern India*, 1960, pp. 79-115; R. S. Sharma, *The Śūdras in Ancient India*.

<sup>196</sup> *Bārhaṣpatya Arthasāstra*, edited by Thomas, ch. I, p. 17.

<sup>197</sup> *Mānasollasa*, *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* (Baroda), Vol. I, p. 44 (verse 166); *Laghvarhannīti Śāstra* by Hemachandra, I. 1.37.

<sup>198</sup> Read below a passage quoted in the *Śūdrāchāraśiromaṇi*, 1933 (Banaras).

<sup>199</sup> Translated by Sachau, II., pp. 149, 162.

<sup>200</sup> Chronicle B<sup>2</sup>.

Kṣatriyas were charged with the protection of the castes below them (ch. 60-24). Both these castes were to enjoy the ownership of whatever there is on earth (ch. 74-22). According to *Manusmṛti* (I. 92, 93, 96, 100) the Brāhmaṇas constitute qualitatively the best elements in the society, and they embody also all the virtues. The Brāhmaṇas deserve everything best on earth (I. 100). The *Manu* (I. 89) charges the Kṣatriyas with the protection of the people in general from both internal and external enemies.

The Kṣatriyas dominated the society because they were a military caste charged with responsibility for maintaining internal law and order and protecting the country from external aggression. The monopoly of arms in their hands placed them in the society not only as its protector but also made them arbiter of its destiny. But the Kṣatriya shared his powers and privileges with his mentor, the Brāhmaṇas.

The Kṣatriya enjoyed almost the same privileges in society as the Brāhmaṇas. He could recite the *Vedas*; and in fact the knowledge of the art of warfare was called *Dhanurveda* just to enable him to a knowledge of the sacred texts. Alberuni says that he was also exempt from capital punishment.<sup>201</sup> He had, however, to obtain the blessing of the Brāhmaṇa preceptor for the recognition of his high status in the caste hierarchy, which always came if he was powerful enough to deserve it and anybody who could acquire power by any means was entitled to this recognition.

It appears that although the Guvāju caste adopted priesthood as its calling, it never enjoyed the privileges which were the monopoly of the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas.

As ordained by the customary laws the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas could cohabit with any woman of a low caste if she was touchable. At the same time the low caste-man could not have marital union with a woman of the upper two castes, and if he did he received severe corporal punishment and was also fined. For other offences, too, there was discrimination against

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<sup>201</sup> Sachau, II, 162.

the lower castes. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* says that a Śūdra gets four times and a *Vaiśya* three times more punishment than what the upper two, the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas receive for the same offence.<sup>202</sup>

Next to the Kṣatriyas in the caste hierarchy were the Vaiśyas who were followed by the Śūdras. But it is difficult to draw a hardline between the two. According to Alberuni's information the Vaiśya practised agriculture, and tended cattle.<sup>203</sup> Another occupation of the Vaiśya was trading. He also wore the sacred thread of one cord, which was denied to the Śūdra. But the Śūdra could also follow agriculture as stated by *Baudhāyana* (I. 5, 10-24) and *Yājñavalka* (I. 166). Alberuni state that recitation of the *Vedas* was prohibited to both the Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The Śāstric injunction to both was to exert to serving the needs of the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. But the Vaiśyas was comparatively not as downtrodden and exploited as the Śūdras. In many instances he stood in the same relation with the fourth order as the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas did with them (the Śūdras).

Many law givers define his status as *dviija* or twice born, which they deny to the Śūdras.

Before we take up the consideration of the Vaiśyas, we shall examine the status and functions of the Jośi-subcastes, who though born of Brāhmaṇa father and Kṣatriya or Vaiśya mother follow occupations of near priests, astronomers and physicians, and worshippers in temples. In the table of castes which we have given above we have noted the Jośis under various names deriving from their functions, i.e. Karmāchārya, Gurvachārya, Pīthāchārya, Grahachintaka and Bhiṣagāchārya.

It appears that the occupation followed by these Jośi subcastes are the same as are laid down by the *Smṛti* texts for persons of similar parentage as described by our law givers.

According to *Auśanasa smṛti* the progeny of a Brāhmaṇa

<sup>202</sup> Quoted by the author of the *Śūdrāchāraśiromaṇi*, 1933 (Banaras).

<sup>203</sup> Sachau, II, p. 162.

father and Kṣatriya mother born out of an accidental union can follow military professions as well as become a physician to earn his living. If the union was stealthily made then the issue is not entitled to undertaking any kind of military responsibilities but can practise medicine and astrology for his livelihood. The offspring of a Brāhmaṇa by a Śūdra woman was known as *Ambaṣṭha* and was to get his living by adopting agriculture and administering medicine to horses and elephants.<sup>204</sup>

The *Auśanasa Smṛti* suggests that those charged to bear arms enjoy a status greater than that of Kṣatriyas. But this class does not appear in the list of castes given by the *Vamśāvalis*. We have also to mark in this connection that not all 'Vaiśyas' belonged to the class as mentioned in the *Auśanasa Smṛti*. In particular, this is not so in the case of Kaivaidya who inoculated small-pox vaccine. As we have seen the Kaivaidya is accepted as a class below the Vaiśya.

<sup>204</sup> *Śūdrāchāraśiromaṇi*, by Śrī Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, p. 14, 1933, Banaras.

अथाऽनुलोम प्रतिलोम धर्माः । तत्रोशनाः—  
 क्षत्रिया विप्र संयोगाज्जातो मूर्द्धावसिक्तकः ।  
 राजन्यः क्षत्रधर्मोऽप्यधिकः स प्रकीर्तितः ॥  
 आथर्वणक्रियां कुर्वन्नित्यनैमित्तिकीं क्रियाम् ।  
 अश्वं रथं हस्तिनं वा वाहयेद्वै नृपाज्ञया ॥  
 सैनापत्यं च भेषज्यं कुर्याजीवे च वृत्तिषु ।  
 नृपायां विप्रतश्चौर्यात्संजातो यो भिषक् स्मृतः ॥  
 अभिषिक्त नृपस्याज्ञां परिपाल्य तु वन्दकः ।  
 आयुर्वेदमथाष्टाङ्गं तत्रोक्तं धर्ममाचरेत् ।  
 ज्यौतिषं गणितं वाऽपि कायिकीं वृत्तिमाचरेत् ।  
 नृपयां नृपसंसर्गात्प्रमादाद् गूढजातकः ॥  
 सोऽपि क्षत्रिय एव स्यादभिषेके तु गर्हितः  
 शूद्रायां विधिना विप्राज्जातो ह्यम्बष्ठ उच्यते  
 कृष्याजीवी भवेत्सोऽपि तथैवाग्नेय नर्तकः ।  
 नरवाजिगजानांतु चिकित्सा तस्य जीविका ॥

We shall not go into details about the relative position of the Vaiśyas and Śūdras in the society. In our classification we have suggested that the artisans and peasantry belonged to the third order. We have also said that the castes coming below them also cultivated lands and reared cattle. But we know that there was a caste above the peasantry and artisans, which generally followed a calling of trade and commerce but however stood below the Kṣatriyas. This caste comprised today all such groups in the Sesyo community, as occupy places in the hierarchy below the so-called *Chhatharīs*. It might be that only the very pure families of the Kṣatriya immigrants were accepted in the orthodox fold of the local Kṣatriyas others were thrown into the camp of the Vaiśyas and were made to follow commercial profession. I think that the Udai caste was also originally treated in the same manner but because the Guvāju came to perform the functions of the priests with the Udais, they were not fraternised with the Sesyos. We could place the present Jyāpus in the upper stratum of the Śūdras, as we have seen that although they were inferior to the Sesyos and Udais, they were definitely regarded as superior to every other caste in the fourth order. But the Jyāpus did also the job of the carriers as far as the upper castes were concerned, and rendered other kinds of duties towards them, which ordinarily no one of the third order would do. They also undertook some jobs which could not be called decent and suitable to the status of the Vaiśyas. Such Jyāpus were placed lowest in rank.

Compared to the lot of the Śūdras, those regarded as Vaiśyas certainly were not placed as badly. They also enjoyed privileges vis-a-vis the lower orders which were also to serve their needs as of the upper two castes. The Jyāpus who are above the *Ekthari*-castes as the Śūdras are called, were entitled to the same services but they rarely got them in actual practice.

The Udai castes such as those who worked on copper and bronze, and engineering and carpentering and sweet-makers are classed along with traders and merchants of the same group whom we have placed in the *Vaiśya Varṇa* and equated with the Sesyos. This shows that not only traders but some artisan



classes also were treated as Vaiśyas. Not all artisans were Śūdras. Similarly not all traders were Śūdras. Trading was certainly the occupation of the Vaiśyas. We shall, however, see that professions of dancing, singing and playing musical instruments were left to the castes below the Śūdras.

In matters of commerce, however, not all goods were to be traded by the Vaiśyas. We have seen that fish, meat, liquor, oil and baskets were each sold by castes considered, as inferior even to Śūdras. There were other articles which passed through the hands of the Śūdras. This would mean that the Śūdras also could adopt this profession in a limited sphere. Ordinarily the Śūdras could adopt commerce as their profession. As we have already suggested, some law-givers put both the Vaiśyas and Śūdras in the same category because of this common occupation. Besides, there were certain professions and trades which were prohibited to the Vaiśyas as well as to the Śūdras. The *Pārāsarasmṛti* permits the Śūdras to sell salt, honey, liquor, buttermilk, curd and milk. It suggests that the Śūdras did not become impure by this occupation. The *Laghu Pārāsara* says that a Śūdra could sell everything but honey, leather, lac and meat and he could earn his livelihood by adopting a profession as an artisan in the field of industry and as an artist in the sphere of fine arts. Lakṣmīdhara in the 12th century laid down that the Vaiśyas should not carry trade on meat, curds, salt, leather, liquor, weapons (arrows and swords) and images<sup>205</sup>. But Medhātithi a commentator of Manu does not make distinction between the Vaiśyas and Śūdras in regard to the sale of such articles.<sup>206</sup> Devala also does not see any objection in a Vaiśya becoming a carrier, dancer and players of vocal instruments. This is also the view of Lakṣmīdhara.<sup>207</sup>

It is not clear from the above whether the law givers regarded the above castes as Vaiśyas or Śūdras or *Antyajās*. Some of these would clearly come to be classified with the last group.

However all this distribution of functions and occupations

<sup>205</sup> *Gṛhastha*, p. 258.

<sup>206</sup> On Manu, X. 95. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, I (1930), p. 275 (Vol. II), edited by K. V. R. Aiyangar, 1944.

<sup>207</sup> *Gṛhastha Kāṇḍa*, p. 255.

between the Vaiśyas and Śūdras is confusing and one does not get the real picture unless he sees for himself what is actually done in practice. This may again differ from society to society.

Probably in India there was a time when the Śūdras received better treatment. Even the Brāhmaṇas ate food served by them.<sup>208</sup> At least this was looked with favour by some law givers. But in the middle ages as society became absolutely stagnant, the Śūdras suffered untold disabilities. Yet they were not subjected to enslavement and Medhātithi (9th century)<sup>209</sup> observes that a Śūdra could follow teaching (not of the *Vedas*) as his side occupation and perform certain rites allowed to the Vaiśyas. As far as I could gather from the account of castes in Nepal, I do not see that our Śūdras were otherwise treated. But they were certainly subservient to the upper two castes and where the Vaiśyas had acquired power and status, the Śūdra had also to serve them. Manu is taken as the authority whose injunctions remained inviolable even in the medieval age and he laid down that the Śūdra should follow the same rituals of penance as allowed to the Vaiśyas and for his food he should take whatever was left of it after being eaten by the *dvija* castes. In Nepal all those earning bread by manual labour are placed quite low in the hierarchy of castes and the various groups coming in this category could be classed as Śūdras. As we have suggested the Jyāpus are in the lower stratum of the Vaiśya castes. Amongst the Śūdras are included painters, dyers, inoculators, makers of perfumed incense, barbers, makers of Ponga cloth, carriers (Duiṅs, Ballahmi), packers of meat (Mosats), those who played the instrument Kahabujā, oilmen (Sāmi), and blacksmiths. The Jyāpu, makers of black pottery, umbrella makers, the poultry farmers, sellers of wild flowers all of them probably belonged to the upper grade of the Śūdra caste. This scheme agrees with the view expressed in some of the Hindu Law digests, and though there are others which disagree, it is not difficult to know as to whose opinion might

<sup>208</sup> *Yājñavalkya* with *Mitākṣarā*, III. 30, 922.

<sup>209</sup> Manu, III, 67, 127, 156. X, 127.

have prevailed. As it obtained in India, the blacksmith and oilman in the Newār community were not as degraded so as to become impure. Nevertheless they were quite lowly placed, and were treated as castes below the Śūdras. As for goldsmith whatever might have been stated by Manu and Yājñavalkya in regard to their caste status, a goldsmith in Nepal was not equated with tailors and washermen. He came much above them, and probably enjoyed a high position in the cadre of the Śūdras. But as we have observed in the beginning, the goldsmith caste is gone out of existence, his job now being done by the Bāde priests and so need hardly be mentioned here. It appears that the profession of goldsmith was not in the middle ages looked down as something heinous.

Both Yājñavalkya<sup>210</sup> and Manu<sup>211</sup> prescribe to the Śūdras a living through manual labour as an artisan or field labourer or a domestic servant of the twice born castes. Caste functions of our Śūdras as defined in the *Vamśāvalī* and inherited by different castes till today do seem to follow this prescription. In almost all instances castes of the fourth and those below them exclusively do manual labour, whether as labourers or artisans. As tending cattle and cultivating fields are also sanctioned as professions for the Śūdras by the same authorities in another context, we could suggest that the smaller peasantry were also being treated as those who lived without land and solely on the sale of their labour both skilled and unskilled and as artist and artisans. Yājñavalka and Manu were followed by others who had nearly the same thing to say about the occupation of the Śūdras. We should here take note of the fact that the stress laid was on the Śūdra's caste function to serve the twice born which was his foremost duty. Manu suggests that only when he was circumstantially prevented from serving the twice born a Śūdra was to adopt other occupations. The *Arthaśāstra* expresses similar views and lays down that the

<sup>210</sup> शिल्पैर्वाविविधंजीवेद् द्विजातिहितमाचरन् ।

<sup>211</sup> अशक्नुवंस्तु शुश्रूषां शुद्रः कमे द्विजन्मनाम् ।

पुत्रदारत्यथं प्राप्तो जीवेत्कारूक कर्मभिः ॥

Śūdra also could follow agriculture and become an artisan. But all these do not give more than a broad outline of the duties of the Śūdra castes.

In *Amarakośa* (canto II, *Śūdravarga*, 5-14)<sup>212</sup> castes of artisans, garland makers, potters, plasterers, tailors, weavers, painters, armourers, leather workers (two types), blacksmiths, (two types), goldsmiths (four types), shell-cutters, coppersmiths (two types), carpenters (five types), washermen (two types), sheep grazers, and guards of the temples are mentioned as Śūdras. To the same category also belong according to the same source castes practising jugglery, dancers (five varieties), actors, players of certain musical instruments like *mṛdaṅga* and flute, hunters of wild birds, meat sellers (three groups), labourers (five groups) and carriers (three groups).

Devala<sup>213</sup> stated that besides serving the Brāhmaṇas a Śūdra was to pursue agriculture, rear cattle, carry loads, practise trade, to be a painter, dancer, singer and player of musical instruments like *veṇu vīṇa mṛdaṅga*. The same caste functions have been also suggested by Kautilya (*Arthaśāstra*, I. 3).

The list of *Amarakośa* is too exhaustive.

The classification of the few castes given at the end as Śūdras also does not agree with the views of the law-givers. But other-

<sup>212</sup> कारूः शिल्पी मालाकारस्तु मालिकः

कुम्भकारः कुलालः स्यात् पलगण्डस्तु लेपकः

तन्तुनायः कुविन्दः स्यात् तन्नवायस्तु सौचिकः

रंगाजीवा स्वित्रकारः श

पादकृच्चर्मकार स्यात् व्योकारो लोहकारकः

नाडिन्धमः स्वर्णकारः कला दोरुम्भकारकः

स्याच्छाह्निकः काम्बविकः शौत्विकस्ताम्रकुट्टकः

रथकारस्तु काष्ठ तर ... रजकः शौण्डिको

भण्डहारकः जावालस्यादजा जीवकः देवाजीवस्तु देवलः

<sup>213</sup> शूद्र धर्मो द्विजाति शुश्रूषा पाप वर्जनं कलत्रादि पोषणं कर्षण पशुपालन भारो-  
दहन पथ्य व्यवहार चित्रकर्म नृत्य गीत वेणु वीणा मुरज मृदङ्ग वादनादिनि

Quoted by the author of *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya, I. 120.

wise the caste names in the *Amarakośa* represents the vocations adopted by the various sub-castes within the *Śūdra varṇa* in our country in the middle ages. Devala also presents a nearly correct picture except in the case of those following the profession of singing, dancing and playing musical instruments. In Nepal singers and dancers were placed in the castes of the *antajas* similarly and as to *Amarakośa's* statement about carpenters, coppersmiths and brick layers, the condition in our country was different, because these were treated as castes higher than the *Śūdras*.

Āpastamba classifies<sup>214</sup> the *antajas* into seven groups, (1) *Rajaka* (Washerman), (2) *Charmakāra* (worker on leather), (3) *Naṭa* (dancer), (4) *Varuḍa* (low caste or Mlechchha); (5) *Kaivarta* (fisherman), (6) *Meda* and (7) *Bhilla* (tribes living in primitive conditions).

Aparārka quoting *Brahma Purāṇa* thinks that anything eatable became impure if it was touched by those who worked on leather, who earned their living by washing cloths, who hunted animals, and by goldsmiths, fishermen, painters of images and dancers, musical instrument players, physicians, carpenters and oilmen.<sup>215</sup>

Let us now see how far Nepalese scheme of castes continued to the classical laws in dealing with the untouchables.

According to Manu there were two types of *antajas*, (1) all those whose touch polluted cooking pot and (2) others who could touch it without polluting. The pot polluted while being touched by the former became pure when burnt by fire.<sup>216</sup> To the first group belonged *Niṣādas* and *Chāṇḍālas* (or *svapākas*). The *Niṣādas* earned their livelihood by fishing and hunting wild birds, and such of their as worked on leather were

<sup>214</sup> रजकश्चमेकारश्च नटो वुरुड एवच ।

कैवर्त मेदभिल्लाश्च सप्तेतेह्यन्तजा स्मृताः ॥

<sup>215</sup> Aparārka on Yājñavalkya (Ānandasram Series), Pp. 1177-79.

<sup>216</sup> X, 37-56.

called Dhigvanam. All these people are advised to reside in localities close to the cremation ground, hills and forests on the outskirts of the village. The *Chāṇḍālas* who were also to live outside the limits of the village area were the executioners. They accepted the clothing of the dead at the cremation ground. The *Nisādas* and *Chāṇḍālas* had to wear ornaments made of iron. They could not enter a village at night. In day light they could enter it, but only by making known through some signs. Manu suggests that castes other than the *Niṣāda* and *Chāṇḍālas* did not pollute a cooking pot by their touch. *Amarakośa*<sup>217</sup> included amongst *Chāṇḍālas* also such tribals as the *Kirātas*, *Śabarās* and *Pulindas*.

In the time of Alberuni the Hindu society regarded as untouchables the following castes; the fuller (washermen), the shoemaker, juggler, the basket and shield-maker, the sailor and fisherman, the hunter of wild animals and birds, and the weaver. Although in the same grade but following them in the hierarchy were Hadi, Doma, *Chāṇḍāla* and Badhatau (executioners). They did 'dirty work like cleaning the villages.'<sup>218</sup>

Alberuni shows two distinct classes of untouchables. The same is also true of the many law givers. I think that in practice the Nepalese society of our period also showed two divisions.

The fishermen, basketmakers and hunters were in the superior grade so is the case of the executioner. Nothing is known of their guilds but they certainly did not intermarry. At the lowest rung of the ladder stood castes like Chyām Khalak who swept the streets and carried night soil. In Nepalese tradition both the *Podēs* and Chyām Khalaks are known as *Chāṇḍālas*, offsprings of a *Śūdra* father and *Brāhmaṇa* mother. As Alberuni found in the places he visited, it was also a practice in Nepal to allow these untouchables living quarters on the outskirts of the village or town.

Nepalese conditions were not exactly the same as depicted Alberuni's account in respect of the castes of washerman,

<sup>217</sup> II *Kāṇḍa*, Ch. X, 19, 20.

<sup>218</sup> Sachau, I, P. 101.

juggler and shoemaker. All these three castes belonged to what is called the partially untouchable caste group, whose touch did not pollute the person of an upper caste but unlike the Śūdras were debarred from serving water to them.

At one place above while recounting the type of trade recommended to the Śūdras, we quoted *Pārāsara Smṛti* to say that selling of liquor, salt, oil, meat and lac was permitted to the Śūdras. This implies that those dealing on liquor, meat, milk, and curd as well as salt and oil were not *antajas*. But in Nepal we have found that all these castes except the milkman were made partially untouchable. It is quite likely that these castes enjoyed a higher status and were treated as Śūdras in the distant past.

On the whole it might be presumed that the Śāstric injunctions were followed in Nepal in determining the scheme of castes. But as we have noticed them there were some exceptions, and this probably was due to the fact that *Smṛti* writers differed much amongst themselves.

There were also other irregular features in the Nepalese caste system of the middle ages, which neither conformed to the Śāstric laws nor were based on apparently reasonable ground as conceived in those days. We shall discuss this question in the next section.

#### FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS ON CASTES

It appears that of the various castes in the upper echelon of the society the Brāhmaṇas alone have been able to preserve their purity though they also have deviated from their original orthodox practices. The Sesyo is a broad mixture of Kṣatriya and Vaiśya castes as well as of those born of non-Brāhmaṇa woman to Brāhmaṇa fathers. The original Kṣatriyas are so merged in the Sesyo community that they have totally lost their identity. This explains the absence of the Kṣatriya caste in the modern Newāri community. Although of Vaiśya castes, the Udai and Jyāpus, do however seem to retain their old characteristics and identity. They are still endogamous upto a level. Also there has been upgrading of many castes at the lower level

into the *Sesyo* castes according as one gains a status depending on the acquirement of wealth. The *Sesyo* is the most coveted caste, and today it is also become most heterogenous: although purity is said to be maintained at the highest level as personified by the *Chhatharis*, the so-called six clans which came from India.

But terms like *Chhatharī* (six clans) and *Pāñchtharī* (five clans) are of no meaning. These have come to be used to denote the two classes of *Sesyos*, the *Chhathari* being the superior. But this kind of classification is of recent time. It was unknown in the medieval period. This is based on a belief that originally six families of high caste *Kṣatriyas* had emigrated from India, and later they were followed by five others who were of less pure parentage. We have seen how the so-called *Chhatharīs* comprise more than six clans. I do not know how C. Haemendorf added to this classification and another term *Chārtharī* meaning four clans.<sup>219</sup> This grade does not exist at all in the *Sesyo* caste unless we mean to designate the lower group as such. But there are yet lower groups at the ladder and the problem will arise as to what name to apply to them. On my enquiry I have found that the classification of *Chhathari* and *Pāñchtharī* does vaguely exist only in Kathmandu and no *Sesyo* in Bhatgaon and Patan knows of this. Of course, the grades are defined.

While discussing the caste system Petech says 'In pure theory, the middle classes consider themselves as *Śivamārgī* and the lower classes as *Bauddhamargī*, but this is only partly true in practice and has no direct bearing on the religious conditions.'<sup>220</sup> I do not think what Petech suggests is even partly true in practice, for there are castes at the lower level, which are exclusively followers of *Śiva* and *Śaivite* pantheon. Even in the so-called middle class of the *Sesyos*, there are groups whose

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<sup>219</sup> *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XX, 1957, P. 245 (*Interrelations of Castes and Ethnic Groups in Nepal*).

<sup>220</sup> P. 185.



ceremonies and festivities are guided by Guvāju priests. As we suggested earlier, it is true that castes cut across religious barriers, and therefore both the *Śivamārgī* and *Bauddha mārgī* Sesyos interdine and intermarry. Previously those of the Sesyos who took to Buddhism were treated differently and I know of some Udai—Tulādhār families who claim descent from their Malla or Rajput ancestors. This means that the Udai castes had some ethnic affinity with the Sesyos.

It is much too difficult to trace the ethnic origin of the castes of Guvā, Bare and Udai in particular as they reveal different racial features from person to person. Ordinarily the Guvās and Bares claim their origin from the Brāhmaṇas and the Udais from the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. But it seems that none of these castes is racially of one extraction. Analysing facial expressions we notice prominent Aryan features in some, while others betray as much Mongoloid facial expression yet there are others, who appear to be a mixed racial type. Not only the Aryans and Mongoloids but also other racial stocks have played their part in the making of each of these castes. I think that the same is true also of the Sesyos castes. And we have to bear in mind that in our parlance it would be wrong to identify castes with individual races. The Brāhmaṇas, however, do not show any influence of racial mixture.

We know that the early settlers in the Nepal Valley came from the Gangetic plain, West Himalayas and the Brahmaputra Valley and they were of different ethnic origin. Some of these had entered the Valley as tribals and some as castes. The lower castes betray some kind of homogeneity with their counterparts in India. But the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas look quite heterogeneous, and the reason for this must be the fact that tribals were merged with these castes depending on their power and wealth. This explains the fact of the presence of multiple racial features amongst these castes. As for the Guva and Bare priests, I am sure that these also came under the same sort of influence. The monastic order received men from all racial stocks and naturally while these took to domestic life, these racial elements came to predominate in the composition of these castes. But it appears

that the elements that had entered in the composition of lower castes are not present in the strata of the Guva and Bares. Today the middle class includes all those belonging to the upper stratum of the Sesyo and Udai castes. Obviously this suggests that the *Śivamārgīs* were not the only groups forming this class. But in the middle ages it is quite probable that the court aristocracy, the counterpart of the present day middle class, consisted of all those groups that now constitute the upper layer of the Sesyo community—all of them *Śivamārgīs*.

The Udai traders claim equality of status with the upper caste Sesyos. But the latter regard them as their inferior caste and there is no interdining and intermarriage between the two groups. The peasant Jyāpus who definitely occupy a third place in the caste order, however, regard both the Sesyos and Udais as their superior castes. Because in the social hierarchy the Jyāpu stands higher to every caste other than the priests and the Sesyos and Udais, his acceptance of a position inferior to Sesyos and Udais must equate the status of these two castes in the order. But due to their official influence in the past, the Sesyos had gained greater importance and superiority of status over the Udais, which enables them still to command respects from all the groups including the highest of the Udais. But the latter do not take cooked food from the hands of the Sesyos and thus indirectly assert their equality of status.

Literally speaking the Jyāpu is the person whose task is to pull up from the earth. Obviously by implication the Jyāpu in this sense is associated with land and agriculture as a profession traditionally handed to him by his forefathers. He is much intimately connected with the soil and the grassroots whether as a flower seller Māli or a potter Kumhāl or a Surveyor Dangol (and Suwāl) or a cowherd Hale or an ordinary peasant Maharjang. In class status though he occupies a place below the *Śaiva Śreṣṭha* and *Buddhamārgī* Udai, he is definitely superior to any other caste in the hierarchy. If the above mentioned two castes could be placed in the second category of the hierarchy, then the Jyāpu must come surely third in order. He must belong to the *Vaiśya Varna* of the Hindu

community if the structure is to be viewed in that fashion.

Originally the Jyāpu might have been an Australoid as he happens to be the most ancient inhabitant of the Valley of Nepal. Today some of them also show a slightly Mongoloid tinge in the facial expression. This was certainly due to the influence a section of the Jyāpu received from a kind of racial mixing with the *Kirāta* tribe. His complexion is not olive like that of the upper class Newār. But this is the most numerous and most widespread community in this region. For the entire *Newārī* group the Jyāpu also represents the assimilation of *Śivamārgīs* and *Buddhamārgīs* on a caste basis, because although he has Buddhist priests for his family rituals he has to perform caste duties in ceremonies and functions connected with both the sects.

Although in the medieval background castes had become very much rigid, it does not follow, however, that each member of the caste followed the calling determined by tradition. In fact, there were deviations but all this occurred in the higher caste. A low caste man had no option but to follow his own profession. In the higher caste a wide latitude obtained in regard to the choice of calling. It appeared that economic pressure played an important part in compelling a caste man to go without the limits ordained for the choice of his profession. But no high caste man could do a job done by a Śūdra and Antaja. We have seen that the Brāhmaṇas served in the army besides acting as counsellors and ministers in the palace. To the Brāhmaṇas ploughing was forbidden. We also find that from amongst certain families of the Kṣatriya equivalent classes, there were people who performed the priestly functions; originally they had to do this job as Brāhmaṇas were not adequate in number to undertake priestly work for all households in the fold. These families are now crystallised and are known as Āchāju—Gurvāchārya and Karmāchārya.

The Brāhmaṇas amongst the *Śivamārgīs* and the Guvāju and Bare classes amongst the Buddhists received highest respect in their respective community. As priests they were exempted from payment of certain taxes. But Brāhmaṇas received more

universal obedience than the Guvājus. Brāhmaṇas escaped capital punishment, which no other class did. All records, whether Buddhist or Śaivite, mentioned the crime of committing murder of a Brāhmaṇa as one of the most heinous. This shows that the section of the laity with Guvājus as priests also tended to look upon the Brāhmaṇas as the most sacred caste.

The Kṣātriyas invariably claimed their descent from *Raghu* and migration from Rajputana.

In the community the adjustment to a system in exogamous marriages is as it is ordained in olden days, where a wedding by a high caste man into families below his caste was strictly prohibited. None the less if co-habitation occurs, the offspring normally takes to the caste of the mother. This is unlike within the Parbatiya community, where the issue of a cross breeding is upgraded to be entitled to obtain the caste of his father. In this instance only the issue of a low caste mother by a Brāhmaṇa cannot be so placed but he becomes a Kṣatriya. In the both Parbatiya and Newar communities, if one party to co-habitation is an untouchable by caste, the other party along with the issues born loses caste..

The list of castes we have attached to this article is nearly complete. But it is not wholly correct. It is not within the purview of this article to deal with the subject of Newari castes in detail. The reader might, however, note that some points require further explanation and clarification.

At one place in this section we have observed that the Buddhist monks in the absence of the order having returned to domestic life took to priestly functions. But it is strange that a section of them—the Śākyabhikṣu, the Brahmachāri and Chailaka, called collectively the Bāṇra adopted goldsmith's calling, although all the while it was rendering services of a worshipper to minor temples. Traditionally a smith's work on gold (not silver) was looked down with contempt in the society. The counterpart of the goldsmith Bāṇrā amongst the non-Newar calling the Bāṇrā enjoys the very highest status second only to

Vajrachārya priest, and there is no taboo attached to his trade.

The Bāñrās inhabiting Patan were also engaged in masonry. Even today the Dakarmis, and the masons, Sikarmis, come from that quarter and almost 50 p.c. of them from that community. Casually it may be referred that classwise Patan is a seat of the Vajrāchāryas and Śākyabhikṣus, while their laity, the Udai, live mostly in Kathmandu. In Bhaktapur the Śaivites predominate in number, and the problem of the Buddhist casteism is rendered very simple.

Again, one does not know by what irony of fate the Jogis called Kusalay who are surely followers of Gorakhnāth's cult have been placed in the category of untouchables. The earliest references to this class of people is in the inscriptions of Ratnamalla. By profession Jogi is a tailor and plays musical instruments on auspicious occasions. The Jogi caste is commonly traced from Kathmandu. He acts as near priests to the Duiñs.

It appears that the lowliest of the caste had no religious affiliations as they had no priests. Usually they belonged to the temples situated on the banks of the rivulets adjacent to the funeral pyre, where images congregated. Most of them bore marks of castes that were known under identical nomenclature in Bengal and Bihar. The Porya, the Dhobi, the Nhāya all are of this type, some from Bengal and others from Bihar. The Nhai is just touchable. So is the Dhobi called Dhubyā. One section of Dhobi is distinctly marked to have migrated from Bihar, as this community observes the custom of *Chhat* so common in that country. Obviously all these came from the plains much later than others.

The Black-smith Kau and the oilmen Sāyamī, both of them touchables at the moment were classed as untouchable in the medieval age, whose touch did only pollute drinking water but not the person of high caste Hindu.

Amongst the castes considered so far only the above two are economically productive, while the rest are unproductive. The Jyāpu and Udai castes inclusive of all subcastes are play a very important role in agriculture and industrial productions. The Udai has different sections, each devoted to special craft and

industry, whether it is metallurgy or carpentry. The dyer comes below the Udai but painting and designing fall also to one group of the Udai. In the case of the Copper-smith, while he is classed amidst the Śreṣṭhas in Patan, his place in Kathmandu is in the Udai community. In addition to handling the profession of crafts and industries the Udai carried the entrepot trade between Nepal and Tibet.

Lastly, from the above one can very well deduce that castes and families which migrated from the plains were absorbed into social texture according as they stood high or low in the order of the system each belonged to. Bhaktapur which expressed to influences of this type more than the other two localities still retains names and surnames of families and castes that came to be absorbed in that process, and this is visible even in the upper classes. For example, in the city of Bhatgaon, nomenclatures of subcastes like Kāyastha, Puri, Giri, Hadas (of Rajasthān) etc. show that some of these came from the Indian plains, and even their absorption has not been to the extent of effacing their identity altogether. In the lower strata there are families who have their chronology to connect them with places in Bihar and North Bengal. Even amongst the highest caste of the Buddhist Guvāju, we come across many sections who had very recently migrated from Banaras and Kanauj.

Formation of caste in the Valley with its Socio-economic pattern has been in line with India's and it has absorbed peoples of all kinds of racial origin in it. Therefore it should not be taken as a process of growth in a particular community as exclusive of others; so to whatever influence this was sought to be traced, the fact that the very earliest settlers were not outside the scope of caste influence shows that it had overcome the barriers of origin and ties of blood.

Some people erroneously believe that the Newārs at one time were polyandric. One writer said, 'The existence of polyandry in the past is borne out by the kinship terms and other evidences. As for example while referring to husband's home a woman will always say my husbands' home (mark the plural); while referring to her husband's brothers, she will say elder

husband 'Dārā Bhāṭa' and younger husband 'Kijā Bhāṭa'. Further the ritual at the rice feeding ceremony in which the father of the child takes it on his lap thereby recognising its paternity is also suggestive of the earlier existence of polyandry'.<sup>221</sup>

Obviously the writer's imperfect knowledge of the meaning of the terms used by him to put forward his conclusions has led him to make this statement.

It is true that while a woman has to refer to her husband's house, she uses the plural husbands (*bhāṭā pīṁthāya*). But the particular expression is used to denote respect and not to mean that there are more than one husband. The kinship terms for the brothers and sisters of the husband are *Darābhāṭa*, *Kijābhāṭa*, *Tatābhāṭa*, *Keṁvāṭa* meaning husband's elder brother, younger brother, elder sister and younger sister: *Darā*, *Kijā*, *Tatā* and *Keṁ* stand for elder brother, younger brother, elder sister and younger sister respectively. The expression *Bhāṭa* is a corrupt form of *bhvānta* which used to be applied to persons to whom respect was due. All these kinship terms for husband's relations only mean that the wife is referring to them in veneration. Even admitting that *vāṭa* was another form of *bhāṭā* (husband),<sup>222</sup> this should mean that the wife refers to her sister-in-law as sister husband, which looks much absurd on the very face of it.

There are more misstatements in other books about the nature of the Newārī society. But as the subject is outside the scope of the present work we do not deal with them here. What is to be eventually borne in mind in this connection is that the society of the Newārs in the medieval period shared the similar features of caste and matrimony as belong to any Hindu social system. So any conception of casteless or polyandric society of the Newārs must be based on wrong information.

### THE GUTHI

It has been repeatedly observed that social life in the medieval

<sup>221</sup> *Journal of the Bombay University*, XXIX (New Series, Parts 1 and 4), p. 146.

<sup>222</sup> The word is a corruption of Sanskrit *bhartrī*.

age was guided by superstitious beliefs and ritualism, and all activities within the framework thus determined were directed with a view to secure the optimum for that end. But this observation could not be enough to explain the continuity of the framework which sustained those beliefs and rituals. The system of *Guthī* comes in to be considered at this stage as a backbone for social institutions and practices supported by them, and it has to be known that but for the *Guthī* these could not have stayed. Primarily although the *Guthī* came as a step to provide endowments for the upkeep of temples and domestic observances and rites, its ultimate effect was to create an institution which tended to keep social groups and their individual members safe from process of disintegration by providing adequate economic sanctions against the same.

Very often the *Guthī* is an endowment of landed property in the keeping of the donee's rightful heirs the title to such properties and the proceeds of the same is determined with reference to the hereditary rights of succession. The *Guthī* is divisible or indivisible as the case may be but it is never saleable. The title may or may not bring with it certain other privileges. In case the property is divisible the proceeds are divided as such. But it may also happen that the whole of the proceeds goes to each of the shareholders once in as many years as the standing numerical strength of the *Guthiyārs* allows in the circumstances.

The *Guthī* differs a little from such practices followed elsewhere in that it not only means an endowment guaranteeing upkeep of religious observances collectively but it also makes a provision for the economic maintenance of an individual belonging to the chain to the extent that he is entitled to a share of the common pool by virtue of his hereditary rights. Every co-sharer is called a *Guthiyār*. He has his rights, and also duties towards members of his *Guthī*. He looks after the annual ceremonial function when his turn comes. If some one dies, he has to attend the funeral ceremony and participate in mourning. Similarly birth and marriage ceremonies are attended. And all these are reciprocal and compulsory duties, which give rights.

But most of all when we take into account the surplus which



the *Guthiyār* gets after meeting his commitments and there is always surplus left in almost all cases, we find that the *Guthī* is a means of earning one's livelihood through his share of the property by virtue of his rights as a successor.

Lastly, the *Guthī* is a freehold, and where cultivation is done by tenants, the cultivators pay a high rent which can be called exorbitant. Thus its economic advantages to the person who has a title to this kind of property are enormous. Further its religious background gives to the property a character of sanctity and therefore tenants do not grudge paying higher rate of rent, and to that extent the *Guthiyār* realises his own without encountering difficulties of any kind. *Guthī* provided a source of income, which was essential for the economic stability of the class that depended on unearned acquisition. The *Guthī* thus was also responsible for crystallisation of the class of landed gentry that played an important role in the politics of the country throughout the later middle period.

The *Guthī* is a creation of the ancient and middle ages. Although in appearance its objective was religious, indirectly it tended to further economic ends of a particular family. The importance of the *Guthī* to the historians lies in this aspect of the institution.<sup>223</sup>

The *Guthī* in several instances acts like the *Pañchāyat* to consider disputed matters of purely domestic concern affecting all those who are co-sharers.

For the first time in early medieval records a reference is made

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<sup>223</sup> '*Guthī* is land consecrated to the deity, a sort of mortmain remaining in the hand of the mortmainer and his descendants, (ostensibly for the use of such deity, but really for own use; the obligation to the god being liquidated by a petty annual offering to him) is for security from rapacity of Government or the prodigality of heirs. It is deemed more sacred than 'Birta' which is an offering to Brahmans, not to god himself, and is an alienation too. Whereas Guthi is only ostensibly an alienation—in fact, an entail of the strictest kind on the descendants of the Guthiyar. It is neither partible among heirs, nor transferable in any degree', Hodgson.

to the institution of *Guthī* in the inscription of Rudradeva of NS 292.<sup>224</sup> The word used is *goṣṭhikā* in Sanskrit from which the vernacular *Guthī* is derived. While we approach the 14th century, we have in many inscriptions with Newārī text the word *Guthī*. *Goṣṭhikā* as an institution was popular also in ancient Nepal, and the tradition must have continued ever since. In our period the *Guthī* seems to have taken deep roots.

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<sup>224</sup> Vide ante, his documents, Mahadevananhiṭol water conduit inscription.

## CHAPTER X

### EARLY MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF THE KARNALI BASIN

#### THE KHASA KINGDOM IN THE MIDDLE AGE

##### *Preliminary*

The basins of the river Karnāli and its tributaries appear to have nursed a highly advanced culture for some time in its history between the 10th and 14th centuries. A visit to the area very recently has shown manifold traces of its glorious past, remnants of temples, images, *chaityas*, *stūpas*, pillars and relics, and of ancient water reservoir and conduits, though half ruined, all of them together have preserved evidence to show that at one time in the early period it was a much prosperous state the Karnāli basin had nurtured.<sup>1</sup>

The rulers of this state belonged to the *Khasa* tribe as also its people. For a long time two dynasties were ruling in this area, one at Purang controlling Jumlā and adjoining places down to the plains of Surkhet and another at Guge ruling over a large slice of western Tibet beyond the Himalayas. Later the two kingdoms were joined under one ruler. We have ample evidence to prove that the Khasa Kingdom covered a good portion of what is now called West Tibet. It was due to contact thus obtained with that area that some of the rulers had turned Mahāyāni Buddhist partly imbibing a way of life resembling that of the *Bhotiās* of that quarter in matters of worship.

Read Tucci about the location of Purang and Guge. "Zanzun and Guge are not synonymous. Zanzun was the old name of all western Tibet, of which Guge was only a part. Guge was the portion to the south of Satlez and Purang south-eastern part with Taklakot as capital. The capital of Guge was

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<sup>1</sup> Tucci, *Preliminary Report on the two Scientific Expeditions to Nepal*. Roma 1956; Mahant Naraharinath: *Itihas Prakas*, ii, no. 1.

Tsaparang, when it was not occupied by the Khasa Kings.”<sup>2</sup>

The united Khasa Kingdom was ruled from Semjā which is now identified with the Simja village situated at the confluence of the two tributaries of the river Karṇāli, a few miles in the south west of the present headquarter of the Jumlā district. Semjā was known as Yātse to the Bhotias. It was a very extensive dominion over which Semjā stood as capital.<sup>3</sup>

According to Tucci who also explored all available Tibetan sources—“The Mallas reached the height of their power under Pṛthvīmalla who ruled over a great Kingdom which included Guge, Purang and the territories on this side of the Himalayas as far as Dullu to the south-west and Kashikot to the east”<sup>4</sup> and to the plains in the Terai of that region.

According to our evidences the Khasa dynasty that ruled over Guge ended with Pratāpamalla; this King handed over the throne to King Puṇyamalla, in whose reign Guge merged in the Purang territory. The Purang family came to add to its name the suffix Malla as a mark of adaptation after this merger. Puṇyamalla was the first ruler of the United Kingdom of Guge and Purang.

The Tibetan text have given Sanskrit names as rulers of West Tibet for a certain period in the medieval age and these names tally so much with the genealogy given in one of the inscriptions (Pṛthvīmalla’s Dullu Inscription) that there is no ground left to doubt the correctness of the one to the exclusion of the other. In Guge the Bhotia dynasty ruling previous to the Khasas was the IDe family which claimed to descend from the kings of

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<sup>2</sup> G. Tucci: *Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions to Nepal*, pp. 74, 75, 107, 108, 109.

Tucci’s conclusion has been verified also with reference to Tibetan sources.

Zanzun was the name retained by the territory lying between Toling on the west and Mt. Kailash on the east.

<sup>3</sup> Tucci, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 51 ff.

*Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama of Tibet*. Tibetan chronicles, etc. quoted by the same author.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

Lhasa. This family was overthrown by Nāgarāja (Nāgadeva) whose name in Sanskrit is the first of the series for several generations onwards. According to Tucci names upto Aśokamalla ended with lDe in Tibetan chronicles to make them appear to have belonged to the old dynasty. Malla is added to the name only from Jitārimalla onwards and this very clearly shows that Tibetanisation could no longer be possible while the conquest had become a recognised fact. Pṛthvīmalla's minister, Yaśodharma, is also mentioned in the same capacity as if to prove the faithfulness of the Tibetan chronicler who does not seem to omit any particulars.<sup>5</sup>

### PRITHVIMALLA'S DOCUMENTS

We now take up the consideration of the data provided by the inscriptions of Pṛthvīmalla, one of which produces a fairly long list of names of his predecessors who occupied the throne of his kingdom.

We have three inscriptions of the reign of Pṛthvīmalla which represents important records for that age, and because they provide us reliable data of chronology of the ruling dynasty for about a dozen generations irrespective of both the Guge and Purang states, their importance to a historian is greater than what it ordinarily appears.<sup>6</sup>

(1) Dullu stone pillar inscription: This has two pieces, (a) one at the front and (b) another at the back. Each starts with *Om maṇi padme hum*, and *Om Svasti*, followed by a line of prayer to Gaṇeśa in the first. Both have 12 verses in Sanskrit in *anuṣṭup* metre divided into 34 lines in the case of the first and 36 lines in the case of the second. The front piece gives a chronology of Adipāla down to Puṇyamalla and his son Śrīmalla. The twelfth verse brings in Nāgarāja of another dynasty, who had settled down in Semjapuri. The back piece

<sup>5</sup> Tucci, *Preliminary Reports, etc.*, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Tucci, *Preliminary Reports, etc.*, pp. 46-50; *Itihasa Prakasa*, II, i, pp. 58-59 and further.

appears to be a continuation of the first one, and proceeds to list names one by one from father to son, as successors to Nāgarāja until Pratāpamalla, who had no issue. Then it goes on to say that Nāgarāja's line being extinguished, Puṇyamalla of Gela dynasty was brought to Semjā and crowned. Pṛthvīmalla obtains eloquent tributes towards the end of the inscription and he is represented as a son of Puṇyamalla by Sakunamālā.

There is no date line in the first piece. The one at the back gives, both in words and figures, the date, Śaka 1279 (=1357 A.D.).

We have reproduced the arrangement of Pṛthvīmalla's genealogy as given by this inscription in a page below.

(2) *Kanakapātra* of Shituska: This is in prose and has 32 lines, partly in Sanskrit (8 lines) and partly in *Parbatiyā*<sup>7</sup> (the rest). The date is Śaka 1278 Śrāvaṇa śudī 10 Friday. This is a record of a grant of free hold (*Virta*) by King Pṛthvīmalla who has a grandiose style of royal address like *Pm Pbh Mahārājādhirāja Rājaratārani*. The witnesses mentioned are Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara and Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. It bears a stamp of seal with *śankha, chakra, gadā* and *padma*, all the four *Vaiṣṇavite* emblems. The writer is Śivadeva Paṇḍita and the place of issue being Śrīmatī Semja nagara.

(3) A copper plate inscription: The date is Śaka 1280 *Samvat 1415 Mārgasīra vadi 13* Monday (=November, 1358 A.D.). Lines 1-7 are in Sanskrit and the rest, lines 8-17, are in *Parbatiya*. The *praśasti* stands as in the *Kanakapatra*. The witnesses are also the same. This is also a record of a grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa by Pṛthvīmalla.

The family tree of the Khasa rulers according to the Dullu Inscription stands as follows:<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Parbatiya is the original form of the Language known as Nepali today.

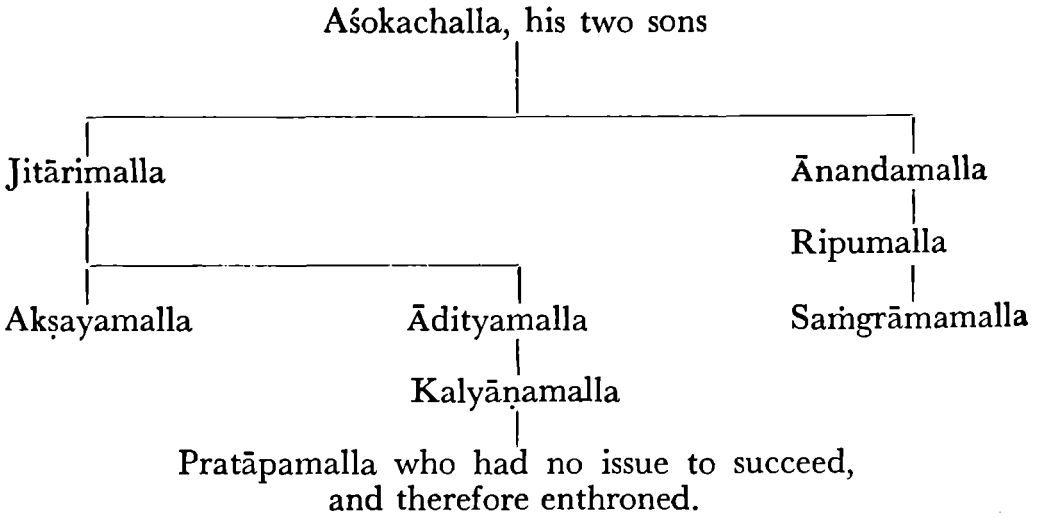
<sup>8</sup> Lines 18, 19, 20, first half of 21 and 22 are marked in Tucci. The space up to *ने* in line 24 and the whole of 15 is again without shown to have been peeled off in the stone.

A. (Āditya Vamśa)  
 Ādipāla, his son  
 Jayapāla, his son  
 Vijayādipāla, his son  
 Śrīvīrapāla, his son  
 Vikramapāla his son  
 Śrīpāla, his son  
 Śrīdhīrapāla, his son  
 Somapāla, his son  
 Sūryapāla, his son  
 Samudrapāla, his son  
 Sukhapāla, his son  
 Vīgrahapāla, his son

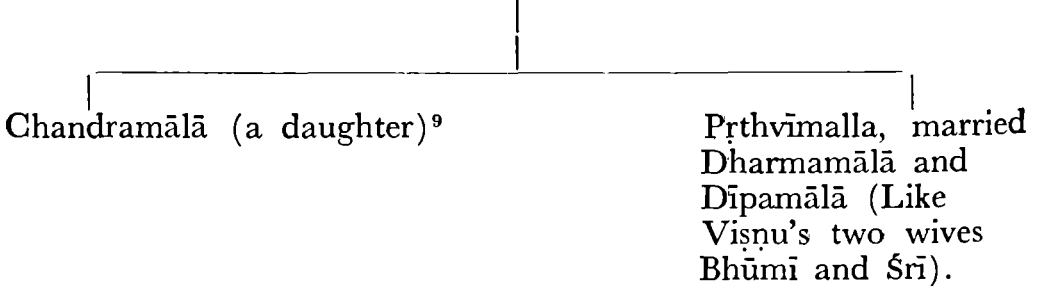
Varagaja Mahipāla, his son  
 Viśvapāla, his son  
 Jīvapāla and his son  
 Puṇyamalla who married  
 Sakunamālā, Śrīmalla eldest  
 son of Puṇyamalla .

B. Nāgarāja, his son  
 Chāpa, his son  
 Chapilla, his son  
 Krasichalla, his son  
 Kradhīpichalla, his son  
 Krachalla, his son  
 Aśokachalla

Then onwards:



Puṇyamalla (of Gela family) with Sakunamālā married to him  
 (from the previous family)



<sup>9</sup> Mahant Naraharinath reads Khandamālā but he is wrong.

Prof. G. Tucci has proved from Tibetan Texts that the order of names in the above table tallies in toto with the list provided by the chronology.

“Now comparing the data of the Tibetan Chroniclers and the list on our inscriptions, it would appear that there is almost complete agreement between the two series of documents, as is shown by the following schemes:

<i>Inscription</i>	<i>Tibetan chronicle</i>
Nāgarāja	Nāgadeva
Chāpa	
Chapilla	b Tsan P'yug lde
Krasichalla	b kra sis lde
Kradhichalla	Grag's btsan lde
Krachalla	Grag's Pa lde
Āśokachalla	A so ga, A so lde
Jitārimalla	a Dsin der smal, afi dar smal
Ānandamalla	A nan, A nan ta smal
Ripumalla	Reu, Riu smal
Samgrāmamalla	Sam gha smal
Ādityamalla, son of Ānandam	A jid smal
Kalyānamalla	Ka lan smal
Pratāpamalla	Par t'ab smal
Puṇyamalla of another family	Punya r Mal (bSod name) of the family of Purang

Prof. Tucci further observes:

“The succession is clear except for Kalyāṇam and Pratāpam, but from DT, GR (see p. 50) DM we gather that Kalyāṇa was the son of Ādityamalla, GR duplicates the name of Adsidar smal (see P. 56)”<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Tucci, Op. Cit., p. 51 ff.

DT = Deb t'er Snon po

SR = r Gyal rabs gsal bai me Con.

DM = Deb t'er dmar po

Also read R. Sankrityana: *Buddhism in Tibet* (Hindi), Appendix XI.



## OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF PRITHVIMALLA'S TIME

With a few exceptions all available and readable inscriptions in this area belong to Pṛthvīmalla's reign. The following are the important ones:

(i) At Kalikoṭ in Jumlā hills on a stone water conduit dated *Śaka 1260 māsa 1 tithi 13 Śrī Pṛthvīmalladevah Kṣitiparivāra chirañjayatu Dharmabhadra Thāpa sukritam* (repaired by). The lines begin with *Om Svasti*.

(ii) At Pātharnaui in Dullu over the ruins of a construction of a water reservoir (*Vāpi*). This begins with *Om maṇi padme hum*, which is followed by *Om svasti 6 Śrī Śaka 1276 Pauṣa vadi 2 śukravāsare* (= December, 1354 A.D.) *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Paramadhārmika Paramakalpadrumāvatāra Śrī mate Pṛthvīmalladeva vijayarājye mahāmātya Śrīmat Yaśovarmadevānām samaye*.

The reservoir was built in a new style along with a rest house for the habitation of the tired guests in a surrounding where there are five *Chaityas* belonging to the Buddhist sect. The builder was Devavarmā of Chhatyāl family, son of Granthavarmā (son of Dhanarāja) by Naballādevī.

(iii) In Acchham at a site inscribed in a wall of a temple the same lines as in (i) The builder is Devavarmā, date *Śrī Śaka 1276* (= 1354 A.D.) written by Iṣṭadāsa.

(iv) At Dullu on the stone pavement of a temple Devavarmā is mentioned as the builder who erected the *Chaitya* over the same by order of Pṛthvīmalla in *Śaka 1280 Āsvina* (= October, 1358 A.D.) (*Devavarmanā ādiśya Pṛthvīmalla mahībhūja*). The last line of the inscriptions of this series, though without the name Pṛthvīmalla, is dated *Śaka 1309*<sup>11</sup> = 1387 A.D.

## ILLUSTRIOUS KINGS

The Dullu Pillar inscription of Pṛthvīmalla has a few lines of praise about some ancestors of the king. If the description is true and not a mere hyperbole these were powerful rulers and

<sup>11</sup> *Itihasa Prakasa*, II, 1, pp. 60-72.

patrons of art and culture. Mahīpāla conquered adjoining territories and exacted tributes from the vanquished foes. Horses and elephants were presented to him by defeated adversaries. Viśvapāla set up his capital at Jhumkar (Tibrikot) and from there he raided the territories of his enemies and built a flourishing kingdom. Śrīgela was modest personality who gave ornamentations to the hills.<sup>12</sup> His capital was in Gela, from which he probably bore his name. Srijāva himself was greatly famed.

The ruler who lived in Kharipradeśa was known as Jāveśvara. His name was Nāgarāja. He set up his capital in Semjā and promulgated rules to regulate the conduct of his subjects.

The most renowned of them was Pṛthvīmalla, the master of a great empire. Ever virtuous and benevolent, such was Pṛthvīmalla, and Brāhmaṇas and Buddhist monks received liberal grants from him. Whoever begged of him did not return disappointed. By his remarkable deeds he made Golden (*Satya*) age of the *Kaliyuga*.

#### THE EMPIRE AND ITS ACHIEVEMENTS

The Kanakapatra of Pṛthvīmalla above reproduced records a donation of some lands on the king's birthday, which was notified to the authorities and traders of Jumlā, Dullu, Kudvana, Palatara and Kaskot. This is enough to prove his hegemony over these areas noted by name as evidenced by the inscription. Ripumalla's graffito in the Lumbini Pillar is another proof of the fact of Malla dominion expanded to that region. Altogether, it was a fairly big territory over which the Mallas ruled, and during Pṛthvīmalla's time the climax was attained.

Judging from what followed the disappearance of the Mallas, it can be said that the time they lived was one unique in the history of that region and one which had no parallel. The ruins tell a story of a highly developed culture and of material

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<sup>12</sup> Present Śikharagela in Jumlā Barabisedara, the name of a hilly site.

advancement which had no like of it before or after in that region up till the present.

It was an era of tremendous prosperity both in cultural and material spheres. Although feudal in structure, the Khasa state maintained an expanding economy with extensive commercial contacts both internal and external. In inscriptions we come across descriptions of market places, and of various roads connecting them over which horse-drawn carriages drove. This kind of road linked the capital at Semjā with places in the plains. The present highway connecting Jumlā in the far off hills in the north and Surkhet in the Terai just south with Dullu in between possesses an appearance of a now neglected but at one time much widely used thoroughfare of the type referred to in Malla records. With Taklakot in the Himalayas as the opening for the vast expansion of the west Tibetan Highland, it must be correct to say that the Jumlā-Dullu-Surkhet passage was meant for the transit of goods and passengers across the Himalayas between Tibet and North India. The nature of the trade remains to be assessed for want of sufficient data. But one could guess that it was not much different from what we hear about the same from the writings of European travellers three or four centuries later.

Taxes mentioned in one inscription in connection with a village that was exempted from payment are thirty-six. These are the usual levies collected by the state in a Hindu domain. One of the items appears in the shape of fines imposed by a Law Court for offences involving physical torture, theft, forcibly carrying away another's wife and murder. Then followed duties on raw cotton, yarn and wool and a cess on marketing centres. There were taxes on land and pastures of all types. The state realised fines in lieu of forced labour if it was not rendered.<sup>13</sup>

The state provided all facilities for the transit of goods by building roads, encouraging horse breeding for carriage over them and establishing trade centres for marketing of articles.

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<sup>13</sup> See above. *Kanakapatra* of Pṛthvimalla.

They built water reservoir for storage of water against drought. Drinking water was supplied through conduits and canals were numerous and maintained at state expense to irrigate fields for the cultivation of cereals like paddy and wheat. It appears that the political power in the country, though basically despotic in character, was benevolent in outlook and took care to cater to the needs of the people in shaping and implementing policies of the state.

The ruins have revealed the existence of Buddhist monasteries and *stūpas* along with Hindu temple. Image of Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi and few *Vajrayāni Siddhas* have been found in several excavated areas as also the images of the deities belonging to the Śaiva faith. Both Buddhist and Śaiva deities were commonly worshipped. Lamaism is not in evidence. But like the Tibetans, from whom probably they copied certain rituals, the devotees chanted *Maṇi Padme Hum* and inscribed the symbol of the *stūpa* in chortem fashion in sacred places. All inscriptions including those of the rulers start with the Buddhist chant, *Maṇi Padme Hum*, and invoke Buddhist trinity for blessing. Only a few belonging to the late Malla period have a Śaiva bias. It so appears that in the time of Pṛthvīmalla there has been a departure in practice; since his reign orthodox Hindu Gods, like Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara were not only introduced in the records but they were placed earlier than the *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Sanḡha* in the order. This is enough to show that the Śaivite deities had gained precedence over Buddhist trinity in the eyes of the people of the area. The *Kanakapatra* of Shituska referred to in the preceding pages has only *Padma* and *Sankha* (lotus and conch) symbols and not a *stūpa*. Probably Buddhism had ceased to play the prime role towards the close of Pṛthvīmalla's reign, which it had yielded to the Hindu Brāhmaṇas. But all through the Malla period the monasteries sheltered Buddhist monks, who were universally respected, and they were exempted from taxes by the kings. The Brāhmaṇa emigrants from Kanauj were also flourishing, and got their share of the royal munificence, privileges and benefits of tax exemptions.

The inscriptions also throw light on the caste structure of the society then subsisting. Various caste names occur in them to show that it was not much different from what obtained in the Indo-Gangetic plains. Caste affiliations in their turn show the many highly placed families of the present time existing in those days. The *Khasa* Kṣatriyas comprised the aristocracy and held the field. But the *Thakuri* from Rajputana had not yet entered. It was a *Khasa* caste hierarchy we witness in this region at the time. But the *Khasas* had been deemed pervert Kṣatriyas by the orthodox society of the plains. Therefore the Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇas had been imported into the kingdom, which gave the local community a high caste status and effected its purification.

As suggested above all the Kṣatriya families appear to have been existing since those days. The caste names popularly mentioned are those of the Thāpā, Budhāthokī, Kārki, Khadkā and Rokāyā, Bhandārī, Mahat, Bista, and a few others. Together with the Brāhmaṇas these filled up important posts in the realm in civil and military departments. The *Khasa* families provided officers to the army, and a large share of fighting in war fields was borne by them. The identity of the many Kṣatriya families of the day is now an easy affair because all of them have been mentioned in the inscriptions. Further this not only establishes their antiquity but also their *Khasa* origin as suggested above.

Prthvīmalla was blessed in having two able ministers Yaśovarman (*mahāmātya*) and Devavarman. They probably belonged to one or either of these aristocratic families of the *Khasa* tribes. There were smaller principalities under local rulers who paid tributes to the central power, and sent bulk of forces in times of war against external enemies. The witnesses in many of the royal charters are *Rājās*, *Rais* and *Mahats*. The last refers to a high dignitary of government wearing a feudal characteristic. All these supply proof of the existence of feudatories in a loosely centralised kingdom that was the *Khasa* state of the day.

## SANSKRIT AND PARBATIYA

At least the half portion of almost all inscriptions whether in stones or copper plates show a composition in Sanskrit, and this fact sufficiently speaks copiously for its position as a highly respected and cultivated language of the day in the *Khasa* Kingdom. But the native *Parbatiyā* has also received equal space, and although no literary works of the age are available in that language to establish the evidence of a progress and achievement in that field, it is enough to suggest that as a medium of communication as far as the general populace was concerned this dialect had held the ground even in the 11th century. Indirectly the vernacular of the inscription also represents the very original undiluted form of the present day *Nepālī*. Thus in the background of the Malla glory the history of the *Nepālī* language also appears as old as these inscriptions. But there was no *Devanāgarī* character in vogue. As was the practice in contemporary Nepal of that period, the script in which the letters are inscribed is *Rañjanā* then commonly used in countries all over the Himalayan region.

We do not come across a very highly developed form of art and architecture, nor their literary attainments were much creditable. As a matter of fact when it comes to comparison, we are forced to admit that the excellence which the Nepal Valley had produced in these spheres was never reached even in their hey day by the *Khasa* artists. But whatever progress was attained in the sphere of art went to the credit of the people of the Karnāli basin. The remains show that the style there was marked with crude form of simplicity but the art content was rich and its tenor inartificial and vigorous. It had tended more towards naturalism. But Pillars of stone and wood that are still preserved look with their inornate exterior as if they were hastily improvised. Similarly the *stūpas*, *chaityas* and temples—all not at all grandiose, present the same drab appearance. The temple style is not the one obtaining in Kathmandu. It resembles the one in vogue in the plains.

## PREDECESSORS OF PRITHVIMALLA

Amongst the names of rulers who precede Pr̥thvīmalla, two could be easily identified with reference to Indian epigraphs. *Paramasaugata Krachalladeva Jina* of Kantipur is the name mentioned in the inscription of Bāleśvara<sup>14</sup> (Sui Bisung) dated *Śaka 1145 Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 2* = 1223 A.D. According to Tucci, the inscriptions was issued from Dullu (*Dūrlaṅghyapura*). This records a grant of land to the Brāhmaṇa worshipper of *Ek-Rudra Śrī Bāleśvara*. In this inscription Krachalla claims to have overrun Kīrtipur (Kartyupur) defeating the ruling princes of that region. Aśokachalla is commonly mentioned in at least five inscriptions, three of which traced in Bodh Gaya,<sup>15</sup> and two in Kumaon (*Kama*)<sup>16</sup> at Gopeśvar and Barahat (*Uttara Kāśī*) respectively.

(1200+51 = 1251, 1200+74 = 1274)

51 and 74 respectively

(1118+51 = 1169, 1118+74 = 1192)

The third inscription is dated *Nirvāṇa* era 1813 (−543 = 1270 A.D.). The second Bodh Gaya inscription calls Aśokachalla, speaks of his conquest of *Kedārabhūmi*. He addresses himself as a scion of the *Gauḍa* family and *Bairatha Kulatilaka*, also *abhinavabodhisattvāvātāra Paramabhṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*. Obviously, both Krachalla and Aśokachalla ruled also over a very big area of what is known as Garhwal-Kumaon region.

Ripumalla who preceded Pr̥thvīmalla two generations earlier

<sup>14</sup> Fuher, *N. W. Provinces and Oudh* (II) *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions*, 1891, p. 50; Atkinson, *N. W. Provinces Gazetteer*, XI, pp. 516-28; Tucci, *Op. Cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>15</sup> Kielhorn, *Inscriptions of Northern India*, EI, V, p. 79; Bhandarkar, EI, IX, of nos. 1454, 1467, 1468. *Journal of Bo. As. Society*, XVI, p. 357; Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 78. Pl. XXVIII (EI, XII, p. 29).

<sup>16</sup> IA, X, pp. 341 ff; XLVIII, pp. 43 ff; JBORS, IV, 273; Atkinson, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 515. These two inscriptions are inscribed each over a 16 ft. and 23 ft. long stone and *Aṣṭadhātu* tridents respectively (brass).

is another name mentioned in the inscriptions available in the locality, which also can be ascertained with reference to two passages in V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>111</sup> respectively which are deemed to have been composed in NS 509. These passages (see back page) speak of several invasions on Nepal by Khasia rulers, by Jayatāri or Jitārimalla in 408 = 1288 (V<sup>1</sup>, f. 26b) and in 410 = 1290 A.D. (V<sup>111</sup>, f. 40a), by Ripumalla in 433 = 1310 A.D. (V<sup>111</sup>, f. 43b) and by Adityamalla in 448 = 1338 A.D. (V<sup>111</sup>, f. 46a). These dates can very well be applied in the determination of regnal dates of these rulers.

Jitārimalla is Aśokachalla's son and uncle of Ripumalla. Jitārimalla has three inscriptions to his credit. Although we have listed Jitārimalla at the final stage, his is the first available record traced in the Karnāli basin for the entire *Khasa* period. These speak of a grant of *Birta* (free hold) land to certain Brāhmaṇas and according to one author are variously dated Śaka 1015, 1016 and 1018. If the authenticity of the evidence is not doubted, then it will not be difficult to take documents as the copies of the real ones traditionally handed down from one successor to another in that form. The reading in regard to date figures seems, however, incorrect.<sup>17</sup> Jitārimalla who was an uncle of Ripumalla whose date is an ascertained fact must on no account be pushed back to a date two hundred years earlier. In this light the reading of date figures must be corrected to appear Śaka 1215, etc. Ripumalla is identified from the colophon of a ms. work *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* dated *Samvat 1370*<sup>18</sup> *Phālguṇa vadi 2 Sanidine*. Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana interprets the date into that of the *Vikrama Era* (= 1313 A.D.). There are two inscriptions of his reign, but the group of lines

<sup>17</sup> *Itihasa Prakasa*, II. 1., pp. 162-64. These could not be traced in their original. Mahant Naraharinath says that he obtained copies of these documents which were also copies traditionally handed down to the successors of the donee.

<sup>18</sup> JBORS, XXIV, p. 163 (Pt. III) Spos-khang monastery, no. 39. Colophon: *Samvat 1370 Phālguṇa vadi 2 śanidine*|*surakṣetre*|*Rāja-rājeśvara lokeśvara Śrī Ripumalladeva rājye*|*etc.*



in both giving the date figure is completely effaced. One inscription talks in particular of Ripumalla's polity (?). Ripumalla himself is described to have written in brief the same (*Likhita Lokanātha pādādhyāna laghu ratnatrayabhidh (ātmika) vidyā sarvārthasādhinī*), a composition, inspired by meditation of Lokanātha, which tended to fulfil all kinds of desires. Ripumalla's conquest in India has been noted in Tibetan sources. The reading of the graffito in the Aśokan pillar of Lumbini is rendered: (1) *Sri Ripumalla chiranjayatu* (2) *Sangrāmamalla mahārāja jayah*, while that in the Niglihava pillar is being read '*Śrī Ripumalla chirañjayatu*'. The date in the Niglihavā pillar graffito is 1234 Śaka = 1312 A.D. Sangrāmamalla is Ripumalla's son.<sup>19</sup> From the above data we have the following dates for Jitārimalla and Ripumalla;

Jitārimalla NS	408	CE	1288
	NS		1290
Śaka	NS 1234		1313
	VS 1370		1313
Śaka	NS 1234		1313

While we were considering the documents belonging to the reign of Aśokachalla we had to show double date figures, because the issue of the epoch year of the *Lakṣmaṇa Era* is still not finally settled. It would appear that unless the epoch year of this era is conclusively fixed, the dates for Aśokachalla will remain uncertain.

But the dates for Jayāri and Ripumalla and his own inscription showing *Nirvāṇa* year 1813 (= 1270 A.D.) may show an approximate position of Aśokachalla's dates. He certainly preceded 1288 A.D. He also definitely ruled in 1270 A.D. For the *Nirvāṇa* era of Bodh Gaya inscriptions it is said that this was adopted in local records due to Ceylonese influence. The Ceylonese monks held predominant position in Bodh Gaya of the 13th century. The era had started in Ceylon with the epoch year in 544 B.C., following a Ceylonese tradition which placed

<sup>19</sup> *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, II, No. 1, pp. 79-81.

Buddha's death in that year.<sup>20</sup> The epoch year of the *Nirvāṇa Era* having been fixed with certainty one sure date of Aśokachalla is now available. But the span of his regnal years can not be determined until we come to define the dates of those of his inscriptions with *Lakṣmaṇa Era* years.

If we put the initial year of LE to Kielhorn's date (1118 A.D.).<sup>21</sup> Aśokachalla would be found ruling in 1169-1192 A.D. and his last date would fall about 118 years earlier to his grandson and about 96 years before his own son and successor; considering that his reign started since 51 = 1169 A.D., we shall find that he ruled for nearly a century. Petech, in particular argues that this is too long a period of an interregnum between Aśokachalla and his direct successors,<sup>22</sup> and therefore he rejects the proposition of Kielhorn in preference to the other date 1200-1204 as proposed by R. C. Majumdar and Ahmad Hasan Dani.<sup>23</sup> If we refer our inscriptions to the latter dates Aśokachalla's regnal years would be 1251-1274, and this certainly is fitted into the context. If we adopt 1200-1204 A.D. as the epoch year of LE, his reign will be immediately preceding his son Jitārimalla's whose first available date is 1288 A.D.

The issue of the Lakṣmaṇa Sena era is still being debated by scholars. There have been different view points on the subject. The latest is that of A. S. Altekar. He says that the era come to be adopted with the year of the end of Lakṣmaṇa Sena's kingdom as the epoch. According to this scholar, Lakṣmaṇa Sena's kingdom was liquidated in 1200 A.D.<sup>24</sup> He bases his argument on the expression *atītarājye* used after *Lakṣmaṇa Senasya* (or *pādānam*) in the aforesaid two inscriptions of Aśokachalla and one inscription of Jayasena dated 83 (traced at Janibigha in Gaya). This he translates as meaning 'after the

<sup>20</sup> Altekar, *Intro. to Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, etc. Op. Cit., p. XVI.

<sup>21</sup> Sewell and Diksit, *The Indian Calendar*, p. 46.

<sup>22</sup> *Medieval History of Nepal*, App. II, p. 197.

<sup>23</sup> I.H.Q., XXX (1954), pp. 33-47.

<sup>24</sup> Op. Cit., *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, etc.

end of the rule of Lakṣmaṇa Sena'. The Janibigha inscription by itself also helps greatly to clear the position for this view. In this document, Jayasena mentions his father Buddhasena, who from another source (*Biography of Dharmasvāmin*) was king in 1234-36 A.D.<sup>25</sup> It is said that if *Lakṣmaṇa era* and this particular inscription were to be referred to 1118 A.D., then we have Jayasena as a ruler in 1201 A.D., which goes against the evidence provided by the Tibetan monk, and this will be a very absurd proposition indeed to make the son preceding the father.

Petech thought that the expression *atītarājya* in the inscriptions indicated that no era was meant by it and the same was intended to convey a sense of 'after the fall of'.<sup>26</sup> He also supports Ahmad Hasan Dani's dated 1204, as the date 'in one of the inscriptions of Aśokachalla, 74 *Vaiśākha vadi 12 guru*, verifies for Thursday May 19, 1278 A.D. when the ending point of *tithi* was on 54 *ghati* 36 *pala* i.e. at 9.30 P.M.'<sup>27</sup>

We know that the L.E. did not originate with Lakṣmaṇa Sena himself. Also we find that the people in Bengal had no knowledge of this era until the 16th century. It appears that some kind of L.E. was in vogue in North and South Bihar since the early 13th century. But what we now call Lakṣmaṇa Sena era of 1118-19 A.D., which was referred to his date of birth came to be adopted not earlier than about two hundred years after Lakṣmaṇa Sena's demise. Obviously what was in use in the 13th and 14th centuries was the one which has 1200-1204 A.D. as the epoch year and this was being used for sometime until 'later on the idea of the era to mark the extinction of the kingdom of Lakṣmaṇa Sena was given up in favour of an era to mark his birth.'<sup>28</sup>

In the words of A. S. Altekar 'people were usually accustomed to count years with reference to the prosperous and victorious

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. XV (Intro.), p. 64 (Text).

<sup>26</sup> Op. Cit., p. 198.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Altekar, Op. Cit., Intro., p. XVII.

reign of a living king . . . . but the ruling kings now happened to be foreign iconoclasts. People in Bihar therefore seem to have preferred to the past rule of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, who had apparently made a deep impression on their mind'.<sup>29</sup>

Whatever might have been the reason leading to the adoption of *Lakṣmaṇa era* by the rulers in Bihar, it is nevertheless true that for a long time to come the *Lakṣmaṇa era* was being used not only in Bihar but also sometimes in Nepal. As for the two different dates for *Lakṣmaṇa era* we find that the proposition seems also to be quite correct. It is not wrong to say that the *Lakṣmaṇa era* as adopted in documents of later dates referred to the epoch year of 1118-20 A.D. The documents of earlier dates, however, were to be interpreted in terms of the era of 1200-1204 A.D. It does not matter whether the word *atīta* is there. We have a document in the name of Rāmasiṃha with *Lakṣmaṇa era* 67 (vide ante) which merely says *Gaṇa Lakṣmaṇa Senasya Samvatsara* and no word like *atīta* occurs in the text. But the date of this document has had to be referred to the year 1200-1204 A.D. So it appears that *atīta* is of no particular significance in the determination of the epoch year of the era. Thus the proposition that the *Lakṣmaṇa era* in all documents of the thirteenth century A.D. had to be referred to 1200-1204 A.D. stands correct in all respects.

#### OTHER PREDECESSORS OF PRITHVIMALLA

In between Dailekh and Dullu on a ridge overlooking the river Bhairavī in the wall of a cave we have a stone with the inscription *Om Sat Buddha (tha (2) si (Sri) Ajeetamalla rāja pāritah saṅgavāram jayatu Śaka 1221,<sup>30</sup> = 1299 A.D.)*. This name can not be identified. But it might have been wrongly read.

From a pillar inscription dated *Śaka 1037 Vaiśākha = 1115 A.D.* (standing amidst ruins on a ridge) in Surkhet it appears

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Mahant Naraharināth's reading, *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, II, 1, pp. 173-74.

that the ruler at the time was *Rājādhirāja* Jaksadevamalla son of *Jayutra* (*Malladeva*) *va(da)* *Kṣaraja* . . . . *Vakṣa*, his wife *Satyarūpā*; with reading corrected, the name may appear *Akṣayamalla*, son of *Jitārimalla*. But his date must not be as above. If the same is read 1237 (= 1315 A.D.), it will fit in with the chronological order. *Ādityamalla* is identified with the person of the same name who according to the ancient chronicle V<sup>111</sup> (see back page) in NS 428 = 1328 A.D. invaded the Nepal Valley. It seems from our data that *Ripumalla* was not succeeded by his own son *Sangrāmamalla* but by his cousin *Akṣayamalla* whom *Ādityamalla* as brother succeeded, but Tibetan notices have him as the successor of *Ripumalla*. In either case he might have ruled only a year or so. Thus far we have not traced documents of the time of *Kalyāṇamalla*. He might not have succeeded to the throne or probably had a very short reign. *Pratāpamalla* and *Puṇyamalla* were at least contemporaries. They must rule in between them about some years till 1338 A.D., the first recorded year of *Pṛthvīmalla*.

Dates for the immediate predecessors of *Pṛthvīmalla* could be tentatively fixed as follows:

- |                |      |   |  |
|----------------|------|---|--|
| 1. Aśokachalla | 1251 | C | 1270 A.D.  |
| 2. Jitārimalla |      | C | 1288, 1293 A.D.  |
| 3. Ripumalla   |      | C | 1313 A.D. (VS 1370) 1312<br>A.D. (Saka 1234) 1310 A.D. |
| 4. Akṣayamalla |      | C | 1315 A.D.  |
| 5. Ādityamalla |      | C | 1326 A.D.  |
| 6. Puṇyamalla  |      | C | 1337 A.D.  |

There is no doubt that *Puṇyamalla* ruled for a very short time in the *Karṇāli* Basin. For *Puṇyamalla*'s reign we have a copper plate inscription of *Śaka* 1259 *Vaiśākha śudī* 13 (= 1337 A.D.).<sup>31</sup>

This inscription records the fact of a land grant made to one *Brāhmaṇa Śrī Vidyākara* by *Pm Pbh Md Puṇyamalla*. The ruler is mentioned as *chakravarti* and king of kings who was being waited upon by the kings of *Koṅkana*, *Karṇāta*, *Lāta*,

<sup>31</sup> *Himavat Sanskriti*, I, i, p. 35.

Murala, Kerala, Dahala, Aṅga, Baṅga, Kalinga, Mithilā, Mālava, Nepāla, Gurjara, Jālaṅdhara and Āndhra—all of whom paid tributes to him.

It is difficult to accept Puṇyamalla's claim made in the record to have exacted tributes from the kings of the countries enumerated in it. The lines seem to have been introduced as a panegyric in praise of the donor, and the claim has no substance.

### PRITHVIMALLA'S DATES

While enumerating the various inscriptions of his reign we have shown that he ruled between 1338 A.D. to 1376 A.D.

Referring to the succession for the time between 1328 and 1338 A.D. Petech wrote: "Still it seems difficult to cram four kings, belonging to at least three subsequent generations, in the ten years between Ādityamalla and Pṛthvīmalla".<sup>32</sup> With the discovery of Puṇyamalla's inscription dated 1237 A.D. however, the position has changed. Now the problem of cramming at least two generations is solved. If it is to be supposed, that Puṇyamalla ruled only for a very short time, he could also be easily adjusted within the limits. But it will all depend on whether the reading of the date figure of the inscription is correctly done. In the absence of rubbing of this inscription and also of several others that have been brought out by Mahant Naraharināth, we are not able to ascertain and verify the reading.

### ABHAYAMALLA

Pṛthvīmalla's son Abhayamalla is the last known king of this dynasty. M. Naraharināth publishes a *kanakapatra* of this ruler in *Himavat Sanskriti* (I, i) and he reads the date Śaka 1298 *Phālguna vadi 9 Sunday*. Abhayamalla appears to be the last ruler of the line. We have no further information about his reign.

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<sup>32</sup> Op. Cit., p. 114 fn.

The Kingdom of the Mallas reached the peak of its progress in the time of Pr̥thvīmalla. But it soon toppled down as he died. The empire disintegrated and was divided.

In the 14th century there was a general upsurge in the country owing to the entry of the Rajput settlers from the plains.<sup>33</sup> Although this was not a large scale emigration, the new settlers with their military tradition, superior organisation, and claims to superior birth proved too strong a match for the local chiefs to contend with and one by one each of the latter succumbed to their offensive, so that the entire area after some time came to be ruled by the Rajput families. But it was a conglomeration of fragments over which this conquest was made. Not one single powerful political unit had emerged. What appeared was only a sort of process of replacement of certain Khasa ruling families by those claiming Rajput descent. As usual the pattern of divisions and fragmentation remained the same as ever.

It is no use trying to record a chronology for each of the chieftains of the Baisis. This is not important from a historical point of view. Nor could their racial purity be established and their Rajput origin be doubtlessly proved. This will suffice to say that these chieftains claimed in general a Rajput genealogy connected with Chitor and each fought the other like their deadliest enemies in the same way as princes fought in Rajasthan whenever and wherever such fight was possible and necessary. The internecine conflict was a common feature of the politics of the region at the time.

In Jumlā and Doṭi, however, for another period of hundred years Khasa feudal lords carried the tradition of the Mallas to all intents and purposes. In support we have the following from a Tibetan source quoted by Tucci: "It is a letter sent by *Kundga' bzn po* to a king of *Ya tse*. This letter is preserved in Vol. A of the complete works P. 349a of that Lama and it is directed to the king of *ya tse (Ya Ts'e)*, *Ha sti ra ja*, (*Ya Tse*

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<sup>33</sup> Read Tucci Op. Cit., for Tibetan Sources of Information supporting Rajput emigration.

*pa rgyal po ha sti ra ja*) to his eldest son *A hru ra ja* and the chief queen (*btsun mo dam pa*) *Das gad smal*. *Kung dga'byan po* sends his thanks for the presents he had received (things to eat *Zal Zas*, a chair *gdan*, a *prabhāmandala rgyab yol* for the images and some robes *C'os sgos*). He gives the king some instructions, and recommends him to avoid in every way, as if they were poison, the doctrines of the worshippers of Hindu gods such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Indra, of the heretics as well as those of the Mohamedans—*Ts' ans dan K'yab ajug dban P'yug sogs dan mu stegs byed dan kla kLoi C'os lugs rnam—rnam pa kun du dug bzin spon bar mdsod*. Moreover he adds that all sorts of *pūjā* which prescribed the killing of animals be they birds or goats should be equally avoided because they are cause of a great sin, which causes rebirth in the hells (*nan son*).<sup>34</sup>

“Then he advises the king to follow the example of the former great *C'os rgyal* of *Ya ts'ei* (instead of *Ya tse* used before)—who used to contribute to the embellishment of the Sa Skya monastery: would it not be good to repair all these previous gifts to Sa Skya which are now collapsing? Then he goes on recommending charity towards the monks, *dge slon*, the Brāhmins (*bromze*), the poor, the sick, etc. A much shorter letter with brief advice is also sent to the *Ya tse blon po*, the minister of *Ya tse A ya dban p'yug* who had sent him a bronze vase and some medicines”.<sup>35</sup>

According to Tucci, the above mentioned ruler belonged to a greatly Hinduised society, and he was someone different from any of the Great Malla Kings and he ruled over a small part of the old Jumlā kingdom just after the Malla rulers had gone out of the picture. But there is nothing to show that he was not a Khasa prince.

On the basis of two copper plate inscriptions of Nṛpamalla, successor of Gajamalla and Arjunamalla, dated Śaka 1480 and 1558 respectively, it can be said that the progenies of the erst-

<sup>34</sup> Tucci, Op. Cit., pp. 114-15.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.



while ruling Mallas had been pushed further west to Doṭi where they ruled for some time. The lines, *Pāsānam Kṣiyate resa Samudram Kṣiyate Jala—Pṛthvī Kṣiyate reṇu mallabhāṣa na Kṣiyate*, establish that the influence of the Khasa Mallas had not dwindled till then at least in a portion of their original kingdom.<sup>36</sup> It is possible that Doṭi was the last to be conquered by the Rajputs.

We have no intention to deal at length with any of the principality of the Baisi region. What we have done here is just to touch them for a brief treatment. But Jumlā being the most important of the lot with definitely superior status and larger territory has come in for more than a casual mention of the subject. We have also found that a great many reliable data from inscriptions and other materials are found in regard to Jumlā, which is not the case for others. In theory if not in actual practice Jumlā was the overlord of all the Baisis. Even on that account Jumlā's history is of more importance to a general history of Nepal. It is our purpose to present a brief sketch of its history based on these sources for such a period from the end of the Malla regime to the time on the eve of the Gorkhā conquest, and this we have done in the volume already published bearing the title '*Modern Nepal: Rise and Growth in the Eighteenth Century*'.

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE KHASAS

For the origin and place of the Khasas in history the following from S. Levi's book will be enlightening. "According to Ucanas, mentioned by the commentator Govardhana, the Khasas are carriers of water and distributors of the same to the fountains. (Man. dh. c., transl. Buhler loc. laud. note). The *Mahābhārata* frequently mentions the Khasas and always in the company of mountainous people of the north-west. Thus we have (II. 51. V. 1858); *Maru-Mandarayor-madhye saidam abhito nadim | ye te kichaka veṇūnāmchāyam ramyām upāsate |*

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

*Khasa ekasana hy arhāh pradarā vena veṇavah | Pāradascha kulindascha Tanganah Paratanganah |*

“Khasas live between Mount Meru and Mount Mandara towards the river Śailoda, otherwise said, in the heart of the mountains of Hindu Kouch and Pamir, they bring with the neighbouring tribes a tribute in ‘ant’s gold’ extracted from the soil by the ants (Au livre, VII. 121. V. 4845) they are named with the Daradas (Daridstan), Tanganas, Lampaka (Lamghan), Pulindas, in the VII, 44, V. 2070, with the Prasthalas, Madras, Gāndhāras, Arattas, Vasâtis, Sindhusanviras (key also *Mārkaṇḍeya-Pur.* LVII. 57; LVIII. 7). Bharata in his *Nāṭya śāstra* mentions them by the side of the Bahlikas (Balkh): *Bahlikabhāṣodichyānām | Khasanamcha svadeśaja* (XVII, 52).

“The Vibhasa-Sastra only known in its Chinese version (due to Samghabhuti, in 383 J.C.) mentions the language of the ‘Khasas’ with that of the To-le, Mo-le, Po-le, Po-K’ia-li in a passage (Jap. ed. XX. 9.59-a), which I have already made known (Notes on the Indo-Scythes, p. 50, n.): the To-la are the Daradas; the Po-le the Pāradas, No-le, probably Maladas in origin and Po-K’ia-la answers to Bukhari. The dictionary Fan-fan-yu, of which I possess a copy, reports an interpretation (section VIII) which translate Khasas (K’ia-cha) by incorrect language. This explanation seems to be connected with an analogous etymology with the one in use today and which pretends to derive the name of Khasa from ‘Khasnu’ meaning to fall, to decay.

“I remember that several attempts were made to establish a comparison between the name of the Khasa and the one of Kashgar, interpreted by the Iranian Khasagara “Mount of the Khas”. Hiuen Tsang gives K’ia-cha (=Khasa) as another name for Kachgar.

“Lastly the Khas are often mentioned in the *Rājataranginī* (key the very one of the Troyer, Vol. II, p. 321 and that of Stein, II, 430); they make an appearance in the history of Cashmere only as ‘mountaineers who were marauders and turbulent’ (Stein).

“An epigraphic document dated from the year 629 of J.C.

(380 of the Kalachuri era), donation of the king Gurjara Dadda II (Prasanta raga, found at Kheda) proves that in the VIIth century the Khasas were known to inhabit in the surroundings of the Himalayas. "The King resembled the Himachala because he was of the Vidyādharas (or: of the savants) but he had not possessed a circle of Khasas (degraded)" (*Yas choṣamiyata vidyadharaṁ vasayatā Himāchala na Khaṣa parivaratayā, Ind. Antiq. XIII, 83*). The same passage is repeated in a donation of the same king, posterior by five years to the first (ib, 8-a)".<sup>37</sup>

From the above lines of S. Levi we are to know that the Khasas are a tribe which had settled in the Himalayas. But to what extent the tribe had spread over the region, the texts do not clearly mention. As the Himalayas are the homeland of both the Kirata and Khasa tribes the areas of their inhabitation have got to be defined. It looks that as far as the Nepalese part of the Himalayas go, the west is inhabited by the Khasas, while the Kiratas have been living in East Nepal. It is difficult to demarcate the boundary of the areas they have occupied. But it seems that roughly the Khasas spread as far as the river Bheri flowing through the present Dailekh districts. We have an intermediate tribal people who live in the basin of the river Nārāyaṇi occupying the lands between the easternmost tributary of the Bheri group of rivers and Kālī Gaṇḍak. The tribe is called Magar and it has deeply imbibed Brahmanical culture. It may be that the Magar came under Brahmanical cultural influence due to their contact with the Khasas. From Kālī Gaṇḍak onwards come to Gurung tribe, who could be classified as a section of the Kirata tribes.

In the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. the Khasas emigrated also to the territories east of the Bheri. Their upper class called the Khasa Chhetri came to play a dominant role in the formation of the Baisi and Chaubisi states.

Originally the present Nepali language was known as *Khasakurā*, literally meaning the language of the Khasas. This shows

<sup>37</sup> Levi, I, fn. to pp. 259-60.

how important were the Khasa settlers of the region of west Nepal. Today the Khasa Chhetris have expanded to every nook and corner of the Himalayas right up to the farthest end of the kingdom of Nepal as it stands at the moment. But by a Khasa Chhetri we do not mean only the traditional families grouped under the designations we have found in the Karnāli basin inscriptions of the 12th and 13th centuries. A Khasa Chhetri may also be an offspring born out of the union of a Brāhmaṇa father and a mother who either belongs to a tribe or a low touchable caste of the community. Both types are considered impure as distinct from those who are known as Ṭhakuri Kṣatriyas who originally claim to have migrated from Rajputana. Now, of course, there has been wide admixture of blood through marriage between the Khasa Chhetri families and Rajput Kṣatriyas.



## GLOSSARY

<i>Akasi</i>	...	a wooden beam connecting the two front wheels of a chariot
<i>Mohar</i>	...	a unit of silver money equivalent of half a rupee
<i>Miramha Juju</i>	...	junior king
<i>juju</i> ...	...	king
<i>Jātrā</i>	...	festival or drawing of a chariot in procession
<i>Dasahara</i> or <i>Dasai</i>		The ten day early autumn festival
<i>deval</i>	...	temple
<i>suka</i>	...	a monetary unit of half a mohar
<i>mityeri</i>	...	a bond of friendship solemnly entered into
<i>Chaubisi</i>	...	a group of 24 principalities
<i>Baisi</i>	...	another group of 22 principalities
<i>Zamindari</i>	...	the property right of a landlord over lands cultivated by tenants
<i>doka</i>	...	a long basket carried over the back and tied by a rope to the forehead
<i>dabli</i>	...	a raised platform of stones
<i>ajimā</i>	...	a grand-mother
<i>chāku</i>	...	black sugar-boiled and made into thick hard cakes
<i>tila</i>	...	sesamum seed
<i>pañchagavya</i>	...	a liquid mixture of milk, curd, butter etc.
<i>pūjā</i>	...	worship ritual
<i>homa</i>	...	offering over the fire
<i>Vaiśākhī</i>	...	the first day of the new year beginning with the solar month of Vaisakha occurring sometime between 13-15 April
<i>Pañju</i>	...	the priest in-charge of the idol and ritual of Machhendranatha during the summer festival

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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8. CBMC — C. Bendall, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library*, Cambridge, 1883.
9. CMI — V. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1906.
10. CPMDN — H. P. Sastri, *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected paper Manuscripts belonging to the Darbar Library, Nepal*, 2 Vols., Calcutta, 1905 and 1916.

11. CSBM — C. Bendall, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1903.
12. CSMASB — H. P. Sastri (et alii), *A descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vols. I. ff., Calcutta, 1917 ff. (the latest volumes out are XIV of 1955 and XI of 1957).
13. CSMBM — C. Bendall, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1902.
14. CSMIO — A. B. Keith, *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, Vol. II, Oxford, 1935.
15. Darb. Lib. Cat. or DLC — *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Darbar Library, Kathmandu* in four volumes (not published).
16. DNI — H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1931, Vol. I, Ch. IV, pp. 185-234.
17. EI — *Epigraphic Indica*.
18. EHD — *Early History of Deccan*, Edited by G. Yazdani, Vol. I and II, 1960.
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20. GI (CII) — *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum III*, London, 1888, edited by J. F. Fleet (Gupta Inscriptions).
21. HCI — Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vols. IV, V, VI.
22. IHQ — *Indian Historical Quarterly*.
23. IA — *Indian Antiquary*.
24. Italiani Missionari, etc. — *Il Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*, 7 Parts, edited by L. Petech (in Italian) Rome, 1953.
25. J.As — *Journal Asiatique*.
26. JASB — *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.
27. JBORS and JBRS — *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, afterwards *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*.
28. JBRAS — *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
29. JIH — *Journal of Indian History*.



30. JRAS — *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*  
 31. Kaisar Library — Private Library of Field Marshal Kaisar Shumsher Jung Bahadur.  
 32. Kirkpatrick — *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, London, 1811 (pp. 255-66).  
 33. KPJ — K. P. Jayaswal: *Articles on the History of Nepal* in JBORS and JBRS.  
 34. Levi — *Le Nepal*, Etude Historique d'un royaume hindou, 3 Vols., Paris, 1905-08.  
 35. MMK — *Manjusri mula kalpataru*, edited by Ganapat Sastri, Trivandram Sanskrit Series.  
 36. mss. — Manuscripts.  
 37. Govt. Nat. Lib. — Governmental National Library, Kathmandu.  
 38. NS — Nepal Samvat.  
 39. Petech — *Medieval History of Nepal*, Rome, 1958.  
 40. S.S — *Sanskrit Sandesh*, a monthly magazine of antiquity (in Sanskrit).  
 41. Tucci — *Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal* (Series Oriental Roma, 1956).  
 42. V<sup>i</sup>, V<sup>ii</sup>, V<sup>iii</sup> — The three parts of the *Vamśāvalī* in the Darbar Library discovered by Bendall. This is otherwise known as *Gopalaraja Vamśāvalī*.  
 43. VK — *Vamśāvalī* in possession of F. M. Kaisar.  
 44. VS — Vikram Samvat.

### *Royal Titles*

M	Mahārājā
Md	Mahārājādhirājā
Pm	Parameśvara
Pbh	Paramabhaṭṭāraka
Rd	Rājādhirāja
RR	Rājarajeśvara
Yd	Yuvarājādhirāja

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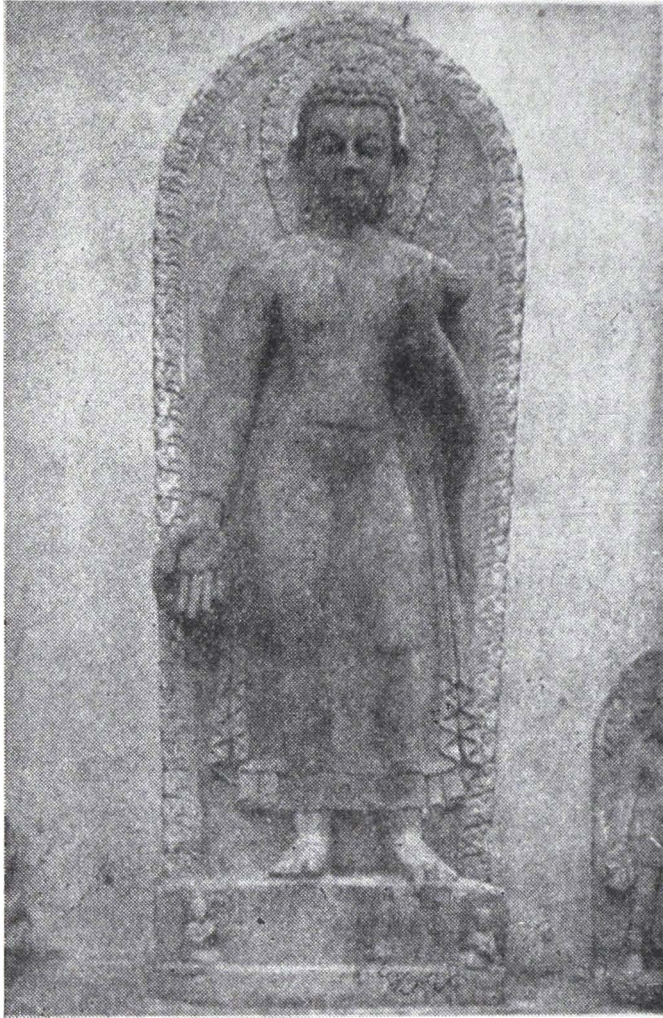
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126	22	thrustworthy	trustworthy
137	10	Benngal	Bengal
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		सप्रज्यभ्यधिके	सप्रत्यभ्याधिके
		श्रीमलेपालाद्वचतुः	श्रीमन्नेपालाद्वचतुः
		पदौध्यम्यां	पक्षेदश
		बहुधं	बहुलं
		दाधलु	दग्धच्छ
317	26		which were both
325	footnote	सुषुप्रोपि	सुषुप्रोपि
335	footnote	रुदार भी	रुदार श्री
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403	23		he was the real ruler
406	10		the feudatories Madanasimha
409	5	stella	stela
411	27	his brother	his brothers
416	20	Ākhyāratnakośa	Ākhyātaratnakośa
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549	19	It	If
560	10		The Svayambhu Chaitya was very famous. On the 8th day of
560	17	poor	poor
570	15	Vairochans	Vairochana
571	2	Ābiduddha	Ādibuddha
572	30	is identified	is also identified
589	6	stane	stone
596	24	indreśvara	Indreśvara
609	4	sigle	single
609	24		belongs to early 11th century as described
615	8	Śkyamuni	Śākyamuni
616	7		style of metallic art
631	3	Marpe	Marpa
632	6	Pekings	Peking
680	20	subjections	subsections
683	25	hand	hard
693	24		the highest of the Jyapus
704	35	are	do
706	14	kenvāṭa	Kenbhāṭa





Medieval Nepal—Part I Plate I



Sakyamuni Buddha  
9th Century A. D.  
Svayambhu Agea Kathmandu

Medieval Nepal—Part I Plate 2



Dancing Siva  
10th Century A. D.

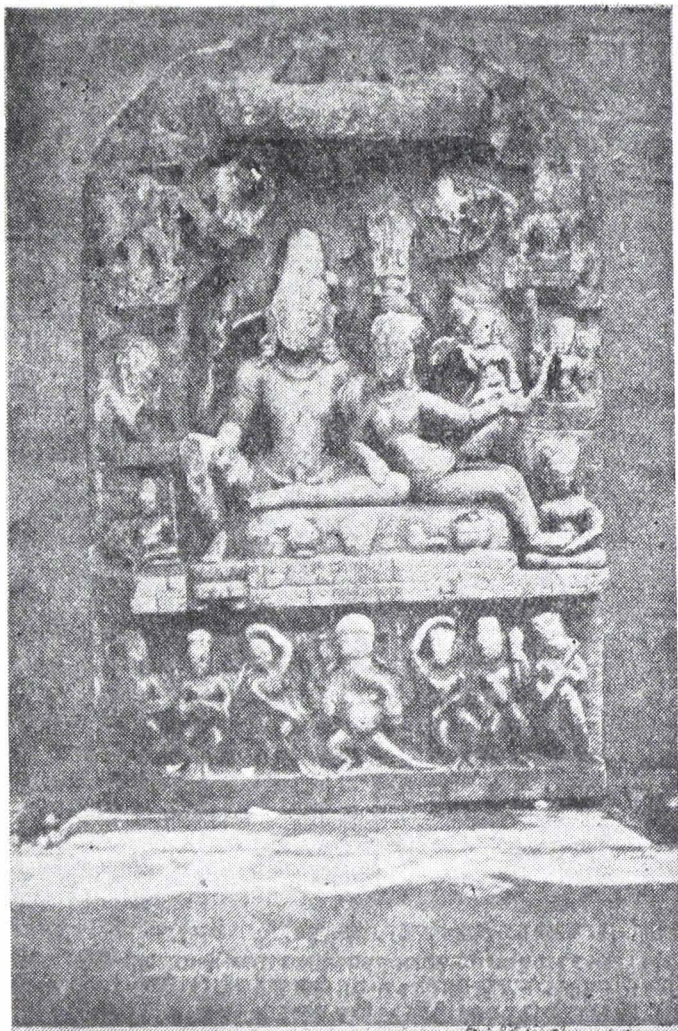


Medieval Nepal—Part I Plate 3



Siva Parivar  
10th Century A. D.  
Chyasaltol, Patan

Medieval Nepal—Part I Plate 4



Siva Parivara  
Early 11th Century A. D.  
Ganchanani, Patan

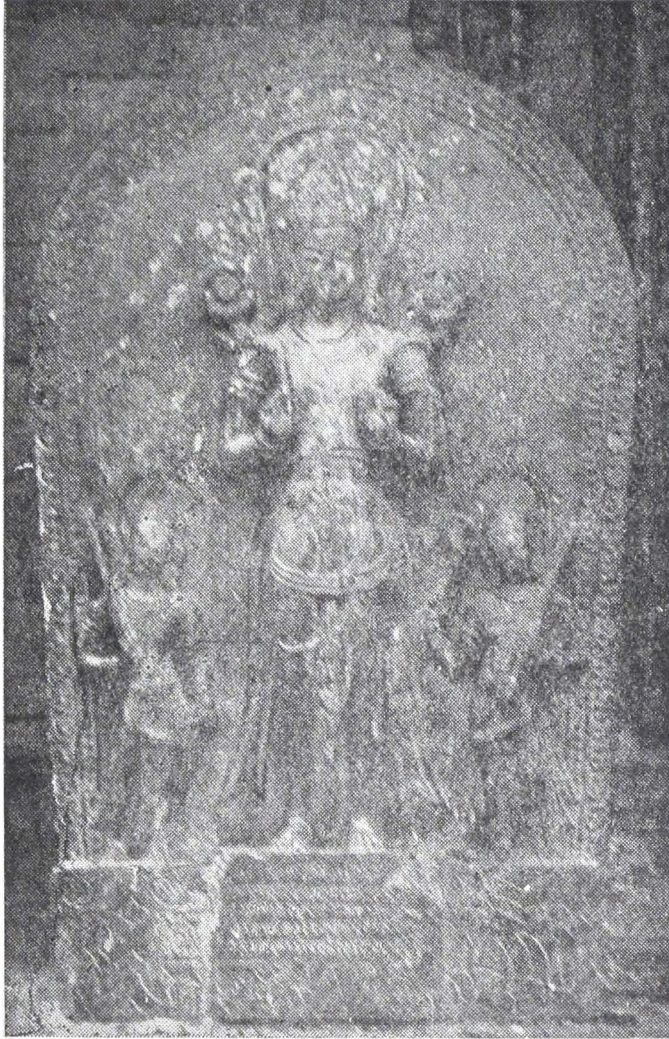


Medieval Nepal—Part I Plate 5



Surya  
11th Century A. D.  
Naksal, Kathmandu

Medieval Nepal—Part I Plate 6



Surya ( Sun God )  
11th Century A. D.  
Sangaltol, Patan



Medieval Nepal—Part I Plate 7



Surya ( Sun God )  
11th Century A. D.  
Thapahiti, Patan



Medieval Nepal—Part I Plate 8



Lokesvara images  
Nepal Govt. Museum  
C. 12th Century A. D.

Medieval Nepal—Part I Plate 9



Sankara-Narayana  
13th Century A. D.  
Kathmandu



Medieval Nepal—Part I Plate 10



The So-Called Asoka Stupa  
without Pancha Buddha in its riches  
13th Century A. D.  
Patan

