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PART II

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MEDIEVAL NEPAL

D. R. REGMI

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MEDIEVAL NEPAL

A History of the Three Kingdoms 1520 A.D. to 1768 A.D.

PART II

D. R. REGMI

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FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY

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Nepal

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DEDICATED
TO
THE MEMORY OF
HIS LATE MAJESTY
KING TRIBHUVANA VĪRA
VIKRAMA SHĀH DEVA

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Manuscript of "Medieval Nepal" had reached us sometime in June of 1961. We, however, regret to announce that on account of unavoidable circumstances the book is now being brought out after some delay.

August, 1966.

PREFACE

This is Part II of *Medieval Nepal*, which deals with the History of Nepal as it was then politically divided into two or more sovereign kingdoms for nearly 250 years until 1768 A.D.

This volume has six chapters, the last of which describes the social and economic condition of the later medieval period.

We have reproduced as appendices all texts of select inscriptions on stones and copper plates, select documents of land grant or sale deeds on palm leaves, the eight copies of *Thyāsapu*, chronological notices and similar records, which are used as source materials for our history.

In the preparation of this work I have obtained help from so many individuals, to whom my thanks are due. In particular I am indebted to Mr. H. B. Gurung for the map, to Mr. Shubha Bir Pandey for typing the manuscript and laboriously undertaking allied duties and to the publisher for the publication of the work.

H. E. Field Marshal Kaiser Shamsheer Jung Bahadur Rana put me under deep obligation by allowing me to use his personal library, and I cannot but express my gratitude to him.

I also thank the librarians of Bir Library and the National Library in Kathmandu as well as the Curator of the Nepal Museum for enabling me make use of the many colophon data and other materials in their collections and reproduce them in the present text.

D. R. Regmi

1st June, 1961
Kathmandu
Nepal.

The following scheme has been adopted for transcription of Sanskrit words :

a = अ

i = इ

u = उ

e = ए

o = ओ

am̐ = अं

aḥ = अः

ā = आ

ī = ई

ū = ऊ

ai = ऐ

au = औ

kha = ख

gha = घ

ṅga = ङ

cha = च

chha = छ

jha = झ

ñ = ञ

ṭa = ट

ṭha = ठ

ḍa = ढ

ḍha = ढ्ह

ṇa = ण

pha = फ

bha = भ

śa = श

ṣa = ष

ṛ = ऋ

va = व

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

I

The Baisi, Chaubisi and three States of the Valley:

We intend to devote this volume to a consideration of the History of the three Kingdoms of the Nepal Valley for the period beginning with 1520 A.D. and ending with 1768 A.D.

We may note here that these kingdoms were created in the aftermath of the chaos that came with the death of Yakṣamalla in 1482 A.D.

For the beginning of the 15th century we have the following feudal states extending from Kumaon to the vicinity of the Valley of Nepal¹, and beyond. Nepal, which was divided in three kingdoms, constituted a group by itself. We have other two groups, one in farther West called the Baisi and another in the near West called Chaubisi. Now to enumerate the Baisi we have: Doṭi Juṃlā, Bajhāṅg, Achhām, Dailekh. Salliānā, Mālneṭā, Rukamkoṭ, Musikoṭ, Roalpa, Chhilli, Garbhakoṭ, Phāllābāṅg, Jājarkoṭ, Jahari, Kalagaon, Darumaka, Bampi, Gutam, Gajur and Sātatalā². The last was a group of more than one state. For a long time, these principalities were each under a Rājā holding his jurisdiction under the Rājā of Juṃlā, who was regarded as the head of the group of the Baisi (22). Later, Juṃlā's overlordship was ignored in practice and each of the Baisi functioned as independently as the former. The Chaubisis (24) occupied the basins of the seven Gaṇḍaks from the river Bheri to the

1 Lists differ according to the sources, but they seem to agree in main details. For alien sources read Oldfield Vol. I, pp. 23-25; Kirkpatrick, p. 283; Hamilton pp. 130-50.

2 A sub-confederacy of seven chieftains.

river Trisuli comprising the areas extending from the district of Piuthān to the river Trisuli in the present No. 1 West district. These were variously Piuthān, Pālpā, Gulmi, Noakoṭ, Arghā, Khānci, Ismā, Musikoṭ, Galkoṭ, Dhurkoṭ, Parbat or Malaibam, Bhirkoṭ, Garhonkoṭ, Lamjung, Kāski, Tanhou, Mackwānpur³, Rising, Ghiring, Dhor, Paiyūn and Satahūñ. Gorkhā was a later creation. It was ruled by a Magar chieftain till 1559 A.D. When a son of Lamjung acquired the principality by defeating the Magar chief of the area, Gorkhā became independent of Lamjung under Dravya Shāh and thereafter was counted as a member of the Chaubisi. These Chaubisis (24) seldom remained all separate. They seem to have federated in three groups and at one time only in two under Pālpā and Lamjung respectively and the former headed all States up to the river Seti.

For the East of the Valley of Nepal there was Kirāta domain ruled by a scion of the Sena family comprising the basins of the river Dudhkoṣī and its tributaries and a portion of the Terai to the East of the river Kamalā up to the present Western boundary of the Jalpaiguri district.

The existence of so many principalities in a small country with already a very lax and undefined system of administration was injurious to the larger interest of Nepal. It sowed seeds of confusion and skirmishes. Not only the territories within the Valley fell into a state of anarchy, but places lying in the East and West outside of it declared independent of the central power in the Valley. From Tārānātha we hear that as early as the 12th century A.D. Pālpā was existing as a separate kingdom under the Senas⁴. During the same century hordes of Magar and Khasa tribes who had migrated to the region of seven Gaṇḍaks also occasionally defied the

3 Mackwānpur occupied the mid region between the Terai and sub-Himalayan tracts of the Valley just south and south-west.

4 Tara Nath's *Gesichte des Buddhism in India*, Von. A. Schienfuer, p. 25; Levi, II, pp. 188-89.

authority of the Nepal Kings. Some Rājput families from Rājasthān followed suit and the whole of what we call at present West Nepal was studded with petty feudal States. Thus the Baisi (22) and Chaubisi (24) States were born. Not one of them was a viable unit. On top of it all these petty Chieftains were independent of each other and fought like deadliest enemies.

Things were not different in what was formerly the kingdom of Nepal. The area had shrunk. The strength had gone. Division had taken the place of solidarity and unity. It was a truncated Nepal, but in its truncated state, it was also divided. So many kings ruled the little Valley now.

The Nepal Valley presented an appearance of a house divided in itself. The kings not only quarrelled and fought one another like their compatriots in the hill region but each also sought help from the neighbouring hill chiefs to meet the challenge of his adversary. As the latter readily joined one side or the other in the fray the whole of Nepal looked like a theatre of war.

It was said that the Nepal Valley was as much subject to Moghul suzerainty as the Baisi and Chaubisi principalities, though as in the case of the latter Moghul suzerainty had existed only in name. The chronicle states that the Nepalese kings visited Delhi to pay homage to the emperor. One of the kings, Mahendramalla (1561-1576-A. D.) of Kathmandu was favoured with an imperial mandate enabling him to strike his own coins for circulation in Nepal.

Altogether, although cultural traditions had not suffered, the situation as a whole in the area now comprising Nepal tended to be one of confusion and chaos, which eventually was to destroy the very vitality of our cultural heritage and expose the country to the political machinations of a foreign power.

Jayaswal thinks that since the early tenth century A. D. down to 1768, the year of Gorkhā conquest Nepal was not independent. But this is an unwarranted view of the interna-

tional status of Nepal for that period. However, according to Tavernier, the Nepal princes individually or collectively owed loyalty to the Moghul Emperors (II. Ch. XV).

As we surveyed the pre-division period of our history (i. e. before c. 1520 A. D) we have found that there is absolutely no evidence of Nepal acknowledging an outside authority as its sovereign. If the Nepalese princes had owed allegiance to the emperor in Delhi, it was while Nepal lay divided. But this did not happen until the time of Akbar (1556-1605) who is credited with establishing and consolidating an empire comprising practically the whole of North India except the Far East. In the nature of things Nepal's allegiance to Delhi could not but be nominal. The Moghul authorities were not interested in directly administering territories in the extremely inaccessible mountain fastness of the Himalayas, which were also non-strategic and poor. Not only Nepal but the whole of eastern Himalayan region were thus kept outside the pale of the Moghul empire. Perhaps the emperor was content with receiving occasional tributes from the rulers of the states which existed in this area. This explains the fact that the Moghul records do not at all mention Nepal or any other state within its present boundary. Our information is based solely on the account of Tavernier and the Nepalese chronicles. The latter tell us that the rulers of the Nepal Valley and of Gorkhā and Jumlā waited on the emperor with tributes, and the latter was pleased to grant the title of Shāh to the hill chiefs and right of issuing coins to the Valley rulers. But there is a testimony of a visiting Christian Missionary⁵ to establish the fact of Nepal's independence (from the domination of the Moghuls) in the early 18th century. So even if we admit that Moghul suzerainty obtained over Nepal for the 16th and

⁵ *Italiani Missionari*, Vol. II, Part III, p. 165.

"The King of Nepal is independent of Delhi, but is devotedly attached to the Lama of Tibet".

middle half of the 17th century, we have to be now clear about its continuance thereafter. With this authoritative statement of a contemporary observer, we have no ground to put forth an argument in contradiction. What Tavernier wrote might have been true of the time when the Moghul Emperors had been powerful enough to exact obedience even with the shadow of a pressure exercised from afar. But his account could have been based on hearsay. It is quite likely that Tavernier had heard in Patna and Gorakhpore about the Moghuls exercising sovereignty over Nepal, and he made his estimate of the status of the latter on that basis.

Before taking up the account of the states of the Nepal Valley each separately let me state a side fact relating to the division of the kingdom. We have seen while considering the division of Yakṣamalla's domain that no amount of thought was given to the subject of proper delimitation of boundaries and it was effected arbitrarily. There is no doubt that the extent of each state depended upon the military strength of the ruler, and naturally in this context boundary lines often shifted. But it appears that in the long run while the heat of the conflict cooled down each ruler was obliged to stick to the original size of his state.

II

Source Materials

General:

In the last chapter of the first part we left our account of Medieval Nepal with Harasimhadeva's invasion and subsequent events which had led to the rise of Jaya Sthitimalla, and to the reigns of his sons and grandson after whose death the kingdom was divided between his sons. We catch the thread now with the events beginning from the reign of Jaya Sthitimalla's great grandsons to complete the history of the age in the present volume which would cover about three hundred years of Nepal's history down to the conquest of the Valley by Prithvīnārāyaṇa Shāh.

The history of this period, however, is comparatively an ascertained fact and much easier to handle. We have once more in our command very many reliable data of the inscriptions and coins for the time under study in this chapter. We are at this stage no longer dependent on the data of the ms. colophons for regnal dates, which also become voluminous for the period in review. The chronicles in their part tend to be more exact in their narrative and their dates have stood the test of verification by the data provided in the coins and inscriptions. Wright's authority, of course, is an exception, but even this chronicle gives factual estimation of events as the accounts tend to approach the period before and on the eve of the Gorkhā conquest. As for other chronicles much of the vague generalities accruing from the commonly wrong notion of the chroniclers is vanishing away at this place. This does not mean, however, that they should be used indiscriminately. They should be cautiously used even at this stage though not sparingly and nothing be passed as final without verification from the data of coins and inscriptions which are very numerous for this period. The value of the chronicle to us is to the extent of details of the incidents and other historical narratives that could not be traced in the reliable data outlined above.

I

Inscriptions

As for the inscriptions they are very numerous for the period since the time of Jaya Sthitimalla. But for one grave shortcoming they pass as reliable source of historical materials. As the inscriptions provide little information of political events of the period except in a few cases, we have again to take recourse to completing the gap with help of the political narrative furnished by the chronicles. But the statements of the chronicles have to be examined carefully before they are accepted.

The most valuable part of the inscriptional data is that kings in their zeal to perpetuate their names to posterity attach the genealogy of their family and line of predecessors. In the same vein, they also talk of war with neighbours, while recounting their own achievements and religious and beneficent activities of the reign concerned. But while such inscriptions are not numerous, a great many others have the name of the ruling monarch in the context, and this together with the date figure is a very valuable factor to determine and in many cases also to verify the regnal data of almost all the rulers down to Jayaprakāśamalla. Chronicles have been found wanting to fulfil this particular need, because they have given not many exact figures of regnal dates; to take one notable example, Bhūpālendramalla who is wrongly reported to be a son of Pratāpa died in NS 811, according to the chronicles but he died actually in early 821 and he was a grandson of Pratāpa. Similarly one ruler is not mentioned at all, and he, Mahīndrasimha is identified wrongly with Bhāskaramalla, fourth in line of succession to Pratāpamalla by all the chronicles. These are two different names in the history of the period, who ruled one after the other. The chronicles in trying to parade the identity of Mahīndrasimha with Bhāskaramalla also commit one more mistake as they bring out the date of the latter's death some three or four years earlier. Without exception again all the chronicles place Hariharasimha who was according to inscriptions the son of King Śivasimha and father of King Lakṣmīnarasimha in a manner to show him as a collateral of the latter monarch.

In respect of the chronicles in general we shall have an occasion to refer to the subject again and we shall note that there was an exceptional instance of a chronicle giving correct data both in dates and facts while we come to the period starting with NS 740, although in one or two cases this chronicle introduces confusion in the narrative.

The inscriptions of the period in review have been written

without exceptions in a simple character which is known today as the common Newari script. The language is mostly incorrect Sanskrit with some additional paragraphs at the end in Newari. As we go onwards down from the 16th century, we find that the majority of them have the content in Newari language. This is a novel feature of records which is peculiar to this age. We do not have a single inscription of the time prior to Jaya Sthitimalla or a single record in ms. works prior to the same reign in Newari language. All that we have are in Sanskrit howsoever incorrect. But 16th century A. D. onwards we come across inscriptions in Newari language which is addressed as *Deshabhāṣā* 'the language of the country' or *Nepālabhāṣā* 'the language of Nepal'. As all of them give their date figures in terms of the Nepal era whose origin has been already ascertained in view of its being in use up till now, it makes the enumeration of all the data comparatively very easy, as far as the history of Nepal touches the period since the 14th century A. D.

The following represents some other features of the inscriptions :

- (1) Besides the Nepal era, in several cases, *Kali*, *Vikrama* and *Śālivāhana* eras were concurrently adopted. This is evident for the first time in the copper plate inscription of Ratnamalla (date NS 605). This is in evidence again and again in our period,
- (2) The Hindu calender was in vogue while enumerating the date since the creation, and the form of reckoning was the usual '*Sveta Vārāha kalpa aṣṭā viṃśatitame kaliyugasya prathama charaṇe*, etc.'
- (3) The place where these inscriptions have been recorded is stated to be in *Aryāvarta* in *Himavatkhaṇḍe* and in more specified area of Vāsuki in the vicinity of Paśupati, the usual expression being *Himavat khaṇḍe Āryāvarta deśe Nepāla pradeśe*. But this form appears only since the time of Yakṣamalla's sons.

- (4) All inscriptions are in Newari character.
- (5) The language therein is partly Sanskrit and partly Newari, the local dialect called *Nepālabhāṣā* or *Deśabhāṣā*.

Evolution of the Newari Script :

To reach the present form the Newari script traversed many stages. The Gupta *lipi* of the tenth century represents the earliest stage. Thereafter, the *Gomu* was shaped. The decorative *Ranjanā* is a variant common to *Gomu* and *Bhojimu*. But the first specimen of the present writing dates its birth in the 15th century.

We do not intend to go into the technicalities of the various types of writing as this is outside the scope of this work. Here, we shall be content to draw certain prominent features of the alphabet concerned and stop there. This may not extend to more than a paragraph immediately following.

Those who are conversant with the nature of the Newari script will not fail to notice that this is very much akin to the modern Maithili and Bengali scripts. But the Newari writing has also retained some of the old letters of the Gupta *lipi*. Although such letters are few and far between, yet we have to admit this aspect to explain how in some respects the Newari script is also somewhat dissimilar to them. However, it has got to be stressed that the line of development of each of the three types just marked agrees in the main to make a common case of orthographical identity. Even though belonging to the group of Tibeto-Burmese languages, the adoption of a variant of Indian scripts in its totality by Newari is what we do not find elsewhere, not even in Tibet and Burma to that extent.

The study of Nepalese paleography is a subject which had to be specially handled with labour and patience, one may devote his own life to it. So what we have attempted to show in the last paragraph is just by way of providing a clue to the scope and magnitude of the task one may be called

upon to face. This is not even a cursory notice of the subject matter.

Language:

But more than the *lipi*, the language presents a stupendous problem. This is an area which nobody has even felt to touch. The old Newari language is not often understood even by persons having Newari as their mother tongue. The language has considerably changed in the modern age. One has to be specially qualified to understand the language of the inscriptions and chronicles.

Newari is a monosyllabic language with similarities commonly shared by languages of Tibeto-Burman group. It also shows a tremendous influence of Sanskrit in its vocabulary. This expresses in two ways, (1) Sanskrit words adopted as they are and (2) those adapted to its own structure. The latter retain the monosyllabic character. Besides Sanskrit there are sufficient words of Dravidic and Austroloid origin. All these, however, are shaped according to the pattern of the language borrowing them.

This is all about Newari at this stage. We shall have occasion to say more when we deal with the problem of the language in the last chapter.

We shall mark as we proceed that our many records have used the medium of Newari for expression. Unless we understand thoroughly this medium, we shall fail to present a correct history of the period under study. Hence the deep significance of Newari for a student of Nepalese history.

Documents in Copper Plates and Palm-leaf:

Apart from the inscriptions there is also a fund of material in copper plates and palm-leaves, which record the grant of land or other assignment to deities by the monarchs concerned. Most of the palm-leaf records bear the clay seals with their official stamps, and are attached to temples as are the copper plates. There had been also a custom

to record in copper plates agreements between the rulers or any novel announcement each of them made regarding rules of conduct for citizens or acts of piety affecting the mass of citizens. We traced many such in the store houses of Paśupatinātha and Gorakhanātha as well as in several temples of Bauddha deities mostly with Lokanātha in Patan and the vicinity. Duplicates are always traced in the Taleju shrine of the principality concerned.

Thus far these had been neglected. Few writers made a search of them probably under the impression that the chronicles and not these documents were the real source materials for the history of the period. They could not realise that the chronicles used so far were thoroughly unreliable. Thus the history of medieval Nepal up till now came to be written on the basis of the imaginative stories of the chronicles. We need not recount here the harm done to the writing of factual history resulting from this attitude. But it is true to say that the history of Nepal of the middle ages rewriting in the light of the newly traced materials. Our endeavour in collecting the hitherto neglected materials of the inscriptions, copper plates and palm-leaf records will now help us to fill the gap and correct the defects inherent in a work which is only based on the chronicles.

Colophon of the Mss.

Although colophon data are of less importance for this period on the whole, yet they continue to play a major role as determinant of regnal dates till as late as 700 NS. We have accordingly availed of this source material in dealing with the chronology of the period from 600 to 750 NS. But since NS 750 the colophon data also become scarce and we seldom use them for the purpose. With the abundance of inscrip-tional data since this time onwards, we can also dispense with the use of colophons to verify and check up chronological dates.

The Thyāsapu :

For the later medieval period, we have a new source material in the form of diaries maintained by scribes either as a compendium page to a ms. or as a book kept separately with noting on major events occurring within his life time. This sort of diary is called *Thyāsapu* in the Newārī language. In the narrative which follows we have made use of many *Thyāsapus* and described each of them as occasion arose for a reference to their contents. The *Thyāsapu* is important for the reason that it provides actual dates through the writing of one who lived through occurrences. This also provides a first hand information on the events of the day.

The *Thyāsapu* literally means a book, of which the folios are attached in a manner that the reader passed from one leaf to another without turning over it. Unlike the manuscript with leaves unattached, the reading of the contents of the *Thyāsapu* is not to follow the course of the leaf. Here we are concerned with only one side of the leaf read until the last was unturned, then began the opposite sides of the leaves in question exactly in reverse order.

It might, however, be suggested that not all historical notings were done in *Thyāsapu*. They might also be incorporated in manuscripts of loose leaves. Sometimes mere sheets of papers were utilised for the purpose.

It is to our knowledge that a noting in a book does not only speak of events happening in Nepal but this has also to say about some occurrences in Banaras. This is how the event is described in a noting :

“*Saṁvat 785 Āśvina*, there was a Hindu-Musalman riot in Banaras. The Moghul emperor destroyed to pieces the temple and image of God Viśveśvara. Many persons died as a result of mutual killing. Both Musalmans and Hindus died.”⁶

6 संवत् ७८५ आश्विनिश्ववेल स वानानिस विस्वेश्वरदेओरस ।
वासाहन, विध्वंसनं विस्वेश्वर कुति कुति तस्य नकल मुगलवंहिंदुओ,

The date corresponds to September-October of the year 1665 A. D. India was then being ruled by the Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb. He was a bigot Muslim ruler and the non-Muslim subjects of the state were subjected to severe persecution in his time. The incident referred to in the above noting is mentioned in detail by Indian historians. To preserve the memory of the riot and destruction of the temple of Viśvanātha is a mosque sharing a common site with the Hindu shrine, which the Moghul Emperor had constructed.

In another noting a *Thyāsapu (Thyāsapu D)*⁷ there is one more reference to a Hindu Muslim conflict in Banaras. According to this source on 789 *Bhādra kṛṣṇa 4* Aurangzeb provoked a feud in Viśveśvara Kāśī. The event noted came four years later to the one we have described in the preceding passage, and we can establish the fact of the case with reference to the time of Aurangzeb, which we find delineated in the various contemporary chronicles of India.

Notices of such events, however, are rare. As far as my knowledge goes, these are limited to the two instances we have just referred to. Further search of source materials may reveal more events concerning countries outside Nepal.

The incidents in general noted in the *Thyāsapus* concerned the royal family, their relatives, ministers and prominent people of the country. Events of political nature were primarily incorporated in the writing. Births, marriages and deaths as well as ceremonial occasions where these persons took part all find mention. If there were instances

मुसरमानओ, ल्वाकवेलसकतक अदिकसिक, थिथि पाराओ मुसरमानकतकसिक
हींदुकतकयाकतकसिक, वाराओसिक । अनेकसिकजुरो

(MS. *Pūjāpaddhati* in the possession of Eisvaradhara Sharma).

7 सं ७८६ भाद्र कृष्ण चतुर्थी श्री विश्वेश्वर काशीसन वरं जेव पात-
साहन कचिंगर थडदिनजुरो ॥

of feuds between kings or between ministers these found place in the noting. Similarly festivals of the deities were taken note of under date lines in which these occurred. Building of temples, installation of images and repair work done to the shrines as well as creation of endowments for the upkeep of the temples are always mentioned if the benefactors were the members of the royal family or some people very important. The writer did not fail to take notice of national calamities like earthquake and epidemics whenever they occurred. In the same way if rumours of strange phenomena reached him he put them in writing. For example, we often come across passages which speak of the stone images of Paśupati or Vāsuki bleeding profusely. This was something foreboding evil and therefore, a propitiation ceremony had to be performed and this was particularly mentioned.

If there was a dispute as to the time of observing a particular day as the traditional festive day, the *Thyāsapu* gave information about it, and if there was a difference of opinion whether a particular day should be observed, this was also covered in the noting.

We shall fully describe the events as they occur in the *Thyāsapus* either as narrative or as a part of customary practices in the last chapter where we shall describe the condition of the age under observation.

Not all the items of noting in the *Thyāsapus* are of interest and significance as historical materials. In many cases we find quite ordinary occurrences noted. Sometimes even instances of births, deaths and marriages of people in less important stations of life have been also mentioned in the noting. Probably the diarist felt that they were important enough and therefore he took notice of any happening which touched them. But sometimes quite ordinary people also figure in the noting. This kind of noting is found mostly in the *Thyāsapu D*.

We shall illustrate the points by citing instances from these sources.

From the *Thyāsapu 4; Saṁvat 799 Phālguna kṛṣṇa 5*, this day, Śrī Makra Bhāju of Makhantol died at Paśupati (f.9).

This day, *Saṁvat 799 Bhādrapada śukla 3 pra 4 śukravāra* at five *ghari* past night Vīrabhadra Jośi of Bankaro died (f. 15).

Saṁvat 799 Āśvina śukla pratipadā bṛhaspativāra; this day, Sukhula Bhā's son died (f. 15).

Saṁvat 799 Pauṣa śukla 11 pra 12, this day, Ratneśvara Upādhyā died, and Gopinī who was living at home also died on the same day (f. 16).

Saṁvat 799 Naṣṭajyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa saptamī pra aṣṭamī bṛhaspativāra, this day, Ugramāla's mother died (f. 16).

This day, *Saṁvat 801 Kārtika śukla 2 bṛhaspativāra* the finial was placed over the roof of the temple in Sarachhe (f. 16).

Saṁvat 801 Māgha kṛṣṇa 13 ādityavāra, this day, in the compound of Paśupati a finial was put on Sukhula Bhā's temple (f. 30).

Saṁvat 801 Āṣāḍha śukla 13, this day, Giridharaju of Pañchakhera died (f. 31).

Saṁvat 801 Śrāvaṇa śukla 13 somavāra, this day, Viśvārāma Bhansari's brother Kalyāṇahari came to Kathmandu and was living in Śrīdhara Bhāju's house. This day, Hari-rāmaju died, and one woman became *sati* (f. 33).

Saṁvat 803 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī bṛhaspativāra, this day, Śrī Lakṣmīdhara Upādhyā died (f. 49).

Saṁvat 813 Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa navamī pra daśamī mṛgaśira nakṣatra aṅgāravāra, this night, Jagannāthaju died, his wife who was to become a *sati*, fled from the fire (f. 82).

Instances can be multiplied but it is needless to give more details of such noting in view of the understanding one might have got from the above passages.

The *Thyāsapu D* :

On *Samvat 786 Śrāvāṇa śukla 8 somavāra* Bhāraju died.

On *Samvat 787 Kārtika kṛṣṇa* there died the daughter of Ratnarāja living in Yāvajyā.

On *Samvat 791 Āṣāḍha śukla Śrī Viśveśvara's* wife Bamuni died.

On *Samvat 792 Kārtika śukla 3 budhavāra* Siddhirāma of Yatāchhe died. He died of cholera.

On *Samvat 792 Māgha śukla pūnamī.....*five days after this, the deity entered the body of Jayakṛṣṇaju.

On *Samvat 794 Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa ṣaṣṭī somavāra*, this day, at Bāchati, the wife of Kṛṣṇasingh Suvāla, by name Padumanji, died.

On *Samvat 798 Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa 13 somavāra*, this day, Rāmeśvara died at Saṅkhamūla.

Samvat 799 while it was Haragovinda's turn as Thakāli on *Phālguna kṛṣṇa 8*. Kṛṣṇasingh Suvāla died.

There are more incidents noted in the *Thyāsapu D* which may not be necessarily given here.

As for the identity of persons whose death is prominently noted in the *Thyāsapus* it is difficult to say if all of them had held important position in society. Perhaps some did and some did not. The scribe, however, in many cases did not discriminate between the two categories of persons.

The *Thyāsapu A* in particular relates accounts of abnormal occurrences in different shrines on the Nepal Valley.

For example, the *Thyāsapu* at several places says that blood came out one or another spots in the image of Paśupati-nātha, Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa, Jayavāgeśvarī and Vāsuki (ff. 8, 44, 58, 60). Blood was seen just in front of the image in the shrine of Taleju (f. 42). It also states that a spiral of flame was noticed over the *Triśula* of Paśupati (f. 23). A strange voice was heard from inside the inner shrine of Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa (f. 59).

Nobody in the present time would seriously take these statements. But we must remember that we are dealing here

with the people living in a world of superstition. The diarist of the *Thyāsapu* noting wrote all this on hearsay.

It will appear that of the many *Thyāsapus* used in the present narrative one is much extensively cited. This *Thyāsapu* belongs to one Chandraman Joshi of Thimi. We call this *Thyāsapu* for our reference as the *Thyāsapu A*. At the moment this diary is in my possession.

The *Thyāsapu A* is fairly long but covers notings on all important events for Kathmandu and Patan under dates between NS 797 and 826 with all their particulars. It has 105 folios written on the two sides and its text is in Newārī. I have been told that the astronomical elements mentioned in connection with the dates are all verified. This means that the events described therein can be taken as trustworthy.

I have made use of also another *Thyāsapu* in Newārī if not as much extensively but quite extensively. This *Thyāsapu* is in my possession. This was purchased by me from a person who claims descent from the family priest of the Malla rulers of Patan. It has 17 folios. It deals mostly with events of the reign of Yoganarendramalla of Patan since NS 816. I call this document *Thyāsapu B*.

A fragment of a *Thyāsapu* is published in an issue of *Itihāsa Prakāśa* (II. 3. pp. 567-570). The original is lying with a Brāhmaṇa, who claims also to have been a descendant of the priest family of the Malla rulers of Bhatgaon. A few dates in this fragment seem to be quite important. I have checked the printed matter in the light of the original. This fragment is being referred to in our text as the *Thyāsapu C*.

Two loose sheets of old paper written on either side which bear noting of important events by a scribe. For the period between 785 and 807 lie in the possession of the Darbar Library (Cat. IV. n. 975). These sheets were sold to the Library a year ago along with a bundle of worn out manuscripts. I have reasons to believe that for some information of the period dealt with in the notes, these sheets are

very important. These notes were written day by day as events occurred in the course, and they bear the character of a diary and they cover all important facts as they concerned one or the other kingdom of the Nepal Valley. We shall use these documents for our purpose under one name, the *Thyāsapu D*. The writing looks quite old, but it is not done in the form of a *Thyāsapu*. However, the original might have been written in the usual *Thyāsapu* form. Hence our name—the *Thyāsapu D* for the work.

The two sheets in the *Thyāsapu D* overlap as to dates not only from sheet to sheet but from one side of the sheet to the other. But sheet A shows continuity in so far as the noting beginning on one side proceeds datewise on the other. This is, however, not the case with sheet B. The sheet starts with the event of 797 and completes its noting upto 803 *Phālguna* on one side, while it carries the noting to the other from 803 *Vaiśākha*, which ends with 810 to *Jyeṣṭha*. The sheet B on both sides shows at the beginning the year 786, but while one side ends its noting by 795 *Śrāvaṇa*, the other concludes with 811. Barring this, the two sheets on the other hand do not give concurrent facts about so many things. Ordinarily an event noted on one side does not find a place on the other. Similarly the two sides do in many cases show different events noted. Although the *Thyāsapu D* has only two sheets the information it gives about the political and religious events of the time is of a wide variety and bulk larger for the space these are provided in.

One more historical material in the form of a *Thyāsapu* has recently come to my hand. This is in two pieces, each consisting of 15 leaves. Not all leaves contain noting of events. Some have just roughly written liturgies; a few contain irrelevant notes mentioning deities of names, while quite a few present noting of political events. We may designate this work as the *Thyāsapu E*. The events noted are from 783 to 789 NS, and from 800 to 807 NS and for only

one year, 813 NS. The leaves marked are only those which have relevant noting, others are left out.

The importance of these *Thyāsapu* is not only so great for a political historian, but some one engaged in writing a cultural history of the period might derive immense advantage out of these.

It appears from the nature of the noting that the writer of *Thyāsapu A* belonged to Kathmandu and authors of B, D and E were inhabitants of Patan, whereas the *Thyāsapu C* shows the hands of one who lived in Bhatgaon

The source materials, inscriptions, manuscripts and palm-leaf grant records become much exhaustive from the time of Pratāpamalla in Kathmandu, Siddhinarasiṃhamalla in Patan and of Jagatprakāśamalla in Bhatgaon. We shall see that not all these are quite relevant for the consideration of dates or events concerned. There are many which are not relevant at all from any point of view except when they show a regnal year. But much as the intermediate dates of a reign in the later period are not debatable, these have no historic significance as such. In this context we do not intend to deal with the source materials of the period of Pratāpa-Siddhinarasiṃha and Jagatprakāśa and after in the same way as we have done in the case of the reigns preceding. In the latter instance all the source materials are grouped together for each reign in the very body of the text. But as we come to deal with the reigns of Pratāpamalla, Siddhinarasiṃhamalla and Jagatprakāśamalla, we do not bring the source materials as part of the text except where these give relevant dates or historical facts.

We have made an exception to this general practice in the case of reigns which had been so far considered quite obscure for want of materials. It will appear that except for Mahīndrasīṃha of Kathmandu all these reigns belong to Patan. The latter had a series of obscure reigns since the death of Yoganarendramalla in *Kārtika* of 826. More particularly the reigns of Lokaparakāśamalla, Indramalla, Vīranarasīṃha,

and Hṛddhinarasiṃha suffer actually from the paucity of documents, while the last decade of the Malla period was chaotic enough on account of the pressure of Gorkhālī invasion and cannot claim more than a modicum of documents. It will be seen that we have tried to show for these so-called obscure reigns as many documents as are available to us in the ordinary course.

However, whether documents are provided or not, the chronicles and *Thyāsapus* come to our assistance in the matter of determining dates for various events of the period concerned. Therefore the role of inscriptions and colophons in this regard should not be overestimated.

More *Thyāsapus* with historical materials have come to light as I settled down to writing. These deal mostly with religious events but here and there events of political importance are also introduced. One of such *Thyāsapus*, which I have obtained is written as an adjunct to *Ādityastotra*. This covers the account of events from Saṃvat 783 to 793, and then from 855 to 859, and again there is a stray noting for the year 817 as well as for 827. As I have used this material as my source for my account of certain events in the narrative I think it worthwhile to mention it by name. This *Thyāsapu* might bear the mark F while it comes for notice.

Other materials of the nature when available and used might be cited as *Thyāsapus*, G, H, I etc.

A note of warning might be sounded here in regard to the use of the *Thyāsapus* and notings on ms. works in general. It should be observed that not all the *Thyāsapu* or ms. notings are genuine. Their utility is only to the extent that they are written in the period while the events mentioned have occurred. If this fact is otherwise then their authenticity cannot be accepted. Sometimes dates and facts are copied from the chronicles and passed as notings in the manuscripts. Thus we have not only to separate the grains from the chaff in our course of historical facts finding, but also judge the time of writing of the notes in their proper

light. This is an arduous task. If the manuscript bearing the notes is dated it becomes easier to discern the authenticity or otherwise of the document. But some undated manuscripts defy our judging faculties. The time of writing of the main work might be determined with reference to the scripts used as well as the proper. Even so, the noting might delude us if we overestimate these factors. At any rate the noting can be of use to us only when they are borne out by facts of authentic dates in which these had been written.

The Chronicles:

I must now say a few words about the chronicle which I have utilised for the present book. As compared to Wright's or Kirkpatrick's or Levi's history, this is only more reliable as to regnal data but at the same time supplies details of the account lacking in these and several others. This chronicle is equally defective in its first stage of description. It does not differ much from Wright's authority. But its account tends to be more accurate in respect of the narrative since Śivasimha, (698-738) and what we have said in the beginning of the paragraph is true only of this phase.

The practice hitherto had been to complete the narrative of this period within a couple of pages, much in a way skipping over the details that could not be sought for in the above mentioned sources of the chronicle. The present find has been very much valuable from the point of view of filling the gap created by the insufficient touch of the subjects under notice of these chronicles.

Now we have a history as full as it could be in the circumstances, because we are in a position to draw the mass of materials from the same. For the notice of the readers let it be said that we have referred to this particular chronicle as the chronicle whereas those of Wright, Kirkpatrick, Levi and others are noted each in the name of the historian who has utilised the particular chronicle. Wright's chronicle does not differ very much from those used by his compatriots,

and therefore, wherever there has been an occasion to mention these authors, we have in particular taken notice of Wright's authority as a model. Only on special occasions Levi and others find mention in our text and when we mention them, the reference is always made with the name.

Coins

Let us now proceed with the description of another kind of source materials, the coins. Earlier we had simply touched the point while considering the account of the reign of Jaya Sthitimalla and his immediate successors, because in the absence of coins belonging to these rulers anything more was not necessary. In the present instance because of their abundance as coins form a very important basis for the fixation of regnal dates, it becomes essential to deal with the question at this stage.

It may be recalled here that no specimen of coins are available for the entire medieval period till the end of the 16th century.

Father Cassiano in his *Journal* (1740 A. D)^s talks of a silver coin with a plan of the citadel and country of Simraongarh,' 'which was issued by an old king of Bhatgaon coming from Simraongarh'. This coin on one side had a concentric circle and more circles within and without. This fetched '2 Roman paolis at its face value, but today is sold as much as twenty times more than that.'

But we do not know what happened to this coin. If at all such a one was existing at the time Father Cassiano visited Nepal, we might some day trace it out. But till then even Cassiano's observation is not going to help us to make it have a bearing on the history of the Nepalese coinage.

The coinage again at the stage where it figures comes to occupy a prominent place as a material reliable enough to determine the regnal date of the ruling monarchs of the

country. So far, Lakṣmīnarasiṃhamalla's coins had been considered as the earliest specimens of the Malla coinage.⁹ P. Landon, however, attributes some of his finds of undeciphered coins to Śivasimhamalla, Pratāpamalla's great grandfather (Vol. II, Appendix XXV).¹⁰ Incidentally these were available in the Paśupati collection. But it is very difficult to connect them with the history of the place where they were made available as Landon tries to make out. There is nothing in them to show that these in any way brought Nepal in the picture, these might have been traced out of the collection just for the reason that votaries from the plains offered their own coins to the God Paśupati. To all appearances they happen to be struck in the plains by an Indian Muslim ruler. But the script in them is an anomaly. This is, however, certain that the same could never pass as the script in use in Nepal of those days. We have even doubts that the script of the coin was the same as the one in vogue in contemporary North Bihar or Bengal.

The Arabic legend in the obverse of No. 4 of Landon reads Allauddin Sultan.....Mirzaffar Firoj; if taken to be Nepalese adoption, it would greatly reflect on the dependent character of the country but Landon thinks that this is a Mithilā coin. Landon has attributed the coin to Nepal because of certain similarities in matters of decorations by floral designs and a circle in the centre of this coin and in the case of the latter by Persian characters of floral shape, that, of course, conveyed no meaning. According to Walsh Lakṣmīnarasiṃha's coin is the earliest.¹¹ But we have found a coin of Mahendramalla which, however, has yet to be properly examined. This coin has geometrical designs. It is

9 Plate II, fig. 9, Walsh, *Coinage of Nepal*.

10 Landon, *Nepal*, II, P. 317 ff.

11 Bhagwanlal Indrajī's *Vaiṣṅavalī* says that Ratnamalla of Kathmandu introduced a new currency of copper with the image of a lion; Wright's chronicle also has the same story. But such coins are not traced.

simple in appearance. At the centre there is a circle on both sides but with a trident on one and double drum on the other. Within the outer circle the obverse has *Śrī Śrī Jaya Mahendramalla devasya* and on the reverse *Srī Kāṣṭamaṇḍapasyādhipati* (n. 1 in our Appendix). Up to date a coin of Śivasimha with the name inscribed is also in our hand. It is undated. Its look is very much similar to that of the unidentified coin, No. 2 of Landon and Walsh. Undoubtedly, this coin belongs to Śivasimha as the name in letters inscribed shows. Walsh suggested that because of a strong resemblance the coins of Lakṣmīnarasiṃha bears to that of Ghiyās Uddīn Mahammad Shāh of Bengal (1526-37), Mahendramalla must have copied his designs from the contemporary Muslim coins of Bengal. As to the identity of the Malla coins with the contemporary Tughlak coinage of Bengal. It is possible that the rulers of Nepal might have in some respects copied certain features of the designs obtaining there; Nepal being contiguous with Bengal such imitation was not to be ruled out. But there cannot be any question of a total imitation. Both Landon and Walsh admit that in their main characteristics the Nepalese coins of this period as of the older have as much originality in them as that of any other country (For the coinage of the earlier period see the author's volume on Ancient Nepal).

In describing the Malla coins of Nepal Walsh says (Page 699. Para 1):—“Almost all the Malla coins, except those of the Tibet coinage, bear the sword (*khadga*), the emblem of sovereignty, which is generally combined with a garland. The other non-religious symbols are the mace and the lion. The remaining symbols are all religious. Of these, the one most generally found on the coins is the trident of Śiva, and the others are the *Aṣṭamaṅgala*¹² (the eight

12 The *Aṣṭamaṅgala* are (1) *Matsya*, the two golden fish; (2) *Chhatra*, the umbrella of sovereignty; (3) *San̄kha*, the hollowed conch shell for blowing as a trumpet; (4) *Śrīvatsa*, a lucky diagram, also

Buddhist signs of good luck); the conch shell, *Saṅkha*; the holy water vase, *Kalasa* or *Kuṁbha*; the vase for offerings, with cover in form of a *stupa*; the discus, *chakra*; and the double drum, *ḍamaru*, of form like an hour-glass, used in Tantric worship.

“With the exception of the trident, these symbols are all of them common to both the Hindu and Buddhist religions, though the interpretation given to them differs according to the religion.”

For specific features of the coins of Nepal it has to be said that Kathmandu and Bhatgaon rulers being Śaivite had inscribed the emblems such as double drum (*ḍamaru*), trident, flower-vase, discus, sun, bow and arrow, sword and wreath. They are not occasionally found in Patan coins which have instead *Aṣṭamaṅgala* including lotus flower, the eight Buddhist signs. Buddhism was yet a strong factor in Patan.

There were certain rulers of Kathmandu. Bhatgaon and Patan, who each introduced coins not common to the traditional shape and designs of the place. Buddhist and Śaiva symbols also have interpenetrated.

One coin of Chakravartendramalla, the design of which was copied also in Bhatgaon by Raṇajītamalla, bears a triangular bow and arrow and noose besides a lotus and a Yak's tail (Wright, p. 220; Pl. II, 13 of Walsh). The chronicle says that the symbol of a bow and arrow being inauspicious the monarch who incorporated them in his coins died the day he struck them.

Some coins bore in the legend the name of the deity the ruler was specially devoted to. For example Lokanātha (another name of Machhendranātha or Matsyendranātha) appears as legend on the coins of Viṣṇumalla, Rājyaparakāśa-

known as “Buddha's entails”; (5) *Dhvaja*, the banner of victory; (6) *Kalasa*, vase of water; (7) *Padma*, the lotus; and (8) *Chakra*, the wheel of the law.

malla and Viśvajitamalla. The word *Karuṇāmaya* appears on the coins of Hṛddhinarasiṃha and Yogaparakāśa; and *Talejumāju* in that of Yoganarendramalla and *Kumārīmāju* on one of the coins of Jayaparakāśamalla. The name of the regents and of queen consorts also figured, e. g. in the coins of Pratāpamalla, Yoganarendramalla, and Lokaparakāśamalla (regent Yogamati).

No coins bear the name of the kingdom, wherein they were issued or were current as legal tender. But some rulers inscribed in the coins the high sounding titles of *Nepāleśvara* or *Nepāla Chūḍāmaṇi*, *Mahīpatindra Girindra*, *Rājarājendra*, etc, as the case may be, irrespective of the extent of territories they held. There is a rebus of a line at the centre inside a circle in the coins of Siddhinarasiṃha and Hṛddhinarasiṃhamalla.¹³ Some added literary titles such as the one of *Kavīndra* by Pratāpa and Bhūpāendra, and *Saṅgūtārṇavapāraga* by Yoganarendramalla (see below). The affix *Jaya* is very common before the names of the rulers. Coins were struck in the name of a monarch in the initial year of his reign. The first available coin of a monarch may, therefore, indicate the year of his succession.

All coins have a round shape, only one that of Pratāpamalla which dates 789 (No. 14, Pl. II, Walsh) has been a square. Except the very earlier ones and a few belonging to the later period which could be termed as imitation of the almost all the coins have presented the figures in the diagram to make a geometrical design of Tantric conception, whether only in fly foot (Pl. V, 5, 6, 7)¹⁴ on cross *Svastikā* or equilateral triangles which in some coins intersect each other (Pl. V, 4, 6, 12 and Pl. II, 7, 8, 13 of Walsh); the last design was called *vāṇastra* and is prominent in the coin of Śrīnīvāsamalla, Yoganarendra and Vīranarasiṃha. The same diagram may have a triangle inverted and crossing another

13 Pl. V, 4, 6, 12 (Walsh).

14 Walsh, the plates referred to are from his book '*The Coinage of Nepal*'.

design of a *Sarasvatī Yantra* in the circle at the centre or a mere circle or a triangle or a concentric circle, 2 or 3, as the case may be and eight petals around connected by a scollop or a big scollop itself. The diagrams of *Sarasvatī Yantra* or *Aṣṭamaṅgala* with six or eight or ten petal circles are common, but they began after 1690 A. D with Bhūpālendramalla's coins.

The letters both of name and title in the legend were engraved to show them in either round the circle in petals and inside the central circle or in the basic triangles provided by the *Sarasvatī Chakra*,.....in the latter the *Viruda* and the names of deities appear in the space outside these.

A few of Walsh's specimens of the coins of Lakṣmīnara-siṁha and Pratāpa and Jagatprakāśa are the earliest varieties of the Malla coinage (Figs. 9, 10 and 11, Pl. II). Siddhinara-siṁha's (Pl. V, Fig. 1) and Bhūpatīndra's (Pl. II, Fig. 3) also bear the same simple design although belonging to a later period. Walsh says that these were meant for circulation in Tibet. It might be so only in the case of Bhūpatīndra, whose kingdom touched Tibet in the north-east.

Mostly the coins were of a weight of 80-90 grains and of silver and of a denomination of a *mohar* (half a rupee). We have a double *mohar* of Pratāpamalla, which is unique for the whole of the Malla period (Walsh, II, 14). But our rulers also issued half *mohars*, and in a few reigns also appeared quarter *mohars*. The No. 12 of Landon represents a quarter *mohar* of Yoganarendramalla, and there are those of Pārthi-vendramalla, and Bhāskaramalla, Jayajagajjaya, Siddhinara-siṁha (Nepal Museum) Viśvajitamalla, Jaya Bhūpatīndra and Raṇajitamalla (Kesari Raj's collection).¹⁵

Belonging to the reign of Jayaparakāśamalla there are available silver units of 1/16 *mohar* and 1/32 *mohar* (Walsh, IV, 13, 14). The last variety was also issued by some other kings in circumstances of unusual financial stress.

15 Read below our appendix on new coins.

There was an unstamped copper lump in circulation called *Dhehua*, which was valued at $1/32$ nd of the silver *mohar*. This was a *paisā* and represented the lowest fraction of the coinage in copper.

It is not to be supposed that the Nepalese rulers did not strike coins of designs other than the ones just cited. In fact coins of elaborate designs were in vogue in this period, and also coins of the old variety continued to be struck by rulers in later period, though not to a large extent (See Walsh, Pl. II, IV, V and VI).

The Malla coins differ from the earlier coinage:—

- (1) Devices become more complex with adoptions of multiple Tantric symbols (compare Pl. I with others of Walsh).
- (2) All of them are dated and proportional in shape and well stamped.
- (3) However, the dots around the border are retained, but they are placed on the very margin of the periphery.
- (4) Silver coins of the denomination of a *mohar* and of $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ *mohars* and in the case of Jayaprakāśamalla and others also of $1/16$ and $1/32$ *mohar* were in circulation, but these were not so numerous and there was no stamped copper coin for the whole of the Malla period; the *Dhehua* was a lump of copper, piece by piece, current only in a single denomination of 1 pice each.
- (5) The latter represented decimal system of valuation so that 32 *dhehuas* equalled a *mohar*.

We have given in the Appendix certain specimens, which are the new finds of the coinage of Nepal. They were not traced in the investigation made by Walsh and Landon. Except the two which belong to the Nepal Museum but are

not illustrated all are from the collection of Kesari Raj (Kathmandu).

Walsh has reproduced illustrations of certain gold coins (*Asarfi*) of Jayaprakāśamalla lying in the British Museum (Pl. IV, 6 and 12 etc.) but they are not yet traced inside Nepal at the moment.

Accounts of European Travellers:

Since the early 17th century Nepal was visited by Christian missionaries from Europe. In their initial career these visitors passed through the Nepal Valley either to go to Tibet from India or to return to India from Tibet. But later Christian missions were allowed residence in Nepal, and freedom to preach their creed. These were called Capuchin Missions. Whether as temporary visitors or permanent incumbents of the resident missions some European Padres made observations in writing on different aspects of Nepalese social life and polity, and left them as accounts of their sojourn. The materials concerning Nepal available to us is not as voluminous. But nevertheless these enable us to get some ideas of the conditions of Nepal of those days as seen by European travellers. It will appear that we have made use of these accounts so as both to check up certain data derived from Nepalese source materials as well as to deal with the question of general social picture of the Valley of the 17th century A.D.

In the main I have copiously drawn from the following works in regard to the European accounts of the period.

- (1) *Documenti dei Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal* edited by Prof. L. Petech, Parts I-IV; *I Capuccini Marchigiani*; Part V-VII, Ippolito Desideri, S. I. (1952-56). Published by the State Publishing Office, Rome.
- (2) *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, by C. Wessels, 1603-1721 A. D. The Hague, 1924.

- (3) *Account of Tibet, The Travels of Ippolito Desideri, 1712-1727*, Edited by Filippi De Fillippi, introduction by C. Wessels, London, 1932.

Tibetan and Chinese Sources:

There is a bulk of Chinese and Tibet texts with occasional references to Nepal. But we have not been able to touch them as yet. The Ch'ing annal of the earlier period is the main source of such references. So all the two texts on the lives of the Fifth and Seventh Dalai Lamas respectively. There might be available many more sources, but has to do extensive search to get the same.

We are at a loss to understand why Muslim chronicles of contemporary India have little to say about Nepal.

Archaeological: Monuments and Images:

Temples, images and residential quarters some damaged and more still well preserved but many with their own epigraphic records are available in abundance, and they are of considerable interest to us as things of archaeological importance. These provide us the archaeological data for a description of art and architecture of the period as well as of living conditions, dress, ornaments, agricultural implements and weapons used in battles. In addition to these we also obtain in their epigraphs some authoritative dates of chronology and facts of events, by which we can check up and verify the statements of the chronicles in regard to these subjects.

The period under discussion can be regarded as our immediate past. Therefore it is not unusual that except in a few cases archaeological sites have been well preserved.

III

The Background

For the background story of the kingdoms of the Nepal Valley we shall have to refer to the Paśupati copper plate inscription of NS 668, which as already dealt with contains a

peace agreement entered into by the rulers of the different parts of the Valley at that date.

It has appeared to us that about the time the history of the period starts, the Nepal Valley had several principalities, some ruled by the descendants of Yakṣamalla as full fledged sovereign rulers and some ruled by feudatories and governors without paying regard to the sovereign. We have marked at least six such divisions, and these seem to have continued till about 1600 A. D.

In Banepā the first record of the Bhatgaon ruler dates NS 703. This shows Trailokyamalla reigning. In the absence of records it is difficult to believe that Trailokyamalla's predecessor had ruled over Banepā. Farther east Dolkhā constituted another principality. Not until the same time, this unit also was merged in Bhatgaon.

Similarly as we shall see later while dealing with the history of Patan the feudatory of the principality with Lalitapatān as capital had ignored Yakṣamalla's descendants for all practical purposes since NS 640 down to NS 720 or so. The Pharping and Balambu-Kisipidi divisions, one under the *Rābuttas* and another under the *Pramānas* probably existed for the same duration. The Noakoṭ principality did exist till NS 668. We do not know when it merged with Kathmandu. This means that the historic three kingdoms of the Nepal Valley emerged as such only in the early 17th century A. D. As we study the process of emergence of these states, it also comes to our notice that territorial re-adjustment had accompanied its course. Eventually the adjustment must have been effected through elimination of certain petty units and their merger with one of the two kingdoms. In the case of Patan, the territorial entity had emerged with additional acquisitions as Kathmandu came to be divided on the death of Śivasimha.

Although divided and existing apart the two kingdoms of Kathmandu and Bhatgaon and the principality of Patan were for some time to come placed in an awkward position. The

atmosphere of unity had been undermined, but none of them had as yet developed each its own features of a viable entity, which tended to stabilise its existence. They were facing a situation which was not normal for their age. Ultimately this led to their annihilation. But the omens had been visible since their very birth.

The narrative in the preceding section brings our account to the middle of the 16th century. Until now political conditions had not stabilised in the Nepal Valley. But as time passed it certainly improved, and it looked that the division effected after the death of Yakṣamalla had come to stay. Henceforth all these states functioned as really separate entities even waging a war for the sake of preserving one's independence and territorial integrity against the other. We now enter upon a phase of history that is made lively and that was full of fortuitous events; this entitled each of them to be dealt with separately. For this reason we have thought it proper to regulate the account kingdomwise. First, we take up the history of Kathmandu as it had been most important of the three kingdoms.

It shall appear that for some time between NS 720 and 739, Patan had been merged with the kingdom of Kathmandu. But in NS 739 it again separated to emerge as a separate kingdom.

We shall deal with other small principalities in connection with the description of the kingdoms with which they are merged. We shall note the events as they present to us.

CHAPTER II
KINGDOM OF KATHMANDU

I

Ratnamalla to Śivasimha
(1482-1620 A.D.)

Ratnamalla

Ratnamalla was the second son of Yakṣamalla to obtain the kingdom of Kantipur. In the chronicles of Levi and Wright he is described as one very active, ambitious and without scruples. He killed the twelve Ṭhakuri feudatories, who were a source of annoyance to him. A stray noting in the *Thyāsapu A* states that he conquered Kathmandu in NS 605. If this statement was taken seriously, we shall have to suppose that Kathmandu had rebelled on the death of Yakṣamalla, whereupon the occasion for the conquest of the city had arisen. The fact of killing the Ṭhakuris is supported by the Paśupati inscription of Pārthivendramalla.¹ He defeated also the Ṭhakuri chief of Noakoṣ and drove the Bhotias from his border with the help of the Sena rulers of Pālpā.² The Pālpā ruler sent to his help a contingent of Khasa and Magar fighters who bravely pushed back the invaders. In his time, Somaśekhara, a Brāhmaṇa of South India could secure a permanent position as the worshipper of God Paśupatinātha and it is said that this fact was mainly instrumental in relegating the Buddhist Newar priests to the background and thenceforth the latter yielded place to outsiders in important spheres of public life and administration. A chronicle states that he built the Taleju temple. According to the same chronicle Ratnamalla was much under the

1. Appendix. no. 82 Inscription.

2. See Levi, II, pp. 182 ff. Wright, p. 201.

influence of Maithili Brāhmaṇas who had also an intimate approach at the court of Pālpā and they had brought about friendly relation between the two kingdoms. Ratnamalla had issued small copper coins of the denomination of a pice by exploiting copper mines at Tāmākhāni 12 miles to the south-west of Kathmandu on the Mārkhū-Bhimphedi route. But these are not available. He is credited with 71 years of reign by all the chronicles but our authority does not mention anything in regard to regnal years of his and his two successors. The regnal data given by chroniclers are incorrect in his case and in case of others as well. Ratnamalla is spoken of as the sole ruler of Kathmandu in a copper plate inscription (Ombahāl, Kathmandu) dated *NS 629 Jyeṣṭha śukla 3* and more documents follow this date until 639.³ Ratnamalla died on Saturday *Bhādra śukla 12* of NS 640 as attested by the colophon data of a ms. *Amarakośa*.⁴ In the genealogy of the Kathmandu branch of rulers some five generations later he figures as an immediate successor of Yakṣamalla. Let us now look into the genealogy from Ratnamalla onwards to Mahendramalla. The following table we get from four sources, Pratāpamalla's two inscriptions, the Paśupati inscription of 778 (BLI's No. 18) and Taleju stella of 762 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 9*⁵ and Śrīnivāsamalla's Patan Darbar copper plate inscription (NS 785 *Āśvin śukla pratipadā*).

Yakṣamalla, his son
 Ratnamalla, his son
 Sūryamalla, his son
 Amaramalla, his son
 Mahendramalla, his son
 Śivasimha

The Taleju Pillar Inscription of Pārthivendramalla also follows the above genealogy. But another inscription of

3. Read the last but one chapter in Part 1 of the Volume.
4. Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 3490.
5. *Sans. Sandesha*, I. 2, pp. 17 ff.

King Pārthivendra standing within the Paśupati compound starts the genealogy from Ratnamalla and has Amaramalla as the son of Ratnamalla and then gives straight the name of Mahendramalla. In this Sūryamalla is altogether omitted as also Narendramalla (date NS 799 *Mārgaśirṣa pūrvabhadra nakṣatra* and Wednesday)⁶.

One of Pratāpamalla's inscriptions (BLI, 19) does not have Amaramalla and gives in his stead Narendramalla before Mahendramalla. But according to Wright, Levi and BLI, all modern chronicles, Amaramalla was the son of Sūryamalla. From these chronicles we have the genealogy as below :

Ratnamalla, his son
Amaramalla, his son
Sūryamalla, his son
Narendramalla, his son
Mahendramalla, his son
Śivasimha

As the genealogies in our sources have confused the order of succession, we have to leave these aside for our present purpose.

We shall have to turn to inscriptions and ms. colophons to decide which reigns had actually existed and which are fictitious.

It will appear that all names occurring in the genealogy except Amaramalla's have the support of such documents. We have occasions to observe how the royal genealogists, whether it is Pratāpa or his cousin Śrīnivāsa or his son Pārthivendra have failed to produce a correct order of names of his ancestors. However, the place of Amaramalla in the genealogy has to be fixed or his name has to be dismissed as a fictitious ruler.

6. *Sanskrit Sandesha*, I, 10,11,12, pp. 22 ff.

This contains hymns in eight stanzas composed by himself (*Śaṅkaraprāmāṇikāṣṭakam*)

Sūryamalla

(1520-1530 A.D.)

Sūryamalla's first available date is NS 644 and there is a strong reason to take him to have followed Ratnamalla as his successor in view of this date. However, it has got to be proved that there was no other ruler in between NS 644 and 650, which is the last date of Ratnamalla.

From a noting in the ms. *Jaganmohan* (Government National Library recently acquired) we know that Sūryamalla was the son of Ratnamalla. The noting makes a reference to Sūryamalla's marriage on 616 *Vaiśākha śukla ekādaśī pradvādaśī hastā nakṣatre varyāna yoga bṛhaspativāsare*. In view of this colophon no doubt is left as to Sūryamalla being a son of Ratnamalla.

Besides the above noted statement from ms. *Jaganmohan*, we have the following documents in the name of Sūryamalla. It has to be marked that these clearly establish the fact of his reign in the period as shown between the dates of the documents.

(1) Sūryamalla, is noted in the stone slab (*Chaitya, Thahiti*) to have ruled in the Nepal year 644.⁷ This inscription is of a later date.

(2) ms. *Kāmaṇḍakīyanītisāra* (Govt. Nat. Lib. No. 871)⁸ Colophon: *Śreyostu Śrīman Nepālīka Saṁvat 647 Āṣāḍha māsa kṛṣṇa pakṣa aṣṭamyām tithau revati nakṣatre śukravāsarasya Śrī Śrī Śrī Paśupatičaraṇakamaladhūli dhūsaritottamāṅga Śrīman Māneśvariṣṭadevatā samārādhanatatpara labdhodaya Raghuvanīśa rājarājīvotphulla vilāsanaikabhāskara prabala ripu mattamātaṅga darpadalanaika chatura keśari samasta rājachakra sevita śaraṇaika योग्यपदा kamalāta patrabhāla Nepālamaṇḍala saroruha makarandapīyamāna mattamadhūpa nānāvidyāvinoda kalānidhi satsundarīgaṇamanonmādamohajāla samana chintāmaṇi Md nṛpachakra*

7. Unpublished.

8. Unpublished.

chūḍāmani Pm Pbh Daityanārāyaṇāvatāra Śrī Śrī Jaya Sūrya-malladeva prabhau bhujyamānaya pratikṣā etc. etc.

(3) A copper plate inscription on the wall of the main shrine at the Nhakabahil to the right of the door;⁹ it begins *Śreyostu Saṁvat 649 Śrāvana māsa kṛṣṇa khaṣṭi budhavāsare, etc. etc.; at the end Rājādhirāja Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Sūrjamaradeva prabhu ṭhākurasya vijayarājye.*

In the diary of the family priest of the Bhatgaon Rājās, the death of Sūryamalla is said to have occurred on *Kārtika vadi 11 of 650*. Probably this date is correct. Now our main problem is to determine the position of Amaramalla in the genealogy. The correct adjustment might be to introduce Amaramalla between this date and 658 which is the first ascertained date of Narendramalla. But this can be settled only with reference to an authoritative document. We shall deal with this question a little later.

Amaramalla

(1530-1538 A.D.)

We have only one document in the name of Amaramalla and this has made the problem of his identification more difficult. Amaramalla is the only name in the present list, about whose existence there is confusion as to the identity and place in the genealogy.

H. P. Shastri has listed in *CPMDN* (II, p. 82) a copy of ms. *Gītābhāṣya*, dated Lakṣman Saṁvat 422. The post colophon statement of this manuscript, according to him, is 'very nearly effaced but from this it can be gathered that the work was copied under orders of the minister of Amaramalladeva at Kathmandu'. The ms. is in Maithili character and was written by a scribe in Nepal. Colophon¹⁰: *Subhamastu La Sam 422 Bhādra śudi 7 śanau e dine Nepāla deśāntarāt-gata.....guṇagrāma nirupadhiparopakāra Jyautiṣa Vaidyaka*

9. Unpublished. Inscription n. 2 in our Appendix.

10. Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 385.

smṛti purāṇa · kāvya alaṅkāra vahuvidha vidyānidhāna Mā Śrī Śrī Amaramalladevasya pradhāna.....nāma tasyājñayā rājapārśve Mahābhāratapaṭhatā likhitam Mukundapāṭhaka Śarmabhiriti etc. etc.

A ms. of Jagajjyotimalla gives both Lakṣmana and Śaka eras (*Narapati Jayacharyāṭīkā*), 496 and 1539 respectively. Thus L. S. 496 corresponded to Śaka 1539 and 78 added from 1539 will give the year in terms of the C.E. which would be 1617 A.D. Accordingly the epoch year of the L.S. would also be 1121 A.D. or $1121-880=241$ N.S. For a discussion of the epoch year of L.S. see the preceding volume. Likewise the date of Amaramalla in the light of the colophon date of ms. *Gītābhāṣya* is $241+422=663$ Nepal Saṁvat. But we should bear in mind that the passage does not suggest the date as the reigning date of Amaramalla.

The date, however, clashes with the regnal year of Narendramalla. If, therefore, Amaramalla was the father of Narendramalla, then the reference to him in the above quoted colophon might be posthumous.

In view of the colophon there was no doubt that Amaramalla had reigned and he is not a fictitious personage.

Although nothing definite can be said about Amaramalla's place in the genealogy, he was probably the son and successor of Sūryamalla as is given in the two inscriptions of Pratāpamalla and in the Taleju copper plate inscription of Śrinivāsamalla (vide above). He must have succeeded Sūryamalla in 650 on the latter's death and died some time before 658, which is the earliest available date of Narendramalla.

Narendramalla

(1538-1560 A.D.)

The fact of Narendramalla's reign is ascertained with reference to several inscriptions including those dated NS 658, 660, 672, 678 and 680. He is also known from several

manuscripts including the one dated 671 *Āśvina* mentioned by Bendall (Camb. Or. 135).¹¹

Because Mahendramalla follows immediately after in 686, there is no doubt about Narendramalla being his immediate predecessor. As his documents extend from 658 to 680, we can with certainty establish his reign to have occurred between these two dates.

The following gives in detail the relevant date of the documents of the time of Narendramalla.

(1) A few lines inscribed on the pedestal of an image of Mahānkāl at the Nhakababil (Kathmandu).¹² *Śreyostu Saṁvat 658 Māgha māse kṛṣṇa pakṣe chaturthyām tithau Śrī Kāṣṭha- maṇḍapanagare.....Śrī Śrī Jaya Narendramalladeva prabhu ṭhākurasya vijayarājye.* (n. 5. in our Appendix).

(2) A stele in the Budhānkhel area in Chabel.¹³ *Saṁvat 669 Chaitra kṛṣṇa pañchamī Jaya Narendramalla ṭhākurasā.*

(3) A stele on the platform of a temple of Viṣṇu at Hari- gaon :¹⁴ *Śrī Nepālamaṇḍaleśvara Śrī Śrī Māneśvarivaralabdha Śrī Rd Pbh Pm Dharmanārāyaṇa Śrī Śrī Jaya Narendramalla- devasya vijayarājye.....Saṁvat 669 Bhādrāmāse śukla pakṣe aṣṭamyām tithau anurādhā nakṣatre budhavāsare, etc. etc.*

(4) A stone inscription on the platform of the main Chaitya of Kathesyembhu :¹⁵ *Asmin Śrī suvarṇa patālinagare Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Narendramallasya tasya vijayarājye Saṁvat 672 Māgha māsa kṛṣṇa pakṣe dviṭyāyām tithau uttaraphālguṇī nakṣatre śūlayoge suklavāsare, etc.*

(5) ms. *Grahamātrkānāma Saṅgītivasudhāraṇī* (Kaisar Lib. No. 725) Colophon: *Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Naren- dramalladevasya vijayarājye Nepālejagatikhyāte nagare Kāṣṭhamaṇḍape Saṁvat 672 Jyeṣṭha śukla tritīyāyām tithau punarvasu nakṣatre guruvāsare, etc. etc.*

11. CPMDN, I, Intro., p. 30.

12. Unpublished.

13. Inscription n. 6 in our Appendix.

14. Unpublished. Inscription n. 85 in our Appendix.

15. Unpublished. Inscription n. 10 in our Appendix.

(6) ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (Nepal Govt. Museum n. 212) Colophon: *Rd Pm Pbh Narendramalladevasya vijayarājye 672 Aṣāḍha śukla dvitīyā tithau puṣyā nakṣatre bṛhaspativāsare, etc.*

(7) ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Nepal Govt. Museum, unnumbered) Colophon: *Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Narendramalla Saṁvat 673 Pauṣa kṛṣṇa amāvāsyām hastā nakṣatre variyānāyoge yathākaraṇa muhūrte śukravāsare kanyārāśi gate savitari mithuna rāśi gate chandramasi, etc.*

(8) ms. *Yoginījayastava* (Govt. Nat. Lib. No. 449)¹⁶ Colophon: *Saṁvat 675 Āśvini māse kṛṣṇa pakṣe saptami pra aṣṭamyām tithau punarvasu pra pukha nakṣatre siddhisādhya yoge/jathākaraṇa muhūrte somavāsare tula rāśi gate savitari karka rāśi gate chandramasi/Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Narendramallasya vijayarājye/Śrī Yambukramāyām gangulange Śrī Kisirāmlatolake, etc.*

(9) An inscription (copper plate) in the collection of Paśupati-nātha.¹⁷ It mentions the mother of Narendramalla, whose name is Amṛtādevī with donation of *dhūpapātra* to Lord Paśupati-nātha in the reign of her son; dated *Saṁvat 678 Jyeṣṭha māse kṛṣṇa pakṣe chaturdaśyām tithau mṛgāśirā nakṣatre bṛddhiyoge budhavāsare mahāparvadine, etc.* (Inscription n. 14 in our Appendix)

(10) A palm leaf grant (in the possession of Dharmaharsa Vajrāchārya);¹⁸ dated at the end, 678 *Vaiśākha māse śukla pakṣe dvitīyā*, it was a grant of land by *Śrī Śrī Jaya Narendramalladeva prabhu ṭhākura* to one Keśavasimha Sāhu of Asanṭol in Kathmandu.

(11) Three lines inscribed over the roof of a small *Chaitya*, close to the *stūpa* of Svayambhunātha just to the east, *Śreyostu Saṁvat 680 Vaiśākha śukla aṣṭami dine Śrī Vajradhātu Chaitya Vajradhātu Vāgiśvara bhaṭṭāraka sthāpīte*

16. Unpublished.

17. Unpublished. n. 14 in our Appendix.

18. *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, I, 1, p. 93.

Rājādhirāja Śrī Śrī Jaya Narendramalladevasya rājye, etc. etc.
(Inscription n. 15 in our Appendix)

Narendramalla's documents show him reigning from 658 to 680. As it will appear his successor's first ascertained date comes 4 years after.

An inscription of Mahendramalla's reign (on a wall in the Piukhabahal) calls him the son of Narendramalla.

According to the later chronicles Ratnamalla's successors ruled over 28 towns (26 Levi): to mention some, Bandagaon, Lubhu, Thecho, Harisiddhi, Patan, Chāpagaon, Pharping, Bungmati, Khokhnā, Thānkoṭ, Balambu, Kirtipur and Halchok and adjacent places. But it cannot be true that he ruled over Patan and areas adjacent to it, for we shall know that these were joined into a separate principality independent of both Bhatgaon and Kathmandu till NS 720 or thereabout. We have also seen that Pharping was governed by a feudatory exercising powers quite independent of the king of Kathmandu. Later the principality of Pharping was absorbed into Patan. It is unlikely if Pharping ever became a part of Kathmandu; but temporary occupation of Pharping by Kathmandu cannot be ruled out.

Mahendramalla

(1560-1574 A D.)

Mahendramalla is the fourth ruler in Kathmandu after Ratnamalla. We have already said about his parentage. He figures as great grand-father of king Siddhinarasimhamalla of Patan in the latter's inscriptions giving his genealogy. Similarly as we have noted Mahendramalla is the great grand-father of Pratāpamalla in the genealogy given by the latter in his inscriptions.

We have the following documents for his reign.

(1) One copper plate inscription in the name of Mahendramalla dated 684 *Māgha kṛṣṇa*. The record is

connected with the temple of Bhīmasena in Kathmandu.¹⁹ This is the only copper plate inscription so far available for his reign in Kathmandu.

(2) ms. Camb. Or. 135 of NS 686 *Śrāvāṇa* (Bendall, History, p: 30, CPMDN, I).

(3) ms. *Paśupatipurāṇa* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 5472) Colophon: *Śreyostu Saṁvat 688 Chaitra kṛṣṇaṣṭamyām tithau uttarāśāḍha nakṣatre śiva yoge ādityavāsare tasmindine likhitā Nepāleśvara Śrī Śrī Jaya Mahendramalladeva prabhauśāsati Śrī Kāṣṭamaṇḍape, etc.*

(4) A stone inscription in a small temple of Gaṇeśa in Noakoṭ. This reads, *Śrīmatchhrī Śrī Paśupatityādi narapati-chakrachūdāmaṇi rañjite charaṇa Śrīmatchhrī Jaya Mahendramalladevānām vijayarājye/.....Saṁvat 68pakṣe dvādaśi para trayodaśi.....śudhi yogya budhadivase.*

(5) A fragment of a ms. on *Tantra* (As. Soc. Bengal n. 4790). *Śrī Śrī Kāṣṭamaṇḍapanagarottama Śrī Śrī Jaya Mahendramalladeva prabhu ṭhākurasa vijayarājye/..... Śreyostu Saṁvat 693 Aśuni śukla aṣṭamyām tithau rekhakoyam Vajrāchārya bhikṣu Vachchhe gvatra Śrī Vijayachandramati.*

(6) A stray leaf at the end of the ms. *Vṛṣotsargavidhi* contains noting,²⁰ *Saṁvat 694 Bhādrapada śukla 11 tritīyāyām tithau bṛhaspativāra, thva kunhu Rāmasarṇa vijyāka divasa Śrī Mahendramalla|| sahaḡāmini, vaimātri Bhavānī, vaimātri Śāntā, Duini, Herā.*

According to Pārthivendramalla's Paśupati inscription Mahendramalla built the royal palace of Kathmandu. We have it from the chronicle that in his reign one Purandara Rājavaṁśī built a temple of Kṛṣṇa facing the Patan Darbar. Probably the reference is to Purandarasiṁha of Patan (see below). According to Levi this king is also the builder of Taleju temple in Kathmandu erected on Bhatgaon model.

19. In the possession of Pannalal Shrestha, Kathmandu.

20. In the possession of Eisvaradhara Sharma (Patan).

This is confirmed by the verse 18 of the Paśupati inscription of Pratāpamalla.

The Bhīmasena copper plate of 684 mentions the fact of his having built and formally celebrating the occasion of opening the Tavadevala. We know that by Tavadevala the writing meant the shrine of Taleju. It is said that he issued rules of conduct for the people on the line of his forefathers.²¹

According to the noting of the ms. *Vṛṣotsargavidhi* as above cited, he died on *Bhādrapada śukla triṭīyā bṛhaspativāra* of 694 (=September, 1574). The same source says that with his dead body were burnt his half sisters (*vaimātri*) by name Bhavānī and Śāntā, and others Duinī and Herā. Probably the last two were his mistresses.

Mahendramalla is associated with the present silver coins of Nepal called '*Mahendramallī*'. The legend also noted by all the chronicles credits him with securing a permission from the Delhi Moghul to open a mint in Nepal (Wright, p. 207). It is said that he received silver from Tirhut and his coins were circulated as legal tender throughout Nepal including the petty hill states and Tibet. But this particular assertion of the chronicle could not be verified by facts as no coins in the name of Mahendramalla with a date have been recovered. We have a coin of Mahendramalla (vide Appendix n. 1), but it is undated. In the Kathmandu Valley the next earliest find is the coin of Śivasimha but this is also without date; so is the coin of Lakṣmīnarasimha, while the first available Nepalese coin in Tibet belongs to the name of Bhūpatīndramalla of Bhatgaon with Tibetan seal.²² Both Levi (II, p. 216) and Walsh (p. 685) disbelieve the legend²³ of his issuing coins.

21. This is recently published along with *Divya Upadesha* of Prithvīnārāyaṇa Shāh by Mahant Naraharinātha.

22. The coin in the name of Mahendramalla which we have given remains yet to be identified. (n. 1 in our Appendix).

23. For the coinage of Tibet read Walsh's article in *JASB*, II, No, 2, p. 11 ff.

We cannot say for certain if the authority to issue coins came to be enjoyed by the Nepalese king because of the Moghul Emperor Akbar investing him with it.

Mahendramalla had died in 1574 A. D. (=694 NS), while Akbar was at the height of his power in India. In respect of their being contemporary rulers, there should be no doubt. But in the absence of any authentic evidence to connect the Moghul Empire with Nepal. We shall find it much difficult to establish the fact of Mahendramalla issuing coins by virtue of the authority vested in him by the order of Akbar.

We shall, however, discuss this question in detail as we deal with the international status of Nepal for the period.

Sadāśivamalla

(1574-1583 A.D.)

It is said that Sadāśivamalla, Mahendra's eldest son, was forced to abdicate and live in Bhatgaon as his misrule provoked revolt by his courtiers. There is a rectangular courtyard known as Sadāśivachok in the Bhatgaon palace, which is still preserved to commemorate his name. The duration of his reign cannot be assessed properly in the absence of reliable data. We are yet unable to state definitely when his reign began. We have several documents in his name. Bendall provides two, these are mss. (Camb. Add. 1355, and British Mus. Or. 2206), of which the first is dated 1576 A.D. (NS 796).²⁴ It was suggested that he ruled utmost for 2 to 3 years. But this is wrong; he ruled much longer. As a consequence of a widespread mass uprising against his rule he fled from the capital and went in hiding under shelter of the Bhatgaon ruler. He used to forcibly carry beautiful women through night raids in the city. Sadāśivamalla does not figure in any genealogy of his successors. None of his nephews or grand-nephews take notice of him. Sadāśivamalla

24. Bendall, *Journey*, Table II.

was perhaps allowed to be totally ignored because of the stigma attached to his name as an unpopular, licentious and tyrant ruler. All the later chroniclers agreed that he was succeeded by Śivasimha. Except in Levi, Śivasimha comes to be noticed as the brother of Sadāśivamalla. But as we have noted Śivasimha is mentioned as the direct successor and son of Mahendramalla in the genealogies contained in the inscriptions of Pratāpamalla, Siddhinarasimha and others.

As it shall appear from the subsequent passages, Śivasimha was already seated on the throne in NS 698 *Jyeṣṭha*. But Sadāśiva's documents do not stop at this date, they extend over a period of three years and more.

We have the following documents in the name of Sadāśivamalla, either belonging to his reign or executed by him without mentioning the reign.

(1) A copper plate inscription attached to the wall of a shrine in Degubahal in Thimi. *Svasti śreyostu Saṃvat 696 Chaitra kṛṣṇāṣṭamyām tithau trayodaśyām tithau pūrvabhādra pra uttarabhādra nakṣatre brahmayoge pra eindrayoge yathākarāṇa muhūrte budhavāsare mekharāsi gata savitari mīnarāsi gata chandramasi Mekha saṃkrānti mahāparvādine (middle of April).....Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Sadāśivamalla prabhu ṭhākurasya vijayarājye| dānapati Kāntipura mahānagare etc. etc. (Inscription n. 20 in our Appendix).*

(2) ms. *Vasudhārānāmadhārānī* (Camb. Or. 135)²⁵ Colophon: *Saṃvat 696 Jyeṣṭha māse kṛṣṇa pakṣe chaturthyāyām tithau bṛhaspati vāsare|| Md Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Sadāśivamalladevasya vijayarājye|| śubhamastu||*

(3) A stone inscription of Mṛgasthali (Paśupati area). *Saṃvat 697 Kārtika māse kṛṣṇa pakṣe dviṭīyāyām tithau rohinī nakṣatre parigha yoge| yathākarāṇa muhūrte somavāsare| tulya (tulā) rāsigate savitari vṛṣarāsi gata chandramasi|, Śrī Śrī Jaya Sadāśivamalladeva prabhu ṭhākurasya vijayarājye.*

25. Bendall just mentions the date in his *History*, p. 30 (CPMDN, I).

(4) A copper plate attached to the wall of the main shrine of a bahāl at Oṭuṭol, Kathmandu. *Śreyostu Saṃvat 700 Āṣāḍha māse śukla pakṣe daśayām tithau svāti nakṣatre siddhiyoge budhavāsare | Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Sadāśivamalladeva prabhu thākurasya vijayarājye, etc.*

(5) ms. *Pañcharakṣā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1114). Colophon: *Svasti Md Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Sadāśivamalladeva prabhu thākulasa vijayarājye Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa mahānagare tatraiva tolake rathyāyām pūrvva pārśve chochchhañ grhāvasthita tāmtrakāra Merubhāro.....Saṃvat 700 Vaisākha māse śukla pakṣe saptamyām tithau pokṣa nakṣatre gandha yoge bṛhaṣpati vāsare.....Pañcharakṣā puthi jīrnnodharana yāngā juro.*

(6) A palm leaf record of a grant of land to one *sāmavedi* Brāhmaṇa Raghunātha by *Śrī Śrī Jaya Sadāśivamalladeva prabhu thākura*.²⁶ The date is 701 *Pauṣa śukla pañchamī*.

The last record carries the regnal period of Sadāśivamalla to early 701.

Śivasimha (1578-1620 A.D)

Śivasimha's first available document is dated NS 698 *Jyeṣṭha śukla pūrnimā* (=May-June, 1578). This is a palm leaf record about the twelve yearly *Samyak* ceremony performed at that date in the victorious reign of Śivasimha.²⁷ His next document is an inscription dated NS 699 *Phālguṇa śudī*, which has *Rājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Śrī Śrī Śivasimhasya vijayarājye*. This is incised on a slab of stone attached to the main temple at Tārābahāl in Lagantol of the city of Kathmandu.²⁸

Other documents of his reign stand as follows:

(3) A copper plate inscription attached to the wall of the temple of Śākyamuni at the Viśvakarmavihāra of Kathmandu.

26. In the possession of Nepal Museum.

27. In the possession of one Jogaratna Tuladhara in Kathmandu.

28. Unpublished. Inscription n. 22 in our Appendix.

The date is 706 *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa pakṣe aṣṭamyām tithau chitrā nakṣatre dhṛtiyoge yathākaraṇa muhūrte ādityavāsare* under the victorious reign of *Rd Pm Pbh Śivasimhadeva*.²⁹

(4) The Otu stele.³⁰ It gives several dates, 711 (*Ekādaśadhika saptaśate*) *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa pratipadyām bṛhaspatidīne*, 713 (*Trayodaśadhika saptaśate*) *Vaiśākha śukla pūrnamāsyām śivayoge anurādhā nakṣatre śanivāsare*, etc and an illegible date figure with *Lakṣmīnarasimha* as the sovereign. The inscription records the installation of the images in stone of *Akṣobhya*, *Vajrasatva*, *Dīpaṅkara Āryatārā Siddhimañjuśrī*, *Halāhala Lokeśvara*, *Āryatārā* and two *Chaityas* at different stages. With the first date is associated also *Lakṣmīnarasimha* who is described as *Śrīman sakala bhūpendra Lakṣmīnarasimha bhūpati śobhate hi sayetatra nagare Kāṣṭamaṇḍape*. In the same context *Śivasimha* is mentioned as *Śivasimha nṛpaḥ Śrīmān bhāti Nepālamaṇḍale sarājavaryaḥ Śivasimhadeva mūrdhābhiṣiktaḥ kṣitipahpradhānaḥ jītavairi saṅghaḥ jītavīravīrolabdhaprasādā jagadambikāyāḥ*.

(5) Inscribed on the water conduit of *Vajrayoginī*. Date *Saṁvat 715 Chaitra māse śukla pakṣe.....Śrī Śrī Śivasimhadevasa vijayarājye*.

(6) The *Svayambhu* stone inscription. This commemorates the various repair works done to the *stūpa* of *Svayambhu* at different dates, 714 to 725 NS either by *Śivasimha* himself or by others on his orders. The text is partly in Sanskrit altogether 26 lines in verses and in Newari 28 lines. After invoking God *Dharmadhātu* the passage runs to describe *Śivasimha*'s qualities. He is called the son of king *Mahendramalla*. A little later he is praised as one conquering the principality of *Lalitapattana*, (*rājya jayī Lalitapattana nāmadheye*). *Hariharasimha* is noted as his son and crown prince, looking like *Skanda* to *Śiva*. The

29. Unpublished.

30. Unpublished. Inscription n. 26 in our Appendix.

record gives several dates, 714 *Māgha śukla 5*, 715 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa pañchamī śukravāre mūla nakṣatre*, 724 *Māgha śukla 5*, 725 *Māgha śukla 5 bṛhaspativāsare*.³¹

It appears that the donors mentioned in the record are the same persons who figure in the Otu Inscription.

(7) A palm leaf record of land grant by *Śrī Śrī Jaya Śivasimhadeva prabhu ṭhākura on Saṃvat 714 Śravaṇa vadi 7*,³² witness to the deed was Hariharasimhadeva.

(8) Inscribed on a big bronze bell at Kwābāhal, Patan. *Saṃvat 728 Āśvina śukla pūrnimā bṛhaspativāsare... Mānigvalādhipati Śrī Śrī Śivasimhadeva prabhu ṭhākurasa, putra Śrī Śrī Jaya Hariharasimhadeva ṭhākurasa vijayarājye, etc.*

(9) A copper plate attached to the main shrine of Viśvakarmā vihāra in Kathmandu. *Svasti Śrī Kāṣṭhamandapa mahānagarādhiśvara Rd Śivasimhadeva dharmāvātāra nṛpati vijayarājye, etc.* The date at the end is *Saṃvat chandra-guṇāsvakhye (=731) Pauṣa kṛṣṇa yame (=10) tithau viśākhā sūla yogināu sūryajyoti yathā bhavat Saṃvat 731 śubham.*

(10) The Patan Darbar square temple stone inscription with date 734. *Nepālābde veda vanhi loka Bhādra site tithau daśamyām nakṣatre uttarāśāḍha śobhanayoga sauravāsare.*

(11) In Tukambāhāl, Kathmandu, a stele, has *Śrī Śrī Śivasimhadevasu pārita vijayarājye Nepāla hāyane yugāgnī muni yute (=734) māsedhave pakṣa śukleṣṭamyām etc.*

(12) In Patan in front of the Khvapabahi, attached to a Chaitya. *Saṃvat 734 Jyeṣṭha śukla dvādaśī pra trayodaśyām viśākhā pra anurādhā nakṣatre...bṛhaspativāsare, Māniglalādhipati Śrī Śrī Śivasimha ṭhākurasya vijayarājye, etc.*

(13) A stele standing close to the *garbha* within the precincts of Northern Aśoka *stūpa (yampisthupa)* in Patan. *Saṃvat 735 Jyeṣṭha māse kṛṣṇa pakṣe chaturthī pra pañchamī*

31. *Sans. Sandesha* II, 4, 5, 6, pp. 46-49.

32. In the possession of the Government Museum, Kathmandu.

tithau śravaṇa ghaṭi 5 dhaniṣṭhā nakṣatre vaidhṛti ghaṭi 7 viśkambha yoge somavāsare Śrī Māniglādhipati Śrī Śrī Jaya Śivasimhadevasya tadvijayarājye, etc. This records the completion of the repair of *Chaitya*.

(14) A stone inscription of the Durukhyobāhā in Patan. There are two dates, the first commemorating the occasion of the setting up of the image of Śākyamuni in the main shrine and the second, *Samvat 736 Phālguna māsyā śukla pakṣe ekādaśī pra dvādaśī tithau punarvasu pra puṣyā nakṣatre saubhāgya pra śova yoge ādityavāsare kumbha rāśi gata savitari karkka rāśi gata chandramasi asmin divase Śrī Śrī Rd Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Śivasimhadevasya vijayarājye, etc.*

(15) ms. *Mādhavanidāna*.³³ Colophon: *Parvvatāgnitul-angābde (=737) Pauṣe māsi śite tathā/trayodaśyām guruvāsare pūrṇa likhitamtaddine // Rd Śrī Śivasimha devasya vijayarājye Lalitapattane tasyā dhiṣṭita etc. etc.*

There might be more documents of the reign of Śivasimha. Our list should not, therefore, be taken as exhaustive.

Comparing the dates in the documents of Sadāśivamalla and Śivasimha respectively, it appears that from 698 to 700 (both dates inclusive) their reigns have gone side by side. As so far documents showing joint rule have not come to our notice, the inference on the basis of facts available upto date can be to say that they had ruled at different places within the dates shown above. Records in the name of Sadāśivamalla are not available for the time after 701 *Pauṣa*. As already seen we have not come across documents in the name of Śivasimha for the time between 699 *Phālguna vadi* and 703 *Māgha*. Could all this suggest to the occurrence of civil war in Kathmandu at this time? The chronicles say that the people rose against Sadāśivamalla and compelled him to abdicate and seek refuge in Bhatgaon. It is quite possible that in course of the revolt Śivasimha was declared king in a part of the kingdom. The capital itself seems to have been

33. Recently acquired by the Government National Library-

divided, the lower portion with Laganṭol and its vicinity, going to the rebels. Śivasimha's early records are confined to the lower portion (*tallo ṭol*) of Kathmandu and Sadāśiva's documents are spread over the upper portion, all areas round about the present site of the palace and north of it. Therefore the inference in regard to the division of the capital can be correct.

Levi quotes a Brāhmaṇa authority of a chronicle to show that the dynasty of Śivasimhadeva was the Ṭhakuri dynasty of Kathmandu, a smaller section of the Mallas. Another chronicle stated that Śivasimha was a son of Mahendramalla by a concubine who was a daughter of a feudal Ṭhakuri family. Śivasimha is clearly mentioned as the son and successor of Mahendramalla in several inscriptions of his grandsons and other descendants. He calls himself a son of Mahendramalla in his Svayambhu stone inscription. Therefore it is wrong to say that he had founded a new dynasty. But he might have been an illegitimate son of Mahendramalla.

It is difficult to say about the duration of the rebellion in the absence of authentic source materials. But the civil war seems to have dragged on for more than 3 years. It is also not possible to fix an exact date for the final overthrow of Sadāśivamalla. Sadāśivamalla had enjoyed his reign undisturbed for four years, between 694 and 698 NS.

But it appears that he had to face a disturbed situation of civil war since early 699. The conflict had ended in his defeat and final exit. We, however, find it impossible to fix date for his dethronement in view of the total absence of information on the subject.

We have also no idea of how Śivasimha settled down to conducting the affairs of state when the conflict had ended on the flight of his brother. A sure date could be given for the occasion of the restoration of normalcy in the Kāntipur kingdom only when authoritative documents will come to light to support it.

The Svayambhu inscription loudly praises him as a monarch of widespread fame, who had vanquished his enemies with tremendous valour. Could this be interpreted to apply to his victory in the civil war? But the line refers to him for the situation in NS 714. It is doubtful if the memory of the conflict would have been so fresh at that date to find an expression in the record.

According to the chronicle Śivasimha repaired the *Chaitya* of Svayambhu and the temple of Chāngu Nārāyaṇa in collaboration with his wife. This is supported by the inscription (Doc. 3 above). According to the same authority he absorbed Patan and all its territories into his kingdom. We have several inscriptions in Patan, which show him ruling there (Doc. above). One of his Patan inscriptions (dated NS 735) addresses him as lord of Māniggal (above Doc. 13). We shall deal with the question of his conquest of Patan in another section as we describe the history of that principality.

One of the documents above (n. 6) shows that Śivasimha had a son named Hariharasimha. As we have already seen Hariharasimha also appears as witness in documents, while he is shown as jointly ruling with his father in few others (n. 8). The latter, however, belongs to Patan.

According to the genealogy given by Pratāpamalla (Taleju Inscription) and Pārthivendramalla (Paśupati shrine Inscription of NS 801)³⁴ the family tree of Kantipur branch stands as follows since Mahendramalla.

Mahendramalla, his son
 Śivasimha, his son
 Hariharasimha, his son
 Lakṣmīnarasimha.

The Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa temple inscription of Siddhinarasimha and Śrīnivāsamalla's Patan Darbar copper plate inscription have the same list upto Hariharasimha from whom was born Siddhinarasimha.

34. *Sanskrit Sandesha*, 1, 2, pp 17 ff and 1. 10,11,12 pp. 22 ff.

In view of the above evidence there is no doubt left about Hariharasimha being the son of Śivasimha.

Hariharasimha is also the father of Lakṣmīnarasimha and Siddhinarasimha, rulers of Kathmandu and Patan respectively since Śivasimha's death.

It was suggested that Śivasimha did not enjoy amicable relation with his only son, Hariharasimha.

We do not trace inscriptions in Kathmandu to show Hariharasimha's reign. It is possible that this man started his political career as the lord of Patan under his father. Probably, he could not pull on with the latter as long as they lived. It is often said that the estrangement was due to Harihara's strained relation with his first wife, the mother of Lakṣmīnarasimha who was a pet of Śivasimha and who had never cared to humour his own father. Śivasimha's partiality in favour of Lakṣmīnarasimha can be assured from an inscription of his reign at Oṭu in Kathmandu (above cited) wherein the latter is addressed along with king Śivasimha as *bhūpati* and governing Kathmandu.³⁵

Siddhinarasimha's inscription says that Śivasimha died suddenly drowning the people in gloom of sadness over his death. Hariharasimha having died in the life time of his father, Śivasimha was succeeded by Lakṣmīnarasimha in Kathmandu and by Siddhinarasimha in Patan. The date of the division of the Kāntipur principality according to the chronicles is NS 740. It is possible that Kathmandu did not owe more than a nominal allegiance to the crown prince, Hariharasimha, as long as he lived and his sway was confined within Patan and adjoining areas that formed the parts of this kingdom. But as he died in the life time of his father the question of his jurisdiction over Kathmandu is ruled out. We have not traced any record, inscription or otherwise of his reign in Kathmandu nor he ever appears in these as a crown prince ruling jointly with his father. He is, however, noted

35. Inscription n. 26 in our Appendix.

as a son of Śivasim̐ha in the Svayambhu inscription (Doc. n. 6 above).

It is often said that Hariharasim̐ha who declared himself independent of Kathmandu died shortly after in 1609 A.D. and thereafter his father Śivasim̐ha pushed his sway over Patan. There is on the bronze bell of the Kwābahāl temple a line inscribed, which goes to show that both he and his father were ruling over Patan in 728=1608 A.D. But subsequently after in 731 in another stele the son's name does not appear, which definitely means that the latter had either died or ceased at least to be a defacto ruler at this date. Probably he died any time between these two dates.

Śivasim̐ha's documents in Patan extend right upto the year 737 NS. So there is no doubt that he had outlived his son. There seems also little truth in the statement that Hariharasim̐ha was functioning as a ruler of Patan in complete disregard of his father's overall authority.

From an inscription of Bhṛṅgāreśvara with the dates 734 *Bhādra site 10 uttarāsādhā nakṣatre śobhana yoge saurivāsare* and 735 *Chaitra śukla 15 chitrā nakṣatre śuddhiyogake somavāra*, it appears that a Brāhmaṇa coming from his home country Cholā situated on the bank of river Kāverī in South India became the preceptor (guru) of Śivasim̐ha. His name was Nārāyaṇa and his son's name Mahādeva. Nārāyaṇa was learned in the best of Śāstras including the Vedas. Nārāyaṇa set up the images of Mahādeva, Kumāra and Gaṇeśa close to Bhṛṅgāreśvara. He had donated land for the purpose of *yātrā* and *Kārtika dīpadāna* of the lord and also a garden for flowers and *naivedya*.

In the Svayambhu inscription (doc. n. 6) Śivasim̐ha is said to have ordered the repair of the much damaged *Chaitya*, which was completed with due honours after a sacrificial rite (*yaṣṭi*). He is also said to have made bounteous offering to the Brāhmaṇas as the *stūpa* was being repaired. Śivasim̐ha in the traditional ways esteemed the *stūpa*. This was so natural in the environment obtaining in Nepal of the day.

More than that the association of the Brāhmaṇas with the sacrificial rites of the *stūpa* shows how Buddhism had mingled with Śaivism in this part of the world with the encouragement of the ruling authorities.

Death of Śivasimha

There are two inscriptions of the year 739 (1) on a stone attached to a small *Chaitya* at Yanamugal quarter of the city of Patan, which shows *Siddhinarasimhamalladeva ṭhākurasya vijayarājye* with *Samvat 739 Vaiśāṣa śukla ekādaśi pradvādaśyām tithau uttrabhādra nakṣatre viskambha prapritiyoge śukravāsare vṛṣa rāśi gata savitari mīnarāśi gata chandramasi*, (2) a stele at the corner to the left of the temple of Bhṛṅgāreśvara at Sonaguthi, two miles south of Patan *Samvat 739 Māghamāse kṛṣṇa pakṣe pañchamyām tithau hasta nakṣatre dhṛtiyoge ādityavāsare kumbharāśi gata chandramasi* etc, at the end *Śrī Śrī Siddhinarasimhamalla prabhu ṭhākurasana ekachhatrayāna rājyayāle* etc.

In view of these two inscriptions, Śivasimha's death must have occurred before *739 Māgha kṛṣṇa ekādaśi*. He could die any time in between this date and the date of his last document of 737 (n. 15 above). But we can hardly suggest the actual date of his death until concrete evidence in this regard is forthcoming.

An inscription belonging to the reign of Śivasimha has amongst other things, *Vārāhakaḷpe Vaivasvatamanvantare* etc *Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapanagare Gokarṇasthāne* etc and a little later *svasti Śrī Śrī Jaya Śivasimhadeva, Śrī Śrī Jaya Raṇajītasimhadeva ubhaya ṭhākurasya vijayarājye.....Samvat 703 Māgha śukla pañchamyām tithau*.

Who is this Raṇajītasimha? As he appears to be a co-ruler with Śivasimha, he must be an important member of the royal family. But he is not mentioned by the chronicles. This makes it difficult to ascertain his identity. Raṇajītamalla does not figure in any other documents. It is quite likely that he might have been a royal personage left

in charge of the area around Gokarna. Or was he a younger brother or the eldest son of Śivasimha, who had died at a very early age?

II

Kathmandu once again divided

When Śivasimha died the principality of Kathmandu was divided between the two sons of Hariharasimha. Lakṣmīnarasimha obtained for himself the old principality of Kathmandu, while to Siddhinarasimha's share fell the territories east of Bagmati river with Patan as capital. There is no doubt that the boundary had to be redrawn because the new kingdom of Patan seems to have comprised more areas than what it did under Viṣṇusimha and his successors. It appears that Siddhinarasimha's domain included the division of Chāpāgaon and Pharping in the south and Balambu, Chobār, Kirtipur, Thānkoṭ and places further west as far as Chitlāng, Pālunḡ, Lāmidānda and Dhāding beyond the Valley. Previously all these areas were not included within the principality of Patan.

Until we come to the reign of Lakṣmīnarasimha we do not know where the site of the palace was situated. Although the chronicles speak of Mahendra to have built the Taleju temple, we find no records whatsoever of any prince in this area till 741 NS. The absence of records of reigns preceding Lakṣmīnarasimha's in the site now known as the Malla palace is significant in that it may indirectly point out to the possibility of another palace site which existed until Lakṣmīnarasimha or his predecessor shifted his reference to a new site. We shall, however, discuss this question in its details while we come to describe the three cities.

Lakṣmīnarasimhamalla (1620-1641 A D)

Lakṣmīnarasimha ruled as the sovereign of the Kathmandu principality from 739 to 761 NS. It could not be said if the division of territories between the two brothers had been

marked by Śivasim̃ha's testament. According to one chronicle Lakṣmīnārasim̃ha became the ruler of Kathmandu in NS 733, but only to rule till 744 NS when he was declared insane. But in view of Śivasim̃ha's documents of 735 and 737 he could not have succeeded to the throne in NS 733. Two of his coins (one in Walsh, Pl. II, 9) and the other in Landon (n. 2) are undated. The copper plate (*NS 741 Māgha vadi 14 śaniścharavāra=1621 A.D*) inscription of Taleju shows that he was ruling over Kathmandu in 1621, and he and Siddhinarasim̃ha, the Patan ruler, swore not to violate each other's territory and live in peace and maintain good neighbourliness.³⁶

This inscription is the first document of his reign.

If it was established that Siddhinarasim̃ha had succeeded to the throne in c. 739 NS, there is every reason that Lakṣmīnārasim̃ha had also come to the throne in the Kathmandu principality at the date.

Lakṣmīnārasim̃ha was quite grown up while he succeeded his grand-father on the throne. We see him for the first time in the Oṭu inscription at the date 711. It appears that he got himself reconciled to the situation of the division of the kingdom without making any effort to undo it. The agreement which he entered into with his brother in 741 so immediately after the division provides evidence of the fact that reconciliation was spontaneous. The agreement was executed keeping in mind the tutelary deity Taleju, a fact which guarantees its sanctity. This may lead to a suggestion that the division came as a result of the testament executed by Śivasim̃ha at the time of his death. This suggestion can be accepted, for in the condition of division having been achieved under force, a contingency of civil war cannot be ruled out. But we know that there was no war of succession on the death of Śivasim̃ha. Probably this could be avoided

36. 741. *Māgha vadi chaturdaśi Saturday*. Inscription n. 33 in our Appendix.

because Lakṣmīnarasiṃha expressed no desire to lay claim on the part of the kingdom, represented by Patan, now falling to his half-brother. It seems that the creation of the kingdom of Patan ruled by a son of Hariharasiṃha had also meant some diminution of territory for Kathmandu.

The agreement between Lakṣmīnarasiṃha and Siddhinarasiṃha according to the lines inscribed in the Taluju copper plate enjoined on the two rulers to refrain from doing any unfriendly act towards each other either by way of invading forts or capturing territories on any account whatsoever. Nor was one at any time to side with the enemy of the other. It was stressed that one was to regard the friend of the other as his friend and the enemy as his own enemy. Each was ever to be vigilant not to undermine the interest of the other. If ever one was threatened by an enemy, the challenge was to be met jointly to the best of their physical might and economic resources. Whoever committed breach of this agreement, he was to incur the wrath of Goddess Taleju.

We do not know how far the two parties remained true to their pledge. Perhaps the pledge was honoured as long as Lakṣmīnarasiṃha had ruled Kathmandu and then broken. His son Pratāpamalla definitely violated the agreement as soon as he came to power which had led Siddhinarasiṃha to register his protest in his Kṛṣṇa temple inscription of 757 NS. No blame, however, goes to Lakṣmīnarasiṃha for his breach as he had by the time retired to a private life leaving the affairs of state in the hands of his son. Pratāpa himself claims to have captured some forts within Siddhinarasiṃha's jurisdiction and he expressed his own satisfaction over this achievement, and he cannot be absolved from the blame even if we may want to do so.

The chronicle states that one Mayāsing Naradeva, a native of Bhatgaon, was the Chief Minister of Kathmandu while Lakṣmīnarasiṃha ruled. It is said that Mayāsing was the main hand causing friction in the relationship between the

king and his son and responsible for the cold blooded murder of Bhīmamalla who was another important personality of the time. We shall have occasion to say more about Bhīmamalla in the next few pages.

In addition to the documents discussed above, we have the following inscriptions and other records for the reign of Lakṣmīnarasimha.

(1) A stone inscription in a courtyard in Indrachok, Kathmandu *Samvat 752 Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa ekādaśyām tithau uttarabhādra nakṣatre prītiyoge śukravāsare Jaya Lakṣmīnara-simhamalladeva prabhu ṭhākulasa paryyāyasa etc, etc.*

(2) A copper plate attached to the central temple of Jagannātha in the Darbar Square Kathmandu. The text is partly in Sanskrit and partly in a mixed Hindi-Newari language. The record dated in 753 *Mārga kṛṣṇa 6*, and mentions various names of *daśanāmī sannyāsis* along with others.

(3) A copper plate inscription in the possession of Paśu-patinātha. This is a grant of land by *Śrī Śrī Jaya Lakṣmī-narasimhamalla prabhu ṭhākura, Samvat 754 Vaiśākha śudi tritīyā.*

(4) ms. *Guhyasiddhi* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 4848) copied in the reign of Surendra Vikrama Shah. It contains a line, *Śrīman Nepālādhidevasya Paśupate.....jirṇatayā 755 Nepāla Samvatsare Lakṣmīnarasimhamalla nṛpeṇa, jirnoddhāreṇa navikṛta etc.*

(5) A stele inside the temple of Bhavānī-Śaṅkara at Chikamugal, Kathmandu. *Nepāle munibāṇāśva saṁyute vatsare śubhe (=757) Vaiśākha śukla pakṣe pañchamyām budhavāsare. Śrīman Lakṣmīnarasimhena bhujyamāne puṛot-tame Kāṣṭamaṇḍape sajñakecha etc.*

(6) A stele dated 757 at the foot of the Svayambhu hill, to the right of the stony pathway, *Id Śrī Śrī Lakṣmīnara-simha, tanaya Śrī Śrī Pratāpamalladeva nimha prabhu ṭhākurasa vijayarājye, Samvat 757 Māgha śukla pañchamī*

brhaspativāsare uttarabhadra nakṣatre siddhiyoge yathākaraṇa muhūrte etc.

(7) The Makhantol (Kathmandu) stone inscription of 761 māsē 4 tithau 7 vāra 2 Āṣāḍha sudhi 7 lying inside the temple of Śiva, known locally as Paśupatinātha.³⁷ The language of the inscription is what is now known as Nepali called then just *bhāṣā* to distinguish it from *Deśabhāṣā* known today as Newari. It records the grant of land, the income of which was to be used for the daily worship of the deity.

According to chronicles Pratāpamalla ruled as a regent for some time, before he was actually installed on the throne as his father Lakṣmīnarasiṃha who developed an unsound mind at his old age could not be trusted with administrative responsibilities. But the date N S 744 given by the chronicle for the relinquishment of kingship by Lakṣmīnarasiṃha is apparently wrong. Also the story that Pratāpamalla dislodged his father is untrue. It is said that the inscriptions which do not show royal form of address in connection with his name belong to this period of regency (see below). He could not have obviously assumed the titles of a sovereign while his father reigned. But as we have seen for some years since 754 Pratāpa is shown in several records to have reigned alone with his father.

In the inscription over a stella at the foot of the Svayambhu hill Pratāpa is referred to as the son of Śrī Mahārājādhirāja Lakṣmīnarasiṃha, and in the year NS 757 *Māgha śukla 5 Thursday* of that inscription. It appears that at this date both these rulers were regarded as jointly reigning over Kathmandu (*thav nimha prabhu thākurasa vijayarājye*). It appears that Pratāpamalla had already become some sort of regent at the date shown by the inscription. The ms. *Laṅkāvatāra* (Br. Museum n. 96) also shows Lakṣmīnarasiṃha and his son Pratāpamalla as the two kings of Kathmandu on 758 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 13 kṛttikā dhṛtiyoge brhaspativāsare etc.*

37. Inscription n. 44 in our Appendix.

Another ms. *Aparimitāryunāmadhārīnī* (As. Soc. Bengal n. 10734) gives the date of writing 760 *Mārgga śukla 13* Thursday and has the following line for the reign, *Md Pm Pbh Śrī Jaya Lakṣmīmallasiṃhamalladeva, tasya putra Śrī Śrī Pratāpamalla prabhu ṭhākurasya vijayarājya juro etc.* In this document Pratāpa is shown reigning alone, but royal epithets are given to his father, which indicates that he was functioning as a regent. *Putra* is a mistake for *putra*.

So it is not unlikely that Pratāpa was looking after the affairs of state in the capacity of a regent for some years before he was declared king. But he enjoyed more powers since about 757, Lakṣmīnarasiṃha's records grow scarce since 757 and it might have been so because of his gradual disappearance from activity. But the Ṭokha (Thyāgalṭol) stone inscription of the year 757 (*Vaiśākha śukla 2 rohinī nakṣatre śobhanayoge*) notes his *vijayarājye* without his father's name figuring.

Bhīmamalla

Pratāpamalla in his early regnal career conducted the administration with the help of Kāzi Bhīmamalla and Kāzi Māyāsing Naradeva who were also ministers in the time of his father.

It appears that Kāzi Bhīmamalla was a man of considerable accomplishment and had acquired immense powers by perseverance and hardwork. He was definitely head and shoulder above his many contemporaries in ability and achievement and this excited the jealousy of Mayāsing who set himself to instigate the king against Bhīmamalla.

Bhīmamalla is a witness to a palm leaf grant made by Lakṣmīnarasiṃhamalla.³⁸ He belonged to the royal family as the line in his inscription, *Jaya Bhīmamalladeva prabhu*

38. Unpublished, in the custody of the Patna Museum. This records the grants of 62 ropanis of land for the expense required to conduct the daily worship of the deity.

thākure shows. But he was not the younger brother of Pratāpamalla as the chronicler put it.

Bhīmamalla in an inscription³⁹ dated *NS 763 Kārtika śukla 12* recording the setting up a Śiva temple in memory of his father Pūrṇamalla does not mention the ruler (Guruji's compound at Yetkha). Bhīmamalla's copper plate inscriptions of Paśupati shrine also omits the ruler's name. It was suggested that Bhīmamalla must have been in this act led by the consideration that Pratāpamalla was only a regent at the time. But as there is an irrefutable proof of Pratāpamalla becoming king in the year 761, this inference hardly holds ground. This may, however, show that Bhīmamalla had gained immense strength in the realm so as to be able to ignore the reigning king in his record. The same Bhīmamalla at a later date is said in the chronicles to have been killed by Pratāpamalla who got fearful of his growing popularity. Bhīmamalla is remembered today mostly through legends which ascribe to him the revival of Nepal's trade with Tibet and securing concessions for Nepalese in matters of trade and judicial rights and achieving conquest of outlying areas on the border. From the document of the first Gorkha-Tibet period, it is learnt that Bhīmamalla had annexed to Nepal half the area of the districts of Kerrong and Kutī. He had also succeeded in capturing Dolkhā, an important centre of trade, situated on a ridge overlooking the river Tāmā Kośī, which facilitated Nepal's traffic both to Limbuan and East Tibet. He had grown immensely popular by the time he returned to Kathmandu, and this provoked Pratāpa's jealousy about himself and the latter plotted to eliminate him physically. As soon as he came back to Kathmandu from a tour of areas on the northern border Bhīmamalla was assassinated.

The chronicle states that Bhīmamalla's adversaries wanted to bring about his downfall and with that end in view poison-

39. Inscription n. 46 in our Appendix.

ed the new king's ears against him. Pratāpamalla was given to understand that Bhīmamalla conspired with the ruler of Tibet to usurp the throne in his country. Bhīmamalla had gone to inspect some outposts on the Nepal-Tibet border and he was to return to Kathmandu. A conspiracy was hatched up to have him killed as he entered the palace. Kāzi Mayāsing had played an important role to create ill-feeling in the mind of his king against Bhīmamalla. He was now entrusted with the task of hiring assassins who were to pounce on Bhīmamalla to murder him.

Bhīmamalla had no pre-notion of the fate that was waiting for him in Kathmandu. Unaware of the sinister design of the king he proceeded to the capital. As he reached Bhatgaon, he was warned by Nareśamalla and his *pramānas* and was advised not to take with him the riches he brought from Bhoṭ. He did not know that the same people had contrived to turn Pratāpamalla against him. However, he disregarded their advice and went straight to Kathmandu. Bhīmamalla wanted to be present at the court, after paying homage to the Goddess Taleju. He entered the precincts of the temple through the lion gate and enjoyed the *darśana* of the deity. The royal palace lay in front of the temple to its south. He had to descend the stairs to find his way to the gate of the palace. But as soon as he reached the *Triśulī Dabli* and was about to enter the gate, Bhīmamalla found himself in the grip of some armed men who hacked him to death.

The chronicler adds that Bhīmamalla knew that Mayāsing will one day play his mischievous trick to finish him, and had warned Pratāpamalla against listening to Mayāsing who had harboured sinister designs. Bhīmamalla had left a letter addressed to Pratāpa with this warning. But, this had remained undelivered with the result that Pratāpa had acted most indiscreetly in the matter by ordering the execution of his friend and relative who had done so much for his king and country.

With the assassination of Bhīmamalla by Pratāpamalla the country was plunged in grief. The people mourned the death of a noble patriot who had won several laurels in peace and war and brought glory and material benefits to Nepal. He met the end due to the sinister machination of his adversaries who were jealous of his reputation. Bhīmamalla had received the most ungrateful treatment from his sovereign who had maliciously brought about the end of a brave and heroic career. His death symbolised the martyrdom of a loyal and honest servant of state, who was a victim of the malice of a suspicious autocratic ruler.

The story of Bhīmamalla's martyrdom is proverbial. It is said that since the event of Bhīmamalla's death, loyalty and faithful service to the cause of the country are ill paid in Nepal, because his wife while mounting the funeral pyre had cursed so.

The date of Bhīmamalla's death must occur after 763, in which year he built a temple in the memory of his father as suggested earlier. Bhīmamalla was killed without doubt sometime after Pratāpamalla became king. In the light of this evidence we find no justification for the chronicler's statement that on Bhīmamalla's death Lakṣmīnaraśiṃha had turned insane and so Pratāpamalla had to be declared king. Lakṣmīnaraśiṃha had either abdicated or was suffering from disabilities and he was not in a position to fulfil the duties of a king since as early as 761. The facts contradict the story as presented by the chronicler.

His death by poisoning has been confirmed by a copper plate inscription of the Patan Darbar belonging to the reign of Yoganarendramalla and this is attributed to the machination of one Kantu, son of Mahādeva Ojhā (see below),⁴⁰ who had successfully intrigued to bring about a conflict in the relation between Bhīmamalla and Mayāsing. But no harm could reach Bhīmamalla until Pratāpamalla's accession.

40. Inscription n. 99 in our Appendix.

Bhīmamalla was receiving a very considerate and sincere appreciation of his works as long as Lakṣmīnaraśimha had remained king. The two were intimately attached to each other, and Mayāsing would have manoeuvred to dislodge Bhīmamalla only at his own peril. But with the new monarch on the throne, Bhīmamalla's position had become vulnerable, and Mayāsing and Mahādeva Ojhā found the way open to work against their adversary.

(III)

Pratāpamalla (1641-1674 A.D.)

Pratāpamalla's earliest date as king is offered by the coin with date figure 761. In view of the date of the Makhanṭol temple inscription Lakṣmīnaraśimha must have died or completely retired from public life sometimes in NS 761 (1641 A.D.) and Pratāpamalla was installed on the throne at that time, and the latter issued his first coin. Pratāpamalla's coins were known as *Kavīndramallī* (see his inscriptions). Even if Lakṣmīnaraśimha had not died, the fact of the coin in the name of his son at 761 shows that he was no longer a sovereign at that date.

Pratāpamalla was the only son of Lakṣmīnaraśimha. In the Viśvarūpa pedestal inscription Pratāpamalla mentions his mother whose name is given as Sarasvatīdevī.

The first available inscription issued after Pratāpamalla became king is dated NS 762. This is the stone inscription erected on the *vedikā* of the temple of Goddess Taleju. According to one chronicle Lakṣmīnaraśimha died on NS 777 on *Bhādra kṛṣṇa 13* Friday. It was said that on the instigation of Kāzi Naradeva Mayāsing of Bhatgaon he withheld from his son the traditional *mantra* of the Goddess Taleju, this so enraged the latter, that he became uncompromisingly. Even earlier, father and son had developed unfriendly relation, because both listened to the crooked Naradeva Mayāsing. Lakṣmīnaraśimha was not happy with

his son as he suspected the latter's hand in the murder of Bhīmamalla. About the *mantra* episode it was said that Pratāpamalla was going to see his father while the latter was on his death-bed, but Mayāsing gave him the news that Lakṣmīnarasimha was contemplating to murder his son, if the latter went to him and he was not at all sick. This news so discouraged Pratāpa that he retraced his footstep and never went near his father's apartment as long as he lived. The same Kāzi Mayāsing had also told Lakṣmīnarasimha that his son had nothing but hatred for him and so did not care to receive the *mantra* through him. The designs of Mayāsing were exposed only when Lakṣmīnarasimha had died. We have no evidence to carry Lakṣmīnarasimha's reign upto NS 777. So in order to reconcile the above story we shall have to believe the story of Lakṣmīnarasimha's insanity and subsequent confinement at the hands of his son since NS 761. Lakṣmīnarasimha died in 777.

We have three coins in the name of Pratāpamalla,⁴¹ and one in the name of his wife Rūpamatī (II, 11); of the three coins one is a double mohar. These coins date variously NS 761, 775, 781 (II, 10, 12, 14).⁴² The last is a double mohar in a square shape.

Pratāpamalla must have derived substantial aid from his two wives, Rūpamatī and Anantapriyā, the two princesses of Koch Bihar, who are so colourfully mentioned in his several inscriptions. Both of them were issues of the same parents, Rūpamatī being the elder (The Paśupati stone inscription, The Svayambhu stone inscription of NS 776, the Saṅkhu Vajrayoginī temple inscription of NS 775). Rūpamatī is also noted along with another espouse Rājamatī in the Vamśa-gopāla temple inscription of Kathmandu (BLI, n. 18), which was set up after their demise.

41. Walsh, II, 10,12,14.

42. Walsh wrongly read 776 for 775.

According to Pratāpamalla's inscription the genealogy of the two princesses of Bihar is as follows:—

Naranārāyaṇa, his son
Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, his son
Vīranārāyaṇa, his two issues
Rūpamatī, Prāṇanārāyaṇa

Naranārāyaṇa is omitted in the Svayambhu inscription, while the Saṅkhu inscription gives only the name of Vīranārāyaṇa. But in these two inscriptions, the royal names bear the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* of Bihar. The Vamśagopāla temple inscription omits the title but traces the genealogy right from Naranarayana and calls them as kings ruling over Bihāranagara. The Paśupati inscription also omits all references to the two predecessors of Vīranārāyaṇa, but calls him *Bihāranagara narapati Mahārājādhirāja*. In all the records Anantapriyā is addressed as Rūpamatī's younger sister.

In a coin ($\frac{1}{4}$ mohar)⁴³ dated NS 769 (1648-49 A. D) Rūpamatī has *Bihārī Rājakanyā* to qualify her name. Her Bihārī descent is thereby confirmed. Bihar here obviously referred to Koch Bihar, as the genealogy agrees in toto with the one produced in the contemporary chronology of the then ruling Koch Bihar dynasty.⁴⁴ She has another coin of the same denomination, which we have recently discovered. Pratāpa lost Rūpamatī and Rājamatī in NS 769 and in that year he built a temple in their memory setting up an image of Lord Kṛṣṇa also with his two espouses Rukminī and Satyabhāmā (the octagonal temple in Darbar Square) in the likeness of the two queens so that they find place in heaven.⁴⁵

Two more queens, Prabhāvatī and Lālamatī are also noted in many records. In the colophon of the ms. *Harivaṃśa* (DLC, I. 979) of NS 773 Lālamatī is noted as the daughter of one Kīrtinārāyaṇa, called *adhipa* (ruler) of the principality

43. In the possession of Kesariraj Pande, coin n. 3 in our Appendix.

44. E. Gait, *A History of Assam*, Appendix A (III).

45. BLI, n. 18.

(*rājya*) of Mahuttari. In the Sāṅkhu and Mohanchok inscriptions Kīrtinārāyaṇa is called the ruler (*Mahārājā*) of Bhagvatīpur. Rājamatī is mentioned as a daughter of Karṇāṭa family (*Karṇāṭī*) according to the Vamśagopāla inscription. It seems that she was not a queen, of the status of Rūpamatī as the same Vamśagopāla temple record calls her *bhoga-badhūtikā*, and the Sāṅkhu inscription a *Lavaṭinī* (a kept) belonging to *Karṇāṭadeśa*. Levi (I, pp. 255-56) quoting his source of Layakubahāl inscription confirms her descent from Karṇāṭa family.

Anantapriyā, Prabhāvatī and Lālamatī have been marked alive till NS 790 (see below).⁴⁶ Lālamatī of Bhagvatīpur (Mahuttari) is a co-partner in building Mohanchok as could be inferred from the inscription therein. From another source it appears that she also composed verses like her husband (*Sanskrit Sandesa*, No. 1-5, pp. 32ff).

The Viśvarūpa pedestal inscription shows several names who could be recognised as his concubines, besides the queens Rūpamatī, Anantapriyā and Lālamatī (See below doc. n. 8). One of them Indumatī set up a phallus by name Indreśvara inside a temple in honour of Pratāpamalla whom she calls her husband (*bhartuḥ*). This she did with the permission of king Nṛpendramalla on NS 796 *Phālguna śukla 8 rohinī nakṣatre* etc. According to the *Thyāsapu A* she is the mother of Pārthivendramalla.

As long as Rūpamatī was alive she was not only the most important of Pratāpamalla's wives, but she also exercised a great influence in the administration. After her death the four others ranked equal in status and importance except Anantapriyā who probably was the eldest of them and mother of the children and consequently became the chief queen and enjoyed best of courtesy and respect though not influence to that extent.

46. Also the inscription of the year n. 65 in our Appendix.

Let me say a few words with reference to Pratāpamalla's marriage relations with one of the Indo-Mongoloid ruling families of North-Eastern India. Although the chronology of the Koch Bihar rulers of the time omits reference to this relationship, Pratāpamalla's mention of the Koch Bihar genealogy in his several inscriptions is enough to get us admit the truth of the statement. But Pratāpamalla exhibits enthusiasm and pride in recounting the ancestry of the princess of Bihar. We know that Naranārāyaṇa, the great grandfather of his wife, belonged to the Indo-Mongoloid Meche-Koche tribe. It was since the time of his father Viśvasim̃ha that the family had been accepted by the Brāhmaṇas as a Kṣatriya family.⁴⁷ We know from the history of the Koch Bihar kings that all of them contracted their marriage relations without exceptions within families of their own tribe or with those in North East India, who had like them acquired the status of a Kṣatriya very late. In the age they lived castes had grown very rigid, and no one family of Kṣatriya laying claim to high birth and lineage would have thought to accept their daughters in marriage. Should we mean by Pratāpamalla's example that his family was also as much removed from the traditional Kṣatriya families of North India as the Koch Bihar kings? Above somewhere we have said that the origin of his family was very obscure. The fact of his marriage relations may indicate the true status of his family.

Pratāpamalla has carved a special place for himself in the history of Nepal by dint of his varied activities in trade, poetry, art and architecture and religion and culture. He is one of the most important Malla rulers of the age and probably more important than any one else of his time. His shadow hangs over almost all the historical remains of the time as his numerous inscriptions denote. Even at the risk of producing an unusually lengthy account we devote

47. E. Gait, *A History of Assam*, p. 48 ff.

in this volume a large space to a description of the many aspects of the life and achievements of this ruler as befits his position in the history.

Pratāpamalla himself not a very learned man had pretension to learning and pursued studies with zeal. He invited many alien scholars to visit his part of Nepal, and it was his desire to be profitted greatly by their association. The chronicles and legendary tales describe how he was constantly guided in his religious life and concurrent actions by a set of enlightened people from the plains, each proficient in his sphere of religious and philosophical schools. The four spiritual guides mentioned in the chronicles were Tantric Śaiva priest Jñānānanda from Deccan, Magician priest Lambakarna Bhaṭṭa from Mahārāṣṭra, Logician Narasimha Ṭhākur from Tirhut and a local Buddhist scholar friar Jamanā Guvāju. A Tibetan Lāmā by the name of Syāmarpā who is said to have rebuilt the *Garbhapīṭha* around the main *Stpūa* of Svayambhu was also one of Pratāpa's favourite associates.

Pratāpamalla, though not himself a competent artist and poet had at least such pretensions, and he quite sincerely played his role as a builder and composer, if not as a sculptor and a poet and a painter himself.⁴⁸ His verses inscribed on the Vāsuki temple inscription and a stele in octagonal Nārāyaṇa temple in Kathmandu, and many such others traced in the inscriptions of the Svayambhu, and Paśupati areas sang the praise of the deities in the most

48. In the *Gītadigambaram* its author, Vaṁśamani Jha writes: तुलाधिरुद्धे नृपति प्रतापे प्रभाकरे धूल समस्त पापे सुवर्णं कान्ते विमले निशान्तेरत्नाकरे विप्रगणाः ममज्जुः । प्रतापमल्लेप्रभु कल्पितायाः जगत्त्रये-स्मिन् तुला तुलायाः ।

This shows that he patronised and encouraged poetry and drama and earned the honour of being a patron in the praise and adulation. (Written in Śaka 1577, *Āṣādha kṛṣṇa*, CPMDN, I, p, 103) of the poet.

eloquent manner but they did not more than testify to his zeal as one devoted to verse making. Of course, he wrote mediocre poetry full of devotional songs but on a liberal estimate some of them appear to rise high in texture and melody. According to respective inscriptions Pratapāmalla composed the hymns in honour of Chaṇḍikā Taleju (NS 762 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa* 9), Lord Kṛṣṇa (NS 769 *Phālguna śukla* 8), Vāsuki Nārāyaṇa (*Nārāyaṇa stotra on NS 770 Māgha śukla* 15), and of Guhyakālī (*Sarvāparādha stotram, NS 774 Māgha śukla 11 Wednesday*), of Paśupatinātha (*Maheśāṣṭaka, NS 775 Chaitra śukla 5 Monday*), of Vajrayogini (*Kāmadāstotra, NS 775 Āṣāḍha śukla 7*), of Bhīmasena (NS 775 *Āṣāḍha śukla 7*), and lastly of Nṛtyanātha (NS 793 *Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa* 8). The last is called the inscription of Kavīndrapur which gives us the account of Pratāpamalla inaugurating the function of enshrining the deity Nṛsiṃha gives at the beginning a poetical composition by the king, which he calls *Nṛtyeśvaradaśaka*. As for the building and carvings on the stones and wood, the hosts of temples and images in the palace compound are the best testimonials.

To his piety are attributed the series of pillars inside the compound of Taleju and outside in the square, one of which bears on the top Pratāpa's own statue. The latter pillar stands in front of the Degutale temple, we are given to understand by the many authentic records available to us that he built the Kṛṣṇa temple in the Darbar square and a shrine of Vāsuki in the compound of Paśupatinātha as well as the images of Narasiṃha, Kālabhairava, Hanumāna; again two temples and the bronze bolt and stūpas in Svayambhu hill the Bhandārkhāl temple, Mohanchok and Nāsālchok (compounds) inside the palace; and lastly the bronze images of Tārā in the latter and of Viśvarūpa outside kept in a niche above the main doorway and stone lions around the central temple of Guhyeśvarī.

At times, however, he over-acted himself and exaggerated his attainments. He claimed to himself all aspects of know-

ledge and glory and not only that but he also spoke of himself in the superlative degree. In all his records he calls himself the lion of kings (*bhūpa keśarī*) and king of poets (*Kavindra*) as well as *sakala śāstra śāstravidyāpārāga* 'proficient in all branches of learning and adopt in the use of weapons'. Not minding that calling himself in that fashion would tantamount to incivility and exhibition of bad taste, he sings, however, hymns of self praise at every instance. He even condemns those who fail to appreciate him. In an inscription at Paśupati-ātha's shrine he extols himself thus; "who will not say there was such a versatile genius as king as Pratāpa, the king of poets (*Kavindra*) Pratāpa composes beautiful poems in giving a genealogy of his forefathers; even Vāchaspati, the most learned logician of the age, would lag behind in this superb work." At another instance he becomes so eccentric in his mad lust for fame and egoistic conduct that while executing a multiscript meaningless jumble of alphabets, deciphered as Persian, Arabic and Nāgarī and other local varieties interspersed, with words of European dialects in Roman, he commends in a fit of self-adulation his attainments in the following manner "I have composed verses in fifteen scripts. These are Golmol (?) script, Pārsi script, Tirhuti script, Devanāgarī script, Ranjanā script, Majhepāt (?) script, Arabi script, Saiñyuije script, Gotria script, Kaithināgara script, Kāṭakesara script, Saiyaumet script, Newāra script, Kashmirī script, and Phiriṅgī script. If any one reading these scripts could understand the meaning of the ślokas, he is really great in his birth as a human being. But he who cannot know the meaning is a beast. By the grace of the Goddess Bhavānī I have acquired a knowledge of the 15 scripts and have inscribed them on the stone."⁴⁹

At another instance Pratāpamalla declares that there was no equal of his in respect of knowledge of the various branches of learning and of the use of weapons and of delight-

49. Inscription n. 53 in our Appendix.

ful music and entertainments and he boastfully adds 'there is no like of me, the pearl in the diadem of kings, neither in heaven nor on earth nor anywhere in the ten directions nor in the hills and forests.'⁵⁰ Obviously this was a narrow mind in evidence before us as Pratāpamalla brags his own qualities in this fashion.

According to one of his inscriptions (Inscription No. 18 of BLI) Pratāpamalla claims to have captured Kuti, Khasa and Kira from Tibetan territory (*Bhoṭṭabhūpasyadeśāt*) and to have exacted tributes from Nareśamalla of Bhaktapur and to have waged a successful fight against Dambara Shah, ruler of Gorkha (1633-1642 A.D). The same inscription lauds his achievement in subjugating Siddhinarasimha of Patan and capturing some of his strong forts in the area, which, of course, was true in so far as Siddhinarasimha (Kṛṣṇa temple inscription) himself claims to have defeated the wicked invaders. But we have no evidence of such feats on his part performed in Tibetan or Gorkhali soil from other sources. So it can be safely assumed that he wrote these lines connecting Bhaktapur, the kingdoms of Gorkha and Tibet just in arrogance to make of himself a hero and conqueror.⁵¹ He might have conducted raids into neighbouring territories with temporary success and made of these as substantial acts of triumphant invasions. As the same type of achievement is claimed by other rulers over the same situation, we have to take his claims with a grain of salt and treat them as a boast-

50 शस्त्रे शास्त्र वरे सदा सुखकरे संगीत विद्यावरे
सानन्दं किलकैलिकर्म कुशल व्यापारकरिठ रवः ।
स्वर्गे भूमितले तथा दश दिशां प्रान्ते गिरौ कानने
को प्यस्तीति निगद्यते मम समो राजेन्द्र चूडामणिः ।
(Paśupati Inscription of NS 778, BLI, n. 19)

51. Some chronicles depict certain incidents of fights between the rulers of the Nepal Valley and one says that Dambara Shāh had sent his men to help Patan.

ful utterance of a ruler prone to exaggerate his small achievements and glories.

But his claims to wars in the Valley and defeat of the ruler of Bhatgaon at his hands are not idle boasting of a ruler.

He fought Nareśamalla as he talks of defeating the latter in the inscription of NS 769. But he continued to be on unfriendly terms with also Nareśamalla's son. The chronicles narrate two wars waged by Pratāpamalla against Jagataprakāśamalla of Bhatgaon, one started towards the beginning of early NS 779 (November 1659 A.D) and another just a year after. The same was prolonged for full two years.⁵² There was a period of truce of a few months in between these two wars. Pratāpamalla who commanded the allegiance and help of his Patan cousin Śrīnivāsamalla defeated the ruler of Bhatgaon in many engagements, one of which was fought on the very outskirts of the city of Bhatgaon. According to a stone inscription of a site known as Mahākālī immediate to the north-west of the Royal palace in Bhatgaon, Pratāpamalla had on 781 *Phālguna kṛṣṇa amāvasyā* (=March, 1661) made a land grant for the annual worship of Garuḍa Nārāyaṇa whose temple was situated there. The witness to this grant is Śrīnivāsamalla. The existence of the inscription at the place indicates that the joint army of Kathmandu and Patan had threatened the very capital of the kingdom of Bhatgaon. It is also likely that the threat continued for sometime until a settlement took place. This fact of war and victory has been attested in his memoir by a Jesuit Missionary, father Grueber, who passed through Kathmandu on his way back from Tibet to Rome. From his account, it appears that the war had ended while the Capuchin fathers were staying in the capital.⁵³ The date of surrender by Jagataprakāśamalla

52. Wright; Levi, I; Chronicles.

53. C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603-1721.* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1924) pp. 192-95.

is given as 19 January, 1662 in the account of Father Grueber.

A commentator writes of the visit of Father Grueber as follows :

“In January, 1662, to Jesuit Fathers, John Grueber and Albert D’Orville arrived in Kathmandu. Their arrival from the north was across the Himalayas and plateau of Tibet and all the deserts, mountains and other obstacles from man and nature in China. They had left Peking in China on April 13, 1661, and by July had arrived at Hsi-ning. Passing the Koko-Nor, they left the Great Chinese Wall on July 13th, 1661; and by October 8th, reached Tibet and stayed in Lhasa. After a month in the mysterious city, they set out for Nepal. One month’s journey brought them to Kutti or Nilam Dzong, the first town of Nepal. After eleven days they reached Nesti, following a path along the Bhotia Kosi river that crossed the river 25 times in a distance of twenty-five miles. Crawling along the side of a chasm 1500 ft. above the river, they sometimes had a path less than a foot wide.

“On their arrival in Kathmandu, Fathers Grueber and D’Orville found that the king of Kathmandu, Pratāpamalla and his brother Śrīnivāsamalla, king of Patan, three miles away, were united in a war against the raids of Jagatprakāśamalla, king of Bhatgaon, just a few miles east of Kathmandu and Patan. Only a few days before the victory of these two kings, the Fathers arrived, and so history sets a very definite date on their arrival by this historic end of a war. The king of Patan took a special liking to the Fathers, and was so captivated that he was unwilling for them to depart. In the end he agreed on the condition that they were to return.

“After one month they reached the banks of the Ganges and mention Hajipur and Patna. After another twenty five days’ march through Banaras and Cawnpore the travellers reached Agra late in March. D’Orville was very ill, and on the afternoon of April 8, 1662, Saturday in Holy Week, he

died midway on his journey between China and Europe."⁵⁴

Father Grueber himself in his memoir writes to say that he presented a spy glass to Pratāpamalla who was so much pleased for this gift that he invited the missionary to come back and promised help for their work (Landon, App. XVI, Vol. II; Levi, I, p. 80). It is said that the use of a telescope during the war with Bhatgaon was responsible for an incident in the war. As he used the spy glass Pratapa saw the advance unit of the enemy marching very much closer to his camp, and he had ordered his troops to meet them without realising that they were as much far placed and the spy glass gave a wrong view. The march was held up while his attention was drawn to the futility of this kind of operation.

The chronicles mention more incidents in their description of the war between Kathmandu and Bhatgaon in this period. It was said that at one stage Pratāpa had beseiged the capital itself and was able to impose a blockade of the city. In 783 he had reached the suburb of the town capturing a number of military outposts in the area. Pratāpamalla also partially destroyed the pond built by Jagajjyotirmalla on the western outskirt of the town. He demolished the stairs breaking stones and bricks of the pavement, broke the wooden pole supporting the golden hood of the image of Vāsukinaga. The gold serpent-hood was carried to Kathmandu as a war trophy. The chronicles say that the object was placed in similar fashion in a pond which Pratapa built within the precincts of the Kathmandu palace. The pond in Bhatgaon was restored by Jitāmitramalla some twenty years later.

The *Thyāsapu F* notes another event of Pratāpa's vandalism and plunder done in course of the raids. It states 'on *Saṃvat 783 Mārgaśira vadi 1* there was an attack on

54. Levi, I, p. 87 (footnote); Wessels, op. cit. pp. 192-95; Also read Percival Landon, II, App. XVI, pp. 232-33.

Bhatgaon. He carried the lions placed by the two sides of the iron gate of the large temple (Tavadevara).'

The account of the Vamśāvalī regarding taking away of sacred objects from Jagatjotirmalla's tank is confirmed by the post colophon statement of ms. *Kubjikā viṣayakā paddhati* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 7632)⁵⁵ written on 783 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 8* in Banepa. The statement says: This time Khvapa (Bhatgaon) was isolated, and except the city, every part was under duress; at this time the king's tank was destroyed, the temple was demolished and its stones and bricks were partly broken and partly taken away; at this time Pratāpamalla was the king of Kathmandu, Śrīnivāsamalla, king of Patan and Jagatjotirmalla, king of Bhatgaon; Jagatjotirmalla's tank was deprived of the gold image of the serpent Vasuki placed on the top of a wooden pole, then of the gold finial of the temple and these were taken away and kept at the royal palace in Kathmandu. Three years earlier the temple of Degutale in Patan caught fire; also in Saṁvat 782 Goddess Chandeśvari's festival in Banepa was smoothly celebrated but there was no playing of musical instruments.

55 ७६३२ कुब्जिका विषयक पद्धति । सम्बत ७८३ जेष्ठ शुक्ल
 अष्टम्या तिथौ श्री श्री श्री चण्डेश्वरो अधिस्थाने, श्री वाणिकापुरी नगर वास्तव्य
 कर्माचार्य गोकुल भोरो दिव्यसिद्ध भारो नेहा फुक्किजस्यं शंवतानिमित्ति
 कर्मारचन चोचककाया दैवज्ञ खप्वयादेव भारोन चोस्यंविया ॥ श्ववेलस
 खप्वयाकाततयाव खप्वजुकलेनकं महादुःख विस्यतव ॥ श्ववेलसं भाजुया
 पुष्पुलिसदलचोडाव पुष्पुलि सेनका देवलस चोड देवं लोहों अतं कायाव सेनकव ॥
 श्ववेलस याया राजा प्रतापमल्ल, याया निवासमल्ल खप्वया जगतप्रकाश मल्ल ॥
 जगज्जोति मल्लया पुष्पुलिम गरप्सिदेडाव वासिख मोरकायाव मसिरया लुपारे-
 रंगजुरंकोयाव याया लासकुलस तययंन ॥ श्वतन्त्यश्वदंयलाया देगुरतले
 देवलयिताल मतामात्रतमेन नवजुरो ॥ सम्बत् ७८२ श्री श्री श्री चण्डेश्वरीया-
 जात्रास सवाजन छुनंमदु जात्राजुकयाना ॥

We find from a noting in a folio of the ms. *Pūjāpaddhati-saṅgraha*⁵⁶ that Pratāpamalla had Pannauti under his occupation on *Samvat 785 Māgha kṛṣṇa chaturdaśī* and the area was governed by one Harikṛṣṇa Pramāna sent from Kathmandu. The occupation of the area must have been effected during the war with Bhatgaon. At the date mentioned the temple of the deity Indreśvara was whitewashed.⁵⁷

We cited the source as above presented at this stage, as the event was connected with the reign of Pratāpamalla. But the thread of the story we cannot catch further at this stage and we stop at that to take up the continuation of the remaining portion of the narrative relating to achievements of this king and to the estimate of his career.

Pratāpa is not content with claims on poethood and on status of a big conqueror. He goes further and claims victory over natural forces by means of his knowledge of esoteric power. In the last few verses of the *Vṛṣṭichintāmaṇī Stotra*.⁵⁸ composed by himself invoking blessing of deities (Śiva-Śakti) for rains in that year of drought he speaks of how he daringly entered an underground cell of Śāntipura (within confines of the Svayambhu compound) in search of a book of charms and pictures written with the ink of serpent's blood and brought it out defying the furies of the ghosts and spirits dwelling there which caused immediate rainfall to the relief to Nepal's inhabitants.

56 Unpublished. In the possession of Eisvaradhara Sharma.

57 थ्वकुन्हपनतिसत्राकाससमहासवद तायदत थ्ववेरस, श्री ली कवीन्द्र जयप्रतापमल्ल जुयाराजेजुत्रो वेरस जुर, थ्ववेरस पनतियाइन्द्रश्वरया देवलया श्वेतपोरलयाडा वेरस शुभ । थ्ववेरस यँ या हरि कृष्ण प्रमान जुत्रो वेरस जुल ।

58. Stella, Santipur close to the shrine of Svayambhu, *NS 778 Āsāḍha kṛṣṇa chaturthī śataviṣā nakṣatre śovana yoge bṛhaspativāra*. *Sans. Sandesh*, I, 12. pp. 86-93.

But with all his vain glorious nature and propensities for exaggerated account of his attainments and achievements, Pratāpa's name yet stands conspicuous in the history of Nepal. He gave to Nepal more than anybody else of his age, its architectural and sculptural equipment in prideful creations of pillars, temples and images. He must at least get the credit of keeping the Nepalese tradition of art and architecture alive. Upto this day it continued to be renowned for its high degree of excellence, and Napalese creations in bronze and stones were highly appreciated even by the outside world, and they fetched good price for the artists. Father D'Andrade in about 1630 noted in his travels through the Western Himalayas that the Newar traders in those parts dealt in rare specimens of art goods and to his knowledge (Levi, I, p. 80) Nepal carried a brief trade with Tibet in those days. This opens to our view another highly developed aspect of Nepalese economic activities of the period. The multiplicity of the coins not only shows a varied taste of the ruler in all forms of art and his sense of catholicity and broad outlook on religion and beliefs but they also signify an improved and better standard of living of the people. If the picture given by the chronicles were to be taken seriously, Pratāpamalla's reign witnessed the revival of what was once a flourishing trade with Tibet and India. Numerous shops were opened for inland trade in Kathmandu and Patan and the trader enjoyed facilities due to the encouragement and patronage of the monarch.

Pratāpamalla inspired and patronised art creations, sculpture and fine arts and poetry, drama and music. He assisted in the building of many private shrines and images. His munificence were bestowed on all schools of art and on all modes of religious worship. He himself took part in the restoration of Śaiva and Bauddha shrines and monasteries and devoted himself to the worship of deities whether of Buddhist or Śaiva origin. His inscriptions contain hymns from his own pen and these at Paśupati, Saṅkhu and Svayambhu shrines

bespeak his love of and respect for both Śaivite and Mahāyana forms of worship.

A good many parts of the original palace of the Kantipur rulers owe their becoming to Pratāpamalla's taste. He got a small building of quaint shape and much less architectural design converted into a huge mansion, every inch of which was studded with the images of Hindu Gods and Goddesses. Pratāpamalla started building Mohanchok in NS 770 and the Sundarīchok with its water conduit in NS 769 with the cooperation of his fourth queen Lālamatī, princess of Bhagvatipur, whose brother (name peeled off in the inscription) figures as witness to the deed.⁵⁹ The Sundarīchok was completed on NS 771 *Phālguna kṛṣṇa 3*, while the Mohanchok came in its finished form a little later.

These two compounds of the palace were the private apartments of the rulers, where they passed most of their time and wherein they performed devotional and religious duties. The Mūlachok, literally the main courtyard, with the shrine of Taleju was not used for residential purposes except by the priest. One apartment in one of the compounds was used as a place, where they gave interviews to visitors, and heard judicial cases and delivered judgment. They also died in one of the apartments if death came to them, lay in state after death in a specially decorated pavement below in a corner of the courtyard, the dias permanently fixed up; even for their live condition of the last moment they had set up a hall on the ground-floor of the northern wing at Mohanchok with hundreds of niches in the four walls containing carved images of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Pārvatī, Lakṣmī and other deities and scenes from the epics and purāṇas, where they were supposed to wander their minds away from worldiness to heavenly bliss in their last hours and finally they were burnt to ashes over a stone bed within the very precincts of the courtyard that was made for that purpose if any

59. Inscriptions unpublished.

occasion arose for such a cremation. Ordinarily the royal bodies were cremated in Āryaghaṭ over a platform built for that purpose.

The gate of the palace was rebuilt and an image of Hanumāna set up on a pillar just outside. The outer courtyard adjoining the southern wing of the palace, which was led through the gate was called Nāsalchok. It was meant for public performances of ritual dances and social and religious plays as well as for public audience of the king. It was a large courtyard with pieces of stones laid down on the floor to provide sitting arrangement. It had a capacity to accommodate nearly ten thousand people. The inner gateway to the palace was joined to an audience hall, which was one of the rooms on the groundfloor overlooking the Nāsalchok. The gateway was flanked on the right side by an image of Narasiṃha enshrined in a small open temple, which Pratapa set up on *NS 793 Āsāḍha kṛṣṇa 8*. According to Nṛṭyanātha inscription of the same date Pratāpamalla set up an image of Nṛṭyanātha in Kavīndrapura with those of Nandi and Mahānkāla as well as those of Bhavānī Śaṅkara, Jagannātha, Bhagavatī and Gaṇeśa family. To Pratāpamalla also is ascribed the pious deed of setting up the image of Jalāṣayana Viṣṇu in the tank he constructed in Bhandārkhāl, the image in the likeness of the deity known as Bhuvisideo. It was said that the latter deity appearing in his dream prohibited Pratāpamalla from visiting the shrine, and he needed an alternate image to satisfy his desire for *darśana*.

From several inscriptions of Pratāpamalla's reign we come to know that apart from the many additions to the royal palace he had helped to build many temples and in particular those of Vāsuki (A stone inscription of *NS 770 Māgha śukla 15*), and Vajrayoginī (stele of *NS 775 Āṣāḍha śukla 7*). The king had also offered gold finial to the roof of the temple of Paśupati-nātha (The inscription on a stone dated *NS 775 Chaitra śukla 5 chandradivesa*) and then constructed a temple

with a roof in front of the temple of Paśupatinātha, around which he set up 1008 *Śivaliṅgas*.

Pratāpamalla's respect for deities did not discriminate between Śaiva-Viṣṇuism and Buddhism. He respected the Buddhist deities with equal enthusiasm and devotion. He made an offering of a *vajra* with the gold *maṇḍala* (*kaṅka-maya maṇḍalam vajraṁcha*) to the Lord Dharmadhātu on NS 788 *Āṣāḍha śukla 6 hasta nakṣatra śivayogaādityavāra* (Inscription on the *maṇḍala* placed to the east of the main *stūpa* of Svayambhunātha just at the point from where the stony staircase negotiating the hill starts). He had constructed the bridge over river Viṣṇumatī on NS 783 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 2 ādrā nakṣatre gandhayoga bṛhaspativāra* to please *Śrī Śrī Vairochana, Śrī Śrī Akṣobha, Śrī Śrī Ratnasambhava, Śrī Śrī Amitābha, Śrī Śrī Amoghasiddhi, Śrī Śrī Vidyādhari Yoginī*.

Like other kings of the age Pratāpamalla was of a kindly disposition and in spite of medieval vices inherent in his character he tried to live a life of devotion and piety. He honoured the gods, gave alms to Brāhmaṇas and Bhikṣus, listened to their discourses and passed sometime in meditation and prayers. As a part of daily routine he also wrote in his own hand sacred treatises like *Bhāgavata* etc. According to a colophon statement of a ms. Pratāpamalla completed the writing of the manuscript of a copy of *Bhāgavata* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 444) on NS 768 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa amāvasyā-viddhi yoge ādityavāsare*. His wife Lālamatī recited *Harivaṁśa* 12 times, completing the last round on NS 773 *Vaiśākha śukla 15 viśākha nakṣatre variyāna yoga some* (DLC, I, 977). A copy of the *Prajñāpāramitā* in the Thabahil shrine shows that the work was intended to be read to the king by a priest, and this fact proves that he did not discriminate between the sacred texts of the two sects.

From the *Thyāsapu F* we get certain more details of his religious performances in honour of the Śaivite and Buddhist deities, viz.,

Saṁvat 783 Vaiśākha śuddhi bṛhaspativāra, this day, Śrī Pratāpamalladeva offered a finial to the temple at Tava Vihāra in Patan. This very day both he and Patan's ruler Śrīnivāsamalla made an offering of breads called *Yamari*, raw sugar and cocoanut, each 2 baskets (dali) to Machhendranātha.

Saṁvat 785 Chaitra śukla 13, this day, Śrī Jamāra Bhaṭṭāraka (white Machhendra of Kathmandu) was taken in his car through the palace and Pratāpamalla worshipped the deity.

Saṁvat 787 Kārtika vadi 3 Sri 2 Pratāpamalla set up a finial on the Khāsā Chaitya (present day Baudhanātha).

Saṁvat 787 Māgha kṛṣṇa Pratāpamalla offered a serpent-hood to the Nārāyaṇa in Chyāsung deva, a 3-tier umbrella in the Mahādevala and over Koṭilingas, on *Phālguna śuddhi 7* a discus to Viṣṇu's temple, and five days after a 3-tier umbrella to the deity in Jamalbahal.

787 Āṣādhā śudi 2 Sri Pratāpamalla presented one *svānamālā* (a garlandlike chain of gold hanging from the finial over the roof of the temple) to Śrī 3 Bhīmasena.

Saṁvat 788 Āṣādhā śu 6 hasta adityava Pratāpamalla went to Syengu to offer the *Vajra* to the Chaitya.

The above account might give us quite a sufficient evidence of Pratāpa's catholic outlook on religion, and of his very unorthodox attachment to any single religious sect. He had offered his devotion to the divinities irrespective of their affiliation to one sect or the other.

Introduction of the Parbatiyā language in the Epigraphy

By the time Pratāpamalla was seated on the throne, the Nepalese culture has ceased to possess capacity for absorbing new elements in the community. This was the reason that the fresh horde of Khasa settlers had remained aloof and maintained their individuality as a cultural group. Uptil then all new entrants had been absorbed into the society, speaking in the final stage the language of the valley and losing their cultural heritage in course of the merger.

A notable feature of Pratāpamalla's records so far to have escaped notice is the presence of a few inscriptions in Nāgarī script and in the language which is now called Nepali (see the Rānīpokharī inscription).⁶⁰ We have also one more inscription of this type belonging to the previous reign (Mahādeva temple in Makhanṭol, NS 761), which we have already noted. This suggested that the Valley of Nepal had then a large number of people of all castes and tribes of the Parbatīyā community living there, and it was for their understanding that the content of the inscriptions had to be expressed in that dialect. From some other sources it has been established that ever since the time of Ratnamalla, the kings of Nepal had made grants of land to the Brāhmaṇs of this community and there was a large number of such settlers in the Valley. In several records of the kings the eye witnesses are Khasas and Magars, a fact which goes also to suggest that some of them had gained foothold in the palace (Pratāpamalla's Rānīpokharī inscription).

Judicial reforms :

It is said that Pratāpamalla had helped to temper the administration of justice. According to traditional practices the accused had to swear his innocence by touching the Phallus *Koṭīliṅgeśvara*. But it so happened that not all accused did it with a clear conscience and it ended in many cases with the guilty vomiting blood and dying then and there as a result of speaking untruth to avoid even petty punishment. Pratāpamalla thought that because of the deteriorating moral conditions of the time it was too much to lay the burden of oath on the accused. He then passed a rule making it obligatory on the trying officer to exercise his judgment by himself touching the Phallus to vouchsafe for the truth of his statement. Pratāpamalla had a deep

60. Published in *Sanskrit Sandesha* I, 10,11,12, p. 55 ff and also in the bulletin of the school of Oriental Studies, 20, 167-87 (1957) by T. W. Clark.

insight into human nature, its strength and failings. He further realized that the judicial officers also suffered from general human weakness, and there was no guarantee that everyone of them gave a judgment infallibly correct. There were moments when to the best of their awareness the judge might misunderstand things and deliver a wrong judgment. Pratāpamalla therefore tried to further mitigate the rigours of the trial as it stood. He abolished the system of touching the Phallus retaining however some form of trial by oath ordeal. The effect of his reforms had been to temper justice with mercy. Henceforth those committing minor offences could not be punished in a manner out of proportion to the weight of the guilt. Unless his guilt was such as to deserve award of cruel punishment, and for this there used to be a special trial, one did not run the risk of meeting with a serious mishap.

Pratāpamalla devoted his attention also to building roads, bridges and canals for the use of his people. He built the canal for the irrigation of the area to the north of the city of Kathmandu by tapping the source of the water in Budhanīlakaṇṭha. We have also noted that he constructed the bridge over the river Viṣṇumati making it convenient for devotees to visit the Svayambhu shrines, and for other pedestrians.

There is no doubt that Pratāpamalla was an enlightened ruler devoted to the well-being of his people. It was true that he had eccentric habits, and he also suffered from a complex as to his merits. He had also the irritable temper of a feudal lord and often exhibited aggressive moods in dealing with his adversaries and subordinates. At times he was cruel. He was also not free from the many vices besetting the feudal society. He maintained a harem, and an extravagant court. However, on the whole Pratāpamalla's character can be summed up by depicting him as a man of liberal views with a taste for learning and art. We should not mind if he overrated achievements. But we should judge

him by what he actually achieved. I think that there is much he has left to the posterity to feel proud of. The many buildings of architectural beauty in the heart of the city of Kathmandu, and in other parts of the principality as well as numerous images carved on stone and wood displaying high artistic qualities to view, which Pratāpa encouraged to come into existence stand up till now as testimony to his greatness as a builder and lover of art. Singly he contributed to the sum total of the extant monuments and art objects more than any other king of Nepal of the time.

The only blemish in his conduct we can discern is because of the fact that he had caused Bhīmamalla's death and harassed his contemporaries by carrying military raids into their territories. But in the situation of division Nepal was subjected to at the time such raids were often provoked by one side or the other and it is difficult to apportion blame to one party. As for Bhīmamalla's death, this was a very deplorable act. But Pratāpamalla had been misled by interested parties to harbour ill-will against Bhīmamalla. He had acted indiscreetly in the matter, as Bhīmamalla was dealt with without being given an opportunity to explain his conduct. But how otherwise could Pratāpa meet the crisis if it had been real? I think that even in this matter he can only be blamed for being hasty.

Pratāpa's relation with Patan and Bhatgaon

We have already observed that Pratāpa claimed to have captured some of the forts of Patan and Bhatgaon. This claim he made in the inscription of NS 769. After this he appears to have patched up with Patan. In the year 777 he entered into an agreement with Śrīnivāsamalla pledging to act together in weal or woe (see inscription below). His quarrel with Bhatgaon, however, continued and entered a more intense phase with Patan as his ally. We have seen how for four years with a short truce at the interval Kathmandu was in a state of war with Bhatgaon. Pratāpamalla

concluded peace with Jagatprakāśa only when his ally Śrīnivāsamalla did not find it possible to go with him in this venture. I think that by NS 784 all the three kingdoms stood without any bilateral arrangement of defence or alliance in their interrelation. Patan had declared its intention not to side with Bhatgaon in the latter's dispute with Kathmandu. This was the opportunity for Kathmandu to cultivate the friendship of the Bhatgaon ruler. According to the Thyāsapu there were incidents which created more ill-feeling between Śrīnivāsamalla and Jagatprakāśamalla. On *Samvat* 786 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 8 the *chūḍākarma* (vosakhā chāpūjā) ceremony of Jagatprakāśamalla's youngest son was celebrated. Brahmanas from Patan were invited but one Sūryarāmaju of Thambu died on the way, and all the eight Brāhmaṇas were invited but one Sūryarāmaju of Thambu died on the way, and all the eight Brāhmaṇas were engaged in the performance of funeral rites which were done in Śaṅkhamūla. The vosakhā pūjā was held as the darkness of the night fell. The ceremony of *Chūḍākarma* was attended by Śrīnivāsamalla without the Brāhmaṇas, but he was given a very cool send-off. It was night, and in the darkness, Śrīnivāsamalla and his attendants had to feel their way to Patan all by themselves, they were not given even one torch, this sort of insulting treatment was meted out to the king of Patan and naturally he took umbrage over this incident. After this, on *Samvat* 787 *Aṣāḍha śukla pañchamī para ṣaṣṭi*, peace was restored between Kathmandu and Bhatgaon. Pratāpamalla and Jagatprakāśamalla met in Madhunadola, and at Buko in Deopatan they took oath of mutual alliance. The two kingdoms maintained friendship for 2 years and 2 months. Earlier to this on 787 *Pauṣa śukla aṣṭamī revatī nakṣatre ādityavāra*, the road connecting Bhatgaon and Patan had opened and Śrīnivāsamalla visited Bhatgaon and at a place near the large tank met Jagatprakāśa who had arrived five ghari late, upon which the Patan ruler returned. As a result of the meeting Kathmandu had been

isolated. From the *Thyāsapu D* we again learn that so soon after Bhatgaon and Kathmandu had patched up their quarrels, an attempt was made to bring Patan and Kathmandu together. This was done with a meeting between Śrīnivāsamalla and Pratāpamalla at Pañchakhera on *Samvat 787 Aṣāḍha kṛṣṇa pratipadā uttarāsāḍha nakṣatra budhavāra*. As these two rulers reached an agreement, Bhatgaon was isolated. Next day Jagatprakāśa was brought to join in the meeting, but when he met Śrīnivāsa, it was felt that he was not accommodated and he had to leave the conference table unceremoniously, since this day, Bhatgaon found its ties with both Kathmandu and Patan totally broken. Meanwhile Pratāpamalla and Śrīnivāsamalla invaded Mackwanpur, and returned the same night (*Samvat 790 Māgha kṛṣṇa chaturthī*). But this alliance between Kathmandu and Patan soon broke; for we find again Śrīnivāsamalla trying to befriend the Bhatgaon ruler on *Samvat 791 Jyeṣṭha śukla 15 somavāra*. Jagatprakāśa his son Jitāmitra and the latter's brother came to Patan at the day break, and Bhatgaon and Patan became friends. This day Patan captured Kaṁsānakvātha and Hitigvala. Next day, Tuesday, three more forts were conquered in the Abardo area all at once. Relations between Kathmandu and Patan were strained since this event. However, the new found alliance with Bhatgaon enabled Śrīnivāsamalla to launch an attack on Mackwanpur (*NS 791 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 10 budhavāra*). The *Thyāsapu D* writes that '4 ministers of Patan, a minister of Bhatgaon and 100 men assisted by Gorkhā's Murāri Sāhī and Jagbania went to invade Mackwanpur.' At this juncture some men of Kathmandu attempted to take back Hitigvala, they set fire to the fort but it did not fall, Subsequently more areas belonging to Kathmandu were taken by Bhatgaon, on *792 Māgha śukla pūrnimā* three fortresses were captured by the invaders. But another combined attack of Bhatgaon and Patan on a village of Kathmandu met with reverses. It is said that Bhotyābhā, the Chautāra, marched to enter the village of Mayajale on *792 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa prati-*

padā. But the men of Patan who were drafted to join him reached a little later. In the meantime Bhoṭyābhā with five men were caught in the neck by his enemies. This incident finds also mention in the post-colophon statement of the ms. *Brahmottarakhaṇḍa* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 5847). It says: on *Samvat 792 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa pratipadā mūla nakṣatra śukramanayoga śanaiścharavāra*, Patan along with Bhatgaon marched to attack Mayajaragāma; so soon as they had reached the boundary of the other principality, the attackers were besieged and of these were one was chautārā pramāna, another pramāna and three others all of Bhatgaon, while many others had escaped. It appears that until Pratāpamalla died, Kathmandu had continued to be isolated both from Patan and Bhatgaon.

All these details of attacks and counterattacks launched singly or in combination by kings of the kingdoms of Nepal are not so important by themselves as the trends they represent in the interrelationship among the states of the Nepal Valley. The account we have just drawn does not present a singular feature. Such attacks and counterattacks might have occurred ever since the political division of Nepal took place. These occur with regular frequency also in the time following Pratāpamalla and his contemporaries. But nevertheless we have from this account an idea of the nature of friendship and enmity subsisting between any two of the kingdoms, which was in the circumstances often shifting and remained valid only in so far as it suited the convenience or otherwise of the partner.

Pratāpa's Relation with the Moghuls of India

We have a coin of Pratāpamalla (Walsh, II. 12), which shows in imitation Persian characters the legends *Jehangir Shah* in the reverse and *San Ilahi* in the obverse. According to Walsh, this coin resembled the Alamgir coin of Jehangir. We do not know what led him to use the legend, *Jehangir*, in the coin. But it was definitely not done in acknowledgment

of Moghul suzerainty over Nepal. Pratāpamalla came to power when Jehangir was long dead. Perhaps the legend was adopted to express his own (Pratāpa's) greatness by calling himself as lord of the Universe.

Pratāpa is reported in the chronicles to have renounced the throne and gone on temporary retirement leaving his four sons to rule one by one in turn for one year each. One opinion is that he did it as ordained by a magician-monk. Another source attributes to him the desire to train his sons in the art of government. He is said to have retired in 1608 A.D and allotting one year for each of his sons, he must come back in at least four years after in 1672 (=NS 792). There might be some truth in the account of his temporary retirement to enable his sons to obtain practical experience of governmental affairs. But at the date the retirement is supposed to have taken place, not one of his sons had come of age to be able to understand the intricacies of administration.

His Wives and Issues

Pratāpamalla mentions two queens and five sons in his pillar inscription, the pillar a single huge rectangular column standing in front of the Degutale temple at the Darbar Square. The inscription⁶¹ is dated *NS 790 Bhādra śukla 12 para 13 śravaṇa nakṣatra svanayoga bṛhaspativāra*. As given in the order of the inscription the names of the sons stand as follows: *Mahārājakumāra Bhūpendramalla, Rājārājendra Nepāleśvara Mahārājādhirāja Chakravartendramalla, Śrī Śrī Jaya Mahīpatendramalla, Jaya Nṛpendramalla and Jaya Pārthivendramalla*; of the two wives mentioned one Mahārānī Anantapriyā, the princess of Bihāra Mahānagara, is addressed as the mother of the nation (*Jagajjananī*) and another Prabhāvati as simply Mahārānī. We know from other inscriptions that Anantapriyā was a sister of Rūpamatī and

61. Unpublished (see below). n. 64 in our Appendix.

princess Mahārājakumārī of Koch Bihar and though Prabhāvatī's antecedents are not known yet she also figures in many of the earlier records.

Amongst the sons, two are singled out for special form of royal address. The first name is *Mahārājakumāra* (son of the king) Bhūpendramalla. But the second one that of Mahārājādhirāja Chakravartendramalla occurs as the youngest son of Pratāpa in all the chronicles. He happens to be a person to whom the father was very much attached. We have a coin in his name of the year NS 789 (=1669 A.D).⁶² The legend in the coin has *Jaya Chakravartendramalla*. As it appears from the date this was struck while the father was still alive.⁶³ The chronicle says that the design of the coin struck in 789 with a triangular bow and arrow (*bāṇāstra*), noose (*pāśa*) the iron hook for driving an elephant (*aṅkuśa*), a lotus and Yak's tail (*chamar*) proved so ominous that he died prematurely after some months. Chakravartendramalla enjoyed the unique honour of performing a *tulādāna* of silver by virtue of his father's deep affection for him as is evident from the Taleju Pillar inscription of 784 NS.⁶⁴

It seems certain that Chakravartendra's death occurred sometime in NS 790 in the life time of Pratāpamalla. From the inscription commemorating the inaugural ceremony of the Nhupukha called also the Queen's tank in Kathmandu, there is little doubt left about his death because the tank was dug by the father in the name of the departed soul of his dear son Chakravartendra (the date of the inscription, 790 *Āśvina śukla pūrnimā uttarabhādra nakṣatra dhruva yoga, Somavāra*).

Pratāpa's inscription attached to the Sundhārā (water conduit) inside Mohanchok gives the name of two more sons,

62. Walsh, II, 13

63. Landon gives a half mohor of Chakravartendramalla without *bāṇāstra*, n. 16.

64. Inscription n. 60 in our Appendix.

Sundaranārāyaṇa and Suratasāhi and of one daughter whose name was Śrīmatī⁶⁵ along with his two queens, the Bihāri princess Rūpamatī and Karṇāṭa's Rājamatī. This inscription is dated *NS 772 Māgha śukla 15* (see below). The *Thyāsapu A* notes the name of Siddheśrīdevī, elder sister of Nṛpendramalla, who was married to one Raṇajitamalla Kumhar of Pyāfal in Kantipur and who had died on *799 Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa pañchamī śanaiścharavāra (f. 13)*. At another place in the *Thyāsapu A* one Raut Bhākutu is noted as the son of Pratāpamalla Rājā (ff. 20-21). Describing the death of this person the relevant passage notes 'Pratāpamalla Rājā's son Bhākutu, died on *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa navamī bṛhaspativāra of Saṁvat 800*. Bhākutu's mother and wife, the latter a daughter of one Madheju, died on the funeral pyre; there was mourning, the legitimate and illegitimate relatives mourned for four days, the one who had put fire over Bhākutu's dead body mourned for ten days'.

Siddhiśrī is mentioned as a daughter of Pratāpamalla also in the Viśvarūpa pedestal inscription (doc. 18). The *Thyāsapu D* brings into our notice one more daughter of his, whose name is given as Lālamatī, she died on *793 Śrāvaṇa śukla 10*.

The author of a poetic work in Sanskrit, ms. *Gītakeśavam*,⁶⁶ whose name is given as Māndhātāsīmha, calls himself a son of Md Pratāpamalla. The ms. was written and completed on *790 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 1 Wednesday (gaganagrahamune (=790) Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa bhadrāyoge pratipadi budhe)*.

It appears that Pratāpamalla had altogether eight sons. But we know nothing of Māndhātāsīmha from other sources.

It appears that of all the sons only four, Nṛpendramalla, Pārthivendramalla, Mahīpatendramalla and Bhākutu had

65. Inscription n. 52 in our Appendix.

66. Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 98. 10 folios of the ms. are lost. On the 9 (a) leaf there is a genealogy of the poet. This starts with Ratnamalla but we do not trace the names after Amaramalla as the folio is lost.

survived him. Except in the Sundarichok inscription we find no mention of Suratasāhi and Sundaranārāyaṇa. Probably they had died shortly after the date of the inscription, NS 772 or even earlier. We have seen that Chakravartendra had met his death in the month of 790 NS. Bhūpendra also was taken away by death before Pratāpamalla died in mid 794 NS. Because Bhākutu was probably not as dear to the father, he had been ignored in Pratāpa's own enumeration.

The chronicles say that Chakravartendra was the youngest son of Pratāpa, but this statement appears to be quite incorrect. Suratasāhi and Sundarasāhī apart, Chakravartendra appears to be senior to two or three of the other sons of Pratāpa. In the Taleju Pillar Inscription he and Nṛpendramalla are the only sons mentioned (Doc. 11 below). The date of the inscription is 784 *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa amāvasyā*. It may appear that at this date of all the brothers only Nṛpendramalla and Chakravartendramalla existed and no one else.

But we know that Bhūpendramalla lived as far back as 777 as his name is mentioned in the Viśvarūpa pedestal record of that date. Bhūpendramalla is definitely the eldest of the four brothers whose names appear in the Degutale Pillar inscription (doc. 12).

As Nṛpendramalla is said by the *Thyāsapu A* to be of 18 years & 7 months at the time of his death on *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 11-12* of 800, he must have been born in the month of *Māgha* of 782. From the same *Thyāsapu* we also learn that Pārthivendra was Nṛpendra's second brother and Mahipatendra the third and youngest. But we are not aware of their living on 784 *Pauṣa Kṛṣṇa amāvasyā*, at the date of the Taleju pillar inscription. As far as the Taleju pillar is concerned Nṛpendramalla shares with Chakravartendramalla the honour of being represented in gold statues supervened on it. However, he cannot be the elder of the two. Nṛpendramalla was only a month old at the date of the inscription. Chakravartendra would have been older enough to have been led by the father in the act of performing *tulādāna*.

All the same it will not be possible to fix an order of seniority between these two brothers at the present stage of our knowledge.

In the Newari text of the Taleju Pillar inscription Chakravartendramalla is mentioned with the epithet Mahārājakumāra to have performed *Tulādāna* sacrifice. The epithet is missing while Nṛpendramalla is mentioned. But in the passage where both are mentioned, whether in Sanskrit or Newari, Nṛpendramalla's name comes first. We can interpret this order to mean that Nṛpendramalla was the elder of the two. But for other reasons Chakravartendra must be regarded as senior in age.

But was he placed at a lower position in the order of succession? The Degutale Pillar inscription might suggest some kind of demotion in his case as we discern Pratāpa's partiality in favour of Chakravartendra and Matripatendra, the former being addressed as *Mahārājādhirāja* Nṛpendramalla followed these two in the order of the record. But in the ultimate stage it actually did not affect succession as both Chakravartendra and Bhūpendra had been removed from the scene by death.

Death of Pratāpa

Speaking of the occasion of Pratāpa's death the chronicler adds that he died on *Chaitra śukla 11 pra 12 Monday* midnight (24 *ghaṭi rātri*) of 794=March-April, 1674 A.D. One midnight the king was witnessing a ceremonial dance of the Goddess Harisiddhi performed by a group of priests from that place, and he suddenly died. The death is attributed to the displeasure of the Goddess, who was seated by the side of the king in the person of a young girl. Pratāpa not knowing the identity of the Goddess in human form became attracted towards her and as was his usual habit at such junctures began to court her. But in that act he obtained a sharp rebuke from the lady, and he soon after swooned never

to rise to consciousness again. It was said that since Pratāpamalla died the dance drama of Harisiddhi was never played in Kathmandu.

According to the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 21) Nṛpendramalla received the dance party of Harisiddhi, which entered Kathmandu on 800 *Māgha śukla 12 punarvasu nakṣatra ādityavāra*. Earlier on *Māgha śukla 4 pra 5 uttarabhadra nakṣatra ādityavāra* the dance was staged on a platform in the compound of Paśupatinātha, and five days the same was performed on the main platform (*mūla ḍabali*) of Jayavāgeśvarī. In Kathmandu Nṛpendramalla himself witnessed the dance being staged on Triśuliḍabali during the night on *Samvat 800 Māgha kṛṣṇa chaturthī hasta nakṣatra ādityavāra*.

So it does not appear that the staging of Harisiddhi dance was prohibited in Kathmandu, as made out in the chronicle.

It seems certain that Pratāpa died either in *Chaitra* or one or two months later of the year NS 794 (= June, 1674 A. D.) His last inscription on stone, the one on the slab of a stone pedestal supporting the image of Narasiṃha dates 793 *Āśāḍha kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī*. A ms. *Svayambhu Chaitya bhāṭṭārakoddeśa* written in his reign (*vijayarājye*) is dated 793 *Āśvina śukla ekādaśī*.⁶⁷ According to Baburam Acharya there is a copper plate inscription dated 794 *Jyeṣṭha śukla pūrnāmāsyām* recording the grant of 18 *ropanis* of land by Pratāpamalla (I have not verified) towards the expense of purchasing oil for burning lamps in the temple of Taleju and Degutale during the Indrajātrā ceremony.⁶⁸ We have an inscription in Ichangu a village two miles west of Kathmandu, which purports to show Nṛpendramalla as the ruler and this is dated 794 *Āśvina śukla pratipadā hasta nakṣatre nanda yoge yathākaraṅga muhūrte ādityavāsare kanyā rāśi gata savitari kanyā rāśi gata*

67. Darb. Lib. Čaṭ. I. 1336. 7.

68. He has kindly sent to me a copy of the text. Inscription n. 11 in our Appendix.

chandramasi (September-October, 1774).⁶⁹ Nṛpendra has also a coin of the year NS 794 (Walsh, III. 1). Walsh incorrectly read it as 795. It thus appears that the date given by the aforesaid chronicle for this death could be correct or in the alternative it can be pushed two or three months after in the light of the Taleju copper plate as suggested by Baburam Acharya. Therefore, Wright's date to place it 15 years later is very much wrong.⁷⁰

The statement of the chronicle in regard to the date of Pratāpamalla's death is, however, confirmed by the *Thyāsapu D* which inter alia says 'on *Sarṃvat 794 Chaitra śukla ekādaśī pra dvādaśī* (as it had just started) *somavāra*, Kathmandu's Pratāpamalla died. He died at midnight at 24 ghari. Nine women were burnt to death along with his body, among these one was Rānī, six were concubines.....Funeral rites were performed on the day of *dvādaśī*. The *Thyāsapu D* should be taken as fairly correct. I do not see anything else would go to contradict its statement. As I have not personally checked up the Taleju Pillar Inscription, it is difficult for me to agree with the reading of Baburam Acharya. Probably there is a mistake in his reading of the date figure. At any rate in so far as this does not agree with the *Thyāsapu D*, we do not think the date in any way holds ground. The crowning of Pratāpamalla's successor took place in *Aṣāḍha*, and this might introduce a new element of confusion into the discourse. But the date of Pratāpa's death is irrefutably the one given by the *Thyāsapu D*, which is in turn supported by the chronicle.

In the chronicle one Pratāpadhvaja Jcśī of Maru is mentioned as the Chief Minister during the time Pratāpamalla ruled. He might have been Kathmandu's Chief Minister during the early years of Pratāpamalla's regnal career. The next man who appears as a minister during the reign of

69. Unpublished. Inscription n. 71 in our Appendix.

70. Wright. p. 133 (Second edition).

Pratāpa is one Chikuti. According to the *Thyāsapu D* he was a prominent figure towards the fag end of Pratāpa's reign. We have the following notes about him in this diary: *Saṁvat 787 Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa pratipadā uttarāṣāḍhā budhavāra*, this day peace was restored between Patan and Kathmandu, Śrī Pratāpamalla and Śrīnivāsamalla met at Pañcharikher, at night Chikuti Paramana came to Patan after one hour, Jagatprakāśamalla of Bhatgaon also came and he met Śrīnivāsamalla at Pyakhana, next day the Bhatgaon ruler was compelled to go back and Bhatgaon was isolated. *Saṁvat 788 Pauṣa kṛṣṇa tilasaṅkrānti*; while Lokeśvara (Bugamadeo) was residing in Tavabahāl, his eyes appeared full of tears, these could not be soaked with handkerchief, with each soaking more tears flowed, this continued also at night; on the same day the minister of Kathmandu's Pratāpamalla was Devīdāsa of Vantala, nicknamed Chikuti, and he was imprisoned. He enjoyed possession of landed property in the three kingdoms (*Thyāsapu E*). He escaped from confinement sometime later and went to Patan for asylum. We shall have occasion to say more about Chikuti as we narrate the events of Nṛpendramalla's reign. But before he was to see evil days Chikuti controlled for more than four years the destiny of Kathmandu with a boy king as his ward.

Chikuti's colleagues in the administration are named as Māndhātāsīmha and Bansidhara. According to the copper plate inscription of 818 (n. 99 in our Appendix), the former met a sad end as a result of Mahādeva Ojha's intrigues. Chikuti himself had caused his death.

It comes to our notice from the *Thyāsapu D* that Chikuti while living in exile in Patan had remained in hiding for sometime. In 792 in the month of *Māgha* he left his hiding place and moved freely and openly this is what the source says. *Saṁvat 792 Māgha śukla 15*, the joint invasion of a fort by Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon, flags and festoons were dismantled and seven days after Chikuti came out.

About 2 years later Chikuti returned to Kathmandu on

the death of Pratāpamalla. He was to become the Chief Minister simultaneously with the crowning of Nṛpendramalla.

Pratāpamalla was succeeded by Nṛpendramalla the events of whose reign find elaborate notice in the different *Thyāsapus* available to us. We shall narrate these in the next section.

Important documents of Pratāpa's reign

Pratāpamalla's records are too numerous to be collated in a book like the present one written for a limited purpose. But we are here giving a brief summary of the texts of the important records that have a bearing on his genealogy and political affairs of the day. For the first time, we have a coin to provide the very earliest date for the reign. This is a simple mohar coin. In design it looks very much similar to that of the mohar coin of Jagataprakāśamalla of Bhatgaon (Walsh, II, 1), the only difference being that the date here is placed along with the legend in the third line. In Jagataprakāśa's coin, it is placed at the bottom. According to Walsh the description of the coin is as follows: on the top above the square (containing the legend) a figure of hand drum in the obverse and Śrī above and within the circle, a trident in the reverse. On either side both in the obverse and reverse, imitation of Arabic characters placed upside down'. But it is wrong to call the lines and dots juxtaposed in the coin as Arabic characters. These form just the devices for decorating the surface.

In the appendix to this volume we have described the two earliest coins of the period, those of Mahendramalla and Śivasimha respectively. The next earliest coin is that of Lakṣmīnārasimha. But all these are undated. Siddhinārasimha's coin (Walsh, V. 1) is dated, (761), but it does not give us the first date of the reign.

(1) A stella attached to the wall of the *Vēdikā* at the foot of the pavement of the *Tāleju* temple, to the right of the footstep. This is dated *Nepālasaṁvat 762 Jyeṣṭha māse kṛṣṇa pakṣe navamī tithau revatī nakṣatre śobhana yoge*

yathākaraṇa muhūrte śukravāsare mithuna rāśi gate savitari mīna rāśi gate chandramasi. On this day a stone pillar supporting a lion was set up in honour of the Goddess. This gives Pratāpa's genealogy from Yakṣamalla onwards tracing the origin to Harasiṃhadeva (see above). Harasiṃhadeva, in his dynasty was born

Yakṣamalla, his son
 Ratnamalla, his son
 Sūryamalla, his son
 Amaramalla, his son
 Mahendramalla, his son
 Śivasimha, his son
 Hariharasimha, his son
 Lakṣmīnarasimha, his son
 Pratāpamalla

This has altogether 27 verses partly in Sārdulavikriḍita metre; there are a few lines in Newari at the end, which record the grant of land for the expenses to be incurred for the *pūjā* of the Goddess.⁷¹

(2) A stone inscription attached to the temple of Vamśagopāla at the western corner of the Darbar Square, Kathmandu.⁷² This is dated 769 *Phālguna śukla kṛṣṇa ṣaṣṭhī anurādhā nakṣatra harṣaṇayoge bṛhaspativāra*. The document commemorates the building of the temple and setting up of the image of Lord Kṛṣṇa with Rukminī and Satyabhāmā representing the departed Rūpamati (whom he calls *Patnī*) and Rājamati (whom he calls *bhogabadhūṭikā*). The latter is also called *preyasi* in the Newari text. This record gives Pratāpa's genealogy and also the genealogy of Rūpamati, the princess of Bihar, the capital city of which resembled heavenly *Amarāvati*. Lālamati is noted as Karnāṭi and of Karnāṭadeṣa.

71. *Sanskrit Sandesha*, I. 2, pp. 12 ff.

72. BLI, n. 18. *Sanskrit Sandesha*, I. 3, pp. 1 ff.

(A)

Nānyadeva of Sūrya dynasty,
 his son Gaṅgadeva,
 his son Nṛsimha,
 his son Rāmasimha,
 his son Śaktisimha,
 his son Bhūpālasimha,
 his son Harasimha,
 in his dynasty was born Yakṣamalla,
 his son Ratnamalla,
 his son Sūryamalla,
 his son Amaramalla,
 his son Mahendramalla,
 his son Śivasimha,
 his son Hariharasimha,
 his son Lakṣmīnarasimha,
 his son Pratāpamalla,

(B)

Naranārāyaṇa, his son
 Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, his son
 Vīranārāyaṇa, his son
 Prānanārāyaṇa and
 daughter Rūpamatī.

The inscription at the end contains a passage in Newari, where some grants of land are mentioned. The Newari portion in the beginning repeats the genealogy.

Beside the genealogies it provides, the inscription also talks of Pratāpamalla's victory over king Dambara Shah of Gorkhā, of the conquest of Kutī, Khasa and Kira from the king of Tibet, of cession of certain forts to him by Nareśamalla of Bhatgaon, and Siddhinarasimhamalla of Patan (*yokārṣit Kūti Khāsā Kiramiti sahasā Bhoṭṭabhūpasya deśaj-jagrahaivavadānīm pratidinamapare yambhajante nareśāḥ* | | *Bhaktagrāma Nareśamalla nṛpati datvebhamenam bhiyā* | *bhejesau vasudhām jahāra sudṛḍham saṁdārya durgam punaḥ* | *Śrīmadambara śāha bhūpati valam vidhvasta dantā balam Śrīmat Siddhinṛsimhamalla nṛpate jagrāha durgābalīm* | |)

(3) The Sundarichok water conduit stone commemorates the construction of golden water sprout with 34 deities around by Pratāpamalla. This gives the names of *svapatnī* (married wife) Śrī Rūpamatī, princess (*rājaputrī*) of Bihāradeśa, and *preyasī* (darling) Śrī Rājamatī of Karnāṭadeśa, *svaputra* (own sons) Śrī Sundaranārāyaṇa, Śrī Suratasāhi and daughter Śrī Śrīmatīdevī. The date is *NS 772 Māgha śukla pūrṇimā* (*thama thvate svaparivāra sahitana jalavindu sacchhidam etc*)

(4) ms. *Harivaṃśa*⁷³ Colophon: *Samvat 772 Chaitra śukla pañchadaśyām tithau taddine Nepāladeśe Md Śrī Śrīmat Pratāpamalla pālītāyām Kāntipurāyām Md Śrī Śrīmat Pratāpamallaprabho rājñām prāpya Mahuttarī rājyādhipa rāja Śrī Śrīmat Kīrtinārāyaṇa kanyakayā Śrī Śrī Lālamatidevyā Harivaṃśa pārāyaṇa kṛtaḥ | Samvat 773 Vaiśākha śukla purnamāsyām tithau viśākhā naksatre variyāna yoge somavāre taddine dvādaśāvarta Śrī Harivaṃśa pārāyaṇa sampūrnaḥ kṛtaḥ.*

(5) The Saṅkhu inscription on a stone lying to the north-east of the temple of Vajrayogini. The first portion is in Sanskrit. It begins with invocation to the Goddess, the *Kāmada stotra* being of 14 verses composed by *Śrī Nepāla mahīmaṇḍalākhaṇḍala Śrī Śrī Kavīndra Jaya Pratāpamalla*. The date mentioned is *śaragiri munibhisamyute (=775) hastarikṣe chāṣādhe śukla pakṣe tadanupariḡhe yogarājeche-śukre*. Thereafter the lines say that Pratāpamalla built the temple and its inaugural ceremony was performed by laying a gold finial on the summit. Then the Newari text follows. After recounting that Pratāpamalla composed the verses in honour of the deity, it goes to add that he had set up a statue in gold of himself with those of *Śrī Rūpamatī*, daughter (*mhyāchā*) of *Śrī Śrī Vīranārāyaṇa narapati Mahārājā* of *Bihāra mahānagara*, of her sister (*kehe*) *Śrī Śrī Anantapriyādevī*, of princess (*rājakanyā*) *Śrī Śrī Lālamatī* who was a daughter of *Mahārājā Śrī Śrī Kīrtinārāyaṇa* of *Bhagvatīpur nagara* and of *lavatini* (concubine) *Rājamatīdevī* of *Karnāṭadeśa*.

(6) The Paśupati stele with eight verses (*Maheśāṣṭaka*) in Sanskrit in honour of God Śiva, commemorating the occasion of placing gold finial (*kalaśa*) on the temple of the deity. The inscription gives its date; *bāṇachalagairmite (=775) Chaitre kāmāthithau cha chandrādivase pakṣe cha sukletare revatyām prītiyoge*. After the eighth verse, the text is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Newari and the relevant passage says about *Rūpamatī* and *Anantapriyā*, *Śrīmad Bihāranagara nara-*

pati Md Śrī Śrī Vīranārāyaṇa-rājakumāryā Śrī Śrī Rūpamatī-devyā, svarṇa nirmīṭayā, tadbhaginyā Śrī Śrī Anantapriyādevyā. rukmaghaṭitayā paṭṭamahīṣyā sahityāḥ svarṇa ghaṭita svamūrtescha Md Śrī Śrī Kavīndra Jayapratāpamalla bhūpāla kulabhūṣa—ṇaneva sthāpanam kṛtam.

This passage suggests that a group of statues in gold of the king and his two queens had been set up. The inscription further states that in front of Śrī 3 Paśupati there was a roofed structure (Chhatrākāradevala) under which were kept 1008 Śivaliṅgas. The inscription has 41 lines of which the last 11 are in Newari. The date portion is inscribed on the top.

(7) The Svayambhu stella: At the outset there are 15 verses in Sanskrit called in the record 'jādyamudgara stotra' composed by Pratāpamalla. The inscription commemorates the occasion of the completion of the temple of Ugratārā or Vajrayogini in the Svayambhu area to the south-east. The inscription gives the genealogy of his two queens.

Samastaprakiyā virājamana vānaradhvaṇa Śrīmad Bihāra Md Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa thvayāna (his) putra (son) Md Śrī Śrī Vīranārāyaṇa, thvayānaputra (his son) Md Śrī Śrī Prāṇanārāyaṇa, thvayāna kehe (his sister) Rājakumārī Rūpamatīdevī thvayāna kehe (her sister) Rājakumārī Anantapriyādevī nimha (two) Mahārānī etc.

In the 4th and 5th lines Anantapriyā is praised as a woman of extreme beauty and a suitable wife to king Pratāpa, who was also the second daughter of the king of Bengal defeating his strong enemies.

This *stotra* is the same as appears in the Sāṅkhu Inscription. The date is given in the first line *śaragirimunibhissamyute (=775) śukra pakṣe vainavamyām sulalita divase yogarāje śivākhye chitreyam śukravāre.*

(8) Inscription on the seven tier pedestal of Viśvarūpa, with letters inscribed on the front of each tier. This records the setting up for worship of the bronze image of the supreme God called Viśvarūpa on 777 Śrāvaṇa śukla 15 dhaneṣṭha

nakṣatre atigaṇḍayoge yathākaraṇa muhūrte bṛhaspativāsare siṃha rāśi gate savitari kuṃbharāśi gate chandramasi and gives genealogies of Rūpamatī and Lālamatī in 3, 4 tiers and further names of Pratāpa's sons, daughter and kept wives in the following lines:

(2).....*Hnapānga Śrī Śrī Svamātā Sarasvatidevī yā nāmanasālika dayakā vijyāngā| thvananali Md bhūpakerarī Śrī Śrī RR Kavīndra Jaya Pratāpama*

(3) *Ila devena thavo nāmanan luna Viśvarūpa dayakāvo Śrīmat mahāvihāranagaranāyaka narapati Md Śrī Śrī Naranārāyaṇa, thvayāna putra Md Śrī Śrī Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, thvayāna putra Md Śrī Śrī Vīranārāyaṇa, thvayāna putra Md Śrī Śrī Prāṇanārāyaṇa, thvayāna kehe Rājakumārī Śrī Śrī Rūpamatīdevī, thvayāna kehe Rājakumārī Śrī Śrī Anantapri*

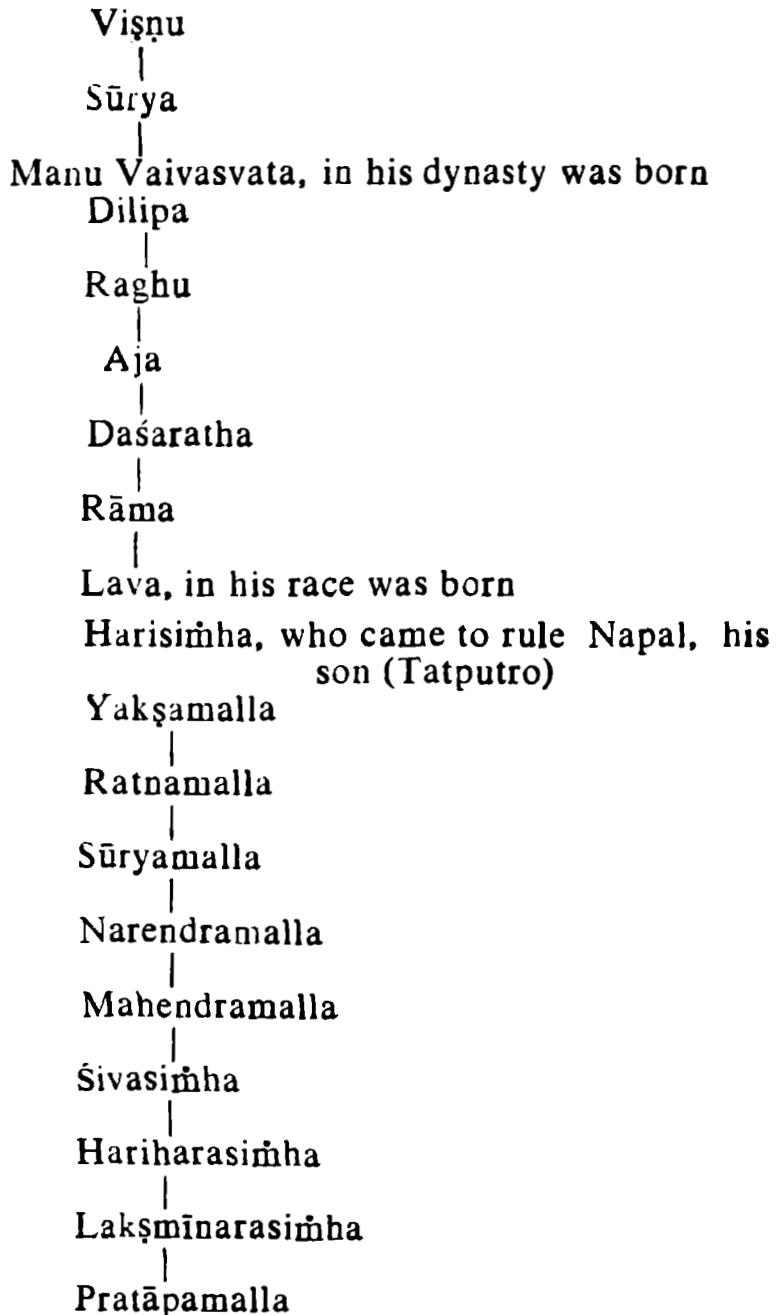
(4) *yādevī, Bhagvatīpuradeśayā Rājā Siṃhanārāyaṇa, thvayāna putra Śrī Śrī Bāghanārāyaṇa, thvayāna putra Śrī Śrī Padmanārāyaṇa, thvayāna putra Śrī Śrī Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa thvayāna putra Śrī Śrī Madananārāyaṇa, thvayāna putra Śrī Śrī Jīvanārāyaṇa, thvayāna putra Śrī Śrī Kīrtinārāyaṇa, thvayāna putri rājakanyā Śrī Śrī Lālamatīdevī, thvapani somhamahārānīpani M*

(5) *d bhūpakeśarī Śrī Śrī RR Kavīndra Jayapratāpamalladevasa patnī, thana nali svaputra Rājakumāra Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhūpendramalladeva, putrī Rājakumārī Śrī Śrī Siddhīśrīdevī ananali Śrī Pārvatīdevī, Śrī Chandramatīdevī, Śrī Jāmvatīdevī, Śrī Indumatīdevī, Śrī Nayanāmatīdevī, Rājamatīlakṣmī, Līlavatīlakṣmī, Kamalākāntīlakṣmī, Jayantīlakṣmī thvate sahitana hmati hmatisa nāmana etc.*

According to the inscription the Viśvarūpa image in gold was to be placed for the public view and worship during the *Indrajātrā* ceremony. The image was made in the name of the king. The inscription records that there was a statue in the name of his mother Sarasvatīdevī and more statues in the name of his 3 queens (Mahārānī), his son (Rājakumāra) Bhūpendramalla, daughter (Rājakumārī) Siddhīśrīdevī and others, nine females. The identity of and his own relation

with the females are not defined. Perhaps these were his concubines.

(9) The Paśupati stele: This is a long record with 30 verses inscribed on the 7th day of *Māgha śukla*, 778. Its main importance lies in the genealogy of the king, which he himself framed in the 25 verses tracing the origin to Viṣṇu. Three verses are devoted to sing his own praise.⁷⁴



(10) Inscribed on a stele on the platform of the door of the temple of Śāntipur, within the precincts of the Svayambhu below the *stūpa* to the North.⁷⁵ This contains *stotra* in 23 stanzas in honour of different deities beginning with *Śri Śivaśaktyatmakaināmah* composed by Pratāpamalla himself. The *Vṛṣṭichintamaṇi stotra* was meant to invoke divine blessing for rains in times of drought. There are altogether 34 stanzas, and a short passage in Newari. The eleven stanzas beside the *stotra* record the story of Pratāpamalla's feats in securing the secrets of litergy (see above text). The inscription is dated *Samvat 778 Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa chaturthī śatabhiṣa nakṣatra śobhanayoga bṛhaspativāra*.

(11) The Taleju Pillar: There are lines inscribed on a massive pillar rectangular in shape, which supports a group of three statues of Pratāpamalla and his two sons, Nṛpendramalla and Chakravartendramalla. The first portion of the record is in Sanskrit. This contains eight verses in honour of the Goddess Taleju. The group is called *Sarvvamaṅgalāṣṭaka*. The last passage of this portion speaks of the statues '*pratikṛiti*' of Pratāpamalla and his two sons, Nṛpendramalla and Chakravartendramalla superimposed on a stone pillar erected in front of the main gate of the shrine of Taleju.

The text of the second portion is in Newari prose. This speaks of Mahārājakumāra Chakravartendramalla to have performed a *tulādana* sacrifice. Then it goes to say that gold statues of Pratāpamalla and his sons, Nṛpendramalla and Chakravartendramalla have been set up. The date both in words and figures is, *784 Pauṣa kṛṣṇa amāvasyā śravaṇa nakṣatre vyatipāta yoge somavāra*.

(12) The Degutale Pillar: Lines inscribed on a long rectangular pillar of a large size. This commemorates the occasion of setting up a group of statues, which the pillar supports at the top on an arabuscus of lotus on *790 Bhādrāmāse kṛṣṇa pakṣe dvādaśī para trayodaśī tithau śravaṇa*

75. *Sanskrit Sandesh*, I. 10,11,12, pp. 86-90

nakṣatre sravaṇa yoge bṛhaspativāre. The record is dedicated, to the favour of Goddess Śrī Śrī Sveṣṭadevatā Degutale. The relevant lines are, *Śrī Śrī Śrī RR Kavindra Jaya Pratāpamalladevana luna (of gold) thva pratimā svapatnī Śrīmat Bihāra mahānagarayā Mahārājakumārī* (princess of Bihāranagara) *Mahārānī Jagatjananī Śrī Śrī Anantapriyādevī tathā Śrī Śrī Śrī Mahārānī Prabhāvatīdevī svaputra Mahārājakumāra Śrī Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhūpendramalladeva, tathā Mahārājadhirāja Nepāleśvara RR Śrī Śrī Śrī Jaya Chakravartendramalladeva tathā Śrī Śrī Śrī Jaya Mahīpatendramalladeva tathā Śrī Śrī Jaya Nṛpendramalladeva tathā Śrī Śrī Śrī Pārthivendramalla thva chyāmase (of these eight) etc.*

(13) The *Rānīpokhari* stele; there are two different stones, one with contents in *Newari* character and another in what is called *Devanāgarī* the text in both is one and is written in the language in what is to-day known as *Nepali*. The inscription commemorates the inaugural ceremony of the construction of the tank known today as *Ranipokhari* (Queen's tank). This was dug to honour the memory of Chakravartendramalla who has the epithets of *Md Nepaleśvara RR*. There are 59 lines. The *Nepali* version also includes six lines in *Newari*. The inscription is dated *Śaka 1592 Kārtika śudī pūrnimā* and *Samvat 790 Āśvina śukla pūrnimā uttarabhādra nakṣatra dhruva yoga somavāra*, written by one Kṛṣṇadeva. The record starts with the invocation of Goddess *Kālikā* and proceeds to say that waters brought from different sacred sites and pilgrimage centres now situated in India and from within Nepal were put in the tank.

(14) A stone inscription attached to the temple of *Narasimha*. This gives in several verses *Pratāpa's* own poetical composition in honour of *Narasimha* and an incarnation of *Viṣṇu*. The record is dated *793 Āśāḍha kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī revatī nakṣatra śukramayoge śukravāra*. The date represented the occasion which the image of the deities had been set up (*Sanskrit Sandesha*, I, 4, pp 5-6).

(15) The *Taleju* Copper plate : *Śrī Śrī Śrī Talejudevī Śrī Śrī Śrī Degutaledevibhyām Śrī Pratāpamalla bhūpatinā*, etc. *Samvat 794 Jyeṣṭha māse śukla pakṣe pūrnāmāsyām tithau*. It is recorded that the king made a grant of 28 *ropanis* of land, the income from which was to be used for the purpose of providing oil to the rows of lamps burning for five nights at the shrines of the deities since the *dvādaśī* day during the *Indrajātrā*. The text is supplied to me by Baburam Acharya. As I have not personally examined the original record, I am unable to vouchsafe for the date.

IV

AGE OF REGENTS AND CHAUTĀRĀS

(1674-1722 A.D.)

After Pratāpa died the defacto rulers in Kathmandu for the next forty years were either Regents or Chautārās who exercised enormous powers of state in the minority of the de jure monarchs.

Nṛpendramalla (1674-1680 A.D.)

The chronicle asserts that Nṛpendramalla was the eldest son of Pratāpamalla, but he had placed him third in his preferential list, and, therefore, while Mahipatendramalla the second son tried to occupy the throne by virtue of the will made by his father, the latter was accosted by the rightful claimant and finally put in chains and then escaped to take shelter in Patan.

We do not hear anything about Bhūpendramalla since 791. He was dead at the time the throne was rendered vacant after the death of Pratāpamalla. As Pārthivendramalla lived to succeed Nṛpendra in NS 800 *Jyeṣṭha* (coin, Walsh, III,3) it will not be so far fetched as to guess that he sided with Nṛpendra in that fateful conflict. This man in calling himself a younger brother of King Nṛpendra in one of his inscriptions (of *Paśupati shrine*) provides ample testimony for the fact of his alignment with the latter.

The chronicle states that Nṛpendramalla was crowned King on *Āṣāḍha Śudi 6* Monday 794, and he was just thirteen years old. The coronation ceremony was attended amongst others by Śrīnivāsamalla and Jitāmitramalla. The fact that the Coronation took place three months after the death of his father is indicative of the disturbed situation coming in the wake of Pratāpamalla's death. The possibility of a dispute

about the succession to the throne cannot be ruled out. But who was the contestant? As it shall appear, Mahīpatendra was a minor below the age of ten at that time. By himself he was not equipped to contrive a situation where he could lay a claim to the throne. We must also discard any kind of proposition as to Nṛpendramalla being the author of a scheme prepared to meet the situation. It was hardly expected of a boy of 13 to exhibit a skill of that kind.

The story of a trouble at the time of succession is described by the chronicler by creating an interregnum between the date of the death of Pratāpamalla and of the succession of Nṛpendramalla. As we have suggested, the date provided by the chronicle for the death of Pratāpamalla has to be accepted in view of the authentic statement of the *Thyāsapu D.* As we find it, there is really a gap of 3 months, which requires to be explained in a manner likely to be convincing.

It is certain that at the time Pratāpamalla's death took place Nṛpendra did stand first in the roll of succession, but amidst the conflicting and mutually differing order of names supplied by inscriptions in general, it will not be safe to rely on the order of name provided by Pratāpa's *Degutale* inscription where Mahīpatendra has been placed before Nṛpendra. As we have it from reliable documents there is no doubt that of the surviving brothers, he was the eldest and Mahīpatendra, the youngest. As we have seen not only Nṛpendramalla had stood seniormost in 794 but on all accounts he came to occupy this place since 784 by virtue of his own right.

It is suggested that Nṛpendramalla being an illegitimate son of Pratāpa, a section of the nobility tried to prevent his accession to the throne. But this move could hardly be supposed to have been made in behalf of the other two survivors. The latter probably enjoyed no better status.

There is nothing mentioned about Nṛpendra's illegitimate birth anywhere. Illegitimacy was, however, no bar to one's

right to inherit the throne. It is difficult to vouchsafe for his legitimacy. But in the absence of evidence to prove otherwise, we cannot say that he was born of an illegitimate wife of Pratāpamalla. This can be said equally of all the sons of Pratāpa except Bhākutu who clearly mentioned by the writer of the *Thyāsapu A.* as of illegitimate birth. Nṛpendramalla is quite honourably mentioned in both the *Taleju* and *Degutale* Pillar Inscriptions. It will be wrong to say that he enjoyed a status lower than that of Chakravartendramalla or Bhūpendramalla.

Mahīpatendra's involvement in the incident is ruled out for the reason that he was a minor being junior to Nṛpendramalla in age. He was the youngest of the three brothers who had survived their father. The *Thyāsapu A.* (f.57) under date NS 806 *Mārga* calls him a junior (or another) king. In the *Thyāsapu A.* he appears along with his brothers, one or the other at several places in between 798 and 803; on *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa ekādaśi uttarabhādra nakṣatre somavāra*, the three brothers are noted to have visited *Khāsa Chaitya (Bauddha Sanctuary near Paśupati's shrine)*. Although Nṛpendramalla is mentioned by name there, it is certain that Pārthivendra and Mahīpatendra are included by implication (f. 4). Nṛpendra had offered a gold umbrella to the *Chaitya*. In f. 22 the chronicler of the same *Thyāsapu* says that Nṛpendramalla, Pārthivendramalla and Mahīpatendramalla the three brothers together started through northern route on pilgrimage to *Varatīrtha* on 800 *Māgha kṛṣṇa saptamī pra aṣṭamī anurādhā nakṣatre harṣana yoge brhaspativāra ghaṭi 10 venava ghaṭi 15 thva tena ha* (between 10 and 15 *ghaṭi*). In another context in folio 32 of the same text there is one more reference to Mahīpatendramalla under dates *Saṁvat 801 Śrāvaṇa śukla aṣṭamī pra navamī svāti nakṣatre budhavāra* (Wednesday). The passage following notes that Śrī Śrī Pārthivendra and brother Śrī Śrī Mahīpatendra, the two brothers set out on a journey to *Nīlakanṭha Gosaiñthān*, a sacred site below the

25 thousand ft. high Himalayan peak of the same name, at the source of the river Triśulī.

But the undated coin of Mahīpatendra poses a question. This coin (Walsh, IV. 1) looks much similar to other coins issued at the time. Of course we cannot accept him as an unsuccessful plotter. But why this coin? Did he have a reign period however short it was? As for the identity of the name in the coin with the son of Pratāpamalla, I do not think that we can entertain any kind of doubt. The word *Deva* placed in his coin after *Malla* shows that he was of the royal family. He does not have titles like *Nepāleśvara Rājendra* or *Nepāleśvara girindra* as was done by Bhūpāendra, Jagajjaya and Mahīndrasimha. Other evidence, if traced, might be illuminating. Even the title adopted by Chakravartendra is missing. The absence of royal title is however evident also in some more coins. And there is no name Mahīpatendra other than that of the son of Pratāpa in any period of history in the middle ages. So the coin must belong to the youngest son of Pratāpamalla.

But it does not look that he even succeeded to the throne. The coin struck in his name may in no way connote any sense different from the one conveyed by Chakravartendra's coin. It was struck by the father out of love for the youngest son. It appears that Pratāpamalla deeply loved his two sons, the two youngest, Chakravartendra and Mahīpatendra. These two are mentioned in the Degutale pillar inscription in the order immediately after the crown prince. Pratāpamalla's deep affection for them is also evidenced by the fact that the images of these two appear along with the father's on the Ranipokhari stone elephant. The lines inscribed on the elephant at the right back says 'Pratāpamalla got set up here a statue of his own together with those of his sons, Chakravartendramalla and Mahīpatendramalla'.

However, the fact of coins issued by the father in the name of Chakravartendra and Mahīpatendra reflect the former's motive to by-pass other sons even for the throne in

preference to the two. Chakravartendra had died in the life time of his father. Probably he was Pratāpamalla's first choice. But as he was removed from the arena by death, the father now turned to Mahīpatendra. The coin in the name of Mahīpatendra might suggest some design on the part of the father in this direction. The coin of Mahīpatendramalla must have been issued after the death of Chakravartendra. Does it mean that Pratāpa very much desired to nominate him as his successor before he died? We have now a statement of a reliable document to confirm this suspicion. The document in question is the *Thyāsapu D*. It says: After a few days of the death of Pratāpamalla, on *Samvat 794 Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 6 śukravara śravaṇa nakṣatra brahmayoge* the roads to the three cities opened, and in the morning met at a site below the highway on the bank of the river Bagmati the rulers of the three cities, Śrīnivāsamalla of Patan, Jitāmitramalla and his younger brother Ugramalla of Bhatgaon, Nṛpendramalla, second brother Pārthivendra and youngest Mahīpatendra of Kathmandu. At this meet Śrīnivāsamalla made over the charge of Chikuṭi Pramāna who was staying in Patan for 5 months.....*Samvat 794 Āṣāḍha śukla ṣaṣṭi uttaraphālguna* pariḡha somavāra, this day, Śrīnivāsamalla of Patan, his son Yoganarendramalla, Jitāmitramalla and his brother Ugramalla of Bhatgaon, these four, came to Kathmandu. At eight in the morning the eldest of the brothers Nṛpendramalla of Kathmandu was crowned king; the second brother Pārthivendra whose mother was living separately and youngest Mahīpatendra willingly accepted; earlier to this the father, Pratāpamalla, had made Mahīpatendra king; now Śrīnivāsamalla himself took the lead and in the same place gave *tikā* to the eldest prince, the ceremony was being held in Mulchok rice was burnt at the alter.

It is not unlikely that the crowning of Nṛpendramalla was delayed just because of his father having nominated the youngest son as his successor. There was probably a section

of the nobility, which desired compliance of the wishes of the departed king. But Nṛpendramalla was rightful heir to the throne by virtue of his being the eldest surviving son of Pratāpamalla. The question as to the man to succeed Pratāp must have been keenly debated in the three capitals. Ultimately the consensus of opinion seems to have been switched in favour of Nṛpendramalla. As the *Thyāsapuli* notes, the rulers of the two other principalities played a little part in the decision of the issue. It is clear that the intervention had helped Nṛpendramalla to secure the throne. We have no idea of how the business of the crown was conducted during the interval prior to the installation of Nṛpendramalla and who were the men in the administration. The return of Chikuṭi Pramāna to Kathmandu must have strengthened the supporters of Nṛpendramalla. As we know it was Chikuṭi who was made Chief Minister on the accession of Nṛpendramalla, this is not a wild conjecture.

With Nṛpendramalla on the throne the cloud of confusion was cleared, and Kathmandu's affairs were normalised. There was no rancour on any side in so far as the contest for the throne had affected the three brothers, all of whom were minor in age. But what happened to those who had taken sides in the dispute we do not know. Neither from the chronicles nor from the diaries we get any information on the subject. There is however no indication if anything upward had happened to disturb the situation.

We shall have further occasion to say more about Mahapatendramalla.

We learn that simultaneously with Nṛpendra's Coronation Chikuṭi Pramāna became Chautārā (Chief Minister) and the man as is known from an inscription of his time (*NS 76: Pūrnimā, bright fortnight of Pauṣa*)⁷⁶ was all powerful (*Mukuṭibhūta Pradhānagrānī*) and appointed his men in his posts.

76. The Naudeval stele of Kathmandu, p. 73 in our Appendix.

Chikuṭi Pramāna conducted the administration in the name of the king, who was a minor. He exercised extraordinary influence in the realm by virtue of his office as the Chief Minister. He was so powerful that in one record of his name occurs as one ruling 'without opposition' and all this is there without the name of the king. This record is the same as the above cited stone inscription of 795 *Pauṣa pūrnimā*. The lines record the inaugural ceremony of the temple having been constructed by Devidāsa, and setting up to the images of God Śiva inside on the occasion of the lunar eclipse which occurred a fortnight earlier. In the Newari portion the name Chikuṭi appears as the donor.

From a copper plate inscription of the year 818 (see below) we come to know that one Kantu Ojhā, an archvillain of the intrigue chapter of Nepalese history for twenty years got sneaking into the favour of Chikuṭi, but the Chief Minister obtained timely warning, and no harm reached him. Chikuṭi, however, was destined to lose his power as death overtook his king in *Jyeṣṭha* of 800.

Nṛpendramalla ruled from 794 to 800. One of the notable events of his reign was the signing of a treaty of friendship by him with the ruler of Gorkhā, Pṛthvīpati Shāh (*Thyāsapu A. f. 6-7*). The treaty was signed in Mohanchok (inside the palace) on *Āśvina Śukla 10* and on this occasion ministers of Patan and Bhatgaon were also present. The two rulers had become friends by performing a religious rite.

Nṛpendramalla's rule lasted only six years and thereafter Pārthivendramalla, his second brother, succeeded him.

According to the *Thyāsapu A. (f. 25)* Nṛpendra died at 18 *ghaṭi (jhimchyā)* on the night of *ekādaśī pra (past) dvādaśī*, Saturday of *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa* of 800, and nine wives were burnt with his dead body on the royal funeral pyre (*rājadīpa*); on the same day the priest was dismissed and one Upendra Upādhyā was appointed to take his place. Nṛpendra died at the age of 18 years and 7 months (f. 25). In a ceremony that took place at the Mulchok on *Friday Āṣaḍha śukla 9 (svāti nakṣatre*

siddhi yoge śukravāra simhalagna velāghaṭi 7 venao ghaṭi 12 thva tenanha), fourteen days after Nṛpendra's death, his brother Pārthivendramalla was declared king by the rulers of Patan and Bhatgaon. Pārthivendramalla who was a brother of Nṛpendra had come of age when he came to the throne. He was then 18 years old.

Many events of the year which preceded Nṛpendramalla's death have been noted by the scribe of the *Thyāsapu A* under different date lines.

In *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa* of 800 the queen of Śrīnivāsamalla had died. Also died about the same time the aunt (father's sister) of Jitāmitramalla (f. 20).

Raut Bhākutu, one of Pratāpamalla's illegitimate sons, died on 800 *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 9 brhaspativāra*. Bhākutu's mother and wife, the latter daughter of Madheju, fled from the funeral pyre, there was mourning, the period depending on relationship, all illegitimate members of the royal family (*lavata*) observed 4 days, while the one who put flame on the pyre observed mourning for 10 days (f. 20-21).

Nṛpendra allowed the performance of the dance of Hari-siddhi at Deopatan in *Māgha śukla* of 800.

The dance party entered Kathmandu and staged their performance on *Triśuli Dabali* just outside the gate (see above) both during the day at night of *Māgha kṛṣṇa 4 hasta nakṣatra ādityavāra* and on *Saṁvat 800 Phālguna śukla 10 pra 11 puṣya nakṣatra ādityavāra*, the dance was performed in Sanghyārako. Three days after this, the deity went back (f. 23).

A mad man went up to the top of the *stūpa* of Syeṅgu on 800 *Phālguna kṛṣṇa 5 budhavāra* at the night, and dismantling the pinnacle along with the *chudāmaṇi* let it down. Nine days later, a propitiation ceremony was observed and this very day there was a *pūjā* in the Tava temple.....A huge flame (*agnijvāla*) was seen over the trident outside the temple of Paśupatinātha on *Saṁvat 800 Chaitra śukla pratipadā adityavāra*, shortly before evening and this was reported to have been seen by many (f.23-24).

In respect of the observance of the festival of *Piśācha chaturdaśī*, (*Phālguna kṛṣṇa 14*) there was some difference as to the time between Kathmandu on the one hand and Patan and Bhatgaon on the other, the former observing the festival a day earlier (f.24).

The *Thyāsapu A* also notes several cases of unpleasant incidents for the year previous.

Blood flowed out of two spots on the image of Jayavagesvari on the early morning of 799 *Phālguna śukla pratipadā dhaneṣṭā nakṣatra śanaiścharavāra*. Ratneśvara Upādhyā died on 799 *Pauṣa śukla 11 pra 12 Śanaiścharavāra trisprisa-yoga*. Gopinī who was living at home also died the same day (f.8). Bhavānidāsa Āchārya at Paśupati died on 799 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa bṛhaspativāra* (f. 11). On 799 *Naṣṭa Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 7 pra 8 bṛhaspativāra* Ugramāla's mother breathed her last (f. 11). Raṇajita Kuar's daughter died of small pox at her home in Pyafal on 799 *Śrāvaṇa śukla 12 śukravāra*. She was the niece of the king (f. 11). It was said that on 799 *Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa 2 budhavāra* one person was not able to speak since the last four days; but this day, the person who was a grandson of Tavachhe's Jinivade, spoke; he was asked as to which gods had possessed him and then he spoke; he told that three Padumaiju and two others came to seize him; when asked why they came, he replied that this was so because no rituals were offered to them and now they would hypnotise children and the process would also cover the king and ministers; as to the remedy the boy spoke that the deities desired to be propitiated with the *mahāvali* at different places (f. 12).

The month of *Śrāvaṇa* of the year 799 witnessed terrible epidemic of small pox raging in the Valley. Several persons died, amongst them were Nṛpendramalla's own sister Siddhilaṅkṣmī married to one Raṇajita Kumhara and her son, who succumbed to the attack five days later (f. 13). There were more children dying. On 799 *Bhādrapada śukla 4 pra 5 svātinakṣatra śanaiścharavāra* there was *mahāvali* at Thasa-

maru, Bankaro, Sokanabu, Maru and Lagan. Again on the same day the *Mahāvali* was offered at Rumadha, Pachali, Kahaga, and Rute as children had died of small pox in these localities (f. 14) Virabhadra Jośi expired at 5 *ghari* past night on 799 *Bhādra śukla 3 pra 4 śukravāra* (f. 15). Six days later on *Bhādra śukla 9 br̥haspativāra* Sukhul Bhā's son died.

This year there was some difference of time regarding the observance of *Navarātra* in parts of the Valley. Kathmandu celebrated from *pratipadā br̥haspativāra* since 13 *ghaṭi* past and before the 18th *ghaṭi*. The *lagna* was *Dhanu*. But Patan started the observance since *Bichhā lagna* as the astrologers there took the time as touched by *Śukra lagna*. The *bhoga* was offered on the day of *Aṣṭamī pra Navamī*. *Saptamī-pra aṣṭamī* was observed after 5 *ghaṭi* had passed and before 11 *ghaṭi* at *Tulā lagna*. Earlier it was under *Rāhu*, therefore Kathmandu delayed. But Bhatgaon did observe at the time thinking that it was *Bichhā lagna*. The *chāraṇa* rites were observed on Saturday, *śanaiścharavāra daśamī*, after 13 *ghaṭis* had passed and before 16 *ghaṭi* (ff. 15-16).

The difference of time also lay in the observance of the new year's day. The *amāvasyā* of *Kārtika* covered 27 *ghaṭi* and 18 *bi* on the day, and stretched to 27 *ghaṭi* and 24 *bi* of the next day. The following day was *pratipadā* which was only to cover 31 *ghaṭi* and 25 *bi* of that day. It was thought that the *pratipadā* measured 4 *ghaṭi* at night, Patan and Kathmandu observed *Sukharātrī* on this day. But Bhatgaon observed the festival acting on the understanding that the *amāvasyā* was not to be counted.

It has been suggested that because Nṛpendramalla had allowed performance of the Harisiddhi dance and because unusual phenomena had occurred at the time, the king had met his end.

Both the *Thyāsapu D* and *E* provide information about the death of Nṛpendramalla.

The *Thyāsapu E* slightly disagrees with the *Thyāsapu A* as to the date of death of the Nṛpendramalla. But the *Thyāsapu*

D offers the same date as that of the *Thyāsapu A*. Let me now reproduce the passages in English translation from both these documents.

The *Thyāsapu D*; (*Samvat 800 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 11 pra 12*: Saturday this day, Nṛpendramalla died, 9 women were burnt on the pyre, his funeral was performed at Rājādīpa (the royal funeral platform) at Deopatan. *Samvat 800 Chaitra vadi*, a lunatic climbed the *stūpa* of Syeṅgu and brought down the parasol. In the large temple of Kathmandu (i.e. Taleju) the white ants destroyed some parts of windows and door frames, this had happened also two years before Pratāpamalla died; in the same temple by mistake a she-goat was sacrificed, a he-goat was to be sacrificed but the error was realised while the goat had been already sacrificed, this untoward event took place, and at that time mysterious voices were heard as if some ill omens were threatening the country. *Samvat 800 Āṣāḍha śukla navamī svāti nakṣatra śukravāra*, this day, early morning, the second prince was declared king; Śrīnivāsamalla and Yoganarendramalla, father and son, of Patan and the two kings of Bhatgaon attended the ceremony.

The *Thyāsapu E* (f. 3): *Samvat 800* the paint over the face of the Buga deity came out. This happened while the chariot had reached Thanthikosvara.....this very day, Kathmandu's king Nṛpendramalla died, *Jyeṣṭha vaddhi 7*.

It appears that the date given by the *Thyāsapu E* for the death of Nṛpendramalla occurs 4 days prior to the date for the same given by other sources. As the *Thyāsapu E* is the only document to give such a date, we may not accept it.

From the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 39) and the Taleju pillar inscription of 802 Pārthivendramalla appears to be a son of Indramati or Indumati. We have seen that while talking of Pārthivendra's mother the *Thyāsapu D* calls her "living apart". Indumati has her own inscription of NS 796 where she records the fact of installation of a phallus in the sanctuary of Paśupati-nātha in the name of her departed husband Pratāpamalla. The deity is called Indreśvara.

Nowhere she is called Mahārānī or even Rānī. I cannot say definitely if the names coming after Siddiśrīdevī in the Viśvarūpa pedestal inscription are those of his concubines. His relationship with these persons are not defined in the record. But as Indumati in her own record avoids calling herself a queen, she definitely did not enjoy a high status. But this had not prevented her son from ascending the throne.

From the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 26) we learn that a temple was built in the name of the departed king, and the ceremony of completing the structure was performed on *Samvat 800 Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa 4 śatabhiṣa nakṣatra* by Upādhyā Śrī Upendraju and Jośi Viśveśvara. The pedestal was set up on *Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa 11 pra 12 kṛttikā nakṣatra* and the main door was fitted on *Bhādra śukla dvādaśi śravaṇa nakṣatra*. The temple in Sarachbe, which was built by Śrī Nṛpendramalla received formally its deity called Trailokyamohananārāyaṇa on *saṃvat 801 Kārtika śukla 13 revatī nakṣatra vajrayoga somavāra*. This day a 24-hour *yajña* was performed by Upādhyā Śrī Upendrarāja, Jośi Viśveśvara, and Ugramala Karmāchārya.

Nṛpendramalla's queen bore the name, Jayalakṣmī. On *saṃvat 802 Mārggaśira kṛṣṇa pratipadā rohiṇī pra mṛgaśira nakṣatra budhavāra* Jayalakṣmī performed the ceremony of setting up an image of Bhavānī Śaṅkara in a temple built by her. That very day the finial also placed on the top of the structure.

Pārthivendramalla (1680-1687 A.D.)

At this stage we have to discuss the date of the *Paśupati* stele of Pārthivendramalla.⁷⁷ This introduces some confusion

77. This record is inscribed in *Nāgarī* character. The first portion contains eight verses in honour of *Lord Śiva*, and the latter gives Pārthivendra's genealogy as Ratnamalla, follows his son Amaramalla, his son Mahendramalla, his son Śivasimha, his son Hariharasimha, his son Lakṣmīnarasimha, his son Pratāpamalla, his son Nṛpendramalla, his brother Pārthivendramalla.

in regard to the date of the succession of Pārthivendramalla and consequently to the date of the death of Nṛpendramalla. Pārthivendramalla calls himself *Mahārājādhirāja Rājarājendra* in this inscription, which implies that he had succeeded to the throne at the time. But the date of the record, *Naipāla vatsaresmingraha nidhituragairāṅkite Mārgaśirṣe (=799 Mārga) māse pakṣe sudhamśau karaṇikarabalakṣe daśamyām tithaucha* occurs about a year and half prior to the date of the death of Nṛpendramalla as above mentioned. We have two records in the name of Nṛpendramalla as king to show that Pārthivendramalla's claim to kingship at the date of the *Paśupati* stella is unfounded.

(1) A copper plate in the collection of the *Paśupatinātha* temple: *Śrī Śrī Nṛpendramalla Mahārājādhirāja, vijayarājya yānao vijyākajuro. Saṁvat 799 Bhādrapada kṛṣṇa amāvasyām* etc.

(2) The Oṭu bahāl stella. The inscription has several dates beginning from the year 795 *Aṣāḍha kṛṣṇa chaturdaśī*, all in the reign of *Md Nṛpendramalla*. The last date 800 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 4* was the day on which the image of *Manjuśrī* was set up.

From the two records it is obvious that Nṛpendramalla was reigning while Pārthivendra had issued the above inscription. Now it is clear that the royal epithets he uses cannot establish his being a king at that date. How to justify his use of royal epithets? This may appear strange at the first thought. But it seems that it was not unusual for a successor to assume full royal titles. The colophon of ms. *Sūryasahasranāmastotram*⁷⁸ has to say that Bhupatīndramalla *Mahārājādhirāja* completed this treatise on 815 *Māgha śudī 11*. We shall know that Bhupatīndramalla was only an heir apparent at this date. Pratāpamalla himself uses the same epithets in the case of his son Chakravartendramalla. There are also other instances of the heir apparents passing in records as

78. Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 538.

full sovereigns, instances which we may not need repeat here. The mere use of royal titles may not suggest a sovereign position in favour of the incumbent. So Pārthivendramalla's assumption of full royal titles in his *Paśupati* stele should not pose a new problem. In any case the date for the succession of Pārthivendramalla to the throne as recorded in the *Thyāsapu A.* has had to be deemed as correct. The *Thyāsapu A.* (f. 13) notes under date line 799 *Śrāvāṇa kṛṣṇa trītyā pra chaturthī bṛhaspativāra* (Thursday) night at 10 *ghaṭi Śrī Nṛpendramalla Māhārājā* begot a son but the infant died subsequently 51 days later and adds that at Tekhu the confluence of the rivers Bāgmatī and Viṣṇumatī the dead body was buried. It was because Nṛpendramalla had died without leaving an issue of his own behind him that Pārthivendramalla could now step into the throne.

Like his father Pārthivendra claimed a veritable right to the genius of a poet. He called himself 'Kavirāja' and besides composing verses as hymns of prayer to deities he also sang his own praise in addition in the same place. He also laid a claim to proficiency in the art of learning. He is much outspoken to lay stress on this claim. As we find he does not hesitate to mention in the same Taleju Pillar inscription that he mastered lexicography, grammar, mythologies, fine arts, music, philosophy, rhetoric, poetry and what not (*Koṣe vyākaraṇe purāṇa kalane tantrecha vaiśeṣike saṅgīte lalita prachanḍavalite vedānta Pātanjale kāvyālaṅkaraṇe smṛtau chanipūṇa śrutau tarkake mīmāṃsākuśala pratāpa vimala*). In the epithets attached to his name he calls himself *śāstra śāstra saṅgītādi yāvadvidyā pāraga rasika śiromaṇi saundaryatārjitamanona and Kavirājarāja*.

Pārthivendra was associated in his many records with his two queens. In the Taleju stone pillar which has an inscription and which supports at the top the statues of Pārthivendramalla and of his child son Bhūpālendra, as well as those of his darling (priyā) Rājyalakṣmī queen (*Paṭṭamahīṣī*) and mother of the son, Riddhilakṣmī, Queen mother Indumati and

all identified according to the lines of inscription. The first wife does not enjoy the status of a queen consort, yet figures in two coins of the husband, one of them is a mohar (Walsh, Pl. III, 2. date 802; Kesariraj's collection also dated 802). There is also a quarter mohar with similar legend as described by Walsh but it is not illustrated in his book. In the mohar Rājyalakṣmī has the epithet Mahārānī Jaganmātā. It is probable that although Riddhilakṣmī being the mother of the heir apparent enjoyed the place of the queen consort, the latter was much more powerful in respect of her position otherwise. To have the name inscribed on the coin of the husband was a unique honour which very few women obtained and last of all a woman who was not even acknowledged as a legal wife. Riddhilakṣmī is ignored in the coins of her husband.

Because she is the mother of the successor, Riddhilakṣmī figures in several documents for some time to come after the death of Pārthivendra, and she is widely recognised in that capacity. But Rājyalakṣmī remains unnoticed after the death of her husband.

The Taleju pillar inscription has a date, 802 *Māgha kṛṣṇa śaṣṭi hasta nakṣatra dhṛti yoga somavāsara*. This was the day, the inaugural ceremony of completing the pillar was performed. According to the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 41) on *saṁvat 802 Māgha kṛṣṇa pañchamī pra śaṣṭi hasta nakṣatra prītiyoga budhavāra Śrī Śrī Jaya Pārthivendramalla* erected a stone pillar at *Trisūla Dabali*, which supported the statues of himself, Śrī Riddhilakṣmī Rānī, lavatini Rājyalakṣmī, his own mother and son. These five statues were placed together on one pillar.

According to the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 56) Pārthivendra and Rājyalakṣmī Maiju gave gifts to Śrī Manohara Upādhyā and Juju Upadhyā. On 806 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa amāvasyā somavāra*. The gifts included elephants, horses and chariots, They were also given silver mohars *as dakṣiṇā*. They received 12 tolas of gold as *pāpa purukha dakṣiṇā*. Additional 4 tolas of gold

and 20 tolas more which were being used as images of Rudra, Indra, Kuvera and Viṣṇu were made over to the 4 Bhaṭṭas. (Brāhmaṇas from Mahāraṣṭra). The queen mother and others had brought them separately,

There is a square mohar⁷⁹ of Pārthivendramalla, which has also as legend Rājyalakṣmī Mahārānī in the reverse. Although Rājyalakṣmī is addressed as Maiju (a concubine) in the inscription and *Thyāsapu*, her title of *Mahārānī* in the coin shows that she had received the exalted status of a queen although she was placed in rank below the chief queen. By using the expression *Jaganmātā* King Pārthivendra had equated her with the chief queen, the mother of the successor.

As some letters in the particular passage of the *Thyāsapu A* giving information of the king's death are blurred we cannot say exactly if Rājyalakṣmī was one of the 24 women burnt on the funeral pyre.

In the same Taleju Pillar Inscription⁸⁰ king Pārthivendramalla attributes to himself conquest of Sindhuli, which is a mountain fortress on the outskirts of the sub-Himalayan range, some 50 miles south-east of the Nepal Valley.

According to the *Thyāsapu A*, Banśīdhara Bhāju was sent to attack Sindhuli on 801 *Chaitra śukla navamī puṣyā nakṣatra śukravāra* (f. 30). On 801 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa dvitīyā anurādhā nakṣatra ādityavāra* Jaya Pārthivendramalla conquered Sindhuli by sending the Rājā of Sonagal and his own minister Baniśīdhara Bhāju, and four days later more places, e.g. Dingdinga, Tinipātan and Etaliṅga were opened (f. 31). It also appears that he had contacts with the royal family of the distant kingdom of Morang. The *Thyāsapu A* under date line 801 *Bhādra śukla trayodaśī Tuesday* reports that Bidhātā Indra, grandson of the Hindupati fled to Kath-

79. n. 4 in our Appendix.

80. It is a long inscription of 70 lines, which gives Pārthivendra's lineage from Yakṣamalla. This also gives the name of his son Bhūpālendramalla and of his mother and wife Inscription n. 85 in our Appendix,

mandu with a rhinoceros and entered the palace (f. 32). The man was granted asylum and also promised help to go back to his country.

In 802 *Śrāvaṇa* Kathmandu was about to provoke a war with Patan. The *Thyāsapu A* (f. 45) reports that on *navamī pra daśamī bṛhaspativāra* the Patan king's son came to pay respect to God Paśupati-nātha, but he found that the temple doors were closed. He insisted on the worshipers and attendants to allow him to see the image, but there seemed little chance of his wishes being accepted. Therefore one Kailāśa Pramāna and one Dhvakamha of Rāchhenko, who had accompanied the prince threatened to break the heads of those responsible for the closure of the temple, and this threat having worked successfully the temple was opened.

From the *Thyāsapu A* it appears that Pārthivendra invaded Mackwānpur. It reports under date 803 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa daśamī velāghaṭi* 6 and 10 that the astrologers had given this time to invade Mackwānpur and as was expected the Rājās of Patan, Kathmandu, Bhatgaon, Gorkhā and Lamjung led a combined attack on that principality (f. 48), the attacking force entered Mackwānpur at the night of 803 *Phālguna śukla chaturthī pra pañchamī aśvinī pra bharaṇī nakastre angāravāra*.

This information is conformed by a noting in the *Thyāsapu E* (f. 18).

The *Thyāsapu A* (f. 33) reported that on *Śrāvaṇa śukla 13 somavāra* the brother of Patan's Viśrāma Bhaṇḍāri came to live in Kathmandu.

The *Thyāsapu A* at this stage talks of Pārthivendra's pilgrimage to the 16000 ft. high mountain spring of Nilakanṭha, so sacred to the Hindus where God Śiva had sought shelter to quench his thirst after taking poison. According to the *Thyāsapu* on *Samvat 801 Āśādḥa śuddhi chaturthī bṛhaspativāra* a vulture touched the balcony of Degutale. Five days later also a vulture was seen again on the western roof of the temple. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa performed rituals to ward off the evil effects (f. 31).

Pārthivendramalla and Maḥīpatendramalla went on pilgrimage to Nīlakaṇṭha (modern Gosainthān). They started for the journey on 801 *Śrāvaṇa śuklāṣṭamī pra navamī svāti nakṣatra budhavāra*, past 15 *ghaṭi* but before 18 *ghaṭi*. They took westerly direction. That day they stayed for the night at Tārasi, next day they reached Jyāthamāne where they passed their night, and on the third day the royal party spent the night at Thamtharāja. The following night they were at Pakhuyanāthavane, and then reached Śiruthikhusa to pass the fifth night. They stayed at Chandananivāsa. Next day Śrī Śrī Jaya Pārthivendra set up a *Śivalinga* at a site to the south of the Śrī 3 Nīlakaṇṭha tank. They rested for the night at Śiruthi. The following day being Pūrṇimā they performed *tīrthaśrāddha*, and came to pass the night at Dhomasa (f. 32). The next night halt was at Dorasa, then at Doyabhung, then at Noakoṭ where the king offered six he-buffaloes, and 20 he-goats to Śrī Gaṇḍebhairava; this day they camped at Tārasi to spend the night and reached Kathmandu the next day. Pārthivendra's son then a year and eight months old who was taken to Chāṅgu, earlier also returned to the palace that very day.

This year the festival of *Daśaharā* was celebrated a month later in Kathmandu. The *Thyāsapu*, states that on *Samvat 802 Mārggasira chaturdaśī, balañ chaturdaśī* was celebrated, this year there were two intercalary months which fell in *Āśvina* and *Chaitra* respectively, the month of *Āśvina* was not left out, only *Chaitra* was regarded as intercalary. Śiva Jośi of Bhatgaon having consented, the *Daśaharā* festival was observed in *Kārtika*. In Banaras, Tirhut, Rājapur and Parbat the *Daśaharā* was celebrated in *Āśvina*. But the three kingdoms of the Nepal valley and Gorkhā, observed it during *Kārtika* (f. 40).

There was a heavy snow fall in the valley throughout the day and night on 802 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 2 maghānakṣatra* (f. 40).

It was said that for some reason the festival of *Śivarātri* was also delayed by a day, on *Samvat 802 Māgha kṛṣṇa 13*

ghaṭi 26 dinamāna ghaṭi 27 vi 14, the next day *chaturdaśi* existed only for *31 ghaṭi 34 vi*; as this was the case, Śivarātrī was observed on the previous day by the peoples of Patan and Tirhut and all hill states. The day was regarded as one of *trayodaśi pra chaturdaśi*. It was argued that the *chaturdaśi* did not extend beyond 4 *gharis* past at night. But those of Kathmandu and Bhatgaon celebrated the occasion the next day. On the advise of Śiva Jośi who lived in Thachhe in the city of Bhatgaon and Viśveśvara of Maru, Kathmandu. The latter day was regarded as one dawning with *chaturdaśi*.

Several spots on the door frame of the northern gate of Paśupatinātha, appeared bleeding which was noticed on 802 *Phālguna vaddhi 10 (f. 42)*.

On *Chaitrādhika śukla aṣṭi pra navamī*, blood flowed in front of the deity inside the Tava temple. The blood came out as if a goose was being killed (f. 43).

Early morning of 802 *Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa saptamī aṅgāravāra*, blood was noticed on the *Jaladhari* of Paśupatinātha (f. 44) at the south-eastern corner. Pārthivendramalla set up his statue in front of the *dharmasālā* within the courtyard of Paśupati. He also offered *Tulādāna* at *21 ghaṭi* next day of 803 *Vaiśākha śukla 3 rohiṇī nakṣatra atigaṇḍa yoga bṛhaspativāra*.

As we passed from NS 802 to 803 more events of the nature we have just narrated find mention in the *Thyāsapu A*. The *Thyāsapu D* supplements these items by new ones for the same period. We might cover more space by delineating these here. But we feel that incidents of non-political nature are not so important as to deserve treatment in their details. We now proceed to narrate political events of the time of king Pārthivendramalla.

Unlike Nṛpendramalla, the new king was not a minor when he ascended the throne. He now just passed the age of minority while powers of state came to him. There was an opportunity for him to seek saner elements for advice and act. But it so appears that he allowed himself to be influenced

by men who could be anything but sane. These had influenced the king to remove from office an experienced administrator like Chikuṭi and induced him to quarrel with his neighbours and to suspect his own brother's loyalty.

At the time Nṛpendramalla died Chikuṭi was still a powerful man in the kingdom. But near about early 801 his influence had waned as his camp of supporters was thinning on account of the death of his father Khoratama and of brother Dātemha, father dying on *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa tritīyā śanivāra 800*, (*Thyāsapu A*, f. 24a) and brother who was a *pramāna* (governor) of Deopatan expiring a little earlier on *Kārtika kṛṣṇa trayodaśī bṛhaspativāra* (*Ibid*, f. 17). According to the *Thyāsapu* the dead body of his father was burnt at Tekhu and Khoratama's wife had fled from the funeral pyre (f. 24).

In *NS 802 Mārgaśira kṛṣṇa (navamī uttaraphālgunī nakṣatre budhavāra)* the *Thyāsapu A* notes (f. 39) Devidāsa Bhāro as Chautāra of Kathmandu, who had erected a pillar in Paśupati supporting a group of statues of himself and his wife. Obviously Chikuṭi was still in power at this date.

We do not know the exact date of his dismissal. Probably this happened in 803 or even 804. The *Thyāsapu A* gives only the date of his flight, but it says nothing about his quitting office.

It is difficult also to state the reasons compelling him to resign from the high post he occupied, but it appears that circumstances were forcing the issue of his exit.

But Chikuṭi was not allowed a quiet life outside the office. He had to leave his home and seek shelter in Patan in 804 *Kārtika*.

According to the *Thyāsapu E* (f. 20) Chikuṭi had fled to Thankoṭ within the jurisdiction of Patan on 804 *Kārtika śukla 8*, but he was compelled to leave the place, and then went to live in Budhasing⁸¹ where he reached on *Māgha śukla 5*.

81 Situated now in South West No. 1 District. The village lay within the jurisdiction of Patan.

The *Thyāsapu A* writes under date 804 *Kārtika śukla aṣṭamī budhavāra* that Chikuṭi escaped to Patan with his family under cover of darkness at night and four days after went to live in Budbasing (f. 48). There he was joined by many Khasa Omraos (military officers). This very day Prāṇa Shāhi of Gorkhā had reached Patan. About a month later on *Kartika śukla dvādaśī* at night Patan's ruler Śrīnivāsamalla came to Kathmandu and awarded head dress, the insignia of office, to the four men of the court, to Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa of Maru, to Bāvata, to Jayakṛṣṇa's son, and to Śrīkaṇṭha (f. 51).

These might have been the four ministers who jointly conducted the affairs of the state. It appears that Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa who was until then an obscure figure had also risen to eminence as Chikuṭi left the capital.

In an inscription of the Paśupati shrine with date 801 *Magha kṛṣṇa* 13, one Bhavānīśaṅkarasimha calls himself a minister (*sachiva*) of Pārthivendramalla. The inscription records repairing of some phallus images set up and makes grants of lands for the daily worship of these deities. We do not hear of this man except from the above cited inscription. Perhaps he was a supporter of Devidāsa Bhāro and he also quit office as the four new men stepped in.

It is said in the *Thyāsapu A* that on *Samvat 804 Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa pratipada śukravāra*, at night, a fortified place close to Sankhamul within Patan's jurisdiction was captured; earlier, Baṅśīdhara Bhāju was posted there with all arrangements; four days later, the communications of the three cities were made open; came to the palace to meet the king, officers viz Pramāna Datemha kumāraju, Baṅśīdhara Bhā, Bāvata Bhā, Chikuṭi Bhāju alone being in Patan did not reach. Bhatgaon's ruler was summoned a little later and also met (f. 52) the Rājā.

The capture of the fort by Kathmandu in Patan's territory or vice versa was no uncommon incident. But it is quite likely that this particular attack was provoked by Kathmandu

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The capture of the fort by Kathmandu in Patan's territory or vice versa was no uncommon incident. But it is quite likely that this particular attack was provoked by Kathmandu

as Patan had given shelter to Chikuṭi. Yet, it appears that relation between the two courts had not been as much stained as the *Thyāsapu* reported a meeting of the rulers concerned. The above passage also shows that until this time there were people in the Kathmandu palace, who looked kindly to Chikuṭi.

Baṅśidhara was yet in the confidence of the king, and he was entrusted with military command when an expedition had to be sent to raid the neighbouring territories. Then there were Bāvat and Śrīkaṅṭha who were Chikuṭi's friends and also in power although the fourth minister who was a son of Jayakṛṣṇa might have been vindictively trying to avenge his father's death. It should be remembered here that Chikuṭi had indirectly caused the death of Jayakṛṣṇa, according to a copper plate inscription of Patan (see below).

There were new men in the scene, viz Navamisiṃha, Mānasiṃha, Jagannāthā, all of whom were to hold important position in the Government. But Lakṣminārāyaṇa gradually grew in strength and in a short time rose to heights, of power overshadowing his colleagues and compatriots. This was a danger signal to Chikuṭi and his friends. Lakṣminārāyaṇa was out to eliminate them physically.

With Chikuṭi in retirement things began to shape to force the younger prince to go on exile. He was at first kept in prison, but he escaped. How the two brothers came to loggerheads? Did Lakṣminārāyaṇa play any part here?

Pārthivendramalla developed antagonism with his younger brother Mahīpatendra who was compelled to escape to Patan. The chronicler suggests that Pārthivendra was encouraged to take this attitude towards his brother on instigation by Lakṣminarasimha, one of the Kāzis. Mahīpatendra was detained in an apartment of the palace under heavy guard since mid 804. The *Thyāsapu A* describes in its own way the events leading to the escape of the prince in the following manner. "Saṃvat 805 Śrāvaṇa śukla ekādaśi śukravāra.

tonight *Śrī Śrī Miramha juju* escaped, the maids in waiting all of them were tied by a rope before doing this, in Mohanchok, having fled and stayed in Mulchok, he arrived in the new pond, severely beaten to the extent of causing suffocation (f. 56). *Samvat 806 Mārgasira śukla pañchamī śukravāra*, this night, having caused a hole in the wall of the room, having put ladder through the outer wall of the compound, went out, *Śrī Śrī Miramha juju* to Patan, the maids in waiting, two women of Bhatgaon, also accompanied him to Patan (f. 57). It appears that Mahīpatendra was successful in escaping to Patan only on the second attempt. The *Thyāsapu D* reports: *Samvat 806 Mārgasira śukla pañchamī dhanīṣṭhā nakṣatra śukravāra*, at night, Kathmandu's youngest king (*Melamha juju*) fled to Patan, he was kept in confinement in the palace.

In 806 *Pauṣa* Patan was isolated. Pārthivendramalla, Bhatgaon's king Jitāmitramalla and his brother, Gorkha's Rājā Prithvīpati Shāh met at a place called Gademohan on *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa saptamī budhavāra*.

The Kathmandu tried to secure the person of Mahīpatendra by demanding his surrender from the king of Patan, who, however, refused to oblige him, and not heeding his various threats and supplications continued to give shelter to the junior prince of Kantipur.

The chronicle has the following story to tell about the attempts made by the authorities of Kathmandu to capture the person of Mahīpatendra, although the account is a bit confused as the incident is said to have occurred in the time of Nṛpendramalla. Mahīpatendramalla fled to Patan in 806 NS. Pārthivendramalla proposed to the king of Patan he was prepared to restore peace between the two kingdoms provided the latter surrendered his brother to him. But the latter refused to comply with his request feeling that he should not be a party to the murder of one who had sought his shelter. Mahīpatendra was then shifted to Chisvānchok in the palace as a precautionary measure. Then next day

the king of Patan came to Kāntipur. As he reached Tekhuvan confluence of the rivers Bāgmati and Viṣṇumati he sent words to his son Yoganarendra that he should also come along with Mahīpatendra. Therefore Yoganarendramalla came for the meeting but he came alone. Before leaving, he instructed Kāzi Īśvaradāsa and others that unless his order was accompanied with a special mark, they would not bring with them Mahīpatendra to Kathmandu even when asked to do so. This was necessary to frustrate any fake order schemed to entice Mahīpatendra by his enemies. Yoganarendramalla and Nṛpendramalla met in Tekhu (confluence of the Bagmati and Visnumati), they swore to be true to each other, and then Yoganarendramalla was taken to Kantipur. At night the king of Kāntipur sent a body of men with Pauṣṭika Kisi Pradhāna to bring Mahīpatendra back. But Kāzi Īśvaradāsa insisted on being shown the special mark of Yoganarendra and referred to abide by the order until he saw it. Pauṣṭika Kisi returned quite enraged. He met Yoganarendra on the way while the latter was coming back to Lalitapatan. Pauṣṭika tried to force Yoganarendra again to go to Kathmandu; but the latter rode towards his city without minding what Pauṣṭika was telling. The men protecting Mahīpatendra were withdrawn when Yoganarendra reached the palace. But next day many hooligans of Kathmandu including some Khasas and Magars came to Patan and forcibly entered the house where Mahīpatendra was living. Mahīpatendra bolted the door from within and looking out of the window implored for protection by the people of Patan. His cry attracted a good number of them and they fell upon the intruders who sustained severe casualties and took to their heels. Many of those who had come from Kathmandu intent on capturing the person of Mahīpatendra were severely dealt with, some broke their legs, some hands, and still more got head injuries. Their weapons were seized, they were stripped naked. Kāsīrāmā Āle and Kālu Kathaiyā, the leaders of the gang, were

mercilessly beaten and then kept in confinement in an apartment of the palace.

The incident involving Yoganarendramalla and his men in the affair of Mahīpatendra is also described in detail by the *Thyāsapu D*: Since *Saṁvat 805 Jyeṣṭha śukla 5* Patan was isolated, on *Saṁvat 806 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 12* king Śrī 2 Śrīnivāsamalla came in the early hours of the morning, no one was allowed to go inside the town in the evening at about 1 ghari king Śrī Śrī Yoganarendramalla went to Tekhu where he was joined by the king of Kathmandu and by younger king Ugramalla of Bhatgaon; they took solemn pledge and all came to the city of Kathmandu; thereafter on the day of *trayadaśī* the Khasas of Kathmandu attempted by force to remove Mahīpatendra who had escaped to Patan from his confinement in Kathmandu, and were killed; it was 7 ghari past night when the trouble took place; this day Śrī Yoganendra and Mahīpatendra went to Kirtipur; the people of Patan prevented the intruders from Kathmandu from advancing, they were held up before they reached the city; at 12 ghari midnight, all this happened.

There is a similar but a shorter passage in the *Thyāsapu A* (see below, the history of Patan). It appears that all the source the chronicle, *Thyāsapu D* and the *Thyāsapu A* broadly agree as to the information of the incident of 806 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 2*. The *Thyāsapu D* provides a little more detail, and any impression arising out of the chronicle's statement that Śrīnivāsa had attended the Tekhu meeting is now cleared. Yoganarendramalla and not his father had come to Tekhu to meet the rulers of Kathmandu and Bhatgaon.

It appears, however, that Mahīpatendra was not able to live permanently in Patan. After sometime he secretly left for Deopatan and lay there in hiding at a house, where he was killed by Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's men. But we shall return to this story a little later.

Except for the flight of Mahīpatendramalla, the internal condition of Kathmandu was not disturbed by any other untoward happenings, and its ruler could afford as usual to make the raids into the territories of the neighbours. The cast-entry of a description of such a raid for the reign of Pārthivendramalla is made in the *Thyāsapu A* thus:

On *Saṁvat 807 Mārgaśira kṛṣṇa tṛtīyā ādrāprapunarvasu nakṣatre somavāra* the hill principality Gorkhā was attacked by a force led by Navamīśiṁha Bhā, Bāvat Bhā and Baṅśīdhara Bhā (f. 60).

What really caused Pārthivendra to harbour ill feeling against his brother is not known from our source materials. For some time the two appear to be on intimate terms. The *Thyāsapu A* (f. 32) tells us that both the brothers undertook a journey to Gosaiṅthan in the month *Śrāvāna* of the year 801 NS. We have no information about Mahīpatendramalla for the next 4 years. We could think that in course of time the brothers had fallen apart and Mahīpatendra was taken prisoner. Perhaps his imprisonment coincided with the downfall of Chikuṭi. As to the cause of Pārthivendra's animosity against his brother, it could be suggested that his illegitimate birth had much to do with it. He might have looked on his brother as a potential rival. The fact that Pratāpamalla had nominated him as his successor was enough to keep him alert. We do not know if Mahīpatendra had posed a threat to the king because of his legitimacy. This might be so. Probably Chikuṭi was suspected of entertaining a desire to instal Mahīpatendra in power and therefore he had to go. Chikuṭi's opponents in the court had played the game successfully. His fall prepared the ground for the treatment Mahīpatendra had met. But we are not in a position to say if Mahīpatendra had done himself anything to invite troubles as they came or it was just a preventive step. Pārthivendramalla had taken to avert any likelihood of his brother rising to assert himself in the situation.

But one thing we shall have to bear in mind while we connect Chikuṭi with the incident of the imprisonment of Mahīpatendra.

It does not appear that Pārthivendra had ever desired to involve Chikuṭi in the affair concerning himself and Mahīpatendra. It was otherwise the former Chief Minister should not have been allowed to live a quiet life in Deopatan at the time.

Even though barely out of teens Pārthivendramalla had maintained a harem, and he was adding more women, marrying some and just keeping others until the very last day of his life.

According to the *Thyāsapu A* 'Pārthivendra married another girl on *Śrāvāṇa śukla pañchamī pra śaṣṭī hasta nakṣatra ādityavāra*; Pārthivendramalla brought into the palace, a girl, his wife, who was residing in the house of Kāyastha Durgādāsa, for 3 days keeping her outside (f. 34). Rājyalakṣmi figures as a co-donor along with Pārthivendramalla; while both make a gift of house, horse and elephant to one Mohan Upadhyā on 806 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa amāvasyā somavāra (Monday)*' (f. 56).

Pārthivendramalla's youngest wife was the daughter of the Rājā of Basantapur situated in the east. The marriage was performed on *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa daśamī revatī nakṣatre bṛhaspativāra* (Thursday) of the year at a site within the compound of Goddess Guhyeśvarī, where a *maṇḍapa* was constructed, her elder brother had come personally to give the younger brothers, was come to and living in Patan and Suratasimha Kuar's grand-daughter was given in marriage in the palace (f. 66).

The *Thyāsapu A* puts the date of the death of Pārthivendramalla in NS 807 on *Āṣāḍha śukla 3 aśleṣā pra maghā naṣkatre śuddhi pra vyatipāta yoge śaniścharavāra*. According to this source (f. 61) he died at 9 *ghaṭi* in the night⁹² having

82 थ्व कुन्हुया रात्रिया ९ घटी श्रीश्री पार्थिवन्द्रमल्ल मोक आरकस वासर सयात्रो नकात्रो ।

taken rice mixed with poison. Twenty-four women were burnt to death with him including Nakamaju, Bhina, Mara and.....those who were helpless to follow did not join their husband on the pyre; the mother chief queen) had also taken ill but she did not die. The *Thyāsapu D* supports the date, although it does not give the details. The chronicle passes the date of the death of Pārthivendra as the date of the death of Nṛpendramalla and with this confusion introduces Bhūpālendra as the latter's son omitting altogether Pārthivendramalla who had actually died at the date Nṛpendra is said to have breathed his last. According to the *Thyāsapu A* Pārthivendramalla's baby son Bhūpālendra's crowning took place on the 13th day of his death on the Pūrnimā (according to the chronicle, Āṣāḍha śudī 2; the first coin dates NS 808), and the Bhatgaon ruler Jitāmitra personally attended the ceremony. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Joṣi who was then known as the Bhāro of Maruṭol was proclaimed the Chief Minister. He was already a prominent official in the time of Pārthivendramalla (see above).

Bhūpālendra was eight years old, while, he ascended the throne. He was born in early 800 NS. His *annaprāśana* (rice eating ceremony) was performed on NS 800 *Bhādra śukla 13 śravaṇa pra dhaniṣṭā nakṣatre śukravāra, etc. at 7 to 11 ghaṭi* according to the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 27). While Pārthivendra returned from his pilgrimage to Nīlakaṇṭha, Bhūpālendra was a year and eight months old (*Śrāvaṇa śukla 12* of 801, *Ibid*, f. 33).

The above date of Pārthivendra's death could be disputed. But we have an authentic evidence for this provided by the *Thyāsapu A*. Pārthivendra's documents are only available up till 807 *Jyeṣṭha*. The last is dated 807 *Jyeṣṭha śudī 6* (ms. *Yogaratnasamuchchaya, Md Nepāleśvara Śrī Śrī..... Vijayarājye*).⁸³ All of Bhūpālendramalla's records begin from the next year. This was so probably due to the fact that his

coronation had taken place in the beginning of 808 (=1687 A.D). As we have noted he wore the crown immediately on the death of his father. But we do not know how the issuing of the coin was delayed if crowning was all that was needed for striking coins in the name of the ruler.

Bhūpālendramalla (1687-1790 A.D)

Bhūpālendramalla is the fourth in line of succession to Pratāpa but never his son as was asserted by the chronicles of Wright (p. 21 ff) and Levi. Nor he was a son of Nṛpendramalla as told by the chronicle. We have it from the Taleju Pillar Inscription of Pārthivendra that Bhūpālendramalla was his son.⁸⁴ All doubts about the parentage of this ruler have to be cleared in view of the very authentic evidence of the above mentioned source. There could not be more accurate and reliable evidence than the statement of the Taleju Pillar inscription in respect of this question.

As the first coin of Bhūpāendra is dated 808 NS,⁸⁵ we have to accept this date as the year of his coronation. But we have it from a reliable source that the particulars of the *Thyāsapu A* about the date of Pārthivendra's death are correct in all elements. Therefore the date of the coin must refer to a time some months after, when probably his coronation took place.

Only in few cases coins are struck after or on the day of coronation. Usually coins are struck to mark the occasion of crowning which came immediately after the death or abdication of one's predecessor. But in Bhūpāendra's case we do not see such a procedure adopted. It is also likely that other considerations might have caused delay in issuing coins. But we are yet not in a position to trace these so that a proper explanation could be offered. On their part neither chronicles nor our *Thyāsapus* have anything to say about this subject.

84 One inscription of Riddhilaksmī attached to a temple in front of the modern palace calls Bhūpālendramalla her son (B L I, n. 20).

85 n. 6 coin in our Appendix.

If it was due to the disturbed situation in Kathmandu that the striking of coin was delayed, then the aftermath of Pārthivendra's death was perhaps very troublesome.

As we know a mohar coin was struck in Bhūpālendra's name in 808. Along with this there was a half-mohar coin⁸⁶ issued at the very date in the name of the king's mother Riddhilakṣmī, the queen mother was looked upon as fountain head of power in the new situation.

All of the coins of Bhūpālendra dated NS 808 and 809 have in the legend of the obverse the name Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa which shows the respectable and dominant position he held in the administration of the country.⁸⁷ For so many years as Bhūpālendramalla was an infant he remained a puppet in the hands of the Chief Minister Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Joṣī. The fact that Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa is mentioned in the coin of Bhūpālendra is itself a sufficient evidence of the powerful position he occupied in the new regime. The chronicle referred to in connection with the earlier events says that Pārthivendra while dying had entrusted his son to the care of this minister. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa according to the chronicle completely overshadowed the throne, and his main helper was the queen Regent. The chronicle talks of a rumour afloat in Kathmandu that he was her paramour. It was said that Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa slept in the palace and spent most part of his time with the queen. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's accession to power followed the downfall of another powerful personality of the time Chikuṭi Pramāṇa who being dissatisfied with the state of affairs on the death of Nṛpendramalla had resigned and was since NS 804 leading a life of renunciation and devotion somewhere near the temple of Paśupatinātha. At the instigation of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa some noblemen attacked Chikuṭi Pramāṇa and Baṅśīdhar and manhandled them, and both died of severe bodily injuries later in

86 n. 5 in our Appendix.

87 coin, n. 6. 7 in our Appendix.

confinement. A large number of Khasa attendants of the court were also done away with. With Chikuṭi also perished all their family members and followers. Earlier he and Baṅśīdhara were arrested on charges of poisoning King Pārthivendra and contriving his death. It appears from a copper plate inscription of the Patan Durbar dated NS 818 (See below) that this was a cooked up affair, and Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa had himself contrived this death with the help of one Kantu Ojhā. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa had been accused of acting against instructions contained in a copper plate agreement, referred to therein, which asked him to expell Kantu from the realm.

Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's rise to eminence looked sudden, but the way to it was paved by the removal of Chikuṭi Pramāṇa three years earlier. We have seen how his own ascendancy coincided with the flight of Chikuṭi from his home. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa played another trick as soon as he became the Chautārā. Knowing that public mind was very much agitated over the King's death in mysterious circumstances, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa through his trusted men spread a rumour that his opponents had hands in it, and indirectly encouraged them to demand investigation of the case, and punishment to the culprit. The chronicle says that for the whole day the people of Kantipur began to assemble in a mood of extreme anger at the palace crying vengeance. But the crisis was averted by the timely intervention of Jilāmitramalla who pacified the furious crowd and made them return home.

All this occurred before Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa was appointed Chief Minister. According to the *Thyāsapu A* "on 807. *Āsāḍha śukla ṣaṣṭī aṅgāravāra*, the king's subjects in Kathmandu assembled and saying 'who killed our king, whoever has done it we shall kill him' persisted in their demand. But no one could make them understand. The ruler of Bhatgaon, however, could do so when he said that the culprit would be declared tonight. The people then went to their places much pacified. The same day at noon

Baṅśīdhara who was then in the palace was accused of poisoning the king, and his legs put in chains and he was confined in Hitichok. Chikuṭi was living in Deopatan, but he too was not spared. He was dragged to the royal palace, severely beaten, whoever passed by that way beat him and his head was bleeding. The Khasas who were living with him also were beaten to death. Chikuṭi's entire family including his children were dragged through the ground and beaten to death. Those who could escape went to Patan. Both Chikuṭi and Baṅśīdhara died in prison. Then 'on 807 *Āsāḍha śukla pūrnimā uttarāsāḍha nakṣatra prūtiyoge brhaspativāra dhanu lagna at 29 ghaṭi* this day Bhatgaon's ruler Jitāmitramalla put the vermilion mark on the forehead of Bhūpālendramalla to declare him king. The ceremony was performed in Mulchok and the Bhāro of Maru, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa obtained the head-dress of the Chief Minister" (ff. 62-64).

In the noting of the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 64) it is said that Bāvata Bhā was killed hit by a bullet from a field gun on 807 *Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa navamī mṛgaśirā nakṣatra ādityavāra*, his wife became *Sati* and the bodies were burnt in Deopatan). With his death Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa was now left as the sole contestant for powers at the court.

It appears that the use of field gun was already there in Nepal at the date mentioned.

In the chronicle the description of the event of the death of Chikuṭi and Baṅśīdhara is quite similar. It says that on the fourth day of Nṛpendra's (Pārthivendra) death, Chikuṭi who was leading a pious and retired life in Deopatan near the sanctuary of Paśupatinātha was brought to the palace in almost dying condition. He was literally dragged through the public thoroughfare. He was severely beaten with sticks, and some one tore his hairs; he was unconscious and bleeding on his head; every caste high or low, Khusal or Podyā, kicked and beat him, human urine and stool were put into his mouth when he cried for mercy. Both Chikuṭi and Baṅśīdhara were

secretly killed in the palace. Then Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa became Chautārā.

In the words of the *Thyāsapu D* (*Samvat 807 Āsādhā śukla ṣaṣṭi aṅgāravāra*) Chikuṭi Pramāṇa and others were killed in the presence of Bhatgaon's two princes.

The Darbar copper plate inscription of Patan dated 818 sums of the circumstances of the death of Chikuṭi as follows. Kantu Ojhā's machination killed Chikuṭi. Kantu was serving Badal Ojhā, but later with the help of Badal Ojhā and Jayakṛṣṇa he went to serve Māndhātā. Māndhātā was instigated on his part to kill Jayakṛṣṇa and his son, which he did. On the same occasion Dhvajarāja was also slain, while Badal Ojhā was expelled. A little later Māndhātā came to know that Kantu plotted to kill him also. But the minister dismissed Kantu from service instantaneously. Kantu, however, avenged this insult by causing a conflict between Māndhātā and Chikuṭi, as a result of which the former was assassinated. Kantu, however, would not spare the new master. But for Nṛpendramalla's intervention Chikuṭi would have been killed. Kantu had been prohibited from attending the court. On Nṛpendramalla's death, however, Kantu's position was restored. Then he caused exile of Chikuṭi and his subsequent death taking advantage of the new situation.

Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's rivals were eliminated one by one. Following Chikuṭi's death Bāvat Bhā also succumbed to death on being shot. He died on 807 *śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa navamī mṛgaśirānakṣatra ādityavāra*. According to the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 64) the deadbody was burnt at Deopatan, and his wife became *sati*.

In Kathmandu Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa wielded singly absolute powers in the absence of men of his stature.

Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's second act was to cause the death of Mahīpatendra who had taken refuge in Deopatan since NS 806 having been forced to leave Patan. The Patan Rājā on the advice of Kāzi Īśvaradāsa was reluctant to surrender him,

but a powerful section of the nobility was in favour of the surrender as that question stood in the way of friendship between the two countries. But Mahīpatendra scenting the danger ahead left the custody of the Patan *pramāṇas* in whose charge he was placed, and hid in the house of a mendicant Rāghavānanda in Deopatan. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's informers, however, traced him out and the assassins severed his head out of the trunk in a night attack on 807 *Bhādra śukla 11 budhavāra* (Wednesday). Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa enjoyed the sight of the severed head with his peculiar cruel appetite.

Mahīpatendra's escape from Patan is noted by the *Thyāsapu D* thus: On *Samvat 807 naṣṭāśāḍha su pūrnimā* the father of Bhāgirāmaju Chautārā went to Kathmandu, this night the *Miramha juju* of Kathmandu fled, and 5 *Pramāṇas* of Patan viz. Bhāgirāmaju, Mohanarāja's son, Yaṭāsiṅgu, Nogla Dātimha and Meruju of Bhīmsen tried to trace him out, the way to Kathmandu was closed, but *Miramha juju* was nowhere seen.

This source does not disclose the reasons of his escape from Patan. It might have probably to do with the vacillating attitude of the Patan ruler, who was acting under pressure from his own men.

Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa had blocked the passage between Kathmandu and Patan, and this was probably hindering the movements of trade, which ultimately affected Patan's export industries catering to Tibet. It is quite likely that the *Pramāṇas* favouring the return of Mahīpatendra to Kathmandu wanted to protect Patan's economic interest.

The chronicle's statement about Mahīpatendra's death in Deopatan at the hands of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's men is supported by the *Thyāsapu A* which states.

On 807 *Bhādra śukla ekādaśī uttrāsāḍha budhavāra*, this day the *Miramha juju* was arrested in (सिकुथिननिथौता छेस) a house in Deopatan and killed at night. The *Pramāṇa* and all others had besieged, Raghananda Rawal's house had

been beseiged. The Rāwala left the place. He did not live there. Pañchakwal's Man Singh was also taken prisoner. The last rites were performed by monks (*mahanta*) who were brought from Noakoṭ (f. 65).

In relation to the death of Mahīpatendra there is yet another noting under date 818 *Āṣādha śukla trayodaśī ādityavāra* (f. 92) which says 'This day, Gobardhana and Śiva Nārāyaṇa of Bhaimal and Saśi Upādhyā of Noakoṭ were brought out of Guthakvāṭha, pig cubs hung round their necks, riding on buffaloes, were tortured, at Maru they were whipped and people beating them on crossing Tukucha, Gobardhana, and Śaśi both died, Gobardhana's wife died next day with her husband, all this was done on the allegation that *Miramha juju* was killed, two warders were killed.

Obviously any action against the two persons was directed for reprisal. These might have been the associates of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, who had carried out his designs. But the episode is a reminder that Mahīpatendra was unjustly treated while he was made to suffer.

Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's influence was felt all over the Nepal Valley. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa had completely controlled the court of Kathmandu. He issued decrees and charters in the name of the king. Even in respect of religious donations, he figured along with the king and his mother. This is evident from the inscription (dated NS 810 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 5 punarvasu nakṣatre budhavāra* (Wednesday) on the pedestal of the *Garuḍa* image in front of a temple of *Viṣṇu* in the centre of Kathmandu just facing the Kaṣṭamaṇḍapa. It is recorded that the three personages had dedicated the image to the deity. While Kathmandu was under his thumb, Patan did not dare to defy him. But Bhaktapur was out of his control, and there the man who understood him and would not yield, was the Chief Minister Pradhānāṅga Bhāgirāma (see below). It was said that Yoganarendramalla of Patan had just out of fear taken side of Kantipur. Therefore Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa

contrived to bring about the downfall of Bhāgirāma and he acted with all impunity. In a meeting of the rulers of the three kingdoms he actually put forward a proposal demanding Bhāgirāma's dismissal which, however, the ruler of Bhatgaon refused to comply with. But this was a cause for further intrigues and open military actions against the ruler of Bhatgaon and under Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's advice a joint military expedition of Kantipur and Patan was sent to Bhatgaon to bring the ruler to his knees. Then Bhatgaon was blocked on all three sides but this failed to achieve the desired purpose. Although Bhāgirāma was harassed, and he had to live as an exile for sometime in Kalyeri⁸⁸ for fear of his life, he did not meet the fate as desired by his opponent. The chronicle states that a hostile mob attacked Bhāgirāma's house and took away his entire property while demolishing his house. They also severed woods, beams and bricks and removed them. King Jitāmitra himself was dragged to Kathmandu by his own people who had grown desperate because of the blockade, and the queens were worried as to his safety. However, no harm reached him.

The *Thyāsapu A* in two passages gives a description of the events we have just narrated, which tends to confirm the account of the chronicle in this regard. One is under date line *Samvat 808 Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa chaturdaśī aśleṣā nakṣatra aṅgāravāra* (Tuesday). The passage says 'this day, Patan's ruler Yoganarendramalla came to Kathmandu and the inter-communication of the three cities was open. After five days, Bhatgaon's ruler Jitāmitramalla also came but he became angry and returned. Bhāgirāma was not surrendered, even though his person was demanded. Bhatgaon was isolated. One of its citizens, Dhvakmha Bhājuchā lost his son's son being killed in the large garden which was claimed to be within Kathmandu's jurisdiction. Thereafter Yoganarendramalla and Bhūpālendramalla became allies (f. 68).

The second passage under date line 808 *Bhādra kṛṣṇa pañchamī bharanī nakṣatra aṅgāravāra* runs to say, 'this day

the peoples of Bhatgaon combined in a body dragged their ruler Jitāmitramalla, and his brother and came to Bhūpālendramalla Mahārājā seeking his shelter, there was no open communication so they forcibly entered; Patan's Yoganarendramalla was summoned, and a meeting took place; the roads to the three cities were now opened, all lines of communication had opened, but a day earlier to this, in the evening some people surrounded the King's palace in search of Bhāgirāma who was, however, not present there, so they went to the house of Bhāgirāma and plundered his belongings. Everything which he used to call his own including his house was destroyed. The entire population of Bhatgaon city then came to the Upādhyāya's house, but in spite of frantic search they could not get hold of Bhāgirāma Pradhānānga.

We can understand how much pressure was used by the Chief Minister of Kathmandu to secure the person of Bhāgirāma. But the latter had saved his life by escaping to a safe place.

If Bhāgirāma had been caught in the tumult he would have been unceremoniously put to death by the mob. But fortunately he had left Bhatgaon and was far away out of their reach, which went to save his life.

With Jitāmitra's presence in Kathmandu, the occasion was utilised to hold a conference of the three rulers of the Nepal Valley. As Bhāgirāma had fled to Kalyeri, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa found it possible to patch up with Bhatgaon and withdrew the blockade. To that extent the conference bore fruit. But it had also raised new issues. In the conference Yoganarendramalla demanded from Kathmandu to return all the areas wrested from Patan earlier. But Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa could not see his way to accept this demand. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's attitude antagonised the Patan ruler who now began to lean to Bhatgaon as against Kathmandu.

The chronicle adds that as relation between Bhatgaon and Patan became strained Bhāgirāma was brought back to

Bhatgaon through Yoganarendra's efforts and soon after he found himself restored to power and loss of property now adequately compensated.

We shall have occasion to speak of Bhāgirāma and Jitāmitramalla once again as we come to deal with the subject of the history of Bhatgaon.

There is one thing more which comes out so prominently out of the study of the very complex situation. It is the comparatively greater strength of Kathmandu whose minister was powerful enough to dominate the valley.

Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa could not sustain himself for long. He was killed on *Bhādra śukla 5* of 810 by some assailants in revenge for his earlier acts of atrocity. It was said that Kantipur's relation with Patan had been strained because Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa refused to return some of Patan's villages occupied earlier by Kantipur during a minor skirmish. Patan had another cause to be aggrieved. At Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's behests Kathmandu had launched another offensive against Patan. The chronicle states that in the first engagement Patan was defeated, Kāzi Pārasmaṇi who had led Patan's defenders left the battle field and came back. (He was imprisoned and later died in prison). This badly affected the prestige of Patan. Infuriated by the rout of the contingent sent earlier to meet the offenders, now the entire mass of the people of Patan combined to meet the enemy and succeeded in capturing nine forts. The next assault was to be on the city of Kathmandu, Yoganarendra himself heading the contingent. Kāzi Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa on being informed of the march of the Patan ruler towards the heart of the city was on the way to the palace for a conference to devise ways and means to meet the situation. But out of his house midway he was waylaid by some Khasa Mukhias on the pretence that they were seeking some advice and then he was physically attacked. He tried to run away, but more people appeared in the scene and attacked him and he succumbed to

the injuries then and there. The Patan Darbar copper plate inscription of 818 (see below) states that Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, too, was killed because of Kantu Ojhā's machinations.

The *Thyāsapu A* under date line 810 *Bhādrapada śukla pāñchamī svāti nakṣatra brhaspativāra* (f. 78) reports that 'this day Chautārā Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa was attacked by the Khasas with their *bhujiyāli*, and he was fleeing for life to the royal palace, but as soon as he reached the corner below the temple of the Goddess (*māju*) he was again struck, and instantaneously met his end. The assailants then chopped off his hand and took away the gold bracelet he wore in his wrists. One Khasa who had snatched a bangle was arrested but not one bangle was recovered from his body, his entire body was searched. Everything happened, as if it was done in a cattle, the assailants had collected themselves saying they were invading an outpost, but they killed him.

The Bhatgaon ruler came to Kathmandu and stayed there for 7 days and appointed Mānasingju as Chautārā.

Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa had antagonised many persons of importance in the Nepal Valley, and it was but natural that his antagonists were looking for an opportunity to wreck vengeance on him. He must have been killed as a result of a conspiracy.

Despite his vindictive nature as a politician Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa seems to have been a man devotedly attached to his faith.

A number of acts of piety is attributed to Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa by the writer of the *Thyāsapu A*. He set up a Śivaliṅga Jāgeśvara in a temple in Nhutagal on *Samvat 808 Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 4 purvvaphālguni nakṣatra subhayoga ādityavāra*. He performed *lakṣāhutiyañña* to celebrate the opening of the temple on 802 *Vaiśākha śukla akṣaya tṛtīyā rohiṇi nakṣatre ādityavāra*. This occasion was graced by the presence of the king of Bhatgaon. He fed a large number of people on this day, made a gift of land to Brāhmaṇas and gave one mohar each *dakṣinā* to Jośis, Achāras (f. 66-67) and others.

Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa again set up another *Śivaliṅga* at Pañchakharachha where Giridhara's son Mānasing had died. The ceremony was performed on 808 *Chaitra kṛṣṇa amāvāsī* at the time of solar eclipse. On this occasion he offered gift of a house to Śrī Viśvambhara Upādhyā (f. 67).

On *Samvat 809 Āṣāḍha śukla 12 anurādhā nakṣatra śubha yoga budhavāra*, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa offered a gift of elephant to Śrī Rānamiśra. This day, the finial was placed on the top of a *Chaitya* at Vajrayoginī, and the ceremony was attended among others by the king and his mother.

The giving of an elephant to a Brāhmaṇa shows also the amount of wealth he had acquired. He amassed fortune along with the powers of State.

Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa gone, his powers were exercised by Mānsingju. But he was not a strong man. He ran the administration at the sufferance of the queen mother. For all these years Bhūpāendra's mother Riddhilakṣmī was the power behind the throne. The ruler was yet a minor and this had left the queen mother in sole charge of the governance of the country. The powers of appointing a *chautārā* were also hers. Earlier as she became regent she had in exercise of her *de facto* powers issued a half mohar silver coin with date 808.

Now complete peace was restored in the Nepal Valley. Patan ceased to be at cross purposes with Kathmandu. As Bhatgaon was already a friend, this was the time for the three rulers to live on terms of peace and friendship.

The *Thyāsapu A* gives also details of occurrences of non-political nature for the period.

Riddhilakṣmī's daughter died on *Samv. 808 Bhādra śukla pratipadā pūrvvaphālgunī nakṣatra śiddhiyoga bṛhaspativāra* at night (f. 70). The day of *Samvat 808 Pauṣa śukla 11 ghaṭi 4 dvādaśī* begun, and past 14 *ghaṭi trayodaśī* was known *mahāparvva dina*, and Riddhilakṣmī, queen mother gave away *kalpabṛkṣadāna* (f. 70). Daivajña Jagannātha Bhā of Bankodo was appointed the Governor of Deopatan and the

insignia of office was conferred on him by the king on 809 *Phālguṇa kṛṣṇa śaṣṭī anurādhā nakṣatra śanaiścharavāra* (f. 71). The son of Dhvakamha kumhar of Pyāffal died at Deopatan on 809 *Chaitra kṛṣṇa 9 śravaṇa pra dhaneṣṭhā nakṣatra*. This was the day when king Bhūpālendra had made a gift of land. He died when the night ritual was finished (f. 71) Riddhilakṣmī performed *mahādāna* at Paśupati on *Samvat 810 Āṣāḍha śukla 5 aṅgāravāra karkkaṭa saṅkrānti* (f. 78). The white ants eating a portion of *Jaladhāri* of Śrī Paśupatinātha, blood was flowing on *Samvat 811 Kārtika kṛṣṇa 11 ādityavāra* (f. 78). On 811 *Phālguṇa śukla 2 śukravāra* the image of Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa bled from its mouth (f. 79). The chariot of Machhendranātha could not be pulled, as it was broken on 811 *Vaiśakha śukla 12 hastanakṣatra budhavāra*. The image was taken out and after sometime on repairing it was replaced, and the chariot was drawn (f. 79). Gaṅgādhara was appointed to the post of *Chhebbhandili* on 812 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 7 aśleṣā nakṣatra* (f. 80). The three rulers made a combined attack on Mackwānpur on 812 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 11 hastanakṣatra śukravāra* (f. 81). Earlier they had met along with the ruler of Morang at Mohanchok (see below). Bhūpālendramalla was initiated to *dikṣā* by Guru Viśvambhara Upādhyā on 812 *Māgha kṛṣṇa amāvasyā śatabhiṣā nakṣatra*. This was the day of solar eclipse. The Sun had been eclipsed about $\frac{1}{3}$ cubit. The Guru is reported to have caught the king's eight fingers at the time of administering the *mantra* (f. 81). Gokaṛṇa and Chāpāgaon had caught fire on *Samvat 812 Jyeṣṭha śukla śaṣṭī puṣya nakṣatra budhavāra*. The Hātapā (an image of Bhairava with a fierce look and mouth wide open) God also was reduced to ashes. On this day four sectors of the city of Patan were set on fire (f. 81). Jagannāthaju died on 813 *Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa navamī pra daśamī mṛgaśirā nakṣatra aṅgāravāra*. He died at night. He was cremated on the bank of the river Bāgmati at Deopatan where he was a pramāṇa (f. 82). His wife escaped from the funeral pyre.

We have seen that at this time the Nepal Valley had intimate contacts with the Terai principalities of the Senas.

There are other events noted by the *Thyāsapu A* about Kathmandu's relation with Morang. The noting is made under different dates as follows:

On *Samvat 811 Āśvina śukla pañchamī anurādhā nakṣatra budhavāra* there came to Kathmandu from the east Patasahaju. Bhūpālendramalla went as far as Naksāl by way of the New tank (the present Rānīpokharī) to receive him. A she-elephant was brought to be presented to him (f. 80).

On *Samvat 811 Āśvina kṛṣṇa saptamī punarvasu nakṣatra ādityavāra*, the three cities were friends and 3 men from Bhatgaon, 3 men from Patan as also Pasaju of Morang met in Mohanchok (f. 80). On *812 Kārtika kṛṣṇa ekādaśī hasta nakṣatra śukravāra*, the three principalities invaded Mackwānpur. Patan's ruler departed but Bidhātā Indra left after eight days.

By the end of 813 cracks appeared in the relation subsisting among the rulers of the Nepal Valley.

The *Thyāsapu A* reported that Bhatgaon had moved to encroach on the border areas of Patan, and a tense situation was brewing. The *Thyāsapu* added,

'On *Samvat 813 Bhādrapada kṛṣṇa ṣaṣṭi rohiṇī nakṣatra ādityavāra*, the three principalities had observed peace, but Bhatgaon would not leave the frontier, those of Patan went to fight against them; Kathmandu came to the assistance of Bhatgaon, three days after this again Patan was isolated' (f. 83). But this was not the case of wider flare up and the parties resumed their normal relation after a short while.

A stele standing against the wall of a house opposite to the western door of the temple of Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa commemorates the occasion of the repair work of the temple completed, of a gold *torāṇa* set up, and a ceremony of *lulādāna* performed on *814 Phālguna śukla 7 rohiṇī nakṣatra viskambha yoge budhavāra* by Md RR Bhūpālendramalla's

mother Riddhilakṣmī, when the king was also present. The inscription has 33 lines, half being a group of 8 verses, called *Sarvamanorathasiddhistotra* composed in *sārdūlabikṛḍita* metre. The last passage is in Newari, which says that both the king and his mother were present on the occasion. The queen mother gave to Brāhmaṇas, 1 elephant, 108 horses, 108 cows, 108 she-buffaloes, 108 goats, 108 sheep and ornaments, cloths and cereals⁸⁹. The ceremony began with the fire (*agnisthāpana*) lit on *Pausa kṛṣṇa 6*.

The *Thyāsapu A* in f. 84 notes this event, which is fully corroborated. The inscription is dated *814 Phālguna śukla 7 rohiṇī nakṣatre viṣkambha yoga budhavāra* and was written by the royal astrologer Dharmadhvaja Bhāro. The two dates and descriptions of the event show complete agreement.

Bhūpālendramalla was married on *810 Māgha kṛṣṇa chaturthī uttaraphālguni nakṣatra śanaiścharavāra*, and the ceremony was attended by the ruler of Bhatgaon, his brother and son and the queen (f. 74). His second marriage took place on *812 Phālguna kṛṣṇa 4*.

After Mansing quit the scene the next to hold the power of Chief Minister in Kathmandu was one Raghuvīra Bhāju. He must have also obtained confidence of the Regent queen Riddhilakṣmī who wielded absolute powers of state as the regent.

Raghuvīra Bhāju became *Chautārā* obtaining the head-dress from the ruler of Bhatgaon in a ceremony held at Mulchok on *813 Āśvina kṛṣṇa pañchamī (Thyāsapu A f. 82)*. But he was dismissed in 816 on *Phālguna śukla saptamī ādityavāra* to be replaced by Navamīsiṃha (f. 85). Earlier on *816 Māgha śukla ṣaṣṭī āśvinī nakṣatra budhavāra* Bhūpālendramalla and the queen mother went on an expedition to catch elephants, as they were out of the capital he had gone alone. Meanwhile Bhatgaon and Patan became allies. The king

89 *Sanskrit Sandesh*, 1, 6, PP. 35 ff.

brought 3 elephants' (Ibid, f. 85). Kathmandu had now been isolated.

Towards the end of 817 the king's mother who was acting as Regent during her son's minority lost power. Bhūpāendra though barely seventeen thought of holding power by himself. For some time he was smarting under his mother's tutelage which was much too severe for him to bear. Now he thought to do away with her tutelage. It is not known what actually led him to oust his mother's regency.

The *Thyāsapu A* (f. 90) noted: *Samvat 817 Āśvina śukla trayodaśī śatabhiṣa nakṣatra śanaiścharavāra*, this day, the queen mother and the king quarrelled, at night the king becoming angry went to stay in Guhyeśvarī, next day all the people of Kathmandu went and brought back the king. On the day of Pūrṇimā (*Āśvina śukla 15*) the king went to Syeṅgu, where he stayed also the whole of the next day, meanwhile in Bhaṇḍārakhāla one Tulaśī was killed, from here the king went to Sāṅkhu at night. Three nights and four days, he stayed there and two nights three days stayed in Deopatan, the queen mother and prince were kept in Bhatulichok having been taken from Mohanchok, on the day of *Aṣṭamī* (Monday) the king entered the capital while the queen mother was sent to be detained in the upland of Ṭokhā from Ṭokhā she was despatched to Tavathali^{89a} where she passed the remainder of her life in exile.

Nothing is heard of Riddhilakṣmī since this date.

The passage suggests that she was banished. Such was the end of the career of the great lady who had nursed her son to manhood, and who had saved him from innumerable perils during the days of the worst crisis in Kathmandu.

89a Tavathali on a ridge overlooking the river Bhote Kośī above a market centre called Bārabise, which lies about 2 miles to the north-east of the Nepal Valley. Bārabise occupies an important situation in the trade route connecting Banepā to Kodāri on the Nepal-Tibet border. Tavathali which is a small village today was then maintained as a fortress.

Whatever might have been her faults, she had also some fine qualities. Above all, she did not forget her pious duties in the midst of engagements which by compulsion of circumstances were devoid of any sense of piety. We have seen her pious deed in repairing the temple of Chāngu Nārāyaṇa. In Kathmandu close to the palace, another temple more magnificent than the one at Chāngu owes its construction to her. This temple enshrines a *Śivaliṅga*. It is a 3 storeyed temple based on nine tiers of pavements, which together measure in length up to the ninth tier the height of the temple. This was done in the year 812 as the inscription shows (BLI n. 22).

Riddhilakṣmī is also credited with equally reverential deed performed in regard to the restoration of the shrine of Paśupatinātha. We learn from the *Thyāsapu A* that the termites had attacked the door frames of the temple on 815 *Āśvina śukla 9 ādityavāra*. The termites in course of time had eaten the wooden frames of other parts of the structure. The temple was going to topple down.

The account of rebuilding of the temple of Paśupatinātha on this occasion is also given by the *Thyāsapu F* with more details.

According to the *Thyāsapu A* '817 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 13 svāti*....., this day the finial on the top of the temple of Paśupatinātha was taken out and the temple structure was broken. On *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 6 hastā*....., the new construction began. Five days later on the day of *ekādaśī*....., the door frames were set up. Later in the month of *Chaitra* on *kṛṣṇa 6*....., *Kotyāhuti* was begun with the lighting of fire. On *Vaiśākha śukla 11*..... the finial was placed on the temple, a garland-like gold chain was offered, there was the great bath and also the great sacrifice (*mahāvali*) flagstaffs came up, on *Jyeṣṭha śukla 9*..... *Kotyāhuti* was completed, after four days both the king and the queen mother returned. Their coming back was ceremonial.'

The dates given by the *Thyāsapu F* on these occasions

are the same. It has an additional passage to say that the ceremony marking the completion of the *yajña* was attended by the other two kings of the Valley. The priest received a pair of pearls, 2 *tolas* of gold and one horse.

Riddhilakṣmī offered a grand *pūjā* to Lord Nārāyaṇa of Chāṅgu in the bright fortnight of *Phalguṇa*, the account of which has already been told. It was done on a very lavish scale with bounteous gifts to the priests and the needy. A similar ritual of *pūjā* as much grand was performed by the queen mother to please Lord Paśupati-nātha during the dark fortnight of *Chaitra* in 817. The *Thyāsapu A* (f. 89) describes the performance thus, 'on *Samvāt Chaitra kṛṣṇa 6 mūla nakṣatra paligha yoga śukravāra*, this day, the *Kotyāhuti* was begun, the fire on the altar was lit that day; *Vaiśākha śukla 11 uttaraphālgunī nakṣatra vyāghāta yoga budhavāra*, this day, a new finial was placed on the temple of Paśupati-nātha, then a *svānamālā*, and then a *tikini*; after this *mahāsnāna* was done, then took place the *mahāvalī*. The *Kotyāhuti* came to an end on *Jyeṣṭha śukla 9 uttaraphālgunī nakṣatra śuddhi yoga budhavāra*. Four days later king Śrī Śrī Bhūpālendramalla and queen mother Riddhilakṣmī came back to the palace in a procession.

Even if it meant physical discomforts Riddhilakṣmī spared no pains when she had to respond to the call of her devotion to the deities made. She visited shrines which were not easily accessible. She lived in austerity as she was required to do in preparation for a *pūjā*, and no matter what time the ritual took she rendered her duty unflinchingly. Riddhilakṣmī again suffered from no inhibition while she tried to be courteous to the Brāhmaṇas. She was proverbially liberal in offering gifts to them. After all, she was the mother of a king who by long standing tradition revered the gods, Brāhmaṇas and cows.

She undertook an arduous and risky journey for pilgrimage. We know from the *Thyāsapu A* that 'on *Samvat 814 Śrāvāṇa śukla saptamī svāti nakṣatra bṛhaspativāra Śrī 2*

Bhūpālendramalla and queen mother Riddhilakṣmī along with 3 Thākujus (collaterals) started on pilgrimage to Nīlakaṇṭha (Gosainthan) and they came back after 15 days' (f. 84). There were other acts of piety done by her, but we may not enumerate them all her.

In the absence of further information we do not know at what age Riddhilakṣmī had become a regent. Pārthivendramalla had died at about the age of 25. So it seems that she had ruled Nepal while in the full bloom of her youth. Riddhilakṣmī was an energetic personality. She must have been physically sound to undertake the trip to Gosainthan, which is approached with extreme difficulty through a hazardous footpath across high mountains. She was also an astute politician who had run the government of the country without opposition for several years. She must have been possessed great ability indeed to be able to rule strongly the Kathmandu principality as she did. She had waded to power all by herself and maintained it in the same way. In fact she effectively controlled all parties and cliques, and all of them looked to her for their own rise to prominence. Such was Riddhilakṣmī, she stands as a unique personality of the age in the history of Medieval Nepal.

It is interesting to note that her daughter-in-law was to wield similar powers in the next reign, the latter also functioning as regent during the minority of her son.

Since Riddhilakṣmī's disappearance from the scene Bhūpālendramalla assumed de facto powers, and reigned three years and some months without anybody's guidance until he died in early 821.

Since he was now a king in fact Bhūpālendramalla began to dream of becoming a fighter and conqueror.

Even about a year earlier he was leading attacks on Bhatgaon.

We know from the *Thyāsapu A* that 'on the day of *Samvat 816 Chaitra śukla paurṇamī aṅgāravāra*, isolating Bhatgaon,

the two princes of Patan and Kathmandu made peace. Five days after this event, on the day of *Pañchamī mūla nakṣatra adityavāra* (Sunday) there was an attack on Obhū and Patan's Dātimhakuar, Raiku Bhāju's son and others including the Pramāṇas with 34 men of Kathmandu had participated, but the invaders were checkmated on the way, and then men of Bhatgaon repulsed the attack and took seven villages (f. 86). The *Thyāsapu* A further states on *Samvat 819 Māgha śukla ekādaśi aṅgāravāra*, peace prevailed between Patan and Bhatgaon, because Kathmandu had been isolated; to attack Thimi went Bhūpālendramalla in person but Bhatgaon's *Miramha juju* came, stayed for the whole of the night, and next morning at early hours repulsed the attack' (f. 92).

These two passages show that Bhūpālendramalla undertook expeditions to earn glories of military conquest. Sometimes he himself led the expedition. He seems to have failed to attain the objective, and consequently the reputation of a conqueror might be denied to him. But even had he achieved the capture of Thimi, there was no guarantee that this would not change hands again.

After all these military engagements were not intended to bring permanent possessions of territories for the conqueror, as in their very nature they only meant harassment to the losing side while no idea of permanent hold on the territory occupied was either meant or possible.

Patan and Kathmandu remained friends hereafter as long as Bhūpālendramalla lived. Since Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa died Kathmandu had ceased to be aggressive. This led to a state of amity and concord among the three rulers of the Valley. However, on that account Kathmandu's relation with Bhatgaon had not taken a steady course, sometimes they became friends, but at other times the relations were strained. It appears that since Bhūpatīndra became king in Bhatgaon, the rulers of Patan and Kathmandu combined to give him a battle, and their relation took a worse turn. But in 818 Bhatgaon, Patan and Kathmandu seemed to pull together.

The agreement of NS 818 reached between them in regard to the activities of Kantu Ojhā (*vide* below, history of Patan) shows that there was on the part of each of these rulers awareness of the need to avoid mutual conflicts and quarrels. But a year later while Patan and Kathmandu unitedly invaded Thimi, the usual state of tension in their relationship had again returned.

In a noting of a leaf of the ms. *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa*⁹⁰ the writer states that on the day the work was begun, i.e. 820 *Māgha śukla ekādaśī mṛgaśirā nakṣatra variyāna yoga bṛhaspativāra*, two men Śrī Kavīndra Bhāju and Siddhising were killed. We do not know what had led to their death. Perhaps these men were suspected of disloyalty to the clique in power. But the noting is silent about the place where the incident took place. The writer is also obscure. If these were residents of Kathmandu, they might have fallen a prey to the wrath of the young king who had just asserted his authority.

According to the Patan Darbar copper plate inscription of 818 there was an attempt on the life of Bhūpālendramalla by one Kantu Ojhā who is condemned in the record as a notorious villain. The king was to be assassinated in the circumstances of a conflict between Patan and Kathmandu. But the conspiracy was frustrated by a timely action.

It appears from the *Thyāsapu A* that Bhūpāendra's death followed certain occurrences which cast evil foreboding. It notes these under different date lines, *Samvat 819 Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 13 pra 14 bharaṇī nakṣatra, budhavāra*, this day, the pinnacle on the *stūpa* of Syeṅgu fell down being hit by a hurricane (f. 95).

Samvat 821 Kārtika śukla ekādaśī somavāra at night, a noise came out of Śrī 3 Paśupati (f. 96).

Samvat 821 Kārtika śukla chaturdaśī bṛhaspativāra, this day, at Sahiriti, four pigs entered the name of Nandikeśvara through the drainage (f. 96).

⁹⁰ In the possession of Rāmarājananda, Patan.

The king died some twenty days after the last occurrence. But we do not know who this Nandikeśvara was, if he was in any way connected with the court, and if something occurring to him did really affect the king.

Bhūpāendra died while on pilgrimage in India. His death took place at a site midway between Kāśī and Ayodhyā. His body was cremated on the bank of the Ganges.

In the inscriptions Bhūpāendra is referred to as *Mahārājādhirāja Sakalarāja Chakrādhīśvara*. Of course, this royal epithet is common for all the three kings. One of his coins has in the obverse *Nepāleśvararājendra* (king of kings, lord of Nepal, Walsh, III. 4 and another of NS 820 has *Kavindra Chūḍāmaṇi Samrāṭ* (king of poets).⁹¹ All these coins have for the first time in the history of Malla Nepal the symbols of *Aṣṭamaṅgala* in the diagram, and Walsh is led to guess that the king was a devout Buddhist. His mother's inscription of the Śiva temple in front of the Gaddibaiṭhak speaks of him as a devotee of Śiva (BLI's 21).

Essentially all rulers of Nepal subscribed to Śaivism. Bhūpāendra could not be an exception. Whatever be the nature of emblems in the coin Bhūpāendra primarily followed the Śaiva faith. In a ms. *Prajñāpāramitā* (In the possession of Mahābauddha vihāra) dated 817 *Phālguna śukla 15* he is given the title of *Kavirāja śiromaṇi*. In the stone inscription commemorating the occasion of the completion of the temple of Śiva as aforesaid, Bhūpāendra's talents were all acknowledged as those of a learned man. Seeing that this record belongs to 812, while he was only 12 years old, we can just wonder if the epithets used with his name did really mean what literally they conveyed.

In the chronicle his death is mentioned to have occurred on *Kārtika kṛṣṇa trayodaśi Wednesday* of the year 821 while on pilgrimage to Ayodhyā. He died while he had proceeded

91 K's collection. Walsh gives only a description (p. 727).

from Banaras at a place which was 4 days' distance from Ayodhyā. The chronicler writes that he died in *Brahmanābha*. In his own country the funeral ceremony was performed by burning his horoscope on *Māgha śukla 5*, as soon as the news reached Kathmandu and eight wives became *sati*. His last coin dates 820.⁹² We have an inscription⁹³ belonging to his reign, which is dated NS 820 *Vaiśākha śudī chaturthi mṛgaśira nakṣatra atigaṇḍa yoge yathākaraṇa muhūrte śukravāsare*.

Both the *Thyāsapu A* and *B* have passages giving information about the date and place of his death. The dates provided by these sources all agree.

According to the *Thyāsapu B*, *Śaṃvat 821 Kārtika kṛṣṇa amāvasyā somavāra* (Monday) this day, at a place called Naihara Śrī Śrī Bhūpālendramalla expired, and *Māgha śukla pañchamī ādityavāra*, this day his horoscope was burnt. Eight women, among them one *Rānī*, became *Satī*' (f. 8). It appears that he died while on pilgrimage at a site between Banaras and Ayodhya. The *Thyāsapu A* gives the following information (f. 88): *Śaṃvat 820 Āśvin śukla chaturdaśī revatī pra āśvinī nakṣatra aṅṅāravāra* this day at night (Tuesday) Rājā Bhūpālendramalla left for sacred bath in the Ganges (*Gaṅgāsnāna*). He died on *Kārtika kṛṣṇa amāvasyā* while on his way. On *Māgha śukla 5* his horoscope was burnt, and eight women, one of whom was a *Rānī*, became *Satī*.

The date of Bhūpāendra's death as given by the *Thyāsapu A and B* is confirmed by a copper plate inscription of Yoganarendramalla of 821 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 6 somavāra*. This inscription was set up on the day when the *Kotyāhuti* was resumed after an interruption caused on account of the news of the death of Bhūpāendra reaching Yoganarendramalla. The inscription says: Bhūpāendra who had been on a pilgrimage

92 Robert R. Michaud's collection.

93 Harigaon, stone at the temple of *Garuḍavāhinī Lakṣmī*.

died in Brahmanābha, and the news reached Patan after 2 months and 5 days; on the very day the news was received, a funeral ceremony was observed, his horoscope was burnt on the pyre, and his wives also followed him as *Sati*; in accordance with the tenets of scriptures, on the 16th day of this ceremony fire was relit on the sacrificial alter for the resumption of *Kotyāhuti* (Inscription n. 107 in our Appendix).

Reckoning back, the date of his death must occur $16 + 60 + 5 = 81$ days earlier to the date of the inscription. An astronomer whom I have consulted tells me that this can be verified for *Kārtika kṛṣṇa amāvasyā* of 821.

Bhāskaramalla
(1700-1714 A.D.)

Bhāskaramalla is the next ruler. He became the ruler of Kāntipur at the age of 4. He was born on *Kārtika kṛṣṇa pratipadā rohiṇī nakṣatre śaniścharavāra* of 817. The *Thyāsapu A* (f. 88) reported that there was a great rejoicing all over the city on that occasion. Bhāskaramalla is a witness in a record of Bhūpāendra, which makes a grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa on 820 *Chaitra śudi 15*. According to Wright and others he is the son of Bhūpāendra and he reigned for 8 years from NS 815 to 822 (=1695 to 1702 A.D.).

According to the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 101) the queen mother Bhuvanalakṣmī performed the opening ceremony of the statue of her husband Bhūpāendramalla on 824 *Phālgua śukla 2 uttarabhadra nakṣatra śukravāra* on this very day the *Kotyāhuti* was begun and completed on the 10th, six days later. On the completion of the *Yajña* the queen mother and the king stayed in Chāngu for 4 days. Then they came to Kathmandu. As they reached Naksāl the news of the death of the elephant Dalabhanjana was conveyed to them. They then walked to the palace. Obviously here is a reference to Bhuvanalakṣmī as queen mother, which again shows Bhāskara as Bhūpāendra's son.

Recently a manuscript of a drama composed in the name of Bhāskaramalla has come to my hand. We have here a piece of evidence for Bhāskaramalla being a son of Bhūpā-lendramalla by Bhuvanalakṣmī. Bhāskaramalla is called there a son of Bhuvanalakṣmī (Bhuvanalakṣmīputra).

As an infant in arms Bhāskaramalla was being looked after by his mother who also controlled the affairs of Government. But we do not know anything about her associates who might have stood by her at the time. The chronicle speaks of Jhagal Ṭhākur as a prominent personality of the day but it is hard to believe if he was so important until the time of Mahīndrasimha. His name figures in records only since 836.

Bhāskaramalla was a minor for the major part of his reign. A chronicle gives him a reign of 14 years beginning from 821 NS. But the date of his reign given by all the other later chronicles is very far from being exact. For his regnal dates we have the coins from Walsh (Pl. III, 5, 6) dated NS 821 and 818, the latter a quarter mohar, and another full mohar of the same date 821 (also one with a different design recently discovered now in the collection of Kesariraj). The quarter mohar was in all certainty issued by his father for the love of his son to commemorate the occasion of the latter being formally declared as the crown prince. The coin with date NS 821 must have been struck on the occasion of his crowning ceremony. An inscription traced by Bendall in Etkhā, Kathmandu (*Journal*, Intro. Pt. III) is according to him dated (1698) NS 818⁹⁴ (?). In this Bhā is illegible but skaramalla is clear, but the speculation about the date figure is wrong. The date can never be 818. Probably it is 828. There are several inscriptions of his reign scattered in Kathmandu dating since 822.

The Bhatgaon Darbar copper plate shows that on 823

94 I saw this inscription but many of the letters are peeled off and it could be read with difficulty. The date figure is peeled off.

Śravaṇa śudi 2 Bhāskaramalla had executed an agreement with Bhūpatindramalla. This should be an early record of his reign. There are others belonging to years following.

We have more inscriptions dating NS 833, 834 and 835, a fact which refutes the date of the chronicles about his death. The royal address in all these reads exactly like that of the two predecessors. The date figure of the inscription at the Bell dedicated to Taleju pushes his reign to 1713 September-October (834 *Āśvina śukla mahāṣṭamī*). The Maitidevī stele (Kathmandu) is dated 832 *Vaiśākha śukla 2 rohiṇī nakṣatre śaniścharavāra mesa rāśi gata savitari bṛṣarāśigata chandra masi*. The last document of his reign is a stone inscription of Guchchaṭol (within Oṭu) in Kathmandu, which dates 835 *Kārtika śukla pūrṇimā kṛttikā nakṣatre śanivāra* and the great day of the lunar eclipse.⁹⁵ His reign seems to have come to an end prior to December of 1715 A.D. because we have a record of the reign of Mahīndrasimha dated NS 835 *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa khaṣṭi* (December or January, 1716 A.D. Inscription of the large *Chaitya* at Chābel).⁹⁶

We shall have occasion to discuss the question of identity between Bhāskaramalla and Mahīndrasimha.

Bhāskaramalla succeeded to the throne while he was a baby. He died in his teens. If his role in history was of little importance, we can understand it.

Yet his reign was not without events. It was in 823 NS that Bhatgaon was compelled to act acknowledging Kathmandu's lead in external affairs.

We have the following information from the *Thyāsapu A* for the first 4 years of Bhāskaramalla's reign.

On *Saṁvat 822 Mārggaśira śukla saptamī śatabhiṣā*

95 The text of this record is now published in a booklet of the Archaeological Department of the Government of Nepal. *Purātāvatrapatra Saṅgraha*, VS 2016, pp, 6-8.

96 Unpublished. Inscription n. 116 in our Appendix.

nakṣatra aṅgāravāsara, this day, Śrī 3 Paśupati bled, and blood came out of the *Jaladhāri* to flow through its regular channel to Bāgmati, about 2 pounds of blood was seen (f. 49).

On *Samvat 822 Māgha śukla daśamī rohiṇī pra mṛgasira vaidhṛti yoga ādityavāra*, this day, at Kvāthanigvala, Śrī 3 Garuḍanārāyaṇa's temple caught fire which spread to the pinnacle and the upper storey was completely gutted (f. 49). *Samvat 822 Bhādra kṛṣṇa chaturdaśī ādityavāra*, this day, Gajahera elephant died (f. 99).

On *Samvat 822 Māgha śukla ekādaśī ādityavāra*, this day, Śrī 3 Vāsuki bled, and *Māgha kṛṣṇa 2 śanaścharavāra*, Śrī Paśupati also bled, the blood was seen in both the cases through the *Jalahari* (f. 100).

On *Samvat 825 Kārtika kṛṣṇa 8 Bhāṣkaramalla* offered a new pinnacle to the temple of Taleju (f. 102).

On *Samvat 825 Āśvina śukla pratipadā navarātra* began. On *saptamī* there was a heavy rain the goddess came down to the temporary shrine next day, she went up to the temple on *daśamī*.

We have already referred to Bhuvanalakṣmī's trip to Chāṅgu in 824 where she set up a statue of her late husband, according to the *Thyāsapu B*.

Bhāskaramalla was present at the car festival of Machhendranātha in Jyāvara in *Jyeṣṭha 825*.

It appears that the *Thyāsapu A* has nothing significant to take notice of. Its omission of the agreement Kathmandu struck with Bhatgaon in 823 is surprising.

In 1715 A.D. the Nepalese branch of the Tibetan mission of the Capuchins was opened in Kathmandu. Priests attached to the same were Father Francois Felix de Moro and Father Anthony Marie de Gesi. More priests arrived in Kathmandu from Lhasa, as they had to run away for their life due to persecution by the Tibetan authorities. But even from there they were forced to flee on account of the terrible persecution

stirred by the Brāhmaṇas (Levi, I, 101).⁹⁷ Father Desideri of the Jesuit branch arrived in Kathmandu from Lhasa in January, 1722 A.D. Another missionary (Capuchin) Father Horace de Penna came down to Nepal from Tibet in 1732 A.D.

Probably after Bhūpālendra's death Yoganarendramalla maintained a conciliatory attitude towards Kathmandu. Bhūpālendra and Yoganarendramalla were allies since the former came of age. The *Thyāsapu C* reports that Bhāskaramalla and his mother attended the mortuary rites performed in connection with the death of Yoganendra on 826 *Kārtika śukla 12*. About this time both Patan and Kathmandu were passing through critical days because of the minority of the monarchs on the throne. But Bhatgaon at the sametime had the advantage of having a very able and ambitious adult monarch on the throne, who did not fail to exploit the situation in the two capitals.

But we find from a copper plate inscription of Bhatgaon that two years before Yoganarendramalla died. Bhūpatīndramalla had come to terms with Kathmandu and it then appeared that Patan was isolated. The importance of the agreement between Kathmandu and Bhatgaon lay in the fact that Bhūpatīndramalla had accepted Kathmandu as an ally to the disadvantage of Patan. Let us now look into the terms of the agreement.

On 823 *Śrāvaṇa śudi 2* Bhūpatīndramalla and Bhāskaramalla agreed to maintain peace between the two kingdoms. Each pledged 'not to harbour ill-will against the other, not to ever think of doing harm in any circumstances. Kathmandu was to keep company of Bhatgaon, If there was to be a negotiation between kings, Kathmandu should be leading; wicked people might try to cause friction, but the two parties should act discreetly in unison. They should share profit and loss by mutual consultation. A security of Rupees 36,000

97 *Italiani Missionari, etc. Vol. II, Pt. III, pp. 150 ff.*

had been deposited to guarantee the compliance by parties of the provisions of the agreement. In the circumstances of breach by any party, whatever the Khasa and Magar Omraos plundered of him, this was justified. The eyewitnesses present in the *Darbar* while the agreement was signed were the Brāhmaṇas Yogīdāsa Upādhyā, Bālakṛṣṇa Josi, Nārāyaṇa Upādhyā, Maṇikaṇṭha Upādhyā, Kālu Upādhyā and Yādu Upādhyā, other witnesses were Vīrabhadra Thāpā, Kāladhara, Abhiju, Dāmodara Thāpā, Amarasing Kuar, and Kṛṣṇa Khadga'.

The agreement added, yet one more provision Bhatgaon was not to allow passage to Patan unless Kathmandu's concurrence was obtained. 30 *thum khets* in Jyāmir Lagarche are again provided as security. In case Kathmandu broke with Bhatgaon, the two Brāhmaṇa eyewitnesses Prajāpati Upādhyā and Sukadeva Upādhyā will share the yield between them. For 12 years since 823 *Śrāvaṇa śudi 2* Kathmandu and Bhatgaon should live together in peace, they should not be divided. The witnesses to the copper plate are Viśvambhara Bhāju, Jayogramalla and Brahmanārāyaṇa Bhāju.

The chronicle states that Bhūpatīndramalla was responsible for the death of Yoganarendramalla in early 826. The latter had gone to Chāngu to launch an attack on Bhatgaon whose ruler had contrived to poison the tobacco the Patan ruler smoke. But men from Kathmandu had suddenly attacked Patan, while it was mourning. As against this, Kathmandu's ruler attended the mortuary rites performed after the death of Yoganarendramalla.

But Bhūpatīndramalla had offered to put *ṭikā* to Lokaprakāśa, so it appeared that relation between Patan and Bhatgaon was better than what it was between Kathmandu and Patan.

Bhāskaramalla was for a long time kept under his mother's tutelage. This was but natural because for the most part of his reign he was a minor. He died as soon as he attained majority at the age of 18.

We do not hear much about Bhuvanalakṣmī from the chronicles. She set up in Chāṅgu a group of gold statues of her husband Bhūpālendramalla and herself on *Sarvat* 824 *Phālgūṇa śukla dvitīyā uttarabhādra nakṣatre śukla yoge śukravāra*.⁹⁸

It appears that in spite of the agreement of 823 Kathmandu had not acted against Patan siding with Bhatgaon. But it took more than 2 years before they appeared as allies for a common purpose. A noting in a ms. copy of *Sārasvata-vyākaraṇa*⁹⁹ says that on 828 *Āṣāḍha vaddhi* 6 Kathmandu and Patan patched up their quarrel.

The *Thyāsapu C* also noted that Bhāskaramalla with his mother attended the last rites of Yoganarendramalla. This shows that the royal family of Kathmandu had acted on the traditional manner to present themselves during the funerary observance of the death of neighbouring country's ruler who was also their near relative. But this also proves that there was no hostility existing between the two parties at the time of Yoganendra's death. If the people of Kathmandu had behaved, they have done so at the instigation of authorities who wanted to take advantage of the situation in Patan. Perhaps as is suggested by the chronicle, the ministers wanted their own king to be seated on the throne in Patan.

The ceremony was also attended by her son, the king, who was then a child. In 828 she installed two gold images of Lakṣmī on each side of the door of the shrine of Talegu at the Mulchok inside the palace compound, and she had her name inscribed on the waist band of the image.

Who are the other persons controlling the administration during the minority of Bhāskaramalla? This is again a very difficult question to answer. For lack of any information on the subject we are unable to say as definite at this stage. But one name which appears as a witness in the copper plate

98 *Sanskrit Sandesha*, I. 6. p. 38

99 In the possession of Eisvaradhara Sharma.

agreement of 823 stands prominent in this period. This name is Śrī Viśvambhara Bhāju. It might be that this Viśvambhara is the same person as Guru Viśvambhara who had administered *dīkṣāmantra* to Bhūpāendra on 812 (see above). The Capuchin Fathers who had visited Nepal at the time have said that the Guru was something acting as Chief Minister. Now we can take it that Viśvambhara was the Chief Minister in Kathmandu since Bhāskaramalla began his reign. The Guru carried considerable influence in the royal family and in consequence might have been appointed as the Chief Minister. We do not know more about Viśvambhara than the fact of his being as witness in his king's treaty with another principality. Because the other party has the king's uncle as the witness, the importance of Viśvambhara can be imagined.

It was somewhat in the chronicle that throughout Bhāskaramalla's reign one Jhagal Ṭhākur was the most powerful man in the kingdom. But there is no evidence of Jhagal Ṭhākur appearing anywhere in the picture before NS 836.

Bhāskaramalla had weakness for high sounding titles like his forefathers. He also called himself proficient in all aspects of learning including music. The coin has as epithet Nepāleśvara, Girindra meaning the lord of Nepal and lord of the mountains.

For want of more information we are unable to write about Bhāskaramalla's reign. Unfortunately, so far no details of his life and career are available from a *Thyāsapu* noting or colophon statements. In respect of his reign the chronicle makes confusion worse confounded as it goes to identify him with Mahīndrasimha who had succeeded him. Thus altogether Bhāskaramalla passes as an obscure monarch although he reigned for full 14 years.

The chronicle attributes Bhāskara's death to an epidemic of a plague which broke out in the Valley, and preyed upon numerous lives. Earlier, according to a noting in a ms. copy

of *Tīrthayātrā* on 826 he had an attack of small-pox on *Naṣṭa Jyeṣṭha vadi 2*. According to a chronicle he died on *Pauṣa śudi 9, 835 NS*. All the later chronicles with the exception of one just cited state that he died in NS 842. But these chronicles confuse the identity of Bhāskaramalla with that of Mahīndrasimha and pass them as one person. It is said that the epidemic of plague lasted for 7 years beginning from 1735 A.D. and this took a very great toll of human lives, which accounted for 18,714 deaths. We shall find that all the later chronicles repeat the mistake of identifying Bhāskaramalla with Mahīndrasimha in one way or another and it was essential for them to prolong the visitation of plague to make it appear that Mahīndrasimha died in 842 NS.

The report of the epidemic is also provided in the account of Father Freyer who had come to visit Nepal in May of 1716 after bidding goodbye to Father Desideri in Tibet¹⁰⁰ on the 16th of April and having walked the distance for 42 days. He reports that 'in less than three months the number of corpses burnt was close to twenty thousand.' The epidemic must have lasted for at least 2 years.

Bhāskaramalla was succeeded by Mahīndrasimha. According to the 2 page fragment of the Newārī chronicle he belonged to the 7th generation in the line of Śivasimha through his daughter. The chronicle states that he was installed on the throne mainly due to the efforts of Jhagal Thākura who was by that time risen to the august and powerful post of the Chief Minister.

With Bhāskaramalla's death ended the line of Yakṣamalla on the male side in the kingdom of Kathmandu. Because he had died without a male heir to succeed him, the throne now went to a person who possessed his title to the throne through his mother. Uptill Bhāskaramalla, the throne was retained through succession from father to son, even though

100 Appendix to the Account of Tibet by Desideri, p. 360.

at one instance the heir could not claim a legitimate birth. We shall find that in Patan the same case had occurred with Yoganarendramalla's death in early 826 NS. It was only in Bhatgaon that an uninterrupted succession through a son had been maintained until while the kingdom was conquered by Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh of Gorkhā.

Mahīndrasīmha (1714-1722 A.D.)

Now we come to the reign of Mahīndrasīmha. Never before we come across his name in a document. He suddenly comes into picture after the death of Bhāskaramalla.

The king's name is spelt both as Mahīndrasīmha and Mahendrasīmha in records. As the coin has *Mahīndrasīmha*, and there are more documents showing this spelling we have followed the spelling as it is there.

Bhāskaramalla had died childless. About Dāmodaramalla, the witness in his Paśupati grant (copper plate of NS 834 *Chaitra*) nothing is known.¹⁰¹ Was he a brother or a son of Bhāskara, who died in his life time. This is an isolated document mentioning Dāmodaramalla. Jayavīra Mahīndrasīmha has been omitted by the later chronicles. All of them without the exception of the two have taken Mahīndrasīmha as the same person as Bhāskaramalla. The exceptions are, (1) the chronicle in my possession and (2) probably its rescension in the possession of one (*Itihāsa Prakāśa*, I, p. 73) gentleman in Kathmandu.¹⁰²

Mahīndrasīmha ruled also over Patan. He became its king since 837 while the throne was rendered vacant on the death of Hṛddhinarasīmha.

According to Wright he succeeded Yoganarendramalla. Walsh suggests that Mahīndrasīmha was a king of Kathmandu and did not rule over Patan¹⁰³ or even if he had ruled that

101 Inscription n. 118 in our Appendix.

102 *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, I, p. 73

103 *Coinage of Nepal*, p. 698.

area it must have been sometime between 829 and 835 NS. But both Walsh and Wright's chronicler are far from being right. Wright makes contradictory statements.¹⁰⁴ At one place he states that Bhūpālendra was also called Mahīndramalla and he had died in NS 814. But at another place he goes to say that Mahīndramalla (Mahīpatendra) was also a ruler of Patan and he died in NS 842. I do not think that we are able to conclude anything out of these mutually contradictory views of the chronicler about Mahīndrasimha's reign. We have coins in the name of Mahīndrasimha (Walsh, III. 9, 8, 10). The first coin which dates 835 (Walsh wrongly read as 836) is a definite proof of the fact that Mahīndrasimha began his reign in 835. His second coin of 837 has the Buddhist emblem of *Aṣṭamaṅgala* and the legend *Karuṇāmaya* (Walsh, III. 8). There is no doubt that this was intended for the circulation in Patan. Walsh is wrong to say that his reign in Patan came between NS 829 and 835. He obviously confuses Vīra Mahendramalla with Mahīndrasimha. The former's coin of 829 Walsh ascribes to Mahīndrasimha and it is quite wrong of him to have done so. As we shall observe later the ruler known as Vīra Mahendramalla was a son of the Patan ruler Yoganarendramalla by a wife living in Tanhou and he was a child king for the five years (829-835 NS) he ruled over that region. We have a separate coin in his name, which dates 829. He cannot be the same person as Mahīndrasimha who acceded the throne in 835 NS. The former never ruled over Kathmandu.

Mahīndrasimha has numerous inscriptions and colophons of his reign extending from 835 to 841 NS. All these will be cited a little later. He is also mentioned in many *Thyāsapu* notings of the day as a king playing his role. Such records are available also in Patan between NS 837 and 841. The records in Patan provide authentic evidence of his reign in this principality for the duration of time covered by the

104 Wright, Second edition, p. 135.

documents. A stone inscription of the temple of Gaṇeśa in Chābel locality in the vicinity of Deopatan to its north notes under date 840 *Vaiśākha śukla 10 uttaraphālgunī nakṣtre vajra yoge śukravāsare* the reign of Mahīndrasimha prevailing both in Kathmandu and Patan with Kazi Jhagal Ṭhākura as minister (*Jambudvipe.....Śrī Śrī Yambu Śrī Yalan Śrī Śrī Mahīndrasimhadevasya Kāzi Jhagala Ṭhākulasa velasa*). The inscription records the celebration of the repairing of the temple of Gaṇeśa. But we know that Mahendramalla of Patan had died in 835 and one more reign had intervened between him and Mahīndrasimha.

As for taking Bhāskaramalla and Mahīndrasimha as one person, we have to know that neither the records of Bhāskaramalla nor those of Mahīndrasimha have even distantly suggested any kind of affinity between the two names. Each name stands by itself in the record. If it was otherwise the two names should have appeared together in one record. To add to this, the records of Mahīndrasimha follow those of Bhāskaramalla in time sequence, while the latter's documents stop with the Guchchaṭol inscription of 835 *Kārtika*, the former's start with the Dhanju stella of 835 *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 6* (Inscription no. 119 in our Appendix).

Thus it will appear that our Mahīndrasimha has nothing to do with Mahendramalla of Patan and with his distant identity he cannot also be confused with Bhāskaramalla. His first document is an inscription of 835 *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa khaṣṭī hastā nakṣatre śukarmayoga śukravāra (Śrī Śrī Mahīndrasimhadevamalla Mahārājā prabhu ṭhākurasa vijayarājye)*. This record commemorates the occasion of setting up a Dharmadhātū in the area by sevākhalaka. A ms. preserved in the Darbar Library (n. III. 238). *Abhidhānottaraśatakam (a copy)* has in the colophon: *Samvat 835 Bhādra kṛṣṇa 3/svasti Śrī Bhānuvaṃśārṇava jāta chandro vaipakṣa mātaṅga mṛgendrarūpa saṃhāraśṛṣṭi sthiti samsarāje sarāgata Śrī nṛpama Śrī Śrī Mahēndrasimhadeva tasya vijayarājye Śrī Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa-sthāne talu mūla mahāvihāre etc.*

It is suggested that Mahīndrasim̄ha, the man who ruled both Kathmandu and Patan was a chief of Dolkhā (No. 2 District of East Nepal) and he was brought to rule over Kathmandu by efforts of Jhagal Ṭhākur and on the death of Hṛddhinarasim̄ha on *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa amāvasyā* of 837 he was also declared king of Patan by the powerful nobility against fierce opposition. But for Patan he was just a ruler in name with visits as rare as suited the convenience of the king makers.

There is a legend in Dolkhā that one of their rulers by name Mahīndrasim̄ha reigned in Kathmandu. The fragment of the Newari chronicle calls him a descendant of Śivasim̄ha in the seventh generation.

As appears from his coin Mahīndrasim̄ha did not adopt the suffix *Malla* after his name. But the Malla name ending appears in some inscriptions of his reign. However, his official records show few instances of adopting the Malla name ending. He certainly came of a stock which was different from the main stock of the ruling Malla family. He was just a relation of them through a daughter. One chronicle calls him a pure Sūryavaṃśī. This is supported by all inscriptions, Undoubtedly he called himself Sūryavaṃśī. An inscription belonging to his reign at *Chabahil Chaitya* has Malla after his name.¹⁰⁵ (*Śrī Śrī Mahīndrasim̄hadevamalla Mahārājā prabhu ṭhākurasa vijayarājye*). This record commemorates the occasion of setting up a Dharmadhātū in the area by Sevākhalaka. In a ms. *Dhāraṇisaṅgraha* of 839 *Bhādra śukla* the royal name bears the ending Malla, *Nepāleśvara Jaya Mahīndrasim̄hamalladeva*.¹⁰⁶ This title *Malla*, could be however, a courtesy reference to any royal personage. From a copper plate inscription (*Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Vol. I, 2-3 part)¹⁰⁷ it appears that king Mahīndrasim̄ha had made a grant

105 Unpublished.

106 Camb. Add. 1326, CBMC, p. 49.

107 P. 457. dated 841 *Chaitra vadi 2*. The line runs *Vikramapāli-*

of free hold of land situated somewhere near Okhaldhuṅgā (East No. 3 District) to a Brāhmaṇa. This suggests that even while ruling over Kathmandu he had not relinquished hold over his own domain in the East.

The inscription belonging to Jaya Vīra Mahīndrasimha's reign provide an unchallengeable evidence to tally with that of the coins. His identity is also fully elucidated. We have also reliable documents to push his date further down to 1721 A.D. The copper plate inscription of Gorakhnātha belonging to his reign is dated 841 *Āśvin vadi 5* = October 1721 A. D. The fact of his continuing to rule till late 1721 must finally dismiss the wrong notion about his identity with Bhāskaramalla and Mahendramalla who died in 1715 and 1714 A. D. respectively.

He has the same *praśasti* (royal address) as that of his predecessors, Nṛpendramalla and others, calling himself *Raghuvamsāvatāra* and *Raghukulatilaka* and his family's *Iṣṭadevatā* is *Māneśvarī* the same goddess as adored by all the descendants of Jaya Sthitimalla.¹⁰⁸ It is clear that he did not presume to claim a separate dynastic origin to himself. We also notice in his *praśasti*, expression like *Hindudhvaja Nepāleśvara* and *Samrāṭ chūḍāmaṇi*. *Hindudhvaja* is a new title for this age. There is further the expression *svavikramo-pārjita vāraṇākara samudbhūta gajendrapati* which literally means one who had sat on the king of elephants conquered by his own prowess. This probably intended to convey the impression that he exacted tributes in elephants from the Raja of Tanhou or Mackwānpur, which the chronicle also has noted.¹⁰⁹ He also bears the title of *Gajapati*¹¹⁰ in some instances.

†agajapatipatta virājamāna. This inscription has also (*Mahīndrasimha tankā 2300 and dṛṣṭa sākṣi Jagajjayamalla*)

108 See all inscriptions of the period.

109 Inscription of Gorakhanātha as above.

110 Inscription at Pimbahāl. n. 126 in our Appendix.

In Patan his documents are much limited as compared to those available in Kathmandu. A stone inscription at Konti-bahāl standing on the ground close to a *Chaitya* in front of the main shrine commemorates the setting up of an image of Akṣobha in the reign of Mahīndrasimha and while Jhaḡal Ṭhākura was a minister (*Śrī Śrī Śrī Mahīndradevasimhadevasya rājye mantri Jhaḡara ṭhākura velasa etc*). The date is 838 *Chaitra māsa śukla pakṣe aṅgavāsare aṣṭamī tithau*.

A stele at Bhiñchhebahāl has 839 *Māgha kṛṣṇa amāvasyām tithau śatabhiṣā nakṣatre sūryagrāsa dine śivayoge ādityavāsare Lalitapure nagare Śrī Mahēndrasimhadeva rājyādhikāre*. At the date mentioned a temple to house the images of Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha was completed and the metal roofs were plated with gold. (2) At Pimbahil with date figure 842 *Jyeṣṭha māse śukla dvitīyā mṛgaśirā nakṣatre ādityavāsare ...Mahārājā Śrī Gajapati Mahīndrasimhamaradeva prabhu ṭhākura rājā juva, etc, etc*. His first coin dates 835 (Walsh, III. 9 wrongly read 836). His second coin dating 837 (Walsh, III. 8) was issued on the occasion of his becoming the king of Patan. A stray leaf which is an invitation for *Samyak dāna* ceremony performed at Kvabahāl has amongst other details *Samvat 839 Māgha māse kṛṣṇa pakṣe amāvasyām tithau śatabhiṣā nakṣatre śivayoge nagakarāṇe ādityavāsare rāhu graste divākare chintāmañirnāma kumbha parvvaṇi* and a little later *Śrī Kāntipurādhipati Śrī Rd Pm Pbh Nepāleśvara sāmantarāja śirabhūṣaṇa ravikura tiraka Hanumaddhvaja Śrī machchhri Śrī Mahīndrasimhadevasya pratāpārjita Śrī Lalitapattane mahānagare*.

By the expression *pratāpārjite*, the scribe intends to convey a meaning that Patan was ruled by Mahīndrasimha by virtue of his prowess, and not by legal rights of inheritance.

According to the chronicle Mahīndrasimha died of an epidemic on *11 vadi* of *Bhādra* of 842. It is clear that the later chronicles had to invent a story of prolonged visitation of an epidemic to make it appear that Mahīndrasimha had died of it. Actually it was Bhāskaramalla who died of plague

in early 835. The fact of a prolonged seize of the Nepal Valley by an epidemic is reported by Father Freyer who came to Nepal in mid 837 NS. We can imagine that this continued to infest Nepal for sometime more. But while Father Desideri was here in January, 1722 A. D. nothing of it was seen. So I do not think that it is right to attribute Mahīndrasim̄ha's death to the same epidemic which visited Nepal in 835. As is suggested by the Jesuit Father, Mahīndrasim̄ha died in all probability in late NS 842. His last available document is an inscription¹¹¹ of 842 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 2* (see the paragraph preceding). He was succeeded by Jagajjayamalla whose coin dated 842. Walsh read it as 852 (III. 11). This reading of the date figure is, however, incorrect. The correct reading should be 842, the figure 2 being quite clear. The date figure 842 is also prominent in the quarter *mohar* issued in the name of Kumudinīdevī along with Jagajjaya (III. 13). Jagajjaya's first available inscription gives him full royal titles and is dated 842 *Māgha śukla ekādaśī*.

In one of his coins Mahīndrasim̄ha has got engraved in the obverse the legend of Mahīndralakṣmī (Walsh, III. 10). But nothing more particular is known about this lady. She is probably his wife. The coin which is dated 838 is a quarter *mohar*.

Jhagal Ṭhākur was the most important figure of the day in the administration while Mahīndrasim̄ha reigned. This man continued to be in power for some years also in the time of Jagajjayamalla. We have seen how his rule was mentioned along with the reign of the king in several documents of the day. No doubt he was the real power behind the throne.

In Mahīndrasim̄ha's time the forefathers of the now handful of the Muslim settlers in Kathmandu seem to have made their entry being called by the ruler to serve as musi-

111 Inscription n. 125 in our Appendix.

cians, scent manufacturers, and bangle suppliers for the court. It was said that the presence of these persons went to offend religious susceptibility of the mass of the people, who were all Hindus and there were some disturbances but the intervention of the ruler saved the new settlers from molestation, and later on there was a reconciliation, so that the Muslims could live in peace.

How far the chronicle's statement about the replacement of Jhagal Ṭhākur by a Muslim Chief Minister can be taken seriously is a moot question. According to the chronicle there was a revolt of the entire populace, high and low, Pramāṇas and Khasas against this action of the king, and the Muslims were beheaded all except five of them who then left the country.

Father Desideri who happened to be in Kathmandu sometime in January 1722 A.D. (=Pauṣa, NS 842) writes to corroborate the above account when he notes the following facts about the king of the principality : While he was an infant this king's mother and ministers emptied the state treasury by squandering money. But as soon as he came of age the king imprisoned his mother and her associates and stopped the drainage. This king had a son by his eldest wife. The fact of a successor, however, was resented by a section of his noblemen who entertained a secret desire to set up a nominee of their own for the throne. But as long as the legitimate issue was spared, this could not happen. So all sorts of threats and pressures were applied to get the son of the king removed from the scene. The king himself lived in dread of life for most part of the time. At one stage life seemed so miserable to him that he killed his own son and abandoned his wife with a declaration not to go to bed with her to avoid begetting another heir to the throne. In an attempt to strengthen his defence he brought from Hindusthan a large number of Muslims who were employed in his retinue. But this irritated the nobility all the more. Some of them revolted against him. A conspiracy was hatched up to poison

him to death. But it was discovered in time. An informer told the king in the nick of time, that the betel (*pān*) which was going to be offered to him contained poison. The king not wholly believing him yet threw the *pān* to a goat nearby, which chewing met with an instantaneous death. But this was not the end of the sordid machinations. Mutineers pillaged the countryside, and the king often felt harassed and worried on account of the dreadful stories reaching him. All these together perturbed him and weighed in his mind so much that although he was quite young in age and stout in physique, he died a premature death unable to bear the tension.

Arriving in Nepal on the 27th of December Desideri left the Valley on 20th January staying altogether full 23 days, 6 days of which he spent in Bhatgaon and the rest in Kathmandu. This was a very short period of stay, and obviously was not enough for a thorough and intimate study of the country. As C. J. Wessels correctly says Desideri must have used in his account the information given to him by the Capuchin missionaries.¹¹² But the missionaries did not possess competence to do the job of a chronicler as much as was required in the circumstances because of the language they could not understand in its full implications, and because of a social environment completely foreign to them. Naturally many things they have written are far from being correct. Desideri's account of the rebellion also suffers from lack of clarity but in regard to the identity of the king he refers to the fact mentioned might be taken as correct. Earlier in the same passage¹¹³ he talks of the king of Kathmandu, who had grown rich because he had also inherited Patan. This king was ruling at a time while Desideri 'was in Tibet (1715-1721) and passed through Nepal'. Of course, no doubt remains

112 *Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal* Vol. II. Part VII, p. 8. *Account of Tibet* by Desideri edited by Fillipi, London, 1932 pp. 313-14.

113 Reproduced below in the Appendix.

as to the identity of this king. We know that the only ruler of Kathmandu to rule the two kingdoms together about this time was Mahindrasimha. No king of Kathmandu ruled Patan between 1619 and 1760 A. D. Desideri says that the king who ruled Kathmandu and Patan together was alive while he passed through Nepal (27th of December, 1721–20th of January, 1722 A. D.). This suggests that Mahindrasimha was alive in early 1722. The fact of rebellion is also mentioned by Father Freyer who arrived in Nepal sometime in May, 1716 A. D. and lived here for nearly five months. He writes in his note that the people of Kathmandu revolted and dethroned their monarch. From the way Father Freyer writes it appears that the rebellion had taken place during the time of his stay in Nepal. Probably the chronicler also talks of the same event. But dethronement of the king during the time of rebellion is what we do not read in the statement of the chronicle. There is, however, a copper plate inscription of Jagajjayamalla making a land grant to Gorakhanātha on *Sarvat 837 Māgha śukla 13*, which gives him full royal epithets.¹¹⁴ It is not unlikely that the copper plate was issued while Mahindrasimha was temporarily dethroned. Perhaps the rebels had set up Jagajjayamalla in his place. Mahindrasimha had been restored after sometime as Jhagal Thākura patched up with him. But the minister had now become all in all.

But all that Father Desideri wrote in this connection was not correct. Specially, the earlier part of the story, which talks of his mother's regency during his infancy and his subsequent revolt against her on his attaining majority does not fit in with Mahindrasimha's career as we find it from indigenous records. Mahindrasimha was certainly no minor as he became king in early 835 NS. From a reliable source we get the information that he had already a son in 837 and this son was asked of him for the kingship of Patan. Perhaps

114 In the possession of Mahanta Naraharināth, Kathmandu.

Desideri had gathered his information from one who had not understood the situation. The informant must have been one of the Capuchin Fathers who had language difficulties to understand the nature of the day-to-day occurrences in the Nepal Valley.

Nor it seems that Mahīndrasimha died of a mental tension during the rebellion as is implied in the writing of Desideri about the event. He died nearly 4 years after the rebellion had occurred. So this cannot be the immediate cause of his death. But it is not unlikely that Mahīndrasimha was fretting and fuming under tutelage of Jhagal Ṭhākur who might have used the advantages he gained to control and discipline his conduct. As no reliable information of the circumstances of his death is known to us, it is difficult to say what exactly caused his death. But he must have died in his youth as Desideri says.

The year 842

As Mahīndrasimha died both Kathmandu and Patan had a new king of its own. But it so happened that Bhatgaon had also its new king in this year. We shall note in due course that Raṇajitamalla had succeeded its father in *Vaiśākha* of 842.

Thus the year could be treated as a year of new kings for the Nepal Valley.

However new kings had not led to new policies of state and new strengths.

V

NEW DYNASTY

JAGAJJAYAMALLA AND HIS SON

(1722-1768 A.D)

Jagajjayamalla

(1722—1736 A.D)

In the legend of the reverse of a coin of Jagajjayamalla (Walsh, III. 12), coins of Jayaprakāśamalla (IV. 2, 5, 6) and a coin of Jyotiprakāśamalla (IV. 15) we have the name of Mahīpatendramalla. We have already said that there is yet another coin undated (PI. IV. 1 in Walsh) also in the name of Jaya Mahīpatendramalla. The word Deva is not added after Malla in connection with this name in the coins of Jagajjaya, Jayaprakāśa and Jyotiprakāśa. His identity is not revealed through this alone though Walsh takes him to be the same as Jagajjaya. But we have seen that Mahīpatendra was a son of Pratāpamalla. Therefore we do not have to pursue the point any longer here. The chronicler of Wright puts that Jagajjaya was a distant relation of Pratāpamalla on the side of his daughter, while another source names him as the grandson of Mahīpatendra by his daughter.

It was stated by a chronicle, that he was a son of Mahīpatendra's daughter. This estimate was quite true. The reference to Mahīpatendra in the coins of Jagajjaya shows that the former owed the throne to the fact of his relationship with the latter. This is also confirmed by three coins of Jayaprakāśamalla (IV. 2, 5, 6), which has Mahīpatendramalla in the obverse. It was surely in acknowledgement of their relationship with Mahīpatendra that Jagajjaya and his successors had incorporated the legend of his name in their coins. Such was the custom prevailing in those days as appears from the coins of Viṣṇumalla, Rājyaprakāśa and

Jayaviśvajita (Walsh, PL. III, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10) where Yoganarendramalla is mentioned. The legend in that form was simply test of recognition. Mahīpatendra is no more an unidentified figure (see *vide ante*, Pratāpa's inscription). So this riddle could now be easily solved.

All these rulers were related to Yoganarendramalla and they owed their throne to this relationship, a fact which was acknowledged by inscription of the legend in the coins.

Similarly as to his relationship with Mahīpatendra, as Jagajjaya owed his throne to him, he had only acknowledged this fact by inscribing the former's name on his coins.

Kumudinīdevī who figures in the coin of Jagajjaya (PL. III. 13, NS 842) also has a coin of her own (a quarter *mohar*) with Jananī added to the name, which is dated NS 856=1734-35 A.D (PL. IV. 9). Walsh incorrectly read the date figures in both coins as 852 and 876 (pp. 728, 730) respectively. She is the wife of Jagajjaya and mother of his successor Jayaprakāśamalla as appears from the pillar inscription of Taleju dated NS 845 *Āṣāḍha*. It was also said that Jagajjaya had obtained, through his wife the claim to the throne of Kathmandu. But no records in inscriptions are available to help us to get confirmation of this statement.

Jagajjaya ruled for about 14 years till 1735 (NS 855). In a record of Mahīndrasimha (a palm leaf grant) in the possession of Gorakhanātha date (NS 841 *Aśvin vadi*) he is the eye-witness, that means he bore close connection with his predecessor, whatever the relation may be and the latter had made him his successor at the time. We have traced several other documents of Mahīndrasimha, which have Jagajjaya as witness. Jagajjaya probably occupied the throne in the very first month of the next year, for we have it in the inscription of NS 842 *Māgha śukla ekādaśī* that he was then a ruler (*Nepāleśvara.....vijayarājye*). In this very record he uses the epithet of *Vāraṇākarasamudbhūtagajendrapati*. Probably, he travelled in the footsteps of Mahīndrasimha in exacting

tributes from the Rājās of Morang, Mackwānpur and Tanhou, Jagajjayamalla is noted for the *Kotyāhuti* offering, which he performed several times through his elder son Rajendramalla noted in the pillar inscription of Taleju (NS 845 *Aṣāḍha*) above mentioned. Rājendramalla died in the life time of his father and Jayaprakāśa became the rightful heir to the throne of Kathmandu after some persuasion ministered to his father as to the advisability of this step.

There is a stele within the precinct of the temple of Vajrayoginī to the right. The beginning contains eight verses in honour of the Goddess composed by Jagajjayamalla. After the eighth verse the text runs in Newari and contains the following facts¹¹⁵ 'Samvat 845 Pausa kṛṣṇa daśamī somavāra (Monday). At the night of this day Nilanārāyaṇa Ṭhākura came from Bhatgaon and lay in hiding in Sāñkhu. But his attempt was foiled as knowing this the governor and the *pañchas* and people of the area by the grace of Vajrayoginī and by valour of king Jagajjaya rose to a man to meet the sinister attempt of the enemy. A dozen of the enemy were killed and 17 arrested and sent to Kāntipur. Next day the people rejoiced and worshipped the Goddess Vajrayoginī. The king rewarded the citizens by giving *pagree* to each house-holder'.

About 847 the Chief Minister in Kathmandu was Chautārā Paramāṇa Sukhula Bhā who according to a copper plate appears to have advised Jagajjayamalla to repair the temple

115 सम्बत् ८४५ पौष कृष्ण ॥ दशमि सोमवार श्वकुन्हु यो वा यारात्तिस नील नारायणठाकुर खपोन ओ या ओ शको देश... ..छलन दुद द्वाओ ओ थ्वसिया ओ श्री ३ वज्र योगिनीया प्रसादनं श्री २ जगज्जयमल्ल देवस प्रतापनं शको देशया प्रजापञ्च परमान डथयजुयाओ हम १-- स्याक हमं १७ चिडाओ अदेश... ड दिन जुरो ॥ श्री ३ वज्रयोगिनी प्रीतिनरयर... पंचोपचार पूजा गुथी छगुरि हुन्ता शकोपनिस्के छेखान...वितारि प्रसादवियाजुरे

of Harisiddhi on *Chaitra kṛṣṇa ekādaśī śatabhīṣā nakṣatre brahma yoga bṛhaspativāra* of the year (the temple was originally built by Pratāpamalla).¹¹⁶

Jagajjayamalla had five sons, Rājendramalla, Jayaprakāśamalla, Rājyaprakāśamalla, Narendraprakāśamalla and Chandraprakāśamalla. Rājendra and Jayaprakāśa were born before their father had become king. As we have already said, Rājendraprakāśamalla the eldest had died in the life time of his father in NS 850 and this was the reason that the crown had devolved on the second son Jayaprakāśamalla. We shall know a little later that Narendra led a revolt to overthrow his regime as Jayaprakāśa became king but was forced to flee to Bhatgaon for his life, where he died a much forlorn man. Rājyaprakāśa was on good terms with Jayaprakāśa in the beginning but he had also to leave Kathmandu and take shelter in Patan where he was declared successor to the throne by Viṣṇumalla, his brother-in-law. Rājyaprakāśa is a witness to a land grant made by Jayaprakāśa, the record of which dates 863 NS. Rājyaprakāśa is also a witness in the Charter granted to the Capuchin mission on 862 *Mārga śudī 10*.¹¹⁷ From this it appears that Rājyaprakāśa had not left Kathmandu up till this date. As he was appointed successor to Viṣṇumalla in Patan in 764, we are unable to suggest if he too was forced to leave Kathmandu because of his brother's evil designs.

Whatever be the cause of his going to Patan, it now appears that the two of the three brothers of Jayaprakāśamalla had left him. The youngest of them, Chandraprakāśa, was destined to meet a quiet death but he too was not on friendly terms with his eldest brother.

Jagajjayamalla is said to have often fought Bhatgaon, but maintained a friendly and peaceful relation with Patan. At one time (849 *Āṣāḍha śukla 11*) his minister Sukhul Bhā

116. Information given by a copper plate of the temple.

117. *Missionary Italiani* etc., II, IV, p. 224.

persuaded the king of Patan to join hands with Kathmandu to attack Bhatgaon. On 850 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 3 uttaraphālguṇi naṣātre somavāra* Jagajjaya cemented his friendship with Patan by marrying his daughter to Viṣṇumalla, who had become king of the latter principality just a year earlier.

According to the chronicle, the Maithili Brāhmaṇas were quite influential in the court. It is said that Jagajjaya had obtained his throne because of the influence of the Maithili Brāhmaṇas enjoyed with Mahīndrasimha who had nominated him as his successor mainly with their advice. The ascendancy of the Maithili Brāhmaṇas was not tolerated by the Tharis who plotted to oust them and later while Jagajjaya-malla was ill, the Newar nobles looted their property.

The chronicle speaks of Jagajjaya as a sincere and selfless man devoted to a life of piety, and service to the cause of the people.

In 1722 A. D. Jagajjaya gave permission to the Capuchin Mission to restore their settlement. In this connection S. Levi (I, 99-100) writes: Father Horace de Penna called from Lhasa succeeded by dint of skill and energy in retaking the possession of the place. Arrested, thrown in prison, reduced like all other prisoners to the condition of a royal slave, subjected to hardest labour, he managed to convey to king of Kathmandu a catechism in Newari language, which he had undoubtedly composed himself. The burden of the pamphlet removed the last vestiges of the king's suspicion and he authorised the Capuchin Padre to settle down in his allotted area.

Jayaprakāśamalla (1736-1768 A. D.)

One of Jagajjaya's later documents in an inscription is dated NS 852 (Kankeśvarī stele). The first available record of Jayaprakāśa is dated 856 *Kārtika vadi 14* (a record of a grant of land to Gorakhanātha). According to the Sanskrit chronicle his father died in NS 852 in the month of *Phālguṇa*

kṛṣṇa on the day of *Pañchamī*. According to Wright also he acceded the throne on the same day of the year 852 of the Nepal era. Both these dates tally. But the chronicle has for this occasion the date 855 *Phālguna vadi 5* which must be near to being correct as this agrees almost with the date given by an Italian Christian Father who was in Nepal in October 1737 nearly two years after Jayaprakāśamalla had succeeded to the throne. The Christian Padre was no other than Father Giocchino who lived in Kathmandu for sometime as head of the mission. Jayaprakāśa granted a Charter to the Capuchin mission enabling them to preach their religion within the principality of Kathmandu. This Charter is dated 857 *Āśvina vadi 15*.¹¹⁸ The chronicle stated that Jayaprakāśa was crowned king on 855 *Phālguna vadi 6*. But the first available coin of his reign dates 856. In Walsh's Book (IV. 2) the reading of the date of the same coin is 876. Surely he is wrong. There can be no mistake about the date, because the figures 856 are all so clear. We have another coin (Walsh, IV. 7, half *mohar*) which is also dated 856 (wrongly read 875). Now there is a gap of nearly seven months, for which some explanation must forthcome. Why was the coin issued in 856 if he had been crowned on the 6th day of the dark fortnight of 855?

Jagajjaya was not in favour of the idea of Jayaprakāśamalla succeeding him and if the chronicles were to be believed, he had almost acceded to the request of a section of his courtiers led by the Khasas for the latter's removal from the role of succession. But this story cannot be fully believed. Jayaprakāśamalla being the eldest living son, the father probably would not think of bypassing him as the same was taken to be a sinful affair. Nevertheless, it was true that Jayaprakāśamalla encountered opposition even when he had not acceded the throne; but he overcame this with the help of his brother Rājyaprakāśamalla who later became the Rājā

118. *Italiani Missionari* etc , II, Part IV, p, 217.

of Patan. It was said that Jagajjayamalla did not favour the idea of Jayaparakāśa succeeding him.

Jayaparakāśa is the last ruler of the Malla dynasty of Kathmandu. He happens to be a contemporary of Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh as was Raṇajitamalla of Bhatgaon. He lost his kingdom to the Gorkhā invader in 1768 A. D.

From the very beginning of his reign he was disturbed by revolts fomented against him by dissident courtiers and a few months after he ascended the throne, one of his brothers Narendraparakāśa declared himself independent with the help of these courtiers and occupied some places towards the north-west, such as Gokarṇa, Chāṅgu and Sāṅkhu, the revolt was, however, successfully quelled, Narendraparakāśa taking asylum in Bhatgaon. But at the initial stage this rebellion gave him more than an ordinary trouble. Narendraparakāśa was receiving secret help and sympathy from within his own camp. His armed force was divided. Even before the succession, some trouble arose because the Khasa officers and sepoys led by Kāśirāma Thāpā in the king's service would prefer his brother to him. Now a section of them had openly gone over to Narendraparakāśamalla.

It appears that Narendraparakāśamalla was unable to continue his rebellious activities for quite long. Jayaparakāśa triumphed after a short struggle, whereupon he was forced to take shelter in Bhatgaon until NS 876 (=1756 A.D.) when he died. A noting on a leaf of a hand written copy of *Śrāddhapaddhati* states that he died on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of *Śrāvaṇa* of that year, Monday, his wife Kāntilakṣmī following as *Sati* on the pyre.^{118a}

Sukhu Bhā was the Chautārā since his father's time. But now suspecting that the Chautārā was not serving him

118a. In the possession of Eisvaradhara Sharma.

रस हय वसु वर्षे श्रावणे शुक्लपक्षे दिनकर तिथि मिश्रे तारकानाथ घडे
सुकृतमति नरेन्द्रोनाम मल्लोरि मल्लः शिवपुरमगमघः कान्तिलक्ष्मी समेतः

sincerely. Jayaprakāśa moved to put his loyalty to test by sending him to the battle field.

It may be noted that since Jagajjaya's time some areas of Kathmandu in the West and East were under occupation of Gorkhā and Bhatgaon respectively and the problem of freeing them obtained top priority in any scheme before the ruler of Kathmandu.

In 859 Bhatgaon had attacked Kathmandu's territory in the north-east. We learn from the *Thyasāpu F* that 'the Buchakvāṭha was invaded at midnight of *Margaśira śukla pratipadā mūla pra pūrvaśāḍha śukravāra of 859*. The fortress fell to the invaders three days later. Again, three days after the surrender of Buchakvāṭha, the forces of Bhatgaon had entered Palāñchok. On the day of *ekādaśī*, Sunday, they advanced to Bhramarkoṭ, captured it after a siege of a month'. The writer of the noting reports that all this invasion took place while Bhatgaon had patched up with Patan, and Kathmandu had stood all alone.

Jayaprakāśa became restive with this aggression on his territories. He was blaming his ministers for the defeat. But the situation was formidable for him to meet unless he broke his own isolation. He needed friends and allies. But these were not available in the circumstances then prevailing.

Sukhubhā was asked to launch a campaign against Bhatgaon to wrest back territories which the latter had earlier conquered from Kathmandu. But the Chief Minister failed to fulfill his master's desire, though he tried his level best for it. This led Jayaprakāśa to surreptitiously plot for Sukhubhā's life. According to the chronicle one night he called the latter to his audience in Bhandārkhāl under pretext of seeking his advice on an important affair of state and killed him. To hide the fact of death Jayaprakāśa caused the minister's body to be thrown into a deep well, which was filled with earth.

But the account of his death as given by the chronicle is

controverted by the *Thyāsapu F* which says that he escaped from detention. According to this source Sukhubhā was arrested, and was tied with a rope but at 10 *ghaṭi* past on the night of 858 *Aṣāḍha śukla 7* he fled. As the *Thyāsapu D* is a fairly reliable document, we might take it that he was not killed by Jayaprakāśa. But we do not know what happened to him and how he lived after his escape. This much is certain that he no more returned to Kathmandu. After his exit Jayaprakāśa called the Pramāṇas and asked them to recommend a Mūla Kāzi to him ; but for the fear of Jayaprakāśa's cruel behaviour no one was prepared to serve him in that capacity. For sometime thereafter a Brāhmaṇa Upādhyāya, by name Bhājubāsimha, was appointed Chief Minister. His Chief Ministership also was a failure and Jayaprakāśa was grumbling for not being able to achieve his objective. He had, however, succeeded in getting back his possession over Palāñchok from Raṇajitamalla. At this stage one Taudhik was appointed Chief Minister. But because of Jayaprakāśa's instable and cruel temper, he too had moved with caution. Meanwhile Noakoṭ and some other outposts were conquered by the Gorkhālis in the month of *Āśvina* of 865 (=October, 1744 A.D.). The Gorkhālī ruler then advanced to the east as far as Sindhu. From Sindhu he could descend to Sānkhu and cause annoyance to the ruler of Kathmandu. However, the Gorkhā force marched to Sindhuli through a circuitous along a south-easterly course. The capture of Sindhuli also made Gorkhā's eastern frontier contiguous with Bhatgaon on that side. Henceforth Gorkhā often sided with Bhatgaon in the latter's feud against Patan and Kāntipur.

According to the chronicle Jayaprakāśa had rightly or wrongly come to believe that his army consisting of the Khasas and Magars was not strong enough to fight the Gorkhālis and he also feared that their officers might betray him. From the very beginning of his regime he was not well disposed towards them. He knew that many of them did not favour his accession to the throne, and some had also

supported Narendraprakāśa. The Noakoṭ defeat strengthened his suspicion of their loyalty. Jayaprakāśa felt that if he was to get back his lost territories he should get rid of the Khasa officers as well as of all others who were suspected of double dealing.

There was fresh incident which gave him an opportunity to do away with the elements he disliked. The news of the fall of Sindhuli had just reached the Valley and it was manoeuvred that the commander of the area, one Raṇabhīma Thāpā, had gone over to the enemy. This had caused consternation in the three capitals and doubts were raised as to the advisability of employing the Khasa and Magar officers in the armed forces. But a military officer of Kathmandu, one Kāśirāma Thāpā, assured his master of his loyalty and promised an oath to secure back for him Noakoṭ and other conquered places if he was given the command and overall powers to direct the operation. Jayaprakāśa entrusted him with the task providing him requisite equipment in men and supplies. But Kāśirāma could not fulfill the desire of the master and as he was defeated by Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shāh in a military engagement, he felt so much humiliated that he could not show his face in Kathmandu and went to live in Palāñchok, his home village. Jayaprakāśa was wild with rage when he heard of Kāśirāma's retreat. It appeared that with this defeat he was no more to put reliance on the Khasa and Magar fighting personnel. He sought to eliminate the Omraos and many others whom he considered responsible for the weak defence position and strategy.

It so happened that on *Bhādra śukla* 15 of 866 Kāśirāma Thāpā was in Deopāṭan for the sacred thread ceremony and the fact was known to Jayaprakāśamalla. The latter wanted to use the opportunity of Kāśirāma's presence in the ceremony to further his ends. He rode a horse, and with his Nagarkoṭi (Newars who had lived in the hills) and Madhesia (from the Terai) guards came to Deopāṭan. Kāśirāma and

other Omraos were taking bath in the Bagmati at Gaurīghāṭ. As soon as they noticed their king, they came up and bowed before him. Jayaprakāśa angrily questioned them as to their dubious role in past and accused Kāśirāma of cowardliness and duplicity. Then he ordered them to follow him to Kathmandu. But they were not willing to abide by his order. Therefore they protested and pleaded for time in order to be able to carry out his bidding. They told him that if they were given sufficient time to organise one more operation against the Gorkhālis, they would succeed in driving away Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh from Noakoṭ across the Trisuli. Jayaprakāśa, however, having made up his mind to kill them would not listen and as the Omraos now ran away to avoid their being taken forcibly to the court, he ordered his attendants to pounce on them. Kāśirāma was the first man to be killed. Also with him eight more Khasa Omraos fell a prey to his designs and were murdered by Madhesia sepoys at his instance. They had again and again assured him of their loyalty in a vain bid to be saved but Jayaprakāśa would not listen, and ordered for their instantaneous death. An atmosphere of terror prevailed in the capital. With the Omraos also was killed Kāzi Sinkhwāl, and several other Tharis; Kāzi Taudhik saved his life by secretly leaving Kathmandu. Kaśirāma's death dealt a severe blow to the strength of the Kāntipur army. More than that, the incident involving Kāśirāma's death tended to create a situation which sowed a seed of suspicion between community and community and between them each and the king.

Throughout the thirty-two years of his rule Jayaprakāśa lived in an atmosphere of distrust and rebellion. He had no one to repose confidence in; while he wanted to subjugate the Tharis (the Newar nobility) through the help of the Khasa, he would not trust the latter, and then he very much played the Madhesias against the Khasas. In the last stage, his defence consisted of a large troop composed of sepoys from the plains and far off Kāngra

He had almost lost touch with his own people whether they were Khasas or Newars.

After Kāśirāma's death his brother Paraśurāma Thāpā then a commander in Bhatgaon turned an enemy of Kathmandu and was on the look out for an opportunity to wreak vengeance on Jayaprakāśa. The Gorkhā ruler exploited this feeling of animosity harboured by Paraśurāma for his own ends and with his co-operation could completely neutralise Bhatgaon in his dual with the Kathmandu ruler. Raṇajitamalla was lulled by a promise of Gorkhā help in annexing two villages in Chāngu area to his domain, Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa had already succeeded in capturing the fort of Naldum. Now his Commander Śivarāmasiṃha Basnait occupied Chāngu and the ridges nearby defeating Jayaprakāśa in an engagement. This occasion proved gloomier to Jayaprakāśamalla than what his defeat in battle foreboded, because this drove his people to rise against their king in despair. The people of Kathmandu felt that their ruler had now spent all his energies. As the Gorkhālis were threatening Kathmandu from Chāngu, they sought the help of Rājyaprakāśa who consented to send his troops to Deopāṭan from where the army was to march. But to Jayaprakāśa's unpleasant surprise, those who had assembled in Patan turned out to be his own enemies. They had rebelled against Jayaprakāśa. Taudhik was summoned to lead the rebellion, Rājyaprakāśa's sympathy was with the rebels. Jayaprakāśa therefore found himself in a sad plight. The rebels were marching towards Kathmandu. At first Jayaprakāśa hid himself in the temple of Taleju. According to the chronicle this was the time of Daśaharā festival. The royal priest was to perform *pūjā* of Taleju on the day of Navamī, but he heard that his house in Indrachok (so close to the palace was plundered) was surrounded by rebels and he fled to Patan. The *pūjā* was performed by his brother. Jayaprakāśa held on to his post but at mid-night the rebels appeared inside the palace. Because of the Patan ruler's intervention Jayaprakāśa was

persuaded to hide himself into a *pālki* to be removed to Patan in a prisoner's condition. Jayaprakāśa's baby son Jyotiprakāśa was declared a sovereign with his mother as regent under Taudhik's own direction. The exit of Jayaprakāśa produced a beneficial effect on Kathmandu's relation with Bhatgaon whose commander now his anger much cooled down at the sad fate of Jayaprakāśa advised the Gorkhālis to retreat from Chāngu to Nāldum. According to the chronicle Taudhik led an attack on the Gorkhālis while they were encamping at Sāngā, and routed them after inflicting a severe defeat. Gorkhā's commander Śivarāmasimha Basnait was killed in the fray.

For sometime Jayaprakāśamalla was kept in the custody of Kāzi Kālidāsa at the latter's residence. On 866 *Kārtika vadi 1 Friday* he was removed to Satigal. The chronicler says that the Kāzis of Patan and the Omraos of Lamjung and Tanhou promised to restore him his throne. But he got impatient and after a month went to Kwathachhe (काठछे) with the intention to go to Bhatgaon. But the Pramānas of Patan dissuaded him. However, his impatience drove him from one place to another. He passed a month at Kwathachhe, and then moved to Pulchok where he lived for a week and thereafter came incognito to Deopāṭan. But the people of Kathmandu came to know of his visit and he left for Pulchok the next morning. He again left Pulchok and lived in Mātātīrtha. This very year (861 NS) on *Vaiśākha śukla 8*, the car of Machhendranātha fell to the ground, and a week later it met the same fate for the second time. This was an ill omen, and propitiary rites were performed by Rājyaprakāśamalla at the shrine of Paśupatinātha. On *Āṣāḍha śukla 13 Thursday* Jayaprakāśa went to Bhatgaon, and lived there alone 3 months. But as Raṇajitamalla tried to take him prisoner in order to prepare a ground for laying hands on Chāngu and Sānkhu, he escaped and came to Deopāṭan and lay in hiding in the shrine of Guhyeśvarī. Once he came to Kathmandu, but he was

recognised while he was in the temple of Pachali Bhairava, and his few friends advised him to leave the place immediately. He then came to Godāvārī, but now Rānī Dayāvati used her influence in Patan to cause him annoyance and make it impossible to live there. He was compelled to seek refuge elsewhere and in that course he appeared in Gokarṇa, but the Bhaimāles would not allow him to live there. At last he decided to live in the sanctuary of Guhyeśvarī whatever came to him. He had now spent full four years since he was exiled. He had already 20/25 people with him including Bamśidhara Māske and Ajitasimha Māske who had stood loyal by him in weal or woe. Jageśvara Vaidya of Deopāṭan used to provide him food. His mother Kumudinīdevī also was getting sympathetic to him and used to send money. And more, as if his misfortune were now to end, there were troubles in Kathmandu also within the camp of his adversaries. They were divided.

In Kathmandu, the ministers had got the news of Jayaprakāśa's presence in Deopāṭan, and those desiring to overthrow the regime of Dayāvati were only biding time to join him. The chronicler states that on *Vaiśākha śukla 10* of 870, some Kāzis who were supporters of Dayāvati wanted to arrest him. But their scheme was foiled by Jayaprakāśa's men, and on that very day Jayaprakāśa advanced to Harigaon to enter the city of Kathmandu to assert himself as the *de facto* king of the principality.

His wife's relation with Taudhik had become strained on account of her love affairs with one Garuḍasimha and now Jayaprakāśa found the situation favourable to stage a come back. Dayāvati had become extremely unpopular to her subjects. She had lost support of the aristocracy who now looked to Jayaprakāśa. A conspiracy was hatched up to overthrow her government and to reinstall the exiled ruler, who under pretext of passing his life at the temple of Guhyeśvarī, was himself busy organising an offence. As

the nobility in Kathmandu was divided, it took no time to get the conspiracy mature. Taking advantage of a weak situation, Jayaprakāśamalla ventured to advance to Kathmandu. He was welcomed by the Queen's own army whose officers had gone over to his side. Some say that he obtained back his throne after about a year of exile. But the duration of his exile remains unascertained, though it seems it could not have been less than full four years.

Jayaprakāśa's second coin is dated 857 (Walsh, IV, 3). His third coin (IV. 4) is also of the same date. But his fourth and fifth coins are dated 873 (IV. 5, 6). Does this provide a clue to the events of the rebellion? There is a big gap between 857 and 873. The coins, however, do not help us to ascertain the date of rebellion. But all this aside, the coin of 866 in the name of Jyotiprakāśamalla definitely establishes the fact of Jayaprakāśa's deposition in that year as a result of a *coup d'état* or a wide spread revolt.

The coin of Jyotiprakāśamalla, fully supports the fact of a rebellion in NS 866. This is a *mohar* coin (n. 15 in our Appendix; also Walsh, IV. 15), dated 866. There is a quarter *mohar* coin in the name of Jananī Jayalakṣmī Devi also dated 866 (Walsh, VI. 12). She is identified with Dayāvatī of the chronicle. Prof. Bendall as quoted by Walsh said that he discovered more coins of Jyotiprakāśamalla and there is one of the year 869. We have, however, not come across any coins of Jyotiprakāśamalla of a date other than 866.

For Jyotiprakāśamalla's reign of the period of rebellion we have the following documents, besides the coin of 866.

(1) The last leaf of a lost ms. (work could not be ascertained) *Svasti Śrī Paśupati chalana kamala dhūridhūśāśrīloruha Śrīman Mānesvara Iṣṭadevatā varalabhya sodedīpyamanonataḥ Ravikula tira karmma Hanumaddhvaja Nepāleśvara Mahārājādhirāja Rājalājendra sakara rājachakrādhesvala nijeṣṭadevadevī vīkasayajita balanākaramadbhūta gajapati Śrī Śrī Śrī Jyotiprakāśamaradeva prabhu Thāku vijalāryya.....*

Samvat 869 Pvakha śukla 15 pūrṇamāsi devasya siddhayāt ādānakṣatīa eindra jo śukravāsare etc.

(2) A ms. *Karaṇḍavyūha mahāyāna sūtraratnarāja* of 870 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa saptamī* has in the colophon MD RR Śrī Jayaprakāśamalla tasya ubhaya Jyotiprakāśamalla prabhu ṣhākula vijayarājye (Kaisar, Lib. n. 717).

(3) The Musumbabāl (Kathmandu) stele dated *Phālguna kṛṣṇa dviīyā* of 872 (=1752, February-March) which contains *Mahārājādhirāja Rājendra Śrī Śrī Jayaprakāśamalla deva ātmaja Śrī Śrī Jyotiprakāśamalladeva prabhukṣya vijayarājye.*

We have no further information of the reign of Jyotiprakāśamalla other than what was provided by the chronicle. But it was surely a time of crisis all round. The coins of Jyotiprakāśa are alloyed, and there is very little of silver content in them.

But all these may confuse the correctness of the date referred to so far; also the extent and duration of the rebellion and exile of Jayaprakāśa could not be defined. From an inscription¹¹⁹ available at Palāñchok it seems Jayaprakāśa was a ruler in NS 867 *Māgha kṛṣṇa chaturdaśī*. A minister of Jayaprakāśa, one Jorābarasiṃha Rāyavarmā has an inscription of 867 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 7 Thursday uttarabhādra nakṣatre* at the Lumadī shrine just to the south east of the city of Kathmandu. In this inscription Jayaprakāśa is mentioned as ruling (*vijayarājye*). We have not seen more documents in the name of Jayaprakāśamalla other than the ones we have mentioned above for the period between 866 and 870. The coin struck in the name of Jyotiprakāśa may go to support the theory of rebellion. However, this by itself sets no limit for the duration of his exile. But there is an evidence of a contemporary foreign visitor to establish the date of his restoration. Father Tranquillo D'Appecchio who was in Kathmandu at the time of rebellion and restoration noted two facts in his notices (Relations). He says that

119. *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, I, p. 88.

Jayaprakāśa called for Mahammadan troopers from the country of the Moghul to suppress the revolt but his people proved much strong for the aliens who were expelled. The second fact the missionary records is the restoration of Jayaprakāśamalla on the thirtieth of April or first of May of the year 1750 A.D.¹²⁰ (=NS 870). The date corresponds to some day in *Vaiśākha* of NS 870. It appears that Jayaprakāśa lived in exile for nearly four years. Padri Tranquillo narrates that while he had gone to the king to plead for the case of a child convert on the 7th of May, 1750, he found him receiving congratulations on being restored to the throne just a week earlier. This is an eye witness writing about the event, whose account cannot but be true. Therefore, as far as the question of the date of restoration is concerned, it must be settled.

It seems, however, that Jayaprakāśa was not wholly dethroned. He was being referred to as a sovereign even while he was passing his days in exile.

Also the statement of the Musumbahāl inscription lacked corroboration. Could it explain the fact of another rebellion in NS 872? It may be as well just a courtesy reference to the Crown Prince.

Jyotiprakāśa was married in 873, according to a noting in a ms. *Gotrādhyāya*.¹²¹

It also appears that Jayaprakāśa on restoration did not at all act with vengeance towards his son who was then an infant and he was obviously not so immoral as to act in that way. Jyotiprakāśamalla appears as a witness to his many pious deeds in records preserved at Paśupatinātha and Gorakhanātha shrines. The first of such records dates NS 865 *Māgha śudi* (Paśupati) and the last 880 *Śrāvaṇa*. Up till 863 Rājyaprakāśa is a witness but it seems that after that year

120 *Italiani Missionari, etc.* Vol. II, Part 11, pp. 190 ff.

121 In my possession.

he removed himself to Patan on invitation to become its crown prince. The period of dethronement of Jayaparakāśa-malla cannot be easily ascertained; but it may be put at 866 because of the coin of Jyotiprakāśa bearing this date.

It is quite possible that Jayaparakāśa lived in exile from NS 866 to 870 for a period of nearly five years. The chronicle fixes the initial date of the rebellion to 866 *Āśvina śukla 9*.

Although no account of rebellion is obtained from sources other than the later chronicles, the coins in the name of Jyotiprakāśa and Jayalakṣmī are by themselves enough to prove the fact of the king's dethronement and exile from the capital.

We have been trying hard to get authentic data for the history of the period between 866 and 870. But to our disappointment nothing of importance has come to hand so far to give additional information on the subject.

However, the *Thyāsapu F* has passages to throw some light on Jayalakṣmī and her son. Her name is spelled Jagalakṣmī. She is shown to have offered 108 lamps to Goddess Tāleju on *Kārtika śukla 15 budhavāra* at night. She had undertaken *upavāsa* for a month prior to this. Earlier on 857 *Vaiśākha śukla 3* she obtained *dīkṣā* spell from her spiritual tutor. Nearly 6 months after this occasion Jagalakṣmī gave birth to a son on the first day of the bright fortnight of *Āśvina*. The day had passed 21 *ghaṭi* while the baby was born. The name-giving ceremony was performed on the 12th day as the 11th day was not considered auspicious. In this document the name of the baby born to her is not given. But this baby son can be no other than Jyotiprakāśa. So he must have been eight years old when the rebellion took place and he was placed on the throne.

There is another passage in the same *Thyāsapu*, which talks of the king's eldest queen having her menstrual course on the day of *naṣṭāṣṭamī* of *Āśvina śukla* of 858. It adds

that she was confined in a room so that nobody could see her. Three days after, the menstrual course began, there was a ceremony when she had to offer arecanuts and vermilion to the deity. The place where the purification rite took place was in Bhagutichoṭā in Chaukvāṭha (part of the palace).

Jagalakṣmī is not spoken of with the designation of a queen. We have also seen that there was some other woman who was the eldest queen. Jagalakṣmī was already a mother in *Āśvina śukla* of 857. So she could not be the woman who had her first menstrual course in *Āśvina* of 858. We do not know what status she enjoyed as the wife of the ruling monarch. Was she a concubine? But even as a concubine she must have been wielding enormous powers.

This much for Jayalakṣmī and her son. Other facts about them remain still obscure. Points which had been raised in connection with the rebellion have not been cleared. There is, however, no way out of the difficulty. Yet our search for new materials continues. But until source materials throwing fresh light on the events come to our hand, we have to rest content with the conclusions reached on the basis of the materials available to us at the moment.

After he got over the rebellion he killed his wife and a number of Kāzis, Vinkhwāl and Taukhwāl being amongst the prominent. The Chief Kāzi Taudhik committed suicide. Garuḍadhvaja escaped to Noakoṭ where he was received by the Gorkhālis. One Kāzi Jorābarsimha was appointed to succeed him. This man has an inscription of the year 867 as aforesaid (Lumaḍī shrine), where he calls himself a minister (āmātya) of Jayaprakāśamalla. With his enemies eliminated, Jayaprakāśa was now safely seated on the saddle. To disabuse the public feeling of any suspicion about his motives, Jayaprakāśa then announced that the people in the principality would be free from oppression and injustice. He inscribed his declaration on a copper plate and hung it on the wall of the temple of Vajrayoginī in Sāñkhu. According to the

chronicle he made his public appearance in Kathmandu with his infant son on the lap and swore before a large gathering that the welfare of the people was his main concern, and would devote himself ever to promoting it. By 876 the Gorkhālis on various pretexts were able to make numerous encroachments on Nepal proper and capture a number of outposts like Dahachok and Dharamthali ; at times raids were carried in places as near as three to four miles from the capital city. But these they could not retain for long as Kathmandu and Patan put a combined effort to wrest them back. Up till now Patan and Kathmandu were united, and the main reason was the feeling shared both in Patan and Kāntipur that they must act together when it meant resisting the invasion from either Gorkhā or Bhatgaon. According to the chronicle the fact of Kīrtipur not falling into the hands of the Gorkhālis could be attributed to the joint endeavour of the two rulers. And because after sometime their relationship was strained and they fell apart, both Patan and Kathmandu fell one after the other to the invader,

The time turned more swiftly against them since 878 (=1758 A.D.). The next ten years were those of worst kind of intrigues in Patan. But Kathmandu too was not spared, Jayaprakāśamalla had to suffer more than one misfortune. His only son died of small-pox in 883 (=1763 A.D.)

The exact date of Jyotiprakāśa's death is given in a noting on a leaf of the ms. *Śrāddhapaddhati*, which is the 15th day of the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākha*. The noting states that the prince's body was burnt along with those of his *Satis* at Āryaghāṭ (the bank of the river Bāgmati below Paśupati-nātha's shrine).^{121a}

121a वैश्वानरे भवसुहायन माघवाख्ये ।

मासेसिते बुधहितं किलपञ्चदश्यां ॥

आर्याख्य तीर्थमवलम्ब्य दिवंसहागात् ।

ज्योतिःप्रकाश नृपतिस्सहगामिनीग्यां ॥

In the possession of Eisvaradhara Sharma.

It was said that at this time instead of offering sympathy to Jayaprakāśa, the Bhatgaon ruler made open his desire to inherit the kingdom of Kathmandu and applied himself to bring about the downfall of its ruler who was now left without an heir. After Rājyaprakāśa's death his relation with Patan was greatly strained (see below). He was never on good terms with Bhatgaon and he had carried several military engagements against its ruler. During this period invasions on both sides were very common. But Bhatgaon henceforth depended wholly and solely on Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa to meet the challenge of Kāntipur. Actually, the last invasion of Jayaprakāśa which he carried through the Chāṅgu-Nagarkoṭ ridge to Nālā was repulsed in that manner with the help of the Gorkhālis. Neither force nor persuasion could now be applied with success to wean the fealty of Raṇajitamalla for the ruler of Kāntipur. He had completely gone over to the side of the enemy, and he realised the importance of unity too late when he found himself threatened by the Gorkhā king.

Towards the end of his reign Jayaprakāśamalla was very much hard-pressed by Gorkhālī invasion and by his own surroundings and his resources of men and materials were largely depleted. To meet his commitments he took recourse to taking possession of valuable articles in gold and silver deposited in temples. The large amount of money lying with the shrine of Paśupatinātha was also taken possession of. But even his hold of the temple treasuries did not take him farther. His military expenses were beyond what these could meet, his action only embittered the feeling of his pious subjects and goaded them on to join forces against him,¹²² and made them look for his downfall.

A coin reproduced in Landon (Appendix, XXV) has *Śrī Vi Ja Ka da ya Śra* and *Daśa dhara ratna* which the author

122 The fact of laying hands on temple treasures has been confirmed by Father Joseph (Giuseppe da Rovato).

attributes to the period, while Jayaparakāśa was dethroned by his wife (probable date NS 867). According to Landon this being a coin in no name of his often indicates a rule by the nobility in the name of an unidentified group.

A set of clay coins dated S. 861 and 862 (Nos. 17, 18, 19 of Landon) had led the author to think that the Kathmandu ruler was forced to issue the coins of clay having exhausted his metal resources. The inference that the name in the legend was Hitamalla and that he was a stop-gap sovereign either of Kathmandu or Patan may not be correct. But are not these mere clay seals? We have numerous records with such seals and these were never used as coins.

An extract from Father Tranquillo D'Apecchio here reproduced will present the view of an external observer about this ruler's character; ¹²³

"Jayaparakāśa, according to the Prefect is a great tyrant and because of this man, so many times revolts have occurred. Often the missionaries have tried to correct him and admonish him but with little effect. He exhibits intolerance towards his own people, though he listens to us. He is corrupted by undesirable associates (Kathmandu, 13 October, 1756)."

Jayaparakāśamalla was brave and patriotic, but temperamentally he was highly suspicious, irritable, arrogant and at times cruel and revengeful. Because of his nature he made many enemies both in his own principality and neighbouring capitals. Knowing Jayaparakāśa's nature the Gorkhā ruler played many stratagems to make him (Jayaparakāśa) ever suspicious about his own surrounding and friends.

At one stage while he suffered a crushing defeat in Kirtipur and was biding time Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh schemed to create dissention in his opponent's camp. He sent letters to influential men in Kathmandu purported to have been written in reply to the latter's complaints against their ruler. These he manipulated to reach into Jayaparakāśa's hands, where-

¹²³ Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 199, *Italiani Missionari*, etc.

upon the Kathmandu ruler lost trust in some of his staunch followers. It was said that Pṛthvinārāyaṇa succeeded by this trick even to alienate Jayaprakāśa from his mother, for a letter of the type he concocted was addressed also to her. Quite a few influential men were victimised on suspicion that many were conspiring with the Gorkhā ruler to oust Jayaprakāśamalla.

At this very time Kathmandu was also visited by Gorkhā agents who established contact in the underground to obtain secret information about the real state of affairs in Jayaprakāśa's capital. The chronicler writes that the spies of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa roamed incognito in Kathmandu in the guise of pilgrims and traders. Some of these were caught and Jayaprakāśa put them to death. It is said that although caught, two such escaped death, one being a Brāhmaṇa and the other being a Kāzi. A Hindu King could not have killed a Brāhmaṇa for any offence, but the Kāzi was spared on promise of his accepting a job in Kāntipur. The latter, however, made secret contacts with Kāzi Dhanavant of Patan, who helped him to escape. Jayaprakāśa took revenge on the benefactor by bringing about his assassination through a hireling. This was a dastardly act and caused wide resentment in Patan. To Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shāh's immense advantage as Patan was now completely estranged from Kathmandu. By similar actions in the succeeding period Jayaprakāśa was to antagonise a large section of people in the Nepal Valley, who would otherwise have stood loyally by him during crisis.

Jayaprakāśa was offered the throne of Patan immediately after the death of Viśvajitamalla on 880 *Bhādra vadi 14*, and he ruled there for sometime. We shall describe the events in the chapter dealing with the kingdom of Patan. It may, however, be mentioned here that as he left the throne of Māniggal 14 months later, Jayaprakāśa had created more enemies in Patan.

There is no doubt that because of Jayaprakāśa's suspicions and cruel temperament he had earned many enemies

both within his kingdom and outside of it. Their enmity had tended to create disunity among the Nepal Valley states in as much as Jayaprakāśa's behaviour had enraged quite a few people in positions of vantage in one or other of the three kingdoms. At a time when unity was most needed, mutual suspicion and desire for vengeance had characterised the relationship of these states. In this atmosphere the question of putting up a joint fight against the aggressor was ruled out. But worse than that, the three princes were themselves warring at a time while an invader was knocking at their gates. But Jayaprakāśa was not the only ruler solely responsible for the downfall of the Malla kingdoms. Others with less irritable temper but of amiable and kind disposition like the Rājā of Bhatgaon were equally at fault for having allowed the situation to drift, which was ultimately exploited by their common adversary. Equally guilty were the noblemen of Patan, who had deliberately acted to create the worst kind of instability in their state, which tempted any adventurer to use it to his own advantage.

The folly of these rulers can be seen from the example they set as each indulged in mutual recriminations and fritter whatever slender strength the principality possessed by attacking the other's territory at a time while the entire Valley of Nepal was threatened by Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh. Unity among the three kingdoms of the Valley was needed to preserve their independence. But none of the parties ever thought of presenting a united front to meet the dangers of an attack from outside the Valley. To the contrary there was a virtual state of civil war in the Valley, each party attempting to exploit the occasion of attack by Gorkhā to push its interest at the cost of the victim.

However, Jayaprakāśa with his overbearing manners, haughty temper, and suspicious mind was largely responsible for the fate that he met in the defeats of the Malla rulers at the hands of the Gorkhā victor.

There is one more accusation which could be levelled against Jayaprakāśamalla. We know that instead of making efforts for a stable unity between his own kinsmen and wage war against Gorkhā with the combined strength, Jayaprakāśa had tried to call in British aid, which, however, could not reach him because of the defeat the British expedition suffered in Sindhuli at the hands of Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh.

The theme of the said British expedition has been described in detail in a separate volume. It should appear that British military help would have well acted only if the blockade of the Valley on its south eastern frontier had been breached. But it was a call he made too late. The British on their part also miscalculated their strategy and in consequence failed to achieve the objective. If foreign help was needed to defeat the Gorkhā invasion this should have been called at the initial phase of the struggle. But Jayaprakāśa had underestimated the strength of the enemy; it was as well not an act of statesmanship to invite an European colonial power to fight his battle. Whatever was his motive in asking for British aid Jayaprakāśa would have in ordinary circumstances encountered grave risks of being forced to accept colonial domination if the expedition had succeeded at any stage. So the best guarantee against aggression by Gorkhā was a system of alliance between the three rulers of the Valley, which Jayaprakāśa had overlooked. If the Malla rulers had not remained divided, it was beyond the resources and abilities of the Gorkhālī ruler to challenge them. Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh would have hardly ventured to undertake invasion of Noakoṭ or other outlying areas if he knew that he would be challenged with the combined strength of the Nepal Valley rulers.

It appears that as Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa's forces closed in the cities of Kathmandu and Patan from all around, and these were to fall, the Malla rulers realised their mistakes and a last minute attempt was made to forge unity between the

three parties. But then everything was almost over by that time; their strength had exhausted, and the enemy was marching into the streets of the capital. The situation had become irretrievable and no concerted effort could have averted the disaster. The newly found unity had only enabled them to pass their last few days of life together under one roof.

CHAPTER III

KINGDOM OF BHATGAON

Rāyamalla to Jagajjyotirmalla (1482—1637 A.D)

It is said that Rāyamalla could not hold his own against his brother of Banepā for at least a decade in the middle stage of his career. It was also suggested that the absence of ms. data between 1437-1495 A.D best explains and elucidates the position. But all this is a misstatement, as we have already observed in the last section of Part I of the Volume.

We have the following genealogy for Bhatgaon for the 16th century from various sources, which begins with Rāyamalla as the founder.

*Modern Chronicles*¹

Narapati Jayacharyāṭikā of Jagatjyotirmalla²
(Saka 1536, LS 496)

Rājavarṇanā in Bhupatīndramalla's *Rāmāyaṇa*,³ NS 812 *Vaiśākha vadi* 7 (f. 2b)

Rāyamalla, 15 years

Rāyamalla

Rāyamalla

Suvarṇamalla, 15 years

Bhuvanamalla

Bhuvanamalla

Prāṇamalla, 15 years

Prāṇamalla

Prāṇamalla

Viśvamalla, 15 years

Viśvamalla

Viśvamalla

Jagatjyotirmalla, 15 years

Trailokyamalla

Trailokyamalla

Narendramalla, 15 years

Jagatjyotirmalla

Jagatjyotirmalla

Jagatprakāśamalla

Nareśamalla

Jitāmitramalla

Jagatprakāśamalla

Bhūpatīndramalla

Jitāmitramalla

Raṇajitamalla

Bhūpatīndramalla

1 BLI, Op. Cit. p. 40; Wright, pp. 189-210.

2 CPMDN, I, pp. 108-09 (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1186).

3 Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 367.

Genealogy⁴ as noted in the chronicle in possession of Vidyānātha.

Rāyamalla
|
Bhuvanamalla
|
Prāṇamalla
|
Viśvamalla

Trailokyamalla

Jagatjyotirmalla
|
Nareśamalla
|
Jagatprakāśamalla
|
Jitāmitramalla
|
Bhupatīndramalla
|
Raṇajitamalla

Genealogy⁵ in a book of Bhajans (Prayer songs) belonging to Bhatgaon.

Rāyamalla
|
Bhuvanamalla
|
Prāṇamalla
|
Viśvamalla

Trailokyamalla

Jagatjyotirmalla
|
Nareśamalla
|
Jagatprakāśamalla
|
Jitāmitramalla
|

Rāyamalla (1482-1505 A.D.)

The Sanskrit chronicle gives 25 regnal years each to Prāṇamalla and Viśvamalla, 15 years to Trailokyamalla, 35 years to Jagatjyotirmalla and 15 years to Nareśamalla.

Rāyamalla ruled over Bhatgaon. We have a ms. of his reign, *Gitagovindam*, dated NS 616.⁶ Another ms. written in his reign, *Kuṣuṇḍikarmakātyāyanīya*, is dated NS 620 *Mārgaśīra kṛṣṇa saptamī*.⁷ The chronicle has given him a reign of twelve years. If this is true he must have died in 614 NS. But in view of the above ms. dated 620 this is not true. Modern chronicles have 15 years. Obviously they are also not correct. On the basis of the ms. dates Rāyamalla's reign extends definitely to NS 620 (=1500 A.D.). But this

4 *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, I, p. 73.

5 *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, I, p. 150.

6 Bendall's Introduction, p. 30; CPMDN, I, p. 16 (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 468).

7 Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1697.

may not be his last date. Recently we have traced a document of his successor's reign, which dates *Phālguna śudī NS 625*.⁸ Rāyamalla is mentioned for the last time in a Bhatgaon inscription of 624.⁹

The later chronicles have the name of Suvarṇamalla as Rāyamalla's successor. But the genealogy of Jagatjyotirmalla and Jitāmitramalla give Bhuvanamalla as the son and successor of Rāyamalla (vide ante). We have this name for the reign next to Rāyamalla even in other sources. It is difficult to say how the name Suvarṇamalla crept in the chronicles.

Thus far we have obtained only one document of his reign.

Three lines inscribed on the small pedestal of an image of Lakṣmī (the image is lost).¹⁰ *Namoh Lakṣmī devyaiḥ Śrī Śrī Śrī Lakṣmī pratimā dayakā Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhuvanamalladeva ṭhākurasana divamgata jayamuiyāta nimittana chitradayakā, Saṁvat 625 Phālguna śuddhi śubham* | |

Rāyamalla is said to have ruled, besides Bhaktapur, also Chāngu, Sānkhu and Nakadeśa as well as Thimi and Bode; thus a little less than the entire half of the Nepal Valley was under him. According to the later chronicles, his son Bhuvanamalla or Suvarṇamalla¹¹ ruled up to 644 (=1524 A.D.), but the *Thyāsapu C* has 639 *Māgha śudī 10* (=January, 1519) as the date of Bhuvanamalla's death. The next few years were covered by a joint rule under Jitamalla and Prāṇamalla.¹² We have a ms. and an inscription on stone for the joint reign. The ms. *Khaṇḍakhādyaṭikā*¹³ is dated 654 *Kārtika māsa śukla daśamyām tithau śatabhīṣā para pūrvabhadra nakṣatre somavāsare, Śrī Bhaktapattane*, etc.

8 The Lakṣmī pedestal inscription of Chāngu.

9 Inscription n. LXXXIII in our Appendix to Part I.

10 Unpublished.

11 Modern *Vaṁśāvalīs*; e.g. Wright, BLI, Sanskrit Chronicle.

12 Read for evidence of the chronicle. CPMDN, I, Intro. p. 16.

13 CPMDN, I, pp. 102-03. *Jitamalla Prāṇamalladevaurāje* (D.L.C., I. 1692).

The inscription¹⁴ dates 644 *naṣṭa Bhādrapada māse śukla pakṣa pratipadā tithau maghā nakṣatra pariḥa yoga āditya-vāsare*. We do not know when the joint rule came to an end. We have several mss. extending for a period of 15 years since 655, in the single name of Prāṇamalla.¹⁵ A palm leaf grant¹⁶ decreed by Prāṇamalla in 649 NS has the following expression: *Svasti Śrī Śrī Jaya Prāṇamalladeva prabhu ṭhākurasana prasādarapā sthānasya.....Saṁvat 649 Chaitra kṛṣṇa daśamī*. But this is just a grant and does not show that he was ruling by himself.

We have also a ms. copy of *Śrīmadbhāgavatīkā*¹⁷ of date 648, mentioning only Prāṇamalla. The colophon reads: *Śrīman Śrī Prāṇamalla virājate Śrīnivāsa Śrīsabhakto khairikuñjara keśari tasya vijaya.....diggajesu rase varṣe gate (=648) Bhādrapadārjune tithau vaglau ravauvāre, etc.* In this document Prāṇamalla is said to have been reigning; but full royal titles are missing. These are the two documents in the single name of Prāṇamalla for the period when Jītamalla was supposed to have been ruling with him. Jītamalla is omitted in the genealogy of Bhatgaon rulers (vide ante). Therefore, it appears that he was deemed to be a junior king as a courtesy reference and not actually recognised as such in the capacity of a joint ruler. It is said that Prāṇamalla and Jītamalla were brothers, both sons of Bhuvanamalla. We shall discuss the question of their relationship a little later.

14 CPMDN, I. Intro. p. 16 (at Antatitol Thaiba). *Śrī Śrī Jitamalladeva prabhu ṭhākura Śrī Śrī Prāṇamalla prabhu ṭhākurasā dvayo vijayarājye thasibadese*. The stela lies close to a *Chaitya* the building of which by Kamalaja Mūlmī and others the record commemorates. Inscription n. 1 in our Appendix.

15 Unpublished. (a) *Bhāgavatam*—Darb. Lib. Cat. IV unnumbered.
(b) *Pañcharakṣā*—Darb. Lib. Cat. IV unnumbered.
(c) *Harivaṁśa*—Nepal Govt. Museum n. 448.
and several others.

16 In the possession of Yajñānanda Vajrāchārya.

17 Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 765.

Prāṇamalla (1519-1547 A. D.)

Prāṇamalla must have started his career as a *de jure* single monarch since NS 655. We have the following colophon data for his reign from 655 to 665 NS.

(1) ms. *Pāñcharakṣā* dated 655 *Chaitra māsa kṛṣṇa pakṣe ekādaśyām tithau dhanisthā nakṣatre śubha yoge somavāsare*; at the beginning of the colophon, *Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Prāṇamallasya vijayarājye* (Darb. Lib. Cat. IV. unnumbered).

(2) ms. *Harivaṁśa* (Nepal Govt. Museum n. 448) which has a colophon in the last page noting that the work was being recited by the minister Bhārasimha Pradhāna and a ceremony was performed on *Samvat 655 Bhādrapada kṛṣṇa amāvasyām tithau somavāsare* in the victorious reign of Prāṇamalla (*Śrīmat Śrī Prāṇamalladevasya ekachakra vijaya*) to celebrate the occasion of completing the recital of the sacred work.

(3) ms. *Dravyavinimayanāma nighanṭu* (CPMDN, II, p. 116)¹⁸ Colophon: *Bibhāti rājā Raghuvāṁśa Śrī Śrī Jaya Prāṇamalladevasya vijayarājye/Saṁvat 658 Prathama māsa śukla ekādaśyām śubham*. This ms. is also in the library of F. M. Kaiser Shamsheer J. B. Rana (n. 355).

(4) ms. *Varāhamiharasaṁhitā*¹⁹ has in the colophon *Saṁvat 658 Śrāvaṇa śukla ṣaṣṭhyām tithau svāti nakṣatre bṛhaspativāsare Śrī Śrī Jaya Prāṇamalladevasya svabhūjya rājye, etc.*

(5) ms. *Bṛhadyātrā*²⁰ of the date of (4)

(6) ms. *Kriyāchintāmaṇi*²¹ copied by one Harivarman in the reign of Prāṇamalla. The date is *kriyāpātheya ṣaḍvarṣe (=655) sahamāse cha pāndure soma tithau dhātriveggue vare etc.*

18 Darb. Lib. Cat. IV.

19 Darb. Lib. Cat. IV. unnumbered.

20 Ibid.

21 *Sans. Sandesha*, I. 6, p. 29

(7) ms. *Kulalikāmnāya* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 4953) Colophon: *Śreyostu Saṁvat 663 Vaiśākha śukla aṣṭamyām tithau maghā nakṣatre vṛddhi yoge bṛhaspativāsare likhitamiti Rd Pm Pbh Śrī Śrī Jaya Prāṇamalladevasya vijayarājye Śrī Khapvambrumāyām Śrī Śivagalasthāne etc.*

(8) ms. *Sūryasiddhāntaṭīkā*²² *Sri Bhaktapattane bhujyamāna rājye Prāṇamallasya...665 Āṣāḍha śukla chaturdaśyām tithau mūla nakṣatre brahmayoge aṅgāravāsare.*

Prāṇamalla is not mentioned in the Paśupati copper plate of 668. (vide, Part I, the last inscription in the Appendix). On the other hand the signatory to the document is Jītamalla. This creates additional confusion as to the place Jītamalla occupied in the genealogy. It was quite likely that Prāṇamalla was dead at the time while the copper plate was inscribed to register the agreement among the parties and probably Jītamalla as Regent in the minority of Viśvamalla had allowed his name to appear in the record. Earlier we have seen that in two records Jītamalla appears along with Prāṇamalla as a co-ruler, and his name is listed first. We are yet in dark about the relationship subsisting between Jītamalla and Prāṇamalla. Jītamalla does not have a single document of his own without Prāṇamalla while the latter has at least 10 exclusively of himself, where he enjoys full royal titles. That Prāṇamalla was the *de jure* sovereign of the time in Bhatgaon cannot be questioned. But Jītamalla's position has yet to be determined. He can be a younger brother of Prāṇamalla and some scribes might have referred to him as a co-ruler just out of courtesy as has happened in many other cases of similar nature. But wherever Prāṇamalla is mentioned together with Jītamalla, the latter's name has preceded. The order of names suggests that Jītamalla was senior in relation to Prāṇamalla. But then he should have been the occupant of the throne. As he is not, and there are irrefutable reasons to think so, Jītamalla in the alternative might be taken as the

22 Darb. Lib, Cat. IV. unnumbered.

uncle of Prāṇamalla. He had outlived his nephew, and therefore figures again as a regent in NS 668. This is, however, just a conjecture, and we have to bear in mind that until some more evidence is forthcoming, we cannot definitely say how Jitamalla stood in relationship with Prāṇamalla.

Viśvamalla (1547-1560 A.D.)

Prāṇamalla was succeeded by his son Viśvamalla who is credited to have improved on the Dattātraya temple and established hermitage for Śaivite monks. According to the Sanskrit chronicle he initiated the ceremony of Bhairava on the first day of *Vaiśākha*. We cannot form an idea of his regnal years for want of data. But it seems he ruled for about 13 years from 667 to 680 NS. We have three inscriptions of his reign (1) one, a slab of stone at Tripurāsundarī (Bhatgaon)²³ dated 672 *Pauṣa śukla pūrṇimā*, (2) another on the Pāṭi of Yamthaliṭol, Bhatgaon, dated 672 *Māgha śukla 15* (commemorating the occasion of installing the image of Viṣṇu) and (3) yet another, a stone inscription in a temple within the Taumadhiṭol area²⁴ is dated 674 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa ekādaśi pra dvādaśi hasta nakṣatre prītiyoge bṛhaspativāra* and mentions his reign in the words *Śrī Śrī Viśvamalladeva prabhu ṭhākurasa vijayarājye*. In a much damaged stele attached to a small brick temple in the Golmodhiṭol area, some words and figures, e.g. *Śrī Śrī Jaya Trailokyamalla Jaya Tribhuvanamalladevasya vijayarājye* and.....81 *Māgha śukla pūrṇamāsyām* etc. Apparently the first figure in the date must be 6. It appears that Viśvamalla had ceased to rule at the date shown by the inscription.

Viśvamalla and his wife Gaṅgārānī figure in the history as benefactors in many religious and pious deeds. Gaṅgārānī was the power behind the throne for many years during the reign of her son Trailokyamalla. She figures as a co-ruler in

23 A stele, which is much damaged. n. 9 in our Appendix.

24 Vidyāpiṭha āgamadevatā. Inscription n. 11 in our Appendix.

many inscriptions until she died. The chronicle states that Trailokyamalla defeated the attempts of a chieftain at Banepā to start troubles there. We have Trailokyamalla and Tribhuvanamalla mentioned in a stone inscription²⁵ of a Śaiva monastery at Bhatgaon (Taumadhiṭol) to have ruled in the year NS 692 *Jyeṣṭha śukla ṣaṣṭi*. This has a line *Śrī Viśvamalla nṛpateḥ, Gaṅgārānī sutau, suṣube | Trailokyamalla bhūpam, Tribhuvanamallañcha bhūpālam*. After a few lines eulogising Tribhuvanamalla the inscription proceeds to mention Gaṅgārānī and say *putrābhyām saha Bhaktapattana-dhuramasyā vahantyāḥ kṛpām prāpya.....Śaivam vṛti mīmañcha.....naṣṭam punaḥ sṛṣṭavān*. The record specifies some lands granted for the upkeep of the temple of Śiva.

Bendall²⁶ stated that the two names belong to one person. But this is patently wrong, the expressions *putrau* (sons) and *putrābhyām saha* (with sons) definitely prove that the two names are those of two brothers. This inscription describes Trailokyamalla as the king of the country using epithets befitting his foremost position. It, however, appears from the subsequent lines that the mother shared burdens of Government with her two sons.

Regency of Gaṅgārānī and Trailokyamalla
(1560-1613 A D)

Bendall refers to another inscription of the same date where according to him Tribhuvanamalla alone figures. I have not been able to check up Bendall's reading. But the Thimi inscription has both names along with that of the mother.....*Śrī Śrī Jaya Gaṅgārānīdevī ṭhakurini, Śrī Śrī Jaya Trailokyamalla ṭhākuradeva | Śrī Śrī Jaya Tribhuvanamalla ṭhākurasa verasa.....Kārtika śukla ekādaśyām puṣya nakṣatre śaubhāgya yoge bṛhaspativāsare*. We have another inscription in Thimi in the name of the mother and two sons.

²⁵ Inscription n. 20 in our Appendix.

²⁶ Table II in his *Journey*.

The *Thyāsapu C* has also both Trailokyamalla prabhu and Tribhuvanamalla prabhu under notice in NS 705.²⁷ In a separate palm leaf also both Trailokyamalla and Tribhuvanamalla are noticed under date NS 704. It does not seem that there was only one ruler adopting at the same place two separate names in these records. In all certainty Trailokyamalla and Tribhuvanamalla were two brothers who figure as joint rulers. The chronicles say that the mother, Gaṅgārānī, was powerful enough to keep both of her sons under her tutelage. As Trailokyamalla figures as the ancestor of the rulers of Bhatgaon, he must be the eldest son and rightful heir to the throne. Tribhuvanamalla must be his younger brother. We do not have his name anywhere independent of Trailokyamalla. It is not improbable that Tribhuvanamalla was associated as a partner in the joint rule because the mother wanted it. It is quite likely that Tribhuvana was also called king in documents, because the reference was just a matter of courtesy.

We have an evidence of a ms. which goes to further clarify the issue. This ms. *Tārākalpa* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 2012) has in the colophon, *Saṁvat 710 Kārtika śukla dvitīyā tithau anurādhā nakṣatre atigandha yoge bṛhaspativāsare tulā rāśi gata savitari vichchha rāśi gata chandramasi, Śrī Bhaktapattane Rājā Śrī Śrī Jaya Gaṅgādevī tanaya Śrī Śrī Trailokya-malladeva anuja Śrī Śrī Jaya Tribhuvanamalladevasya vijayarājye Śrī Rājopādhyā Śrī Uddhavarājena likhitam*. As the word *anuja* put before Tribhuvanamalla shows, he was the younger brother. He appears to have been a co-ruler; with what powers we do not know. But there was a joint rule of three persons even though the elder alone might have enjoyed the status of the sovereign.

We have seen that Gaṅgārānī also was a co-partner in the rule of Bhatgaon. We have now more documents to show

27 *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, II. 2. pp.

that Gaṅgādevī, Trailokyamalla, Tribhuvanamalla all three of them were reigning together.

(1) A stone inscription of 703 *Āśvina śukla pañchamyām tithau* attached to a *Chaitya* in Yamthaliṭol in Bhatgaon. The stone is much damaged but shows.....*Tribhuvanamalla Trailokyamalla nṛpatau.*

(2) A damaged slab of stone in a temple of Nārāyaṇa in Inayaṭol, Thimi with *Śrī Śrī Jaya Gaṅgādevī ṭhākurinī jusa Śrī Śrī Trailokyamalladeva ṭhākulasa Śrī Śrī Jaya Tribhuvanamalla deva prabhūṭhākulasa tribhaya ṭhākulasa vijayarājyam.*

(3) A stone inscription of Bhatgaon (locality-unknown),²⁸ which also is much damaged with all date marks peeled off. The record shows *Śrī 2 Gaṅgādevī Śrī 2 Trailokyamalladeva Śrī Tribhuvanamalladeva tribhaya ṭhākulasa rājye etc.*

(4) A slab of stone on the wall of a monastery (Gurubahal) in Jupalachhenṭol in Bhatgaon. The record shows 6 dates commemorating occasions when images of 6 deities Gaṇeśa, Chetabhara (?) Vajrayoginī, Bhimsena, Draupadī and Sad-dhama (?). The dates variously are, 700 *Āśvini śukla 9*, 703 *Māgha śukla 5*, 709 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 11*, 712 *Māgha śukla 5*, 712 *Āśvini śukla 5* and 723 *Śrāvaṇa śukla 12*. And then follows, *Śrī 2 Gaṅgādevī, Śrī 2 Trailokyamalla, Śrī 2 Tribhuvanamalla tribhaya ṭhākulasa prajāyasa etc.*

(5) A slab of stone in the temple of Dīpaṅkara in Kvathaduṭol, Bhatgaon. The date is 724 *Chaitra vaddhi 2*. Gaṅgārānī and Tribhuvanamalla do not figure in this record. But we have *Śrī Śrī Vīranārāyaṇa avatārita Śrī Jaya Trailokyamalladevasya vijayarājye Śrī Bhaktapattane etc.* The inscription gives a record of the installation ceremony of stone lions as door keepers to the shrine of Dīpaṅkara.

(6) A stone in a temple in Inayachiṭol, Bhatgaon. The invocation is to God Mādhava (Viṣṇu). The record is damaged, and of the date portion only *31 Māgha māsa śukla*

²⁸ The rubbing lies in the Bir Library.

pūrṇamāsi remains. But the 3 also is not as clear. Similarly the words *deva Śrī Śrī Jaya Trailokya* in the readable space might show there more than 2 names. But the inscription of 724 shows that Trailokyamalla had survived Tribhuvanamalla.

Tribhuvanamalla is omitted in the genealogy of the rulers of Bhatgaon as framed by Trailokyamalla's son and others in the line succeeding him. The last available document of Trailokyamalla is the ms. *Bhāgavata* (recently acquired by the Darbar Library).

The colophon reads: ms. *Bhāgavata, Nepālikābde gagan-āgni sindhu (=730) rādhe sitendrostanaye tithau (=7) cha|, viriñchibhe somadine hi siddham viṣṇoridam Bhāgavatam pavitram | Trailokyammallesvanipāla sim̃he Bhaktāpuresmin prvirāja māne, etc.* According to this date Trailokyamalla was a ruling monarch in NS 730 Māgha śukla.

There is a long gap between the last available document of Trailokyamalla and the first available document of Jagatjyotirmalla, which is a manuscript, *Mukunda vijaya*, dated 734. Could Trailokyamalla have ruled from 681 to 734 NS? It is a difficult job to fix regnal date both for him and his father. One ms. the *Nāradasaṃhitā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1247)²⁹ dated *Samvat 721 Phālguna śukla paurṇamāsyām tithau uttara-phālguni nakṣatre gaṇḍa yoge ādityavāsare sampūrṇamiti* has in the colophon *Śrī Śrī Jagatjyotirmalladevaprabhu ṭhākulasa, Daivajña Viṣṇusim̃hena choyā jula.*³⁰ Although the usual sovereign title is missing, we can take this document as belonging to the reign of Jagatjyotirmalla. But as we know that Trailokyamalla was living upto 730, there is no ground to believe that Jagatjyotirmalla was a king at the date. Obviously the ms. was copied for him but then he was the crown prince.

29 Unpublished.

30 Recently acquired by the Darbar Library.

The following are some of the earlier colophon dates of Jagajjyotirmalla.

(1) ms. *Mukundavijaya*³¹ colophon: *Dayādānadākṣiṇya vidyābudhi Śrī Jagajjyotirmalla kṣītisanakasya.....Śrī Nepāl-amagate śruti śikhikṣoṇīdharairāṅkīte (=734) some pañchadaśi tithau site ruchavaśādhā māse puṇaḥ.*

(2) ms. Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1687 of date 737.

(3) ms. *Aśvaśāstram*³² *Dayādākṣinyadi praguṇavara vidyā-valīvāridhi Śrī Śrī Jagajjyoti kṣītipati parivritsājñaya.....gate Nepāliye vasugaṇa hayaiḥ 738 raṅkīte kṛṣṇa pakṣe suchau māseṣaṭṭamyam dinakara dine*

(4) ms. *Narapati Jayacharyāṭīkā*³³*Mahārāja Śrī Śrī Jaya Jagajjyotirmalladevasya.....Śāke 1539 La Sa 494 Jyeṣṭha śukla 14 śanau Śrī Vamśamaṇi Śarmāvyalekhīdidam pustakaṃ |*

Jagajjyotirmalla (1613-1637 A.D.)

To give an idea of Jagajjyotirmalla's regnal years Bendall cites three colophon dates of his reign.³⁴ (Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. 1687, 1696 and one of Deutschu Coll.). The first and the last according to Bendall, are dated 1617 (NS 737) and 1628 A.D. (NS 748) respectively. But we have come across more documents of earlier and later dates belonging to his reign. Therefore his conclusions are wrong.

About him the chronicle is lavish in praise and speaks of him as a great lover of music and poetry and attributes to him running theatrical performances. In collaboration with Vamśamaṇi, a Maithili Paṇḍit, he composed a treatise on music called *Saṅgītabhāskara* (NS 751).³⁵ This dramatist wrote two plays, *Gītadigambara* and *Muditamadālāsā* in Maithili for the court of Kathmandu.³⁶ The king is also

31 Darb. Lib. Cat. III. 260.

32 Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 341.

33 I. 1186.

34 Bendall, op. cit, Intro., p. 16. Table II.

35 CPMDN, I, pp. 262-63.

36 JBORS, XLIII, Parts I & II, pp. 49-50.

credited with a collection of songs in Sanskrit called *Gīta-pañchāsikā*,³⁷ full of variant notes, emotion, melody and rhythm (*nānā bhāva tāla rasa samannyitā*) and *Saṅgītasārā-rṇava* (*saṅgīta-tāla-laya-nṛtya-mṛdaṅga-vādyādi-sikṣyakauśala pradarśana*). Other works listed in his name are *saṅgīta chaṅdra*³⁸ and *saṅgītasārasaṅgraha*³⁹ (brought from the South and *Saṅgītasārasaṅgrahavyākhyānaṁ*). He wrote *Daśāvātāra nṛtyam* (*NS 745 Āsādha kṛṣṇa 5 bṛhaspativāra*), which is a collection of songs in verses.⁴⁰ He also wrote a commentary on *Kāmasūtra* (Sexology). He was well versed in the Bhārata school of Indian Music and himself widely read the relevant portions in *Agnipurāṇa*. To his authorship is also ascribed a comedy in Maithili with the title *Muditakuvalayāśva*.⁴¹ Two other plays in Maithili, *Hara-Gaurī vivāha*⁴² and *Kunjavihārinātaka*,⁴³ are according to Levi superb masterpieces of the standard of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti.⁴⁴ The subject matter of the drama is the marriage of God Śiva and his espouse Pārvatī in one and of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā in the other. Each is rich in melody and imagery though, of course, the language in the texts is much defective.⁴⁵

His records are available for the year 755. A ms. *Lākṣana-samuchchaya*, is dated NS 755.⁴⁶ Another ms. *Vṛttasāra* (*Chhanda*), has in the colophon *Md Jagajjyotirnirdeśana, Saṃvat 755 Śrāvaṇa vadi chandra daśamyām*. Perhaps this is the last document of the reign. His successor Nareśamalla

37 Ibid, I, 461.

38 CPMDN, I, pp. 260-61.

39 Ibid, pp. 263-64.

40 Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 338.

41 Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 461. Composed on 748 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 13*.

42 See below the section on literature.

43 Ibid.

44 Levi, II, p. 242.

45 Analysis in the *Katalog der Bibliothak der Deutschen Morzart Landischeu Gesel Schaft*, Vcl. II, ms. n. 6.

46 CPMDN, I, p. 115; Intro. p. 17.

ruled for about 6 years down to 1644 A.D. (=763 or 764) having succeeded his father in the year 1636 or 1637 A.D. (NS 756 or 757).

As we have observed at the end of the preceding volume Banepā, east of Bhatgaon, outside the Valley but in the immediate vicinity seems also to have enjoyed an independent existence for a short time as is attested by a ms. *Pāṇḍa-vavijaya* composed by the king Jaya Raṇamalla of the place.⁴⁷ He is a son of Yakṣamalla as is attested by the inscriptions we have referred to in Part I of the volume. We have already noted an inscription belonging to his reign, which has a date 631 NS. According to the *Thyāsapu C* he died on *Kārtika śudī 5* of 649 NS. Nothing is known about his descendants.

Bendall has also noted a principality in Noakoṭ, 12 miles north-west outside the precincts of the Valley. This was also not of a long duration, and after a short existence merged in the kingdom of Kāntipur.

But we have from an inscription of Banepā one Keśavamalla who is addressed as *nṛpati*.⁴⁸ This record is dated 660 *Phālguna śuddhi 2*. He might have been a subordinate ruler of Bhatgaon. But the first record of Bhatgaon rulers, under whom Banepā was generally regarded to have been ruled is that of Jaṅatprakāśamalla with date 769 *Phālguna kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī mūla nakṣatre śuddhijoga śaniścharavāra*. It is said that in the time of Viśvamalla the principality of Banepā was merged with Bhatgaon. But we have this information only from the chronicle and from no other sources.

So far we mentioned only mss. of the reign of Jagajjyotirmalla. But we have also some inscriptions belonging to his reign e.g.

- 1) A stele attached to the wall to the right of the door of a temple of Mahāṅkal outside the Kvathubahil in the city of Bhatgaon. The inscription is to record the

⁴⁷ Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1314. 3.

⁴⁸ In the courtyard of the temple of Nārāyaṇa.

ceremony of installing the image of Hanumāna and is dated 747 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa chaturthī*. This shows the reign (*viṣayarājye*) of *Jagajjyotirmalla prabhu ṭhākura*.

- 2) A stone on the back wall of a *Pāṭi* facing a dry pond originally constructed by Jagajjyotirmalla. According to the inscription the construction was started on *Paṣa kṛṣṇa 11* and completed on *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 12 revatī nakṣatre pṛīti yogē bṛhaspativāra* of 750.

The first few lines contain invocation to Goddess Bhavāni. Jagajjyotirmalla adopts the usual epithets of the Malla kings without mentioning *Nepāleśvara*.

II

Nareśamalla, Jagatprakāśamalla and Jitāmitramalla

Nareśamalla (1637—1644 A.D)

According to the chronicles and genealogy above presented, Jagajjyotir's successor was his son Nareśamalla. He is called also Narendramalla by the later chronicles. Nareśamalla is referred to as a ruling monarch in several records between NS 757 and NS 763 (Inscription of Bode).⁴⁹ His earliest document is a two line inscription on the two golden windows over the main door of the temple of Tāleju in Mulchok in Bhatgaon. The date reads, *saptabāṇamuniyukte (=757) tathāsvine mūle śobhanayogecha sitaṣṭamyām śanaishchare (=September-October, 1637)* and commemorates the occasion of the completion of the two windows by Nareśamalla. This monarch, it seems enjoyed comparatively a short reign. He did not certainly succeed his predecessor before 755 *Śrāvaṇa*, the last date of the latter (=August, 1633 A.D). He also did not live at the date, 767 *Vaiśākha śudī 2*, which is the date of an inscription of Jagatprakāśamalla attached to the Bhavānī temple at Nālā⁵⁰ Jagatprakāśa in all

49 Unpublished.

50 Unpublished.

certainly succeeded his father in NS 766 (=1646 A.D) or even a year or two earlier. We have a coin in his name (Walsh, Pl. II, 1), which is the first traceable coin of the period for that area. The date in it can be read as 765. If it is so then the coin was not surely issued to commemorate the coronation date as was the custom prevailing. Walsh read the date wrongly as 752.⁵¹ The middle figure although looking like 8 might also be read as 6. In that case the date (765) might go to represent the year of his coronation. But the *Thyāsapu C* states that Nareśamalla died on *Āśvina śudi 5 of 763*. These two dates, however, do not present a sequence.

There is a difference of a year, and ordinarily the striking of a coin in Jagatprakāśa's name should not have been delayed like this. If the date of the coin could be read as 764 then it would fit in with the tenor of argument. But we shall have to stretch our imagination a little farther than what was possible to read the last figure as 4.

Nareśamalla is mentioned in one of Pratāpamalla's inscriptions as the king of Bhatgaon, whom the Kathmandu ruler had defeated (see above). The last available document of his reign is a stone inscription⁵² of Bode at the temple of Kālikā (*Śrī Śrī Śrī Nareśamalla rājaya velasa*), which is dated 763 *Vaiśākha śukla ekādaśi pra dvādaśi bṛhaspativāre*. Thus the fact of Jagatprakāśa becoming king in NS 765 is supported on all evidences. He ascended the throne quite early in his boyhood. Jagatprakāśa calls himself the son of Nareśamalla in his dramatic work, *Pārijātaḥaraṇa nāṭaka*.⁵³ According to a noting in an old sheet of paper acquired by the Bir Library he was born in NS 758, thirty five years prior to 793.

The following inscriptions are additional documents of the reign of Nareśamalla.

- (1) An inscription on a stone inside a temple close to the

⁵¹ *The coinage of Nepal, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1908 (pp. 669-759) p. 722.

⁵² Inscription n. 46, in our Appendix.

⁵³ DLC, I, 395.

pond in Svaspukhuṭol, Ṭhimi. The stone is much damaged but the date, *Nāgavānavajau (=758) Māgha śuklake Śrīpañchamyām pakṣe uttarabhadrake śivayoge budhadine mīne chandra mṛge etc* and the king's name *Nepālabhūpāla...ratna Nareśamalla nṛparājasimha.....sampālīte* are clearly read.

(2) On the image of Lakṣmī standing to the right of the door of the temple of Tāleju in Bhatgoan palace. This is a 3 line inscription, which shows the date *761 Āśvina śudi 8*. The image was dedicated by Nareśamalla, the great amongst the kings, on this day. (*Śrīmanmalla Nareśa bhūpativaro devyai dadau bhaktimān*).

(3) A stone inscription of the temple of Kālikā near the townlet of Bode. This commemorates the occasion of the reign of Nareśamalla on *763 Vaiśākha śukla ekādaśī pra dvādaśī br̥haspativāra*.

Jagatprakāśamalla
(1644—1673 A.D)

Inscriptions and colophons of the reign of Jagatprakāśa are abundant.

We have two more records of the year 767, (1) The Brahmāyanī copper plate of *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 4* (2) ms. *Nāgara-sarvasva* with date *Śaka 1569 (=NS 767) Śrāvaṇa śukla 14* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 3212).

Jagatprakāśa's Daśāvatāra songs in Sanskrit preserved in the inscription over the pavement of a temple at the outer courtyard of the Darbar in Bhatgaon shows he had a taste for composing verses. He also called himself the king of poets (*Kavīndra*) and teacher of musical science (*Gāndharvavidyā-guru*).⁵⁴ Quite early in his life he showed himself as a budding poet by composing *Nānāraṅgagītasāṅgraha (puruṣoktīgīta pañchaka Jagatprakāśa mahārājāna)* (DLC. I. 349). He offered as a gift to a Brāhmaṇa copy of a book *Gītāvali* on 781

54 ms. *Nānārthadevīgītasāṅgraha*, 780. Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 357.

Śrāvāṇa śukla 15 (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 3154), which he had written in his own hand.

There is an anthology of poems composed by Jagatprakāṣa called *Padyasamuchchaya*.⁵⁵ Another work, a collection of songs, is known as *Devīgītasamgraha* or *Gītāvalī*. This was done in 780 *Śrāvāṇa*.⁵⁶ On *Śrāvāṇa 9* he completed *Nānāraṅgītasamgraha*, otherwise known as *Gītapañchaka*.⁵⁷ He is also mentioned in Maithili literature as a devotional poet singing hymns of praise in honour of Śiva, Visnu and Gaṇeśa (*Bhāṣāgīta* ms. B. No. 114 to 154 quoted by Jaikānta Mīra, I, p. 247). We shall say later more about his literary compositions.

In 1658 A.D he fought Pratāpamalla with the help of Śrīnivāsamalla but later on was himself defeated on account of his ally changing side after sometime (vide below). He had also to suffer ignominy at the hands of Pratāpamalla who had defeated him in several battles. He was ultimately rescued out of the difficult situation by efforts of the Patan ruler Śrīnivāsamalla whose praise he sang in a poetic composition (see below). At the last phase of this long drawn war Śrīnivāsa had supported Jagatprakāṣa as against Pratāpamalla.

During his early years Dhanadasīmha Bhāju was the Chief Minister. He must have occupied a very important place as his name appears along with that of the king in a copper plate inscription of the Bhagavatī temple at Nālā, the date of the record being 767 *Vaiśākha śudi 2* (*Nepālamaṇḍalasya*

55 Darb. Lib. Cat.

56 Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 357.

नेपालीय मते गते विपदिम क्षोणीधरै रङ्किते श्रावण्यां धनमेऽति गरुड सहिते वारे प्रशस्ते भृगौ । श्रीमानेष जगत्प्रकाश नृपति र्गन्धर्व विद्यागुरुः सुप्रीत्यै गुणिनां चकार सकलं गीता वली पुस्तकम् ।

57 Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 349.

śiromaṇi Śrī Śrī Jaya Jagatprakāśamalladeva Md sa vijayarājyesa Dhanadasim̃ha Bhāju mukhya mantri juva velasa).

We have a half *mohar* of Jagatprakāśa with date 782 and in the legend of the obverse of this coin shows a name Chandraśekhara Sing (Appendix, coin. n. 26) so far unknown from the chronicles. At this date Śekharasim̃ha was probably appointed Chief Minister.

From one of his inscriptions, however, it appears that Chandraśekhara Sing was a minister of Jagatprakāśamalla during the eighties of the 7th century Nepal era. The inscription on a stone at the temple of Bhavānī-Śaṅkara situated just in front of the golden gate in the palace square. (Bhatgaon) mentions Chandraśekhara as the minister of Jagatprakāśa. The inscription is dated 789 *Mārgaśira śudi.....* the details missing. In another inscription with date 787 *Māgha vadi 10* (a stele in the temple of Bhavānī-Śaṅkara at the western corner of the palace square, Bhatgaon) Jagatprakāśamalla calls Chandraśekhara as the person whose equal was not to be found and who was as dear to him as his own life. The king sang praise of Śekharasim̃ha in the inscription of the temple of Nṛṭyanātha (date line damaged). The gold plate inscription of the temple of Tāleju in the Mulchok dated 788 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 8* has a line to say that the king desired to attain along with Chandraśekharasim̃ha the feet of the Goddess. All these references to Chandraśekharasim̃ha conched in terms expressing high regard and love for the man show him to be quite powerful in the kingdom. But we have yet to know more of him to be able to say definitely what he really did for his king and country. There is a suggestion from a passage in the above noted inscription of 787 that Jagatprakāśa obtained his wife Anna-pūrṇalakṣmī through the efforts of Chandraśekharasim̃ha.

According to the Nepal Diary one Bhotyābhā was the Chautārā in 792. He was taken prisoner by Kathmandu's defenders while he had entered Mayajalgaon.

Jagatprakāśa built a part of the royal palace in Bhatgaon and a number of temples in the vicinity. He improved on the temple of Tāleju, already repaired by his father. He constructed the temple of Bhavānī-Śaṅkara at the western entrance into the palace square. As a lover of art of dancing he built a temple housing an image of Nṛṭyanātha. Another structure close by it enshrining Nārāyaṇa was also constructed by him.

Jagatprakāśa's son and successor was Jitāmitra. Jitāmitra's coin dates NS 793 (Walsh, Pl, II, 2). This may be the first year of his reign (=1663 A.D). Walsh's reading of the date figure in this coin as 783 is wrong. We have a ms. copy of *Dhāraṇī-saṅgraha* belonging to Jagatprakāśa's reign dated 791 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 11 bṛhaspativāra* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 630). There are several inscriptions of his reign between this date and 783 including the one at the temple of Bhavānī-Śaṅkara within the outer courtyard of the royal palace dated *NS 787 Magha vadi 10* and another in Pannauti (Brahmāyanī stone) of 789 *Māgha śukla pūrṇimā*, and a ms. colophon of 790 *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa dvitīyā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 242).⁵⁴

So Jitāmitra could never issue a coin in 783 or any time till 791, as we have Jagatprakāśamalla still wielding powers of a sovereign all this time. The middle figure looks like 8. If it is 8 then the coin might be taken to have issued by the father in the name of crown prince. The first available document of Jitāmitramalla is an inscription on a stone attached to the Thathubahi in Bhatgaon with date 794 *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 5*. The second is another stone inscription on the wall of a *Pāṭi* in Pannauti (Aghaṭol). This is dated *Vedanidhimuni (=794) parisammite Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa ekādaśyām revatī nakṣatre budhavāsare*.

For the date of the death of Jagatprakāśamalla we have the following statement of the *Thyāsapu D*, which should be

⁵⁸ Also *Nānāraṅgāgītasāṅgraha* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 349).

taken as conclusive in view of the reliable character of the said document '*Saṁvat 793 Mārgasīra kṛṣṇa 4 bṛhaspativāra*, this day Bhatgaon's king Jagatprakāśamalla died. He was taken to the funeral pyre on a *paranga* (bed). Nine women were burnt to death along with the dead-body. He was 35 years old. He had an attack of small-pox which developed pus and he died soon after.

As we have seen Jagatprakāśa was since his very youth involved in a war with Kathmandu and Patan. In the initial stages he was defeated and he sued for peace. Ultimately, however, as Patan and Kathmandu broke between themselves Jagatprakāśa was relieved of the burden of the fight conducted on two fronts simultaneously, while Pratāpamalla left to himself would not also seriously think of attacking Bhatgaon for fear that this might go to provoke an all out retaliation by the combined strength of the other two kingdoms. Actually Patan and Bhatgaon fought several engagements with Kathmandu. But on several occasions the latter was also isolated and confronted by an alliance of Kathmandu and Patan. The subject matter of their mutual antagonism and friendship has formed a portion of the narrative as we related the account of Pratāpa's reign. So we need not write here any more about Jagatprakāśa's relation with his two neighbours. It appears that towards the end of his life Jagatprakāśa had united with Patan and was involved in a fight with Kathmandu at a site near Chāngu. It is on record that his Chief Minister himself was taken prisoner during the invasion and had to be rescued with great difficulty on the intercession of Śrīnivāsamalla.

Jitāmitramalla (1673—1696 A.D.)

As it appears from the *Thyāsapu D* Jitāmitra ascended the throne on *793 Mārgakṛṣṇa 4 Thursday* (=November-December, 1672 A.D.)

His last document is a copper plate inscription of 816 *Phālguna*. He must have a reign extending from 1673 (NS 793) to

1696 A.D. (NS 816). Bhūpatīndramalla's documents start from 816. Jitāmitra called himself *Sumati* (full of wisdom) and *Bhūpakeśārī*, the lion of kings, like Pratāpa in his inscriptions and like documents.

Jitāmitra had succeeded to the throne in his early youth. He was taken care of by Bhāgirāma Pradhānaṅga who became Chief Minister with his accession. The *Thyāsapu C* states that he obtained his *dikṣā maṅtra* from his priest on 796 *Āśvina śudi 10*.

As compared to the last reign his time was more peaceful and he was less troubled by Kāntipur. His Chief Minister Bhāgirāma mentioned as a witness in several of his inscriptions was of great help to the king in his constructive activities. But about 807 this minister was much envied by his counterpart in Kathmandu who tried utmost to physically eliminate him. But he remained unscathed on the whole, except for once while he had to allow himself to be molested by his people who acted on a wrong notion that he was the cause of their troubles.

Bhatgaon was subjected to blockade for months, and it had practically no contact with the outside world on the west. The blockade was being severely felt. Commercially it was being almost paralysed. It was impossible to import anything and exports stopped likewise. Many articles of necessity were being denied to the people of Bhatgaon.

Because the blockade came as a result of Jitāmitra's refusal to deal with his Chief Minister as Kathmandu wished it, the people of Bhatgaon laid at the Minister's door all blames for which they suffered. The chronicle states that the people were so much harassed that they even pressed their ruler to hand over the Chief Minister to Kāntipur. At one time, while Jitāmitra was not willing to attend a meeting of the three rulers in Kathmandu, he was dragged forcibly there. However, in spite of all this, Jitāmitra refused to abide by Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's wishes.

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Because the blockade came as a result of Jitāmitra's refusal to deal with his Chief Minister as Kathmandu wished it, the people of Bhatgaon laid at the Minister's door all blames for which they suffered. The chronicle states that the people were so much harassed that they even pressed their ruler to hand over the Chief Minister to Kāntipur. At one time, while Jitāmitra was not willing to attend a meeting of the three rulers in Kathmandu, he was dragged forcibly there. However, inspite of all this, Jitāmitra refused to abide by Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's wishes.

Bhāgirāma is noted as a Chautārā in an inscription of Jitāmitra.⁵⁹ This is dated *NS 803 Jyeṣṭha śukla 15* (=May or June, 1683 A.D.) and lays down rules for the utilisation of water for the cultivation of fields from a canal. A line at the end shows that the Chief Minister had assisted the ruler in constructing this beneficent work. His importance is further high-lighted by his inclusion as a witness along with the heir-apparent, Bhūpatīndramalla to this grant and to another for the upkeep of the gold water conduit in the garden of his palace (*NS 808 Śrāvāṇa śukla pūrṇimā śrāvāṇa nakṣatre budhavāsare simha saṁkrānti*). In several inscriptions Jitāmitra's reign is noted along with an expression which means 'in the time of Bhāgirāma' (Bhāgirāma *velasa*). One inscription, the one attached to a dilapidated Pāṭi, (close to Hwānghwāng Pāṭi) commemorates the repair of the pond by Jitāmitramalla together with Bhāgirāma (*sahitena 798 Māgha śukla pañchamī bṛhaspativāra*).

The earliest available record we have for Bhāgirāma as the minister of Bhatgaon is the ms. copy of the work *Tārābhaktisudhārṇava* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 91) copied by Sumati Jaya Jitāmitra and completed on *795 Kārtika śudi 9*.

A ms. *Sanskṛtapārasikapadaprakāśa* (In the possession of one Padmanābha Sharma) has in the colophon 'copied by Sumati Jaya Jitāmitramalla, in the time of Bhāgirāma Paramāṇa, *Samvat 810 Kārtika śukla 9*' (*Sanskrit Sandesha*, I. 1, pp. 34-36).

Other works bear the same expression Bhāgirāma Pradhānaṅga *velasa* e.g.

(a) ms. *Jñānārṇavatantram*⁶⁰ written by Śrī Śrī Sumati Jaya Jitāmitramalla on *795 Kārtika śudi 9*.

(b) ms. *Rāmāyaṇa*⁶¹ copied by Śrī Śrī Sumati Jaya Jitāmitramalla, writing completed on *805 Kārtika śukla 13*.

59 Inscription n. 86 in our Appendix.

60 Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 263.

61 Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 905.

(c) ms. *Dakṣiṇāmūrtisaṃhitā*⁶² copied by Śrī Śrī Sumati Jaya Jitāmitramalladeva on 808 *Kārtika śukla 9*.

(d) *Puṣpachintāmaṇi*⁶³ written by Śrī Śrī Sumati Jaya Jitāmitramalla in 810 *Kārtika śudi*.

(e) *Medinikoṣa* written by Jaya Jitāmitra on 810 *Kārtika śudi 9*.

Bhāgirāma Prādhānaṅga must have held a very important place in the heart of his ruler to be mentioned like this in manuscripts copied by the latter.

The chronicle states that Bhāgirāma had served his master with exemplary fidelity since his childhood, and Jitāmitra had only acknowledged his services by referring to his rule (*velasa*) in his records.

In one inscription Bhāgirāma is addressed as Minister who was 'an object of extreme affection to his master' (Inscription on a stone attached to the wall of the compound of a water conduit, 798).

Up till 810 Bhāgirāma appears as Minister in records. We do not know how he disappeared whether due to death or for other reasons. In the last available document of Jitāmitramalla, the Mulchok copper plate of 816 *Phālguna śukla 12*, Śyāmadāsa Bhāro and Hāku Bābu are the witnesses. Hāku Bābu was a minister for sometime during the early reign of Bhūpatīndramalla. Perhaps he and Śyāmadāsa Bhāro were ministers during the last phase of Jitāmitra's regnal career.

Latest we have got hold of a ms. copy of *Harivaṃśa*^{63a} dated 814 *Phālguna śukla 1*, which according to the colophon was written for the use of Bhāgirāma Pradhānāṅga. This suggests in all certainty that the Chautārā was living at the date mentioned. He must have died shortly after this date.

Jitāmitra's drama *Aśvamedhanāṭaka* based on the subject of Jaimini Bhārata (Levi, II, p. 243; CPMDN, I, pp. 14)-50)

62 Ibid, I. 209.

63 In private possession.

63a In the possession of Chandraman Maskay, Director, Museum.

is dated NS 810 equivalent to 1689 A.D. Another document a ms. of a drama 15 Act *Rāmāyaṇa* written by his son but belonging to his reign dates 812.

Jitāmitra was a patron and lover of arts. He was also a man devoted to religion and piety. He built many temples and provided endowments for their upkeep by certain specified families.

In two inscriptions he called himself *Brāhmaṇasātkṛta matta gajendra*⁶⁴ and *pāirasāt kṛta gajendra*.⁶⁵ He bore these titles as he had awarded elephants to the priests and courtiers.

To Jitāmitra we owe the many constructions in the royal palace and the Mulchok, the main courtyard of the palace, containing the shrine of Tāleju was improved by him. One of his inscriptions notes (NS 797 *Bhādra śudī dvitīyā* stella at Etāchok) with pride the repair work done in Etāchok, west of the Mulchok, where he made struttings with carved images of the *Aṣṭamāṭṛkā* group of female deities and got drawn in illustrations over the surface of the wall on the east. The entire pantheon of Yogiṇi including Chaṇḍikā while at the Paṭachapali the entire story of *Rāmāyaṇa* was inscribed. The images drawn are in light colour, which looks fresh enough even today. In the same inscription is noted the erection of a stone cot obtained from his uncle (Ābāju) Śrīnivāsamalla.

The record which is said to have been inscribed in the time of Bhāgirāma further adds 'the window on the south is made just for preserving beauty, this should not be opened, the courtyard is passed with smooth oily bricks; previously it was difficult to bring even a piece of stone from Kotakha, but now with the help of Śrīnivāsamalla it was possible to procure them, whereupon four cots were placed each on one

64 A stele on the wall of the courtyard of the water conduit in the Royal Palace.

65 On the door lintel of the shrine of Taleju at Mulchok.

corner; then for lighting a special railing was constructed, it is ordained that the wicker should be lighted by the king, all this was on the ground floor; on the uppermost storey the king Jitāmitra inscribed in letters the *rāgamālā*, also in the same *maṭāna* on the walls pictures of Akṣobhya and others were painted, on the first floor a drama *Gaurīvivāha* was played, and to add to all these a water conduit has been constructed, the king will himself go to the conduit to fill his jug with water.'

The inscription *inter alia* prohibits anything that would make the surrounding of the courtyard and water conduit unclean. It lays down that no one will wash his or her cloth, pass urine, and throw mud, and if there was any repair to be done, this should be taken by the king of the principality.

Jitāmitra repaired the pond constructed earlier by Jagaj-
jyotirmalla. He set up a new pole with the serpent-hood of Vāsuki at the top, which was of gold. He held a ceremony with a sacrificial rite to mark the completion of the repair work on 798 *Māgha śukla 5 revatī nakṣatra vṛddhi yoga bṛhaspatīvāra* (=January-February, 1677 A.D). The ceremony was attended by the kings of Kathmandu and Patan. To commemorate the occasion he set up a stone inscription where besides adopting other titles he calls himself 'lord of elephants' (*Gajapati*). The *Thyāsapu A* (f. 1) confirms the information of the inscription.

He also built Thanthu rājakula with the Siddhichok which was completed on 798 *Āṣāḍha māsa śukla pakṣa 10 svāti nakṣatra siddhiyoga taitilakaraṇa mithunarāṣi gata savitari, tulārāṣi gata chandramasi*.

This was an adjunct of the main royal palace. Jitāmitra gives the new structure the same name as the royal palace. The Thanthu occupied the north eastern wing of the palace as it exists today. In the inscription commemorating the occasion the king lets it known that the Thanthu palace

should be preserved carefully. He further says 'this palace built in the time of Minister Bhāgirāma nobody should do harm; the courtyards, outer and inner portions, the garden, the balcony as well as the water conduit are to be maintained according to the traditional rules, these should not be treated in a different manner as new structures; the reigning monarch shall be responsible for their upkeep and repair; all rules in this connection are to be followed; if they are not adhered to, one is liable to incur the punishment awarded for five great crimes.

Jitāmitramalla built the main door of wood at the entrance of Mulchok with beautiful carvings in *Mārga kṛṣṇa* of 815 (=November, 1694 A.D.). Jitāmitramalla played an important role in the crowning of Nṛpendramalla, Pārthivendramalla and Yoganarendramalla. His relation with both Kathmandu and Patan were quite friendly.

Essentially he was a man of peace and he used his influence to improve relation with the other two neighbours. But conflicts were unavoidable in the situation he inherited. We have already seen how he was harassed by the Chief Minister of Kathmandu in 807. Since Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's death, however, Bhatgaon's relation with Kathmandu improved. But even earlier the king of Bhatgaon and his son attended Bhūpālendramalla's marriage ceremony on *810 Māgha kṛṣṇa 4 uttaraphālguṇī nakṣatra atigaṇḍa yoga śanaiścharavāra*.⁶⁶ Bhatgaon and Kathmandu also had combined to attack Sindhuli on *810 Phālguna śukla 11*.⁶⁷ In the same year on *Āṣāḍha śukla 1 puṣya nakṣatra* the ruler of Bhatgaon came to Kathmandu to attend another religious ceremony.⁶⁸

We have already seen how about 811 the three principalities had come to live in accord after a meeting of their rulers

66 *Thyāsapu* A f. 74.

67 *Thyāsapu* A f. 76.

68 *Thyāsapu* A f. 77.

and ministers in Mulchok on 811 *Āśvina śukla 5*⁶⁹. It appears that for another two years Bhatgaon had friendly relation with Kathmandu and Patan. But Bhatgaon came into conflict with Patan once again. According to the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 82) the three principalities were living in peace about 812-813 but on 813 *Bhādra kṛṣṇa 6 rohiṇī nakṣatra Sunday* Bhatgaon had a quarrel with Patan as the latter violated its frontier. In the conflict that followed Bhatgaon called for Kathmandu's assistance which readily came, and Patan was isolated.

We have no information about Bhatgaon's relation with neighbours for the subsequent years, but the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 85) states that Bhatgaon and Patan combined against Kathmandu while king Bhūpālendramalla had left for the Terai on 816 *Māgha śukla 6 aśvini nakṣatra budhavāra*.

It was said that Patan and Bhatgaon clashed several times on the occasion of Khaḍga festival and the dance drama of Harisiddhī. But they had patched up.

According to a copper plate inscription Jitāmitramalla signed an agreement with Yoganarendramalla on *Phālguna śukla 12* of 816 both parties pledging not to cause provocations on the occasions specified.⁷⁰ The agreement reads "Whether it is something involved in the course of the staging of the dance drama of Harisiddhi or it is an occasion of dagger festival (Khaḍgajātrā), henceforth, either kings and ministers must prevent incidents likely to cause friction between the two parties. The duties assigned to each party must be performed by those concerned. The whole affair must be allowed to run according to tradition.

It is also written in the record that the statement was inscribed in the time of Śyāmadāsa Mūlmī Bhāro and Hāku Bhāju who seem to be the ministers at the court of Bhatgaon.

⁶⁹ *Thyāsapu A* f. 80.

⁷⁰ Inscription n. 102 in our Appendix.

Perhaps Śyāmadāsa Mūlmī and Hāku Bhāju had taken the place of Bhāgirāma on the latter's death.

However, although this agreement might have done away with some of the causes of conflict, it did not ensure a stable peace between the two kings. Hardly a month had passed Patan joined hands with Kathmandu and attacked on Bhatgaon's outposts on its northern border near the hillock of Chāṅgu. According to the *Thyāsapu A* Bhatgaon was isolated on *Samvat 816 Chaitra śukla 15 aṅgāravāra*, Patan and Kathmandu having combined. It reports that subsequently on *Chaitra kṛṣṇa 5 mūla nakṣatra ādityavāra (Sunday)* those of Patan and Kathmandu went to attack Obhu a village about 2 miles of west of the city of Bhatgaon. They were stopped on the way by the men of Bhatgaon who succeeded in capturing at Nālā 34 of the invaders from Kathmandu and Datimha Kuara and a pramāṇa who was the son of Rāyakubhāju, the two of them from Patan. The defenders of Bhatgaon conquered further 7 villages. As a result of this success Jitāmitra was allowed to live in peace for the next four months until he died.

Jitāmitra died on *Bhādra vadi 11* of 816 (=August, 1696 A.D.) and was succeeded by his son Bhūpatīndramalla who struck a coin (a half *mohar*)⁷¹ in his name bearing the date *816 Bhādra vadi 11* to mark the occasion of his becoming king.

Jitāmitra took great care to bring relief to his people in distress. He constructed canals for the cultivation of lands, and helped the people to undertake the maintenance of the same by co-operative efforts. He mediated in their disputes whenever such occasions arose.

An injunction⁷² in respect of the distribution of water for irrigation reads:

The inspectors of the lands do not honestly distribute

71 Coin n. 28 in our Appendix.

72 Inscription n. 90 in our Appendix.

water to the people and this is the reason which justifies the present action taken. At the time the rice is sown, the people must make an irrigation canal and whosoever works on it, must after a day's labour come and claim a royal attestation, which will entitle him to receive water. Whosoever cannot produce this attestation will be punished with a maximum fine of 3 dams (1½ annas) the inspector should not levy dues to enable water to be taken from the canal but each one must receive his share in turn. If the inspectors do not allow each one to take water in his turn, the inspector-in-chief will be punished with five or six *mohars* (translated by Wright). The translation is faulty and incomplete. We shall, however discuss the subject under agriculture.

Jitāmitra was also a man of literature, who has written some original works both pieces of poetry and plays. The Darbar Library is in possession of some literary works of merit of his composition in Sanskrit and Maithili still preserved. One such is *Aśvamedhanāṭakam* with a theme common to *Jaiminibhāratam*. His dramas are dealt with in detail in the section giving the life and condition of the Valley of those days (See below). In NS 810 Jitāmitra wrote a commentary on *Gītagovindam* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 528). In a few inscriptions we may read his devotional poems e. g. in the Etāchok inscription of 797 and the water conduit courtyard inscription of 798 he sings in *rāgamālaśrī rāgavijaya* hymns in honour of the Goddess Chaṇḍikā composed in Maithili *cum* Sanskrit. Jitāmitra addressed himself as one who had deep knowledge of the science of weapons and music and who was profoundly learned in the science of war, music and classics (*śāstra śāstra saṅgītādividyā pāraga gāndharvavidyā nipuṇa*).

Jitāmitra had a son, Bhūpatīndramalla and a brother Ugramalla, both of whom figure very frequently in several inscriptions as witness to his deeds of grant and munificence. We hear more about Ugramalla from another source, the

Thyāsapu D. He is noted even on later occasions along with Bhūpatīndramalla in a few inscriptions of the latter's reign. According to the *Thyāsapu D* Ugramalla was the younger brother of Jitāmitramalla. His *upanayana* ceremony took place on 790 *Āṣāḍhaśukla 8* as reported by the *Thyāsapu*. He figures in the account of negotiations conducted with the two other kingdoms by Bhatgaon. The *Thyāsapu D* states that his marriage was performed on 794 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 10* and the ceremony was attended by Śrīnivāsamalla who stayed here five days witnessing also the performance of a drama. One of the inscriptions of Jitāmitra dated *NS 794 Pauṣa kṛṣṇa pañchamī śukravāsare makara gata ravi* (at a *vihāra*) mentions the ever compassionate Jaya Ugramalla (*dayāti-sindhu*) along with his brother (*Nepālabhūpālanarādhirāja dharmeśvara nṛparāja simha Jaya Jitāmitra kṛpātmanēsa Jaya Ugramalla*),

The water conduit inscription of 798 speaks of: Ugramalla as one devoted to his brother and proficient in the art of music. It appears that he was deeply attached to Jitāmitramalla who held him in high esteem.

Jitāmitra's wife Lālamatī who was also the mother of the crown prince performed pious deeds are available in the reign of Jitāmitra. To her is attributed the gold plated bronze images of Jitāmitra and herself which are up till now being kept inside the temple of Taleju in the Mulchok. These bear inscribed letters which show that these were set up by her at different dates in NS 829.

Lālamatī enjoyed a long life. She was alive during the second year of the reign of her grandson. According to a copper plate inscription of 843 *Āśvina 8*, which is attached on the northern wall of Mulchok, Lālamatī set up a *guthi* of 2 ropanis of land in the name of her son in order to provide oil for lighting during the daily *pūjā* of Goddess Tāleju.

III

*Bhūpatīndramalla and Raṇajitamalla**Bhūpatīndramalla*
(1696—1722 A.D)

Bhupatīndra's coin bears the date figure of 816 (Walsh, Pl. II, 3). It must be a first date of his reign. The quarter *mohar* illustrated in Walsh II. 5 has also the date 816 NS. Both these coins provide only the regnal year. But we have another quarter *mohar* which gives besides the year 816 also further details of the date i.e. *Bhādra vadi 11*. In all certainty this is the date of his crowning. The earliest document belonging to his reign is a copy of the ms. *Yogāvalī* dated NS 816 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa dvitīyā mṛgaśira nakṣatre siddhi yogē aṅgāravāra* belonging to him (*Śrī Śrī Bhūpatīndra Mahārājā-dhirājasya idam pustakam*).⁷³ But the royal title must have been just a courtesy reference to the crown prince. It is absolutely wrong to suggest that Jitāmitra had died in that year before the month of Phālgua as against the date of the copperplate incorporating the agreement between him and Yoganarendramalla. Bhupatīndramalla succeeded his father surely not before this date. But the date *11 Bhādra vadi of 818* the quarter *mohar* must show the day, month and year of his accession. According to the *Thyāsapu C* Bhūpatīndramalla was born on 795 *Kārtika śudi 6* (October-November, 1674). Bhūpatīndra was 21 years old as he became king. He gives the date of his birth in the Mālatichok stone inscription (n. 103 in our Appendix).

To him goes the credit of adding more wings to the royal palace which had seen many additions during the three generations of his predecessors. The main courtyard of the palace containing the shrine of Tāleju as also other courtyards inside

⁷³ Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1084. The ms. colophon of *Sūrya sahasranāma stotram* has *saṁvat 815 Māgha śudi 11 Śrī Śrī Bhūpatīndramalla Md nayāṅgā dina juro* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 538)

were refurnished and many wings left unfinished were completed by him. According to an inscription (826 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 4-5 śatabhiṣā nakṣatra āyusmāna yage budhavāra*) Bhūpatīndra repaired the temple of Taleju with gold roof and a top on which stood gold finials supervening.

About the royal palace the chronicler observes, "It has 55 windows, in one of which there is a small pane of glass, presented to him by a man from the plains of India. This piece of glass was considered so rare and valuable that the Raja placed it in the window as an object of wonder for the people."⁷⁴ Bhūpatīndramalla's bronze statue with folded hands in a sitting posture stands till today on the top of a stone pillar facing the 55 windowed palace just described. Bhūpatīndra's inscription at Mālaticok shows that he built it and erected the stone image of Hanumāna and Narasiṃha.⁷⁵ From the inscriptions of the two images of Ugrachandā and Bhairava placed at the gate of another courtyard it is known that these were set up by Bhūpatīndramalla on the *Akṣaya tritīya* day of 827 NS.⁷⁶

The year of completion of the Mālaticok where the window overlooking the gateway is of sandalwood is 818 *Phālguna śukla 9* (=February-March, 1698). In the inscription attached to the wall he speaks of the images of Hanumāna and Nṛsiṃha on both sides of the gate, which he set up following Kāntipur's original model.⁷⁷ He also built the five storied temple at Taumadhiṭol with two wrestlers Jayamal and Phaṭṭa at the lowest rung of the pavement and "images of lions, griffins, elephants" in double at each of the four tiers of the pavement respectively. Locally this is known as *Nyātpola* which literally mean 5-storeyed. The inner sanctuary of the temple contains an image of Bhavānī.⁷⁸

74 Wright, second edition, p 116

75 Inscription n. 97 in our Appendix.

76 Inscription n. 109 in our Appendix.

77 Ibid.

78 Wright, p. 116

The uppermost tier of the pavement consists of two images of Bhavānī one at each side. Bhūpatīndramalla completed the main chok (Mulchok), and he also renovated the doors of the Taleju shrine and the gate leading to this courtyard. In the noting of the *Thyāsapu C* the celebration of the completion of Nyātapola was observed on *Samvat 822 Āṣāḍha śudī*, and a *Kotyāhuti* was performed to inaugurate the opening of the shrine.

Facing the Nyātapola just in the vicinity to its south-east within the courtyard of the Taumadhiṭol is a temple of Bhairava. This construction owes also to Bhūpatīndra's munificence. The deity set up in the shrine is described as Ākāṣabhairava. The temple was completed on *837 Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 7 śravaṇa nakṣatra śanaiścharavāra* (Saturday, April-May, 1717 A.D).

His son Raṇajitamalla has the honour of figuring along with his father in several inscriptions as co-partner and co-sharer in building temples and other devotional activities, although as a child the latter could not be aware of his kingly responsibilities. Raṇajitamalla was born on *823 Mārgaśira śudī 10*. According to the *Thyāsapu F* he was fed on cereals on a day of ceremony, which was held in Thimi on *Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa dvitīyā*.

Bhūpatīndramalla constructed a water conduit (toyapraṇāli) in Kwālakhutol, Thimi on *81...Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 12 revatī saubhāgya bṛhaspativāsare* (Stone inscription on wall). In the foreground of the Royal Palace he built several temples at different dates. He also dedicated a large bronze bell to the Goddess Taleju on *825 Jyeṣṭha śudī 2*. The bell is placed under a roofed structure in front of the Royal Palace. According to the inscription of Doleśvara (*828 Māgha vadi 9*). Bhūpatīndra repaired the temple and set up a new gold finial on its top.

Viśvalakṣmi, the queen of Bhūpatīndra made a gift of lands of 20 *ropanis* to Brahmāyanīdevī as *gosthi* in Pannauti

on 837 *Aṣāḍha śukla 9 chitra nakṣatre śivayoge ādityavāsare*. The temple is situated at a site on the confluence of Līlavati and Nīlavati.

It appears that Hāku Bhāju who is a witness in the Taleju copper plate inscription of 816 was the Chief Minister as Bhūpatīndramalla began his reign. As his name appears prominently in all records until 833, he must have continued to serve the state in that capacity for quite a long time but how long he was the Chief Minister of state we do not know for want of information on the subject. Inscriptions of the later years do not mention Hāku Bhāju anywhere.

Hāku Bhāju appears as a witness in the last available inscription of Jitāmitramalla in the copper plate inscription of 816 *Phālguna śukla 12*. Obviously he was a minister in the last phase of Jitāmitra's reign.

In the copper plate inscription of 818 *Māgha śukla 15*, which records a grant of land to Taleju by Yoganarendramalla, he figures along with Chautārā Gvagala Bhā of Patan as a witness; Hāku Bhāju is called as one belonging to Raghu's race and as Rautta.

Some inscriptions of the reign of Bhūpatīndramalla refer to 'the time of Pramāṇa Hāku Bhāju' e.g.

(1) A slab of stone on the wall of a Pāṭi in front of the pond of Talachchhe in Bhatgaon. This is dated 828 *Māgha kṛṣṇa hasta nakṣatre śūlayoge haritithi sahite vāsare bhārgavaśya* and records the building of the *patrika* to honour the deities Śrī 3 Umā-Maheśvara.

(2) A stone on the wall of a Pāṭi close to the temple of Nārāyaṇa in Jyānātol in Bhatgaon with the date 82... *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa bṛhaspati*. Here Hākubhāju is called *pradhānāṅga*.

(3) A stone in the temple of Mahādeva in Vakuṭol in Banepā. This is a record describing the installation of the Phallus Jāgeśvara on 828 *Phālguna śukre śaṅkara tithau chandradeive budhe*.

(4) A stone on the wall of a Pāṭi with a *phalecha* within the precincts of the temple of Bhagavati in Kwachchhe in Bhatgaon. The structure was built by the *pañchas* of the *tol* on 833 *Chaitra kṛṣṇa pakṣe navamīpara daśamī dhaneṣṭā nakṣatra śuklayoga budhavāra* etc.

It is said that Bhūpatīndramalla was an ambitious ruler and he had designs on Patan and Kathmandu, and in moments of crisis overtaking the latter he used to take advantage of the situation to invade their territories. In that course he met with many a rebuff and on one occasion he was almost killed, and got his freedom on payment of a ransom to the Patan Minister (see below Patan Account).

The chronicle gives account of his daring raids into neighbouring territories. We have already recounted the story which tells us that he was checkmated by rulers of Patan and Kathmandu. His career was much turbulent in between 825 and 837. In the beginning of his reign he could not pursue his adventure due to the fact that there was seated on the throne a strong ruler in Patan and affairs in Kathmandu were not such as to invite his attention. As early as 818 *Māgha śukla pūrṇimā*, Bhūpatīndramalla was obliged to receive Yoganarendramalla at his palace and allow him to perform a ceremony in honour of the Goddess Taleju and donate some land.⁷⁹ One of the witnesses to the statement inscribed in the copper plate is Bhūpatīndramalla himself, and this suggests that the two rulers had developed friendly ties. In 818 again the rulers of the three principalities of the Valley swore not to give shelter to Kantu Ojbā and his kinsmen, who had intrigued to cause the death of many dignitaries and brought frictions in the relationship subsisting between the three branches of the ruling Malla family (See for detail the account of Patan). According to the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 94) Kathmandu was isolated on 819 *Māgha śukla 11 aṅgāra-*

⁷⁹ Copper plate at the Mulchok dated 818 *Māgha śukla 15*. n. 105 in our Appendix.

vāra, Patan and Bhatgaon having combined. On this day Bhūpatīndramalla marched to Thimi. Bhatgaon sent its *Miramha juju* (referring to Ugramalla) to defend the outpost. He stayed there the whole night and was able to repulse the attack, "Bhūpatīndra's relation with Kathmandu became strained and the two rulers remained at cross purposes for sometime more.

It appears from two copper plates (in the main courtyard of the palace of Bhatgaon) that he had pledged words not to go into cross purposes both with Yoganarendramalla (822 *Mārga kṛṣṇa* 9) and Bhāskaramalla (823 *Śrāvāṇa śudī* 2) and maintain everlasting peace and friendship with these rulers. We have already given the text of the agreement which Bhūpatīndramalla had concluded with Kathmandu. He seems to have patched up with Bhāskaramalla's government though the terms of the agreement were not all in his favour.

But the terms he and Yoganarendramalla accepted for the agreement went to his advantage. By this, Patan was debarred from negotiating with Kathmandu without the consent of Bhatgaon. If Patan acted otherwise, it was to pay a penalty of Rs. 40,000 which was kept as a security in behalf of king Yoganarendramalla. The inscription incorporating this provision shows five parties—Patan, Bhatgaon, Gorkhā, Mackwānpur and Upādhyā, all of which pledged friendship stating that one's enemy be regarded as the enemy of the other and also one's friend as the common friend. The inscription further tells us that Bhatgaon, Gorkhā, Mackwānpur Upādhyā had combined to compel Patan to give this undertaking. We find it difficult to know the identity of the east-country mentioned as Upādhyā.

Patan appears as a weaker party in this record. Bhūpatīndramalla had successfully manouevred to set Gorkhā, Mackwānpur and one more party, Upādhyā against Patan. But in reaching an agreement with Bhāskaramalla about a year and seven months later, Bhūpatīndramalla not only

consented to deny passage to Patan without Kathmandu's approval but at the same time accepted the latter's lead in all matters which required consultation between kings.

We do not know under what circumstances Bhūpatīndramalla concluded these agreements. Surely one purpose of his agreement with Patan was to break its relation with Kathmandu, and force it to live in peace with Bhatgaon. It could be a strategy to isolate Kathmandu and pave the way for its domination by Bhatgaon. But Bhūpatīndra's design was frustrated by Kathmandu, whose leaders succeeded in imposing a settlement on him, which could only keep Bhatgaon and Patan apart.

But nearly three years later Patan's king, Yoganarendramalla denounced the agreement of 822 NS and led an expedition to attack Bhatgaon with a considerable force. However, the attempt to subjugate Bhatgaon failed as the Patan ruler died of poisoning in his camp at Chāngu on 826 *Kārtika śukla 11*.⁸⁰

Since a year or so before Yoganarendramalla died Patan and Kathmandu had been allies. But contrary to expectation, the inhabitants of Kathmandu tried to plunder the Royal Palace of Patan taking advantage of the situation following Yoganendra's death, while Bhūpatīndra helped the daughter of the deceased to find a successor and maintain order in the capital. According to the chronicle Bhūpatīndramalla personally supervised the crowning ceremony of Lokaprakāśa and put the vermilion mark on the latter's forehead. Whatever be the motive Bhūpatīndramalla had shown his generosity in helping Yogamatī to crown her son. He could have exploited the occasion to fulfil his own ambition. Perhaps looking at Kathmandu's attitude, he did not think it proper to act otherwise.

Patan, however, turned to join hands with Kathmandu

⁸⁰ *Thyāsapu A* f. 103.

inspite of Bhūpatīndra's friendly assistance in the crisis of 826 NS.

According to a noting in the ms. *Sārasvatavyākaraṇa*,⁸¹ Obhu was attacked by Patan and Kathmandu four times on 829 *Phālguna kṛṣṇa 12 Friday*, but the attack was repulsed, the invaders having fled. Earlier on 828 *Āṣāḍha vaddhi 6* Kathmandu and Patan had combined. Kathmandu had also tried to attack Bhatgaon with its own strength after their combined attack on Obhu had failed. It is stated that Patan and Kathmandu fell apart soon after their combined attack on Obhu had failed, Patan also went over to Bhatgaon and thus Kathmandu was isolated.

One gold plate inscription (Palace courtyard) speaks of Bhūpatīndra's *khedā* operation in NS 832 *Mārga kṛṣṇa* in the forest of Terai in the company of Mānikasena of Mackwānpur. The chronicle states that he had friendly relations with Mackwānpur, and he often sought the latter's assistance in dealing with his adversaries in the Valley. In 839 with Mackwānpur's backing Bhūpatīndra attempted to capture some strategic outposts belonging to Patan on the Patan-Bhatgaon border. But he was heavily defeated and was forced to pay a heavy sum of money as tribute.

For the rest of his life since 839 Bhūpatīndramalla was not as active as he used to be before. He delegated powers of government to his son who was now quite grown up. He did not retire but watched how his son handled the affairs of state.

Bhūpatīndramalla was a dynamic personality. For years together he had dominated the political situation in the

81 सम्बत् ८२८ आषाढ वद्धि ६ थुकुन्ह यव यरव उजु दिन जुर ॥

सम्बत् ८२६ ॥ फाल्गुन कृष्ण द्वादशी ए. शु. ध, शि. शु. कु. म यया यलया ओभुस हतार वडाव पेपार ओडान चायकेमफु ॥ थ्व वेरस भागेश जुयावर यलया यया पजापनि सकरेविस्प ओर । थो वेरस यं याकात जुर शुभमस्तु सर्वदा ।

Nepal Valley. But he was not always a victor. He met with rebuffs quite often. He, however, persued his objective undaunted by defeats.

Bhūpatīndra was feared by his neighbours and he had succeeded in establishing the reputation of Bhatgaon as a principality militarily equal to Patan and Kathmandu, which was not the case before in the time of his father and grandfather. About him Father Desideri has said that he was the only ruler of Bhatgaon in a long span of hundred years not to have paid tributes (however small) to the king of Kathmandu.⁸²

Bhūpatīndra's two wives often figure in inscriptions. One of these, Viśvalakṣmī who appears as a donor of a *goṣṭhi* in the Pannauti (Brahmāyanī temple) inscription of 836 was the mother of the crown prince. She was the queen consort. The other Jayalakṣmī addressed as wife of the king (Rājapatnī) in the Tāleju inscription of Yoganarendramalla was probably a concubine raised to a higher status.

Bhūpatīndramalla is claimed as one of the important writers of Maithili lyrics. His *Padāvalī*, a collection of verses, containing about 100 devotional poems are highly praised by critics (*Bhāṣāgīta* ms. (B) No. 37).⁸³

He copied for mere curiosity *Māghakāvya* with *Subodhinī* commentary on 787. (*bhujāṅga bhogi saptibhirmite śakesite budhe navusya māsi mitrabhe*).⁸⁴ He also completed a copy of *Sūryasahasranāmastotram* on 815 *Māgha śudī* || (*Śrī Śrī Bhūpatīndramalla Mahārājādhirājana*).⁸⁵ He has also to his credit a large number of Maithili cum Newari dramatic works, which we shall enumerate in another section. He wrote a number of hymns in honour of deities, some of which are

82 *Italiani Missionari* etc.

83 Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1450.

84 J. K. Miśra. I. 246.

85 In the possession of Eiśvaradhara.

inscribed on stones. We obtain the most important of these hymns in the stone inscriptions of Akāśa Bhairava and Doleśvara (828 *Māgha vadi* 9). The bewailing of Dhṛtarāṣṭra in his drama *Mahābhārata* (published by *Baṅga Sāhitya Pariṣad*) are expressed in lines full of pathos fitting the theme.

We have also a number of poems of his time in Newari. These are mostly devotional in character. A collection of such songs of his time and for the entire Malla period is available in a small publication.

Raṇajitamalla (1722-1769)

Father Desideri in his diary notes that while he was in Nepal in 1722, January 14-22 (*Māgha* =, 842) the ruler on the throne in Bhatgaon was Bhūpatīndramalla.⁸⁶

His Ṭhimi inscription dates 841 *Chaitra kṛṣṇa trayodaśi (uttarabhādra nakṣatre viśkambhajoge bṛhaspativāre simharāśi gata savitāri mīnarāśi gata chandramasi)*. According to the chronicle Bhūpatīndramalla died on the 3rd day of *Vaiśākha śukla* in 842 (= April-May, 1722)⁸⁷ and was succeeded by his son Raṇajitamalla who struck coin in his name dating 842 to commemorate his enthronement. We have four coins of different designs in Raṇajita's name (Walsh, Pl. II, 4, 6, 7, 8).⁸⁸ The third, a half mohar, has in the reverse (from left to right) *Samvat 842 Vaiśā su 15*.⁸⁹ It will not be wrong to suggest that this coin gives the exact date of his coronation. With him it was a custom to stamp the date of his succession in all his documents whether a copper plate or a palm leaf and all of them without exception bear 842 *Vaiśākha*. His mother Viśvalakṣmī's copper plate inscription of Mulchok (Bhatgaon) refers to the reigning king Raṇajitamalla, her son, in the month of *Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa on śaptamī para aṣṭamī rohiṇī*

86 *Missionari Italiani*, etc. Vol. II, Part III, Pp. 13-16.

87 Wright gives a wrong date, 3 *Phālgua vadi*, 841.

88 Figure 6 is a quarter *mohar*, while figure 7 is a half *mohar*.

89 Walsh read *Vaiśākha 15*. (p. 723)

nakṣatre harṣana yoge budhavāre simharāṣī gate savitari vṛṣarāṣī gate chaṅdramasi of 842, the date on which it was issued.⁹⁰ Sixteen months later Lālamatīdevī, mother of Bhūpatīndra, donates some land in honour of the Iṣṭadevatā, the Goddess Tāleju, to perpetuate the memory of her departed son (*divaṅgatasya*). The inscription is dated 843 *Āśvina śudi 8 bṛhaspativāra, etc.*

On the door frame of the golden gate of the palace in Bhatgaon there is inscribed a line, *Nāladum pūrva dudhkoṣī paśchima Dolakhā sahita rājye yānāva*, which meant 'he was ruling over in an extensive territory east of Nāldum upto Dudhkoṣī including Dolkhā'. This gate with door frames of gold was built by Raṇajītamalla along with his wife Jayalakṣmī after performing the *Koti* sacrifice on his conquest of alien lands (*jītvā pareṣām mahīm*), as he came back acquiring by conquest territories of others. Raṇajītamalla had an extensive domain stretching far in the east to river Dudhkoṣī and the portion from this river to Dolkhā (in No. 2 district east) was probably occupied by him in course of military pursuits.

In the colophon of an astronomical work *Jaiminīya Upadeśasūtram*,⁹¹ Raṇajītamalla uses *inter alia* the expression as epithet, *Dudhakaṣīkyāyām paśchima mate Indumatyāyām pūrvva mate Himavatdakṣinapāde Nepāleśvara gaubrāhmaṇa rakṣapālake*. The colophon is dated 874 *Srāvaṇa kṛṣṇa 15 ādityavāra*. He was a devout Hindu, a protector of Brāhmaṇas and cows.

It appears that about this time Raṇajītamalla had succeeded in occupying the upper region of what is now called the East No. 1 District comprising Nāldum and Mahādevapokharī and all areas to the east of this region. But whereas the link to Dudhkoṣī was maintained through the traditional route, the upper region of the area now known East No. 1 and 2

90 Unpublished.

91 Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1209.

districts were probably restored to Kathmandu, at whose cost the Bhatgaon ruler had pushed his conquest.

An inscription of Raṇajītamalla recording the grant of land for the necessary repair of the temple of Bhagavatī in Kwāchhe on 854 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 8* mentions certain names of ministers headed by Pradhānaṅga Yajñanārāyaṇa. Yajñanārāyaṇa is a witness to the record in the Tāleju copper plate inscription of 851 *Chaitra kṛṣṇa 11 budhavāra*. He must have been the Chief Minister at the time. But in the absence of any further information about the man, we are not in any position to write anything more of his career.

Raṇajītamalla enjoyed a long reign which lasted till November, 1769 A.D. For sometime he also ruled over Patan on invitation by the ministers of that principality (see below). It is quite probable that at that date he had retired from kingly duties owing to old age. His time was disturbed by Gorkhā invasion and he had his own troubles from his many illegitimate issues.

In 1740 Raṇajītamalla faced a severe crisis over the question of succession on account of his illegitimate sons and he was almost overthrown. Father Cassino who was then in Bhatgaon gives an eye-witness account of the whole event in his journal, which is of profound interest. He writes, 'The king had a legitimate issue, a male child of two years of age by his queen, whom he wanted to declare as heir to the throne. But this proposition was disliked by a concubine, who was a strong favourite of the king and she pressed for the claim of her own son. Consequently, the announcement of an heir-apparent was being delayed. This greatly inflamed public passion and the people revolted to express their feeling in favour of the legitimate successor. There was a minister who came from a non-aristocratic family and he advised the king not to listen to the concubine in the interest of the state. Thereafter, the two year old child was announced as the crown prince. But his mother could not live in peace at

the palace where her rival had all the powers and as she scented dangers ahead even for her child, she left Bhatgaon unnoticed with the custody of the heir-apparent and came to Thimi. It was said that the minister had helped her to escape. Here in Thimi the people gave her a rousing welcome and the heir-apparent was declared the sovereign of the country. The people of Nala and some other areas followed Thimi and declared their allegiance to the boy king. Raṇajita was placed in an awkward position. Reports of mutinies from all over the kingdom were reaching him. The king did not want bloodshed. He wanted to exert himself for a peaceful settlement. Therefore, he called a general council of his people on the 26th of April, 1742. In the meeting they were to 'freely express their feeling and give opinion'. They all came to one of the 12 courtyards of the king's mansion. It was evening, and dark all around. All of them sat under a canopy ; now two doors were opened which from the public square allowed entrance to the inner apartment where the king was seated. In order to allow free passage to those coming inside, the guards had been removed. Anyone who wanted to voice his feeling could come without hindrance. There were a great many of such people. All of them had their faces covered to hide their identity and spoke in affected tone not to be recognised. Some scolded the king, even called him bad names ; others threatened him with dire consequences and still a few more tendered what one would like to call a simple advice. This went on until one hour after midnight had passed and those assembled then dispersed. The king deferred his judgement for the next day. The night council which was then held rarely met. It was held only when a large number of people felt dissatisfied with the ruler, and turned hostile. But no threat to the life of a ruler was meant even if this happened. The people disliked bloodshed. However, when they were driven to extremes, they overthrew the king and put him in chains for sometime without inflicting any injury to his body and then would banish him. What

decision Raṇajītamalla took on this particular issue, the fathers did not know. But at one time their good office was sought for the solution of the dispute, which they had refused. The king of Kathmandu seemed to be behind this trouble. After a few days another incident confirmed such doubts. The queen on one festival day left Ṭhimi and came to the river Bagmati and also took away the boy king with her. She had gone over to take shelter in the kingdom of Jayaparakāśamalla, and had crossed the frontier. But there was a lot of scandalous talks'.⁹²

A copper plate inscription of the temple of Bālakumārī in Ṭhimi, dated 860 *vaddi 1 bṛhaspativāra*, speaks of Raṇajitamalla's queen Bṛddhilakṣmī to have been at the date taking refuge in Ṭhimi with her son the crown prince (Sahebaju).⁹³ Now, this record comes to support the statement made by Father Cassino about the flight of the queen and her son over the question of succession. We know from the *Thyāsapu F* that the prince was born in Ṭhimi on *Srāvāṇa kṛṣṇa 2* of 858 (= August, 1738 A. D).

About this time Raṇajitamalla lost a fort to Patan on the border of his territory, where it was contiguous with Mackwānpur and Patan. By taking advantage of his difficulties, king Jayaparakāśamalla invaded some forts near Bhaktapur and after inflicting a severe casualty on the defenders captured them and here he stationed his troops as a permanent threat to the safety of the capital itself. But these were evacuated after sometime. The Capuchin Father who gave the above report in one of his notings to Rome says that this time the evacuation by Kathmandu came as a result of settlement agreed to by the two rulers, which outlived the average duration of such agreements in the past (Letter by Liberio Da Fermo, 24 October, 1742 A. D).⁹⁴

92 *Italiani Missionari* etc, Vol. II, Part IV, p. 33.

93 Inscription n. 143 in our Appendix.

94 Vol. II, IV, p. 33. *Italiani Missionari* etc.

Raṇajitamalla's life story is much connected with the developments leading to the capture of the Valley by the Gorkhāli Rājā Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh.

According to two inscriptions⁹⁵ of Banepā both dated 871 (*Phālgūṇa śukla divākara tithau valegurau brahmabhe...māse śuchau balakṣa balite pakṣa 10 bhṛgudine nakṣatre pavanābhide* respectively). Raṇajitamalla's wife Bṛddhilakṣmī along with her son Devendramalla built a wooden bridge and a temple where she set up the image of Umā-Maheśvara. Raṇajitamalla had patched up with his queen in about a year's time and she returned to Bhatgaon. Her baby son was also declared crown prince soon after. We do not know if Devendramalla was the person referred to as the only legitimate son in 1740 A. D. by Father Desideri.

It appears that in the year 873 NS he appointed his son as the Regent of the kingdom. An inscription of that year has *Bhaktapura mahānagare Md Śrī Śrī Jaya Raṇajitamalladeva prabhu ṭhākura, Śrī Śrī Vīranarasimhamalladeva prabhu ṭhākura nemha ṭhākurasya vijayarājye (873 Phālgūṇa māsa śukla 2 revati nakṣatre śukrajoge budhavāsare*. This record commemorates the occasion of setting up some images in the monastery. It is difficult to say if Vīranarasimha had succeeded Devendramalla as crown prince on the latter's death or if the former was himself the eldest son who accompanied Bṛddhilakṣmī on her flight and later declared as crown prince.

Since 1754 A. D. the Nepal Valley was exposed to attacks by Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh who had conquered the ridge of Noakoṭ and adjoining areas. But the three rulers were still divided and engaged in mutual recriminations and hostilities.

The Gorkhā king acted to create further dissention by siding with Bhatgaon as against Kathmandu. He proposed

95 Two slabs of stones on the wall of a Pāṭi near the bridge in Pulubazar in Banepā.

to Raṇajitamalla the idea of a joint expedition to capture Nāldum and Mahādeopokharī, two outposts situated in the north-east outside the Valley, some 18 miles from Kathmandu, which also fell within its jurisdiction. The armed forces of Gorkhā and Bhatgaon captured Nāldum and Mahādeopokharī on *Śaka 1668 Bhādra 17 Wednesday* (early September, 1746 A. D). As the defenders withdrew Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh cleverly manipulated to retain the occupation of the strategic outposts, while he allowed only a few villages on the outskirt to be controlled by the forces of Bhatgaon. This, however, was resented by Raṇajitamalla who was also at the time warned by Jayaprakāśamalla against putting too much reliance on the faithfulness of his new ally who was determined to grab the entire Valley of Nepal. Bhatgaon was made to realise that its intimate relation and partnership with Gorkhā would ultimately help the latter to carry out successfully his designs for the conquest of the whole of Nepal. Thereupon Raṇajitamalla broke with Gorkhā and became an ally of Kathmandu. He also lent assistance to Jayaprakāśamalla in wresting back the two outposts, which had been annexed to Gorkhā. Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh retreated to Noakoṭ unable to meet the combined forces of Bhatgaon and Kathmandu.

However, the alliance between Jayaprakāśa and Raṇajita proved quite temporary, and we find the latter once again seeking to harass Kathmandu with Gorkhā's help. This was much in evidence while Jayaprakāśa was involved in internal dispute with his Omraos. Taking advantage of the situation of Kathmandu the king of Bhatgaon attacked Chāṅgu and Sāṅkhu, and succeeded in inflicting a defeat on the Kathmandu army. Although with Patan's help these places were cleared of the invaders the attack by Bhatgaon indicated that the rulers of the Nepal Valley had not reconciled with a proper assessment of awareness of the impending danger to the very existence.

Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh was not slow to feel the invincible

might of the three kingdoms of the Nepal Valley in union. His advantages lay in their division. If he could deal with his enemies one by one and not collectively, his victory over them was certain. Above all, he was interested in weakening Jayaprakāśmalla who was his principal enemy zealous and patriotic to give him a tough fight and who also did not lack requisite talent and resources. This could be done if the long standing rivalry between Bhatgaon and Kathmandu were kept alive for in this situation Kathmandu's attention remained always distracted. Luckily for him, Raṇajitamalla had a deep distrust of Jayaprakāśmalla's intention towards his principality and he unhesitatingly accepted Gorkhā as a countervailing force to checkmate any design Kathmandu might have on Bhatgaon. Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa on his part not only assured him of his full support against Jayaprakāśa but also kept up a pretence as long as he could that he was not at all acting against the interest of Bhatgaon in fighting the other two kings of the Nepal Valley.

Having struck a deal with Bhatgaon and lulled its king Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa now looked forward to grab territories at the cost of Kathmandu and Patan. The Gorkhā ruler invaded and recaptured Nāldum and Mahādeopokharī with the assistance and cooperation of Bhatgaon on *Śaka 1676 Śrāvaṇa 21 Thursday at 35 ghaṭi* (=early August, 1754 A.D). He was already in occupation of Dahachok, a ridge overlooking the Valley on the north-west. He was able to penetrate so far close into the outskirts of the Valley through a southern thrust from Noakoṭ. Dahachok was an important military fortress of Kathmandu, which commanded passage through a descent both to Kirtipur and Kathmandu. In regard to the control of the newly conquered area in the north-east it was suggested by the king of Bhatgaon that Nāldum should be left under him. But Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh evaded the request stating that Bhatgaon would find it much difficult to retain the strategic outpost if the assault came from Kathmandu. He, however promised, to extend military assistance to Bhatgaon

if Raṇajitamalla was keen to conquer Chāṅgu. A plan for the joint expedition to Chāṅgu was then agreed by both parties. Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh was to join Bhatgaon's forces at Jitpur and from there they were to march to Chāṅgu. It was said that Bhatgaon's armed force had misgiving about the sincerity of Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh and the commander Paraśu-rāma Thāpā had reluctantly given his concurrence to the proposal to attack Chāṅgu only on his king's insistence. The ministers of Bhatgaon knew that the move would further antagonise Jayaprakāśa while making Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa stronger at his cost and with little or no benefit at all to the king of Bhatgaon principality. The Gorkhā king could have gained a control of a strategic area inside the Valley if his plans had materialised. But while at Jitpur he confronted a superior offensive launched on two sides by Kathmandu and Patan combined, and eventually he was forced to abandon the battle field and escape to Bhatgaon where he remained as a refugee for about a year.

According to the chronicle the king of Kathmandu wrote to Raṇajitamalla demanding the surrender of Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa's person. He pleaded that this would remove for good the threat of invasion of the Nepal Valley by a cunning foe, and if Gorkhā was seriously dealt with, ultimately this would work for the common interest and good of the three kingdoms. But Raṇajitamalla with his innate prejudices against the king of Kathmandu, and in accordance with the tradition of hospitality rejected Jayaprakāśa's request for his opponent's surrender. In the meantime Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa returned to Noakoṭ, passing through Nāldum, and there bided time for planning new tactics and strategies for his military ventures.

But the Jitpur incident did much to strain Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa's relation with Bhatgaon. It was now clear to him that in a crucial hour he could not rely on Bhatgaon's promise of support and co-operation. Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa also created suspicion in the mind of Raṇajitamalla by arbitrarily asking

him to send Paraśurāma Thāpā to Gorkhā. He accused the commander of lack of loyalty to the cause, to which both Gorkhā and Bhatgaon were pledged. But to Raṇajitamalla this allegation appeared without any substance and there was no question of punishing his commander for the defeat at Jitpur. Rather he now felt that the Gorkhā ruler had evil designs on Bhatgaon, and had tried to weaken its position by trying to deprive the state of the services of its able military leaders. Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa's intentions were further exposed sometime later while he schemed to capture and detain Raṇajitamalla himself in Palāñchok, which the Bhatgaon king foiled by refusing to move beyond Dhulikhel. Palāñchok was just annexed to Gorkhā which had also conquered the entire stretch of territories on the outskirts of the Valley, which lay in the west and north, Pharping, Chitlāng, Dahan-chok, Śivapurī and Sindhu, these falling within a short time one after the other. Śivapurī was captured on *Śaka 1681 Āsāḍha 11 Sunday* (=last week of June, 1759), while Palāñchok had fallen to the invaders a little later. Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa's plan was to capture the Kābbre area including Dhulikhel, Banepā and Pannauti, all of which fell within the jurisdiction of Bhatgaon. The fort of Kābbre was attacked on *Śaka 1681 Māgha 9*, (=4th week of January 1759), but it took nearly three months to reduce it to submission. This was the first time Bhatgaon faced the invasion, otherwise it was left untouched. But the invasion of Kābbre made it clear that Gorkhā had no intention of leaving Bhatgaon alone. Now the breach between Gorkhā and Bhatgaon was complete. Raṇajitamalla did no longer entertain an idea of cooperation in his dealing with Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh. Earlier to this, he had helped Patan to repel an invasion of Kirtipur by Gorkhā on *Śaka 1679 Jyeṣṭha 19* (=first week of May, 1757). The realisation of a common danger by the three rulers was in evidence. Unfortunately, however, the goodwill and cooperation between the three kings of the Nepal Valley, that were generated in the critical days of Gorkhā's attack on Kirtipur

did not prove enduring. Even as Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh was engaged in seizing territory after territory all round the Valley with a view to blocking its communications, the Malla kings were also fighting one another. The realisation of a common danger was there, but there was enough of mutual antagonism to keep the parties hostile with the result that the Nepal principalities were divided enabling Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa to fight each of them singly and overwhelm them piecemeal with his might.

Mackwānpur was annexed to Gorkhā in *Āśvina* of Śaka 1684, Its last stronghold at Harīharpur falling to the invaders on 22nd day of the month (=first week of October). The Nepal Valley was already blocked from the northern and western sides. With the possession of Mackwānpur Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa could blockade it from the south as well. The east was the only side left to the Nepal Valley for contacts with the outside world. The outlet was through the south-east. But as the Gorkhā ruler was determined to plug even this hole, he advanced to Sindhuli from Palāñchok taking south-easterly march, all areas belonging to Bhatgaon west of the river Sunkosi were thus cut off, and they eventually fell to Gorkhā. This meant that although no occupation of territory was effected in the immediate east of the Valley its communication both with Tibet and India had now come to be disturbed. We shall note that with Noakoṭ and Palāñchok in the hands of Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh, the Valley's access to the Tibetan frontier had been barred.

A little later Bhatgaon was reduced to the size of the area originally held by it within the geographical limits of the Valley in the eastern sector near about the capital city. In about a year's time in Śaka 1685 (=1762-1763 A.D.) Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh occupied Dhulikhel (*10 Kārtika ādityavāra*=last-week of October 1763) Chaukoṭ, Khaḍpu and Pannauti (*11 Kārtika somavāra*), Banepā and Sāngā (*14 Kārtika roja 5*). Although about the sametime the Gorkhā

conqueror captured the fort of Pharping (20 *Kārtika budhavāra*) Chobār and Bisan̄khu (22 *Pauṣa budhavāra*) all within the principality of Patan situated in the Valley he did not attempt to occupy any more territory belonging to Bhatgaon, thus leaving Raṇajitamalla to enjoy his reign in that quarter until he was finally overthrown at the end of 1769 A.D.

The subsequent story of Bhatgaon from 1763 to 1769 A.D is told in connection with the life and career of Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh in a separate Volume. So we need not pursue our narrative here any further. It shall appear that Bhatgaon was the last of the three kingdoms in the Nepal Valley to fall to Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh. As Patan and Kathmandu were conquered, Jayaprakāśa and Tejanarasimha took refuge in Bhatgaon and the Gorkhā ruler offered to leave Raṇajitamalla as the master of the principality if he surrendered the royal refugees to the conqueror. But the offer was turned down stating that a true Kṣatriya could never withhold his protection from those who were placed in his charge. In consequence Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh retaliated by attacking Bhatgaon.

Partly from his deep distrust of Jayaprakāśa's motives and partly due to insufficient realisation of the dangers then threatening the Valley, Raṇajitamalla failed to act in a manner which would have succeeded in averting the crisis and frustrating the design of the Gorkhā invader. Raṇajitamalla was not as vain and cruel as his counterpart in Kathmandu. He was comparatively a man with kindly disposition given to religious duties, who had also adhered to the heroic ideals of the warrior class. He had a refined taste for the artistic side of life, and himself stood as a poet and playwright of distinction. He was a highly enlightened person who valued knowledge more than material gain. If the king of Kathmandu had prided in his riches and the king of Patan liked to call himself the ruler of the most populous state. Raṇajita-

malla felt considerable satisfaction from his vast collection of manuscripts, which covered all conceivable subjects on earth both in arts and sciences. He was the only legitimate and direct descendant of Yakṣamalla on the male line, and so enjoyed the highest respect in Nepal on that account. For his mature age and experience Raṇajitamalla commanded also wide popularity and his counsels were listened to with respect. All this was due to personal factors. But on other accounts too Raṇajitamalla was favourably placed. So as to be able to influence the general trend of politics in the Valley as a whole. He inherited a kingdom which was blessed with stability being ruled for two generations by monarchs of ripe age and experience. This gave unique strength to his own regime unknown to Kathmandu and Patan, which for that period had suffered the worst kind of instability as their rulers were all of immature age, and were influenced by men invidiously working to further their own ends. In the circumstances prevailing he might have utilised his position, influence and power to promote unity in the Valley in face of the common danger threatening the very existence of the Malla dynasty. But Raṇajitamalla failed to rise to the occasion. If Jayaprakāśa was vain, cruel and recalcitrant, if the Ministers in Patan had behaved treacherously and certainly all these were responsible for what befell the Nepal Valley, it was no less true that Raṇajitamalla though he was equal to the magnitude of the task could do little to save the situation. His fault is brought out in sharp focus by the fact that instead of correcting the wayward elements in Kathmandu and Patan he had allowed himself to be swayed by passions and prejudices reacting to what his neighbours were doing to harass him. But all this had brought disaster to the Nepal Valley, and ultimately uprooted the Malla dynasty altogether.

Raṇajitamalla was accused of trying to seize Kathmandu at a time when its king was bewailing the death of his only child. But I do not think that Raṇajitamalla was such a fool

as to entertain the idea of taking over the throne in Kathmandu in 883. This was not an opportune time. The Gorkhā troopers had already surrounded the Valley, and its fall seemed to every sensible man just a matter of time. Raṇajitamalla, himself a sagacious and farsighted man, would not have remained blind to what was happening in his country. We must remember that at that date Raṇajitamalla was not young to entertain adventurous and romantic frolics. So the accusation was wrongly directed. But there is no doubt that rivalry between the two kings stood in the way of their unity.

CHAPTER IV

KINGDOM OF PATAN

(I)

Patan Before Śivasimha (1482-1620 A.D.)

Nepalese chronicles in general mention Patan to have been handed over to the youngest son of Yakṣamalla and it is said that when he died without a male heir the throne went over to his sister whose descendants ruled over the country for about a century. A few names beginning with her husband and son are also mentioned as rulers. And it is said that the other two rulers of the Valley resented to see a non-Malla ruler on the throne in Patan. But as we have observed in the history of Kathmandu, the principality of Patan was for sometime under joint rule of Ratnamalla, Arimalla, and Rāmamalla. Rāmamalla died in *Kārtika* 636, and Ratnamalla in 640 NS. It appears that since 640 NS Patan became completely autonomous under one Viṣṇusimha and his successors. No inscriptions belonging to Yakṣamalla's line of successors have been traced in this area until we come to the time of Śivasimha (778-839 NS). As we know, Ratnamalla and his brothers had lost actual control of Patan before long. A feudatory family came to possess control of the affairs of the kingdom of Patan ever since Yakṣamalla's time. According to an inscription of a temple of Śiva in front of the Patan Darbar one ruler of the dynasty seems to be Viṣṇusimha who had constructed the temple. He is the first ruler of the line, who has documents to establish his reign period. This document is damaged, and the date figures are faded. But the few lines that are preserved show the names of his ancestors and herein lies the importance of the document. An inscription of Sonaguthi (about three miles further south.

from the city of Patan already referred to earlier) dated in NS 674 *Māgha śukla pañchamī somavāre makaragata sūrya* has a genealogy of Viṣṇusiṁha and these names in the list are noted in respectful terms and addressed as rulers (*Bhūpa nṛpa*).¹ This inscription was set up by Viṣṇusiṁha and dedicated to inaugurate the temple of Bhṛṅgāreśvara in Sonaguthi in the name of his father. In both the inscriptions Jayasiṁha is spoken of as the first ruler of the dynasty.

Viṣṇusiṁha's genealogy stands as follows according to the Sonaguthi inscription: Jayasiṁha, his son Kīrtisiṁha, his son Kusumasiṁha married to Jayalakṣmī, of the Vaiśya family, their son Viṣṇusiṁha with his two queens Padmāvati and Kamalalakṣmī and their sons, (1) Narasiṁha (Nṛsiṁha), (2) Purandarasiṁha (Puruhuti) and (3) Uddhavasīṁha.

These names up to Viṣṇusiṁha are repeated in the usual order both in the inscriptions of Purandarasiṁha and Uddhavasīṁha (see below).

Jayaprakāśamalla's Patan copper plate¹ notes one Śrī Śrī Jayasiṁhamalla to have issued the Bullu charter on *Samvat 549 Vaiśākha śukla daśamī* (=April-May, 1429 A.D.) which was reaffirmed by the Kathmandu ruler in 881 NS. This is also noted in a copper plate inscription of Jayaprakāśamalla lying at the temple of Gorakhanātha which bears the same date *549 Vaiśākha śukla 10*, for the first promulgation of the charter. The suffix *Malla* after the name being a courtesy reference to the rulers of those days should not lead us to think that he came of the original stock of Yakṣamalla. This name must in any case represent a ruler of the dynasty other than that of Yakṣamalla. But Jayasiṁha must have been a subordinate ruler under Yakṣamalla.

Jayasiṁha is known from 2 records of his time.

(1) An inscription on stone attached to in southern wall of the precincts of a temple in the Bhandārkhāl. This is dated

1 Inscription n. 152 in our Appendix

535 *Pauṣa śukla pūrṇamāsyām* 'dine *punarvasu nakṣatre vaidhṛtiyoge budhavāsare*. Jayasiṃha is noted here as the son of the feudatory (*pātra*) by name Yekuli Varmmā and his wife Dhanadalakṣmī (For detail read Inscription n. XLIX in our Appendix in the earlier Volume dealing with Medieval Nepal, 750-1540 A.D.). Yekuli Varmmā is said to have been living in Vanthunimha of Mānigala.

(2) Colophon of the ms. *Rāmāṅkanāṭikā* (Darb. Lib. Cat. IV) Jayasiṃha is addressed as *Dakṣiṇavihāra pradhāna mahā mahāpātra*. The date is confusing. But it may fall sometime in the time of Yakṣamalla, probably about NS 550 =1430 A.D. The colophon does not mention the reign.

(3) Lines inscribed on the pedestal of the image of Moon God on the eastern wall of the place as in No. 1 above with date *547 Kārtika śukla 15.....bharaṇī nakṣatre suddhi joge* show Dhanadalakṣmī (Inscription n. LIII in our earlier volume) who was probably the mother of Jayasiṃha. She appears as the wife of Yekuli Varmmā in n. 1 above.

But this record does not mention Jayasiṃha. We have seen (vide ante, Volume on Medieval Nepal, 750-1540 A.D.) that Patan was governed for quite a long time by three *pradhānapatras* who belonged to one or the other of the seven families of the nobility. But at times one of these would become extraordinarily powerful, ignore the throne and dominate the others.

As early as NS 403 (=1383 A.D.) Patan though yet the capital of Nepal was ruled by a High Feudatory as it appears from the following documents.

A record of land grant on palm leaf.² *Samvat 403 Māgha kṛṣṇa aṣṭamyām Śrī Lahniḥrumāyām | Śrī Mānigalakeḥ Pradhānāṅgapātra Śrī Anantapālavarmanasya Śrī Ujetapāla Varmanasya bharāta Sahanāmanasya Svakīyam Svabhujyemānikam||tasminneva Śrī Nogalkeḥ Chalachhatolake etc.*

2 In my possession.

(Doc. 1, App. below). The record has a date which falls in the reign of Anantamalla. Thus the antiquity of Patan Feudatory goes back to the 14th century A.D.

We have already seen how during Jaya Sthitimalla's time the three feudatories of the seven noble families were controlling Patan (Kumbheśvara inscription).

I think that Jayasiṃha was one of such feudatories. The colophon had omitted the reign while reserving for him honorifics suggestive of his immense power in the principality. He must have succeeded in gaining predominance in the locality both at the cost of the sovereign and his colleagues. But this seems to have been a temporary phase.

We have a copper plate inscription of 547 (I ba bahi, Patan) which shows Rājasimhamalla Varman and six other as *mahāpātras* of Patan. But these owed allegiance to the king whose reign is mentioned in the record (see the earlier volume). Rājasimha has also a drama which eulogises him as the lord of Patan.

The three *pradhānapātras* appear once again in the Sarasvatī temple inscription of the year 567 NS (Inscription n. LIX in our Appendix of the earlier Volume). In the colophon of the *Chaturāṅka Mahābhāratanaṭakam* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I, 449) the three Mahāpātras are noted but only one is mentioned by name, this is Udayasimhamalla Varmmā designated as Dakṣiṇavihāra Mahāpātra, but he is shown to be serving in the reign of Yakṣamalla. Similarly Kusumasimha who is noted as the son of Kirtisimha figures as one of the three Mahāpātras all mentioned by name in the colophon of the ms. *Syāddantakośasāra* of a later date (Kaisar Lib. n. 234). The colophon dates in 620 *Vaiśākha śukla 2* and was copied in the reign of the three sons of Yakṣamalla. It appears that upto this time Jayasimha's descendant had been able neither to monopolise into one hand the position and powers of the three feudatories nor to ignore the sovereign, which he does sometime later. From

two more records we are apprised of the existence of Mahāpātras other than the scion of Jayasim̄ha's family. These are the inscriptions variously dating in 634 and 635 (Inscriptions n. LXXXVIII in the earlier Volume). Not until the joint regime of Yakṣamalla's sons had ended, the rule of single mahāpātra over Patan seems to have emerged. It appears that in c. 650 (=1530 A.D), Viṣṇusim̄ha the greatgrandson of Jayasim̄ha, had succeeded in ousting the two of the three mahāpātras and concentrating all powers in his own hands as an unchallenged ruler of the almost independent principality of Patan.

There is absolutely no record of Yakṣamalla's descendants since 639 until we come to 725. This means that the feudatory rulers of Patan in this period had virtually ignored Yakṣamalla's rightful successors.

Viṣṇusim̄ha

Viṣṇusim̄ha has four more documents, (1) a stele and another (2) a copper plate (both in Subahal, Patan) (3) the third, a palm leaf grant and (4) the last, a damaged stele in the temple of Bhavāni in the Saubahal area. The stele has amongst others, *Srevostu Samvatsara 656 Vaiśākha śukla pūrṇimāsyām tithau viśākhā nakṣatre pariḡha yoge Sukravāsare bṛṣarāsi gate savitari tulārāsi gate chaṇdramāsi Śrī Māṇigala dakṣina vihāre Śrī jyeṣṭha vihāra kuṭumbaja pradhāna mahāpātra Śrī Jaya Viṣṇusim̄ha Varmmaṇasya khaḍga siddhi pratāpa bṛddhirastu.*³ The record commemorates the occasion of *jīrṇoddhāra* of Chaitya bhaṭṭāraka. The copper plate⁴ has, *Śreyostu Saṁvat 666 Āṣāḍha śukla ṣaṣṭi pra saptamyām tithau ādityavāsare.....Śrī Jaya Viṣṇusim̄hajuyā prajyāyasa* and records the repair of the Chaitya over which a gold umbrella was also set up. The monastery is called *Indradeva saṅskārīta Satakovihāra*. The palm leaf

3 Inscription n. 4 in our Appendix.

4 Inscription n. 7 in our Appendix.

grant gives the date 677 *Mārga śira kṛṣṇa dvādaśī Śrī Lalita-bhūmyām* and then, *Śrī Māṇigala dakṣiṇāstha Śrī Jyeṣṭha-vihāra yankuli mahāpātra Śrī Māṇigalādhipati Śrī Viṣṇusiṃhadeva ṭhākurasana prasādarapā*,⁵ etc.

The last record shows the prefix Yekuli mahāpātra as his title. This might be to indicate that he was born into the line of Yekuli Varmmā, the donor in the inscription n. LIX as above quoted.

Yakuli literally means north-east. Probably Yekuli Varmmā was himself a mahāpātra controlling the north-east of the Valley. In the north eastern part of Patan he had his headquarter.

We have two records of earlier dates belonging to Uddhavasimha. These are palm leaf grants of land, (1) *Svasti Saṃvat 680 Māgha kṛṣṇa pratipadyām Śrī Lalita-bhūmyām Māṇigala dakṣinasya Śrī Śrī Jaya Uddhavasimhadeva ṭhākurasana prasādarapā Śrī Valannihima dvijavara Śrī Hṛdayadeva śarmasa nāmne prasādi kṛtam*, etc,⁶ (2) *Saṃvat 684 Jyeṣṭha śukla 2 Śrī Jaya Uddhavasimha ṭhākurasana thambutola gvachchhegṛhaka Jakerāja Jayanasimha mela nāmni prasādikṛtam* etc, etc; (3) We have a palm leaf grant⁷ of 686 *Jyeṣṭha vadi* in the names of Jaya Narasimhadeva ṭhākura, Jaya Purandarasiṃha ṭhākura, Jaya Uddhavasimha ṭhākura, *thva trivayasa prasādarapā*, etc. A stone inscription of Uddhavasimha commemorating the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu by himself (a stele lying in the Nepal Museum) does not, however, give other names. This is dated 689 *Jyeṣṭha māse śukla pakṣe aṣṭamyām tithau pūrvaphālguṇi nakṣatre vajrayoge somavāsare*. The passage in the beginning invokes God Viṣṇu for his blessing and proceeds to give the donor's genealogy, which tallies with the one given by

5 In the possession of Eiśvaradhara Sharma.

6 In the possession of Suryachandrananda, Patan n. III in our Appendix.

7 In the possession of Eiśvaradhara Sharma, n. IV in our Appendix.

Viṣṇusimha. Uddhavasimha whose praise is sung in the inscription in several lines is spoken of as the son of Viṣṇusimha and Hṛdayalakṣmī. He is also noted as a ruler (*nṛpati*).

For Narasimha we have two documents, (1) one of himself, a stone slab on the platform of a temple of Gajendramokṣa Nārāyaṇa (Tumbahal), Patan; this has in the beginning after the invocation line, *Śreyostu Saṁvat 696 Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 9 kunhu*; at the end, *Vaikunṭha prāptirastumidaṁ Narasimhadeva ṭhākurasa prajaya juro*⁸ and (2) another dedicated to his memory (of *Dādā Narasimhaju*) by his younger brother Purandarasimha. This is a stone inscription dated *710 Kārtika śukla 2 jyeṣṭhā nakṣatre śukramāna yoga śukravāra vichha saṁkrānti kunhu* etc, commemorating the building of a temple with an image of God Narasimha⁹ within the palace square in Patan.

It appears that Viṣṇusimha was dead by NS 680. because in this year we notice a document in the name of his three sons. Probably they ruled jointly for some years. Viṣṇusimha calls himself Māṇiggalādhipati but at the same time he is also called Mahāpātra. Quite likely he owed nominal allegiance to the descendants of Yakṣamalla. In a stele of Uddhavasimha, Viṣṇusimha is mentioned as ruling over the kingdom of Māṇigala (*Māṇigalādhirājya ekātachhatrayānā vijyāka*).

It is indicative of his absolute rule over his territory, but no idea of the nature of sovereignty is gained by this.

Viṣṇusimha's title is just a Bhāro in the Paśupati copper plate of 668 NS, which is a document executed by all the rulers of the Nepal Valley to pledge mutual good conduct and friendship in the interest of peace and order of their respective domains and of common prosperity and happiness (see above). The title Bhāro is indicative of his position, which was not of the character associated with a ruler. But the fact that he was a signatory to the agreement along with those who were

8 Inscription n. 21 in our Appendix.

9 Inscription n. 25 in our Appendix.

sovereign rulers (of Bhatgaon and Kāntipur) shows that his position was nevertheless enviable. Viṣṇusim̐ha's position was as good as that of a high feudatory who enjoyed virtual independence ignoring the throne altogether.

Although in practice the Patan rulers exercised absolute powers in practice, they seem in theory to have acknowledged suzerainty of the Malla dynasty. But whether it was to Kathmandu or Bhatgaon or to both they paid nominal homage it is difficult to see.

It does not seem that Viṣṇusim̐ha and others of his dynasty ruled over a very extensive territory. The area of their principality was not even as much extensive as that of the kingdom of Patan, which came into being in 739. It comprised the city of Patan and a little more territory around it except in the west where the boundary extended to touch Tanhou beyond the Valley of Lāmidāṅdā. Patan under Viṣṇusim̐ha might have included Bungmati and Khoknā but not lands across the Bāgmati due west upto the Chitlāng range. The latter as we know from the copper plate inscription of 668 NS constituted a separate administrative unit under a *pramāṇa*, who was a co-signatory to the agreement. As we have seen Bhatgaon covered all areas as far as the present Thaiba inclusive of Harisiddhi, Bāndegaon and adjacent villages (Inscription of Jitamalla and Prāṇamalla at Thaiba). As Viṣṇusim̐ha's inscription of Bhṛṅgāreśvara shows, Sonāguthi was under Patan. But west of Bāgmati, there was the principality of Pharping ruled by its *Rābuttas*. However, we do not know how long the *Rābuttas* continued to maintain their hold in the area.

Purandarasiṁha

In a palm leaf record of 701 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 13* Purandarasiṁha alone is noted. This reads, *Svaṣṭi Saṁvat 701 Jyeṣṭha-kṛṣṇa 13 Śrī Śrī Jaya Purandarasiṁhadēva ṭhākurasana prasādarapā Śrī Vamlātōle vanla nimhā nivāsī dvijavara Śrī*

Hṛdayadevajuasa nāmnā prasādikṛtam. etc. This records a grant of land to the Brāhmaṇa named therein. But as we have another stele (see above) mentioning Narasiṃha's death and this is dated 710, it is hardly possible to make Purandarasiṃha the sole survivor of the brothers in 701. This record may show that since sometime before NS 710 he was the sole survivor of the three brothers ruling in Patan. In the fragment of a *Vaṃśāvalī* (India Office, Hodgson n. 52) Purandarasiṃha Ṭhākura is mentioned as the Rājā of Patan under date 703, 707. Probably he functioned as the sole ruler of Patan since NS 703. A stone inscription of a temple in Bhandārkhāl, which has a date 709 *Mārga kṛṣṇa 9* mentions Purandarasiṃha as the ruler, and he is given the title of Mahārāja. He adopts the *viruda* of Vīranārāyaṇa. The inscription records the ceremony of installing an image of Lakṣmī in a new temple in the memory of his late wife who was so much devoted to her husband. In this document he is compared with Yudhisthira. He is called the son of Rājā Viṣṇusiṃha. His son's name is given as Puruṣottamasiṃha standing as Dhanañjaya to Kṛṣṇa in ties with his father. Purandarasiṃha's wife Lalitalakṣmī is also noted. In view of the date of this inscription Purandara must have functioned as the sole ruler in Patan since earlier than 709. In the name of Purandarasiṃha the first record is an inscription on a slab of stone on the platform of a temple of Nārāyaṇa in the Darbar Square, Patan; this is dated 686 *Māgha kṛṣṇa trayodasi ādityavāsare kumbasthe amśumāli*.¹⁰ Here we have a genealogy of Viṣṇusiṃha who had married Padmalakṣmī, mother of the donor Purandarasiṃha (*Śrīmat Mahendra Purandara*). But this inscription starts the genealogy with Kīrtisiṃha.

10 The Inscription was set up to record the building of the temple by Purandarasiṃha. According to the twelfth verse, five images were set up, those of Nārāyaṇa (at the centre), Vāsudeva (east), Sankarasana (South), Pradyumna (West) and Aniruddha (East). The temple was dedicated to the memory of his father.

Amongst the various documents of the time of Purandarasiṃha there is an inscription in Khoknā, two miles south-west of the city of Patan, which shows amidst damaged letters the name of Purandarasiṃha ruling on 710 *Āśvina śukla dvitīyā chitra nakṣatre*. The copper plate of Kīrtipur (at the wall to the left on the door of Bāgbhairava), which has a date 707 *Kārtika śukla dvādaśī para trayodasi tithau uttarabhadra-nakṣatre vyāghāta yoge śukravāsare* says of him as ruling over Kīrtipur (*Śrī Śrī Purandarasiṃhadevena rajñā pālītāyam Śrī Kīrtipuryaṃ* perhaps the Rābuttas of Pharping were now no more, and the control of the area to the west of the river Bāgmāti had passed into the hands of Viṣṇusiṃha's sons.

Purandarasiṃha is the last ruler of Jayasiṃha's dynasty. His last document is a ms. *Saptaśati* dated NS 717 *Jyeshṭha śukla daśamyām hasta nakṣatre sudiyoge somavāsare*,¹¹ where he is called *Rājādhirāja* and there is also the expression *viṣṭarāṅge* to qualify the time. We have exactly the same expression used in another document. This is the colophon of the ms. *Tulāpuruṣamahādānagrahamakhamāṇḍalapaddhati ṭikā*,¹² which reads: *Samvat 710 Srāvāṇa māse śukle pakṣe tritīyāyām śukravāsare Śrīman mahārāja samastarāja guṇālaya Śrī Śrī Jaya Purandarasiṃhadeva bhūpālena bhujyamāna Lalitapattane* etc. Uddhvasiṃha is no more heard of since 689 (vide ante, his stele. Narasiṃha is heard of only once in 696, so we might guess, that he disappeared at about the end of the century. As the inscription of 710 shows Narasiṃha to have been dead. We have no doubt that Purandarasiṃha must be the sole survivor at this date.

The exact date of the conquest of Patan by Śivasiṃha is not known. But in the inscription of Svayambhurātha dated 725 *Māgha śukla pañchamī budhavāra* he is noted as the

11 In the possession of Eiśvaradhara Sharma.

12 By courtesy of Baburam Acharya.

conqueror of Lalita Patan (*rājye javi Lalitapattananāmadheyo*). The defeat of Purandarasiṃha and absorption of Patan into the kingdom of Kāntipur must have taken place sometime between NS 720 and 724 NS.

(II)

Śivasimha and His Successors

It is true that Śivasimha laid his hand on Patan and incorporated it into Kathmandu. No records of the Kathmandu monarchs previous to him could be traced. So far as the availability of records goes there is no doubt that within Patan Śivasimha's records are the first whose association with the principality is definitely established. In all these, he is spoken of as the lord of Māṇigala (*Māniggalādhipati*) and *Rājādhirāja*, a title borne in common by the rulers of Patan in future since Viṣṇusimha's time who claimed to have been the masters of the Mānagrha, the capital site of ancient Nepal. It is to be borne in mind that the term Māniggalādhipati in relation to the royal address of Patan rulers is invariably common to them, while Kāntipur rulers have this only in their Patan records as far as they reigned over it.

Siddhinarasimhamalla (1620-1661 A.D.)

It appears that the division of Kathmandu in two parts as Patan and Kathmandu was effected once again after Śivasimha's death. Siddhinarasimha, son of Hariharasimha by his younger wife Lālamati, was the first ruler of Patan in this period. His genealogy appears in several inscriptions, for instance, in the stele of the Kṛṣṇa temple (BLI, No. 17, dated 757 *Phālgua śukla 10*), the stele of the Mahādeva temple (the date portion is damaged) and Śrīnivāsa's Mulchok copper plate (785 NS). In all these Siddhinarasimha is noted as Śivasimha's grandson and Hariharasimha's son. He is known as a person renowned for piety and renunciation of worldliness. According to an inscription of Yogamatī, his great

grand-daughter, he passed his last days at Banaras whither he had gone on pilgrimage (Inscription n. 22 of BLI). He is also said to have reorganised the existing Buddhist monasteries (*vihāras*) and introduced sound administration of their funds and charities and defined their rights and relation with the laity (Wright, p. 234).

The chronicle puts the initial date of his reign at *NS 740 Āśvina śukla 10 Sunday*. The copper plate inscription of Taleju referred to earlier in this book places his reign definitely in about the beginning of the year 741 (=1621 A.D.). I have, however, not seen the original of the copper plate, and am unable to verify the date.

There is a stele at the Bālakumarī shrine at Kvāchhe, which shows him ruling (*Mahārājādhirāja Lalitāpuri nagarādhpati Md Siddhinarasiṃhamallasya vijayarājye*) on 742 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa dvitīyāyām anurādhā nakṣatre baliyāta yoge, etc.* (The construction of the temple was completed on this day). Obviously he was already a king of Patan at this date. This record has another date 752 *Māgha śukla pañchamī rohiṇī nakṣatra endrayoge śaniścharavāra*. According to this inscription Siddhinarasiṃha had attended the ceremony of setting up two more finials on the summit of the temple and he was accompanied by his son Śrīnivāsamalla.

All these three dates 740, 741, 742 belong to the very early years of his reign. But we should not depend on these for determining the year of his accession to the throne. As we have discussed earlier in connection with the reign of Śivasimha, the first regnal date of Siddhinarasiṃhamalla must fall sometime between 737 and 739 NS. According to a noting in a small ms. *Śūdramatādarśa Śrāddhavidhi*, Siddhinarasiṃha was born on 726 *Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa navamī*.¹³

After 742, the next date is provided by the ms. *Śyāmārahasya* (Govt. Nat. Lib. no. 4657) with colophon, *Samvat*

13 In my possession.

Nepālika 745 Phālguṇa māse śukrapakṣe ṣaṣṭyām tithau budhavāsare Śrī Śrī Jaya Siddhinarasiṃhamalladevenopabhujyamāne Lalitapattane, etc.

We have two coins of Siddhinarasiṃha, a *mohar* and a quarter *mohar*. Walsh reads the date figure of the former as 751. This can be read also as 761. But on either version the coin does not provide a date of his succession. The first coin of Śrīnivāsamalla dates NS 781 (=1661 A.D.) and he had surely succeeded his father in that year (1661 A.D.) Siddhinarasiṃha had ruled right upto 1661 A.D. for about forty-three years from NS 738 to 781 (*Pauṣa*).

The expression *Māṇigalādhipati* as applied to Patan rulers in the light of the identification of *Māṇigala* with the site of the existing royal palace shows that by using the same epithet as expressive of his conquest of the principality he also had continued to function as king from the throne of the palace at the usual site. It appears that the *Māṇigala* was the original palace of the Nepalese rulers who had Lalita Patan as their capital. Since Yakṣamalla's death the palace seems to have been the residence of Viṣṇusiṃha's line of feudatories. Later in 720 or so as Śivasiṃha succeeded in eliminating the feudatories, the *Māṇigala* became the seat of his government for that area.

Siddhinarasiṃha succeeded to the throne while he was a child. It appears that his mother Lālamatīdevī was acting as his guardian and regent for the period of his minority. She is respectfully mentioned in Siddhinarasiṃha's Kṛṣṇa temple inscription as a woman of uncommon talents, faithful like Sitā to her husband, and a gracious lady who was the daughter of a king's son.¹⁴ Śrīnivāsa also refers to

14 This record is inscribed on a stele with 56 lines, of which 21 lines are in Newari prose and 35 lines rendered into Sanskrit verses invoking Lord Kṛṣṇa and giving the royal genealogy as follows: Harisiṃha, in his line was born Mahendramalla, his son Śivasiṃha his son Hariharasiṃha, married to Lālamatī, their son Siddhinarasiṃha (BLI, n. 17).

Lālamatī in his Mulchok copper plate. The antecedent and achievements of this notable lady are yet in the womb of untraced historical materials. Was she the daughter of the former Rājā of Patan? Did Hariharasiṃha owe his rule of Patan to this lady?

We have no records to show that she was in any way related to the house of the feudatories who had ruled Patan before it was conquered by Śivasimha.

According to the version of a particular recension of the later chronicles the division of the kingdom took place as Śivasimha had desired the two issues of Hariharasiṃha by separate wives to share its territory equally. While the king's will was made known, Lālamatī was just widowed and she was pregnant. But Śivasimha said that whether it was a male or female child born out of her it would inherit a part of the kingdom. Fortunately for Lālamatī she was blessed with a son who became a reigning sovereign since his very birth.

As Hariharasiṃha's name does not appear anywhere since NS 829 or so, he might be presumed dead about NS 729. But Śivasimha's inscriptions appear in Patan uninterruptedly for all the years until NS 737. So admitting that Śivasimha divided the kingdom by his own will, he must have all the same done it not before he died. Because his testament was there the division was automatic so soon after he died. It is quite likely that Siddhinarasiṃha was the posthumous child of his father.

The same chronicle speaks of Lālamati's good relation with her step-son, Lakṣmīnarsiṃha. It is said that she continued to live in the palace in Kathmandu even after Śivasimha died. But Lakṣmīnarsiṃha fell into troubles as his Pratāpa came of age. Then fearing troubles to her own son Lālamati shifted to Patan.

We do not know how far this story is to be believed, but it appears that both the brothers had no occasion to quarrel as long as Lakṣmīnarsiṃha was at the helm of affairs.

Siddhinarasiṃha passed most of his time in meditation and holy works in the service of Devatās and Sādhus as the saying went. To him temporal affairs were of little interest. At times in a mood of resignation and retirement from public life he took recourse to solitude far from the din and bustle of humanity. He is said to have thrice renounced worldliness and entered hermitage. Whatever be the amount of truth of this account, it is true that he went on pilgrimage to Banaras and other holy places in India time after time entrusting governmental powers to his son.

Siddhinarasiṃha built the Kṛṣṇa temple in the square ground of the palace in NS 757 NS as a mark of his deep respect for Lord Kṛṣṇa. It has an inscription giving his genealogy which we have already referred to. This temple is modelled on the style of Hindu temples that flourished during that period in the whole of North India. This is very much different from those usually built on Nepalese style. On the outer walls of the central room of this temple are carved in stone, images of Viṣṇu in his 10 incarnations and several lines from *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* also are inscribed. There are several scenes in relief from the stories of these epics. His Śiva liṅga in another temple contains four life size carved images of Śiva in the liṅga (Phallus) unlike the others which depict only the head at each side.

Siddhinarasiṃha was much devoted to the Goddess Taleju. The Bhandārkhāl stele commemorates the occasion of offering a pond, water spout and a garden of flowers (*puṣpa-vāṭikā*) to his Iṣṭadevatā, the Bhavānī. The record has four verses in Sanskrit praising the Goddess and a small passage in Newari at the end. The date both in verse and Newari passage reads NS 767. *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa pañchamyām tithau bṛhaspativāsare.*

The inscription of the Kṛṣṇa temple speaks of the king having defeated his enemies who had attacked his territory while he was engaged in the performance of holy rites, and

rejoicing on getting back his forts at about the date of the record. It further says that as a victory ceremony the king performed a sacrificial rite resembling the classic *Rājasūya*. The chief priest in the ceremony was Viśvanātha Upādhyā, the royal preceptor, vastly learned in *Vedic mantras*. As the inscription is dated 757 *Phālguna śukla daśamī (ādrā pra punarvasu nakṣatra āyuṣmāna yoge bṛhaspativāsare)* the incidents of fights referred to therein must have occurred prior to this date. The record describes the king in the most eulogising epithets, which looks to give quite a phantastic estimate, e.g. a verse saying 'Who equals Siddhinarasiṃha in kingly qualities? Karṇa was born of a virgin girl, Bali, was a son of a Daitya, the celestial tree came out of a stone, King Nṛga fell to the earth denuded of all strength because he deviated from the path of virtue. But Siddhinarasiṃha was not like these'¹⁵ (BLI, n. 17). *Sanskrit Sandesha*, II. 1, 2, 3, p. 19ff).

We have seen how Pratāpamalla eulogised in his poems his qualities of head and heart. This was a common practice with the rulers in those days. The court poets carried it to its extremes. At the age of 12 Bhūpāendra was permitted to claim to himself all accomplishments of a vastly learned man.

Siddhinarasiṃha not only respected deities of Saivite cult but he also revered the divinities belonging to Buddhist Vajrayāna cult. In one inscription he is addressed as one bowing to the feet of Lokeśvara (*Lokeśvara charaṇa sevita*).¹⁶

The Simhadu-vāl inscription of Kīrtipur states that Siddhinarasiṃha along with his son attended the ceremony of installing the image of Śrī Mahābodhi Śākyamuni in the

15 कर्णः कन्यातनूजो बलिरपिविदितः किन्तु दैतेयजन्मापाषाणो-
देवतानां मणि रजनि महादारुदेवद्रुमोपि । भ्रान्तो राजा नृगोपि प्रथित
भुजबलो भार्गवो मातृहन्ता कोन्योधन्यो वदान्यो जगतिविजयते सिद्धिपूर्वो-
नृसिंहात् ।

16 Nhubahāl stele 763 *Phālguna śukla ekādaśī punarvasu nakṣatre-
śobhanayoge ādityavāra*.

temple then newly constructed. It is said in the record that the image was installed with *Lakṣāhuti* amidst the playing of five musical instruments (*pañchasvara vādya*), dance and drama; Siddhinarasiṃha also showed his earnest desire to worship these and other deities of the sect by accepting invitation to attend the *samyakdāna* ceremony as it appears from a copper plate inscription of 757 (inscription n. in our Appendix).

The last document has a line to suggest that one Motirāja was the powerful Chief Minister of the time. The *samyaka* invitation qualifies Lalitapatan as a city protected by Siddhinarasiṃha along with his Chief Minister Motirāja who knew politics and religious laws. Motirāja lived in Tavajhyāra (*Madhuśūdanāvātāra Śrī Śrī Siddhinarasiṃhamalladeva tasyāmātya naya vinaya dharma śāstravit tavajhyāra gṛhenivāsina*). There is no further information about Motirāja. The Kṛṣṇa temple inscription of the same year shows another person, Viśvanātha Upādhyāya matching with Vaśiṣṭha in learning, who might have wielded considerable influence on Siddhinarasiṃhamalla.

His son Śrīnivāsamalla who later succeeded him was born on 747 *Kārtika* according to the noting in the ms. *Sūdramatādarśa Śrāddhavidhi*. Śrīnivāsamalla ruled for him in his absence as is attested by several inscriptions speaking of joint rule of these two monarchs. The fact that the father is mentioned as ruling jointly with his son either speaks of his temporary retirement or of his having vested ruling authority to his son while himself remaining a titular ruler.

In NS 769 *Māgha śukla 12 somavāsare* an inscription at a temple in Kīrtipur (Siṃha deval ṭol) speaks of a joint rule by Siddhinarasiṃha and Śrīnivāsamalla (*Śrī Mānigvalādhīpati Siddhinarasiṃhamalla tasya putra Śrīnivāsamalla thva nimasa vijayarājye velasa thva nemha ubhaya vijyāchakāñ*).

A ms. belonging to the India Office Library (n. 10), the

Ratnaparikṣā, shows under date 769 *Pauṣa śukla 9 Rd. Śrīmat Siddhinarasiṁhamalla tasya putra Śrīnivāsamalla ubhaya sa vijayarājye*. It appears that at about this date Siddhinarasiṁha had begun to impart to his son a kind of training in the art of government. He was determined to go into retirement but it was too early to entrust his son with full powers at that age (Śrīnivāsa was only 20-22). Therefore it took 10-12 years more to consummate the process of training and finally hand over the throne to him.

Siddhinarasiṁhamalla left home for his pilgrimage on 772 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 13* Wednesday. He returned after an extensive tour of sacred places in India on 774 *Chaitra śukla 5*. The chronicle says that in his absence Jyotinara-siṁhamalla, his second son, died on 772 *Āśvina śukla 6* Tuesday. Śrīnivāsa was much shocked by the sorrowful event, and was worried as to what effect it would produce on the father's mind. He built a temple of Nārāyaṇa in the memory of his younger brother.

Two more stone inscriptions, one of 773 (Pilachhe temple of Gaṇeś, 773 *Chaitra śukla 13 uttaraphālgunī nakṣatre dhruvayoge bṛhaspativāsare*) and another of 778 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa tṛtīyā mūla nakṣatre sādhyayoge ādityavāsare etc.* (Guitavahi stella) have both Siddhinarasiṁhamalla and Śrīnivāsamalla as co-rulers (*ubhayarājye*). The first records the completion of the construction of the temple of Gaṇeśa, while the second marks the inaugural ceremony of the installation of the image of Śrī 3 Meti (Maitreya) Bodhisatva Gandhulibhaṭṭāraka in a newly constructed temple.

Siddhinarasiṁha was reputed for his charitable disposition and abstemious ways of life. There is a legend that the king was content only with the barest minimum of life, and he considered it a sin to acquire anything more than this. He had issued orders to his officers not to extract more than what was due from the tax payer. It is said that his wife and daughters went without any ornaments. But once his wife

insisted on having a pair of gold earrings, which, however, the husband would not provide for want of means to purchase the precious metal. It was said that the queen felt a strong irresistible temptation to wear ornaments in seeing ladies of the nobility displaying them at a religious ceremony in the palace. The queen was so obsessed with the idea of ornamentation that she pursued it in spite of Siddhinarasimha's advice. There were friends who were willing to help her in procuring them. That the queen of the principality should go without ornaments just to satisfy the faddist idea of the king was unthinkable. The Rānī therefore obtained a complete set of ornaments from a lady friend of hers, which she now wore without the knowledge of her husband. But hardly a day had passed, fate decreed to deprive her of her new embellishments.

It was a part of Siddhinarasimha's daily routine to go to the pond in the palace garden to pick up lotus flowers, which he offered to his tutelary deity. By the grace of the Goddess he floated standing on the surface of the water and got his lotus flowers as he chose. But on the morning following the day while his wife had ornamented her body Siddhinarasimha found himself sinking as he tried to float on the pond to cull his choice of flowers for the daily worship. This was an unpleasant experience, and he sensed that something unusual had happened to make the Goddess angry with him. He came back without the flowers, and when he entered his bedroom to relate the story to his wife, he was surprised to find her heavily laden with ornaments. The cause for the displeasure of the goddess was not far to seek. The queen had committed a sin by enjoying a luxury which was denied to her by her situation. All that belonged to the king he had to hold as trust property in behalf of the people. The bare minimum he was entitled to possess was there just to enable him to live so that he performed his duty, but the use of luxurious articles by his family could be provided for by overstepping the mark and resorting to gains which could be

questioned. It is said that after some argument Siddhinarasiṁha succeeded in convincing his wife of the undesirable effects her temptation for ornaments had brought in, and as she resolved to correct her mind, Siddhinarasiṁha could overcome the obstacles in his religious duties and his mind was set at rest.

Siddhinarasiṁha was called the sage among kings (*rājarṣi*) by his son in his Taleju copper plate inscription of 786 NS. The Vaṁśagopāla inscription with date *NS 800 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa chaturthī śravaṇa pra dhaniṣṭā nakṣatre vaidhṛti pra viṣkambha ādityavāre* calls him *rājarṣi* who had conquered all passions and gained the peace of mind, and had relinquished his throne which he regarded as no more than a straw. The inscription was set up to mark the ceremony for the completion of the temple by his grand-daughter and her husband. Also in the inscription he set up to commemorate the occasion of his constructing the water conduit in Bhandārkhāl he is noted as *rājarṣiśvara* (796 *Kārtika śukla pratipadā*).

Before renouncing the throne for good, Siddhinarasiṁha was already leading a retired life, and therefore even for the interval between his accession to the throne and his father's final retirement and disappearance Śrīnivāsa passed as a *de facto* ruler of the realm competent enough to promulgate laws for his subjects and conclude treaties with other states. As appears from certain inscriptions of the period in question, he was the sole ruler, though not the occupant of the throne, already some years before the father quit finally for Banaras. A stone inscription of Bābaha in Patan dated 774 *Māgha kṛṣṇa chaturthī hasta nakṣatre dhṛtiyoge surāchāryasyavāsare* has the following line *Śrī Śrī Siddhinarasiṁhamalla nṛpati pāla yanyadharmataḥ Śrīnivāsa mahendrena śatrunām vilayam kṛteh etc.* As a sequel to an attack by Kathmandu on Patan, which had entailed much suffering and misery to innocent people the two sides had announced their desire to end the conflict and restore normalcy in their relation. A copper

plate inscription traced in the collection of the temple of Paśupati¹⁷ shows that on *NS 778 Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa saptamī* (=1658 A.D.) Śrīnivāsamalla had pledged along with Pratāpamalla like brothers (*dājukijā*) never to be unfriendly to each other. The agreement stressed the need for collaboration between the two parties 'not to be tempted to pick up a quarrel on the investigation of a third party and to regard each other as our own so that policy of state may be undertaken by joint consultation'. In the inscription there is an expression, '*Jaya Siddhinarasiṃha sahitena*' which meant Śrīnivāsa's action was backed by the consent of his father. This also shows that in his own kingdom he had all the powers of a powerful ruler of the time, though his father was still alive. The Mahālakṣmī stele of Balambu, six miles east of Patan within its jurisdiction, with date 778 *Chaitra śukla navamī (puṣya nakṣatre ādityavāsare)* gives only his name and omits his father. Though here he does not enjoy full royal address, Śrīnivāsamalla was being treated by the scribe as the sovereign of the principality.

We have records in Siddhinarasiṃha's name as a sovereign ruler for this period. But he had empowered his son to act for him since quite long. Considering that Śrīnivāsa was 31 years old in 778, it was but natural that the father had thought to hand over complete responsibility of administration to his son at this age.

Except from legends we do not hear of his wife whose name as Bhānumatī is given in the Taleju copper plate inscription of 786. Bhīmalakṣmī is given as his daughter in another inscription.

An inscription of Siddhinarasiṃha has made mention of persons as his relations through marriage, whose identity can be clearly established with reference to names in vogue now in the Nepalese Terai or in those parts of India known

17 Inscription n. 59 in our Appendix.

as North Bihar and East Uttara Pradeśa. The Sundhārā inscription talks of Pratāpasim̃ha Bābu, Vīrabhadrasim̃ha Bābu, and two others as his daughter's grand-sons.¹⁸ These were ministers in the court of Yoganarendramalla. Obviously the reference is to his relations living in Mithila in the Terai or in North Bihar or East U. P. of the present time.

It was said that in his time the rulers of Gorkhā and Patan had pledged to regard each other as members of the same family and in the events of the one dying without an heir, the other was to send his legal successor to inherit the throne.

Siddhinarasim̃hamalla was the man who started the *Kārtika dance drama* depicting the events and incidents of the epic *Rāmāyaṇa*. This drama is up till now much popular with the rural masses of the locality and continues to be witnessed by a vast number of the laity in the month of *Kārtika* (October-November).

According to the author of the '*History of Maithili Literature*', Siddhinarasim̃ha was a poet who wrote in Maithili devotional songs bearing the *Bhanitās* of *Nṛsimha* and *Nṛpasim̃ha* (Jayakānta Miśra, I, p. 242). There is one stone inscription of his reign (Kwābahāl) which mentions his name as only Narasim̃hamalla with date 757 NS. Perhaps the shorter name was used as a pen name as well as by writers who escaped over the first-word.

In his time a drama in Maithili called *Hariśchandraṅṛtyam* was composed and performed in 1651 A.D. According to Augustus Conrady who edited and published the play in 1891, the language in which it was written is in its main texture a mixture of Bengali and Maithili with Sanskrit verses interspersed here and there. Apart from dialogues in prose this play about the life of king Hariśchandra has melodious songs and lyrics.

18 Inscription n. 109 in our Appendix NS 821 Māgha kṛṣṇa 13 dhaniṣṭhā nakṣatre śivayoge somavāre.

The tradition of love for poetry and drama was a common feature of the life lived by Patan rulers. Siddhinarasiṃha's son Śrīnivāsamalla patronised art and learning. He got his inspiration for poetry from his father.

Important Documents of Siddhinarasiṃha's Reign

(1) A stone inscription at Sonaguthi¹⁹ of 739 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 5 hasta nakṣatre* on this occasion a gold umbrella was offered to Bhṛṅgāreśvara. Siddhinarasiṃha was ruling as the sole monarch (*ekachhatrarājyayaḷe*) at this date (*Samvat 739 Māgha māse kṛṣṇa pakṣe pañchamyam tithau hasta nakṣatre dhṛtiyoge ādityavāsare kumbharāśi gata savitari kanyārāśi gata chandramasi etasmin divase Śrī Yetha Vihāra agamanani yo kulachheñ gṛhanivasi Śrī Kṛṣṇadeva Brāhmana-thava tañ etc*).

(2) Yanamugaltol (Patan city)²⁰ stone of 739 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa pra 12 uttarabhādra nakṣatre viṣkambha pra pṛitīyoge śukravāsare bṛṣarāśi gate savitari mīnarāśi gate chandramasi* in the reign (*vijayarājye*) of Siddhinarasiṃha. This commemorates the occasion of completing the repair of the *Chaitya* in the vicinity. These two inscriptions form the earliest documents of the reign of Siddhinarasiṃhamalla.

(3) The Bālkumārī shrine stone. It gives 3 dates, the first 742 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 2 anurādhā nakṣatre vāriyāna yoge budhavāsare* is the day of starting the construction of the temple by *Dhvākāvihāra gṛhanivāsi Dayārabhāro* in the reign of Siddhinarasiṃhamalla. The second occurring after 32 days, *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 4 uttarāṣāḍhā nakṣatre śukrayoge śanaiścharavāra* marked the completion of the building. On the third date about 10 years later, 752 *Māgha śukla 5 rohiṇi nakṣatre eindrayoge śanaiścharavāsare*, Siddhinarasiṃha and his son Śrīnivāsamalla graced by their presence the occasion of setting up additional gold finials on the roof of the temple.

19 n. 32 in our Appendix.

20 n. 33 in our Appendix.

(4) A stone²¹ lying outside the door of the temple of Viśveśvara. The record is dated NS 747 *Māgha śukla 5*. It is a 20 line inscription, of which 14 lines are preserved intact. This gives Siddhinarasiṃha's genealogy beginning with Mahendramalla who is mentioned as a descendant of Harasiṃha, king of Mithila.

(5) The Darbar Square Kṛṣṇa temple Inscription. This is a long record with date 757 *Phālguna māsa śukla pakṣa daśamīyām tithau ādrā para punarvasu nakṣatre ayuṣmāna yoge bṛhaspativāsare*. Altogether there are 56 lines with 35 verses and a passage in Newāri at the end. The record marks the occasion of the completion of the temple with 21 spires (*bhāsvaraiḥ*), installation of the image and setting up gold finials on the roof. The writer of the inscription states that the temple was constructed at a huge cost and the structure he composes. In the beginning after invocation to Gopāla, Siddhinarasiṃha gives his genealogy (verses 2 to 8).

Harisiṃhadeva, in his dynasty was born
|
Mahendramalla
|
Śivasiṃha
|
Hariharasiṃha, married to Lālamatī
|
Siddhinarasiṃha

There is a profuse admiration of the different qualities of his mother (verses 9 to 10). His own praise is sung in the verses following (11, 12, 13, 14) the temple was constructed at a huge cost and is compared with Meru, Mandarāchala, Mahendra, Himādri, Vindhyāchala and Kailāśa. the gods might mistake it for *Kanakāchala* at the sight of gold finial. After giving the date of completion, the record proceeds to say that a wicked but cunning enemies attacked his forts, but this was repulsed, on that day began a

21 n. 36 in our Appendix.

Kotyāhuti sacrifice in the nature of *Rājasūya Yajño* under the guidance of *Vaśiṣṭha* like *Viśvanātha Upādhyā*, which was attended by learned Pandits from different countries. The king collected resources for this *Yajña*, which was adequate even for the classical *Rājasūya* sacrifice. He made gift of wealth, jewels, cloths, foods, slaves, horses and elephants.

His daily offering of gifts in gold amounted to 400 palas. The *Newāri* passage records grants of some land to defray the expenses of daily *pūjā* and for special worships to celebrate certain sacred days in the year. *Siddhinarasiṃha* is described as 'one who commanded greater fame than *Yudhiṣṭhira*, who had greater *niṣṭhā* than *Vaśiṣṭha*, who enjoyed strength equal to that of *Arjuna* and who was as liberal as *Karṇa* in making gifts.'

(6) The *Paśupati* copper plate of 778 (Inscription n. 59 in our Appendix). This incorporates an agreement reached between *Śrīnivāsamalla* and *Pratāpamalla*, both of whom pledge sincere cooperation between the two principalities and undertake never to go to war.

III

Śrīnivāsamalla (1681-1684 A. D.)

According to the chronicle *Siddhinarasiṃha* left his country for good to go to another (*desāntara*) on *NS 781 Pauṣa vadi 1*. He had now abdicated the throne. We have a coin of *Śrīnivāsamalla* dated 781 (Walsh, V. 3). The chronicle states that on the very day before he left *Patan*, the capital city, *Siddhinarasiṃha* put the crown on the head of his son and performed the ceremony. In view of the coin the statement of the chronicle does not seem incorrect as far as the year is concerned. Similarly, the day and month as mentioned by the chronicle in this connection cannot but be correct. *Śrīnivāsamalla* became king while he was 34 years old having been born in *Kārtika* of

747.²² In his Taleju copper plate inscription of 786 he calls himself the son of Siddhinarasimha by his wife Bhānumatī.

A ms. *Nārādīyapurāṇam* has following colophon, which is quite relevant to the date of his accession to the throne *Samvat Nepālikeya kṣitivasutale (=781) Chaitra kṛṣṇa prajābhi nakṣatre choṭṭarakhye tithidina manau yogasiddhau prayukte tatra Śrī Viṣṇu prītyā dina suragurau meṣarāsau raviṣṭhe Srīmatchhrī Nārādīyām vyālikhati dvija Vīranārāyaṇah Śrī || tasmin divase Śrī puṇyāvatyām Śrī Indreśvara sadāśiva prasāda śṛṅkholicchannakṛtavān || Śrī Śrī Jaya Śrīnivāsamalla purandareva jāto babhūva.*²³

This date is about three months farther than the date of accession given by the chronicle. If, however, we cannot accept this as the date of accession, we have nevertheless a sure ground to take the same as the first ascertained date of the new reign.

As we have already seen peace had prevailed between Kathmandu and Patan since the agreement of 778. We know that peace continued to be maintained for another period of 6 years. But thereafter Kathmandu and Patan again fell out.

Śrīnivāsa's Pious Deeds

Śrīnivāsamalla was devoted to piety and religious works like his father. He was a follower of Śaivism; but he was also devoted to Matsyendranātha, the Buddhist deity. There stand to his name numerous grants of land for the offerings to Matsyendranātha, which the inscriptions have yet preserved. He also built temples in honour of Matsyendranātha both in Patan and Buṅgmati and his contributions to the shrines and rites of other deities were also equally bountiful. In the inscription of Buṅgmati about two miles south-east

22 a noting in the ms. *Sūdramatādarśa Śrāddhavidhi*.

23 Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 5345.

of the capital, Śrīnivāsa enthusiastically puts in his address the term *Lokanātha charaṇa kamala dhūli dhūsarita śiroruha*.²⁴ This term always exclusively employed referring to Paśupati and now used in connection with Matsyendra-nātha indicated a departure. But essentially like other kings of Nepal he was, however, equally devoted to Paśupatinātha and to other Śaiva deities and there are numerous records in copper plates and palm-leaf pieces in recognition of the same. These show that he respected all sects equally.

A good many portions of the now existing royal palace in Patan are attributed to him, and he built these with liberal expenditure. He built the Mulchok (the main courtyard) in NS 786 and just at the middle of the courtyard a temple to house his family deity the Goddess Taleju with the help of his wife Mṛgāvatī. It appears that before his time there was just a small temple enshrining the image of Taleju. He also constructed the Sundarīchok, another courtyard, adjoining the Mulchok to its left. The Sundarīchok has a water conduit, the platform of which is literally covered with stone images of divinities from the *Purāṇas*. The courtyard all around has two storeyed buildings, which were used for apartments by the royal family.

The chronicles state that Śrīnivāsamalla expanded the palace up to Chaukvāṭha. The latter was probably the same structure as it exists up till now in the southern extremity of the royal palace. It is a one storey building standing on a raised platform, which has two rooms one each at the upper and ground floor overlooking the spacious courtyard adjoining the main thoroughfare of the city. The Chaukvāṭha which housed the royal guards was maintained to serve the purpose of a fortress. This was originally built in the time of Siddhinarasiṃhamalla.

24 This inscription is dated 795 *Kārtika śukla 15*, and the witnesses are Śrī Śrī Yoganarendramalla and Bhagiratha Bhaiyā. This makes a grant of land, ro 6 and Java 7. n. 78 in our Appendix.

The *Thyāsapu F* reports that a fire broke out in Patan on *Samvat 783 Vaiśākha suddhi 6*, and many quarters of the town were gutted completely. Śrīnivāsamalla personally organised relief works and soothed the grief-stricken people with their presence amidst them.

According to the chronicle the five storeyed temple of Degutale constructed by his father had been destroyed by fire, on *783 Kārtika śukla 10*. The upper four storeys were completely demolished. Śrīnivāsamalla raised the temple to four storeys, and crowned it with golden roofs and finial. Śrīnivāsamalla also constructed the well-known Koṭaḡra in Kīrtipur. The king also offered a gold door to the temple of Harisiddhī in 783 NS.

In NS 792 Śrīnivāsamalla repaired the old dilapidated temple of Londekonde Bhairava in Buṅmati. The gold *torāṇa* over the door of the structure was laid eight days before *792 Māgha śukla 12* (ms. *Brahmottarakhaṇḍa*, Nat. Lit. n. 5847). A little later on *Mārga śukla 5 (uttarāṣāḍha nakṣatre vṛddhiyaga bṛhaspativāra)*, the king had erected a temple at the north-eastern corner of the compound of Kumbheśvara, where he enshrined a four faced *liṅga* (Inscription on a stele of the date).

Śrīnivāsamalla had repaired all the stone doorways in the city of Pharping. He also offered to Lord Nārāyaṇa of the hill city a new stone doorway. From an inscription²⁵ of Kochhuṭol it also has come to be known that the stone water conduit within the precincts of the temple of Śikharanārāyaṇa was built by Śrīnivāsamalla who had decreed that the water supply from a common source to the two conduits, both the existing and the new, should be regarded in the proportion of 1:3, the latter receives 1/3 of the whole. The king further prohibited tresspass by cattle in the area and ordered that people would not pollute the site by walking in search of

25 Inscription 79 in our Appendix

burning woods. The record was issued in 793 *Chaitramāsa* with the advice of Bhagiratha Bhaiyā.

He protected with all his might Buddhist and Śaivite sanctuaries. He took it as his bounden duty to look after the comforts of devotees who came to worship them. He also conceived that duties towards the deities should be rendered uncalled for.

Even before his accession, he had become an inspiring figure for his piety and devotional works. We have already referred to occasions when he accompanied his father to ceremonies performed in connection with the opening of a newly repaired temple or installation of an image of a deity in a newly built structure. The Bālakumārī stele tells us that he was taken to the temple by his father just while he had attained his fourth year of birth. In the month of *Chaitra* of 779, two years before his crowning Śrīnivāsa had presented the stone door frames of the temple of Śikharanārāyaṇa in Pharping.

In NS 793 Śrīnivāsamalla donated some land to the famous temple of Machhendranātha in the Tavavihāra of Patan, and through an inscription set up on *Phālguna śukla 10* of the same year issued rules which were to be followed on many occasions of worship in a year. It was said 'that the music played at the time of daily *pūjā* was to continue whatever sad events happen in the royal family. The king was himself to be present during the ceremonies of the god's bath and his getting into the chariot. All those concerned in the making of the chariot were to work according to schedule irrespective of whether one summoned to do the job at the right moment. When the chariot is drawn, the men traditionally engaged in the work must be ever prepared to render their job. Those who blew the conch during the *pūjā* were to go on with their work as usual. They should not stay at home even if the king or any member of the royal family died. The men who were in charge of *guṭhis* donated for the worship of the lord

should consciously perform the *pūjā* on every occasion. Any one overtly or covertly trying to take advantage otherwise shall be punished. If the wall or any part of the temple broke, it was their responsibility to repair or raise a new structure. All those violating these rules will be answerable to the king. But His Majesty will not tolerate if any of his officers inflicts undue harassment on a subject. The latter is entitled to make an appeal to the king. But he hopes that there will be no flinching from one's traditional duty by everyone concerned'.

Śrīnivāsamalla's Buṅgmati inscription of 796 regulated entry of those devotees who used the precinct as a shelter for a month's stay undergoing *upavāsa* to please God Buga, (Machhendranātha of Bugamati). No untouchable castes as well as Dom and Nāya castes were allowed to undertake the *upavāsa* by using the premises. Only such people who came there on *Āśvina śukla 15* were to be allowed the entry of others was subject to decision by the office bearers of the Vihāra. Nobody was permitted to criticise the efficacy of the offering to God. If a difference arises, this was to be referred to the king himself.

On NS 801 *Mārga śukla ṣaṣṭhyām śravaṇa pra dhaniṣṭā nakṣatre dhruva yoge budhavāsare* Śrīnivāsamalla constructed the temple of Bhīmasena (see also the inscription)²⁶ with the consent of his minister Bhagiratha Bhaiyā on the occasion of the completion of the building was celebrated. According to the post colophon statement of *Dānaratnākara*,²⁷ the temple was originally of only one storey and Śrīnivāsamalla while repairing added two more storeys performing the ceremony of completion of the new construction on 801 *Mārga śukla 6 budhavāra*. Both the inscription and the ms. colophon state that the three principalities were on terms of

26 n. 86 in our Appendix.

27 Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 1136

peace²⁸ at the time when the celebration of the occasion was taking place.

Śrīnivāsamalla's Interest in Arts and Drama

Śrīnivāsamalla besides cherishing deep religious feeling was also a lover of art. He patronised all aspects of art, was himself a builder and composed poems and dramas as well as amused himself by staging plays. The plays he wrote are given in a different section at the last chapter, which deals with the subject matter of literature. The post colophon statement of *Vaiśākha mahātmya* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 5553) noted that Śrīnivāsamalla composed and staged a 7 Act play, *Kaṁsabadhanātakam* on *Jyeṣṭha śukla 5 budhavāra*. Apart from staging of his own plays, he was equally interested in the annual *Kārtika* dance-drama begun by his father, which he supervised and injected into the occasion much that gave the people mirth and merriment, on a wide scale.

Mainly due to his influence, the three rulers of the Nepal Valley signed an agreement on *Chaitra śukla 5, 795* to revitalise the custom of purification to be undergone on the birth or death of a relation, that had grown much lax.

The copper plate of this date enjoins on the rulers to enforce strictly the conventional rules of purification so that each of them respected the injunctions of the *śāstras* and followed to its letters all that was enjoined on him. The document puts on record the rules agreed commonly by them in consultation with the priests and learned Brāhmaṇas of the three courts (Dharmaju Upādhyā, Devendra Upādhyā, Harinātha Upādhyā, Rāmachandra Upādhyā, Kīrtirāja Upādhyā, Upendra Upādhyā, Madhusūdana Upādhyā and Sudarśana Upādhyā these Upādhyās, Yādava Bhaṭṭāchārya, Śrīmukha Bhaṭṭāchārya, Sadāśiva Bhaṭṭāchārya, Rūpa-

nārāyaṇa Chakravarti, Vīreśvara Chakravarti, Vaidyanātha Rāya, Bachhayi Ughā. These *paṇḍitas*, Harivaṁśa, Śivahari, Balabhadra and Śivanātha) who had given their opinion based on the statements of *Smṛti* and *Śāstras*. It reads:

‘The princes and queens were to be purified on the 12th day, on the 13th day they could perform any ceremony in the palace such as giving alms to the Brāhmaṇas. But this custom was to be observed only by the inmates of the royal palace. Others had to observe mourning for 45 days. Similarly the princes who lived outside the palace and the illegitimate members of the royal family were advised not to depart from traditional rules etc, etc.’

Chautārā Bhagiratha

Śrīnivāsa’s first Chief Minister Viśvarāma Bhāro died in 786 NS. The *Thyāsapu D* informs us that he was followed by Kīrtisīmha Rāyakulabhāju in the post of the Chautārā. He was the Chautārā mentioned in the *Thyāsapu* in connection with the ceremony which Śrīnivāsamalla performed on 786 *Āśvina 9* to inaugurate the completion of the Mulchok. According to the *Thyāsapu E* (f. 7) the Chief Minister in 794 (*Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 6 budhavāra*) was Bhāgaju. This was another name of Bhagiratha Bhaiyā. He was appointed as Chautārā in 788 and served his king in that capacity for 16 years (*Thyāsapu E*, f. 21).

Bhagiratha Bhaiyā figures as one who had advised the construction of the temple in Śrīnivāsamalla’s inscriptions of Tavabahā in Patan: (NS 793 *Phālguna śukla daśamī ādityavāsare*) and Buṅmati. He himself built a 3-storey temple at a site near the Royal Palace enshrining the image of Viśvanātha on 798 *Māgha śukla 6*. The temple is known today by the name of Bhaideval Bhagiratha Bhaiyā has his own inscriptions (all in stone) in Pharping, and there are also more inscriptions issued by the king, where he is noted either as an eye-witness or as one who was consulted by the king for the particular act of piety mentioned in the record.

In the Bhaideval inscription Bhagiratha calls himself 'a good minister who had brought many kings under his influence, brave like Bhīma, in the battle-field and full of patience like Yudhiṣṭhīra in distress'. In other records he is mentioned as one who was devoted to his master king Śrīnivāsamalla.

The following are his inscriptions in Pharping:

- (1) dated *NS 797 Chaitra māsa* commemorating the repair of a water conduit by Jaya Śrīnivāsamalla on the request of Bhagiratha Bhaiyā, minister.
- (2) in front of the temple of Kṛṣṇa within the compound of Śikharanārāyaṇa, *Kārtika kṛṣṇa navamī maghā nakṣatre somavāre* by Śrīnivāsa's minister Bhagiratha Bhaiyā.
- (3) dated *NS 803 Māgha śukla dvādaśī* about a grant of land for the worship of Śrī Śikharanārāyaṇa in Pharping, with the permission of his sovereign Śrīnivāsamalla.
- (4) grant of land jointly by Māniglādhipati Md Śrī Śrī Jaya Śrīnivāsamalla and his minister Bhagiratha Bhaiyā and setting up of an image of Garuḍa in front of Śikharanārāyaṇa on *803 Bhādra pūrṇimā aśleṣā nakṣatre śubhayoge bṛhaspativāre chandra-grāsa mahāparvaṇi*.

Bhagiratha Bhaiyā together with the royal priests Viśvanātha Upādhyā and his son assisted Śrīnivāsamalla in kingly duties as well as in works of piety and religious worship.

A stone inscription at Jyāvahi, Patan (attached to a *Chaitya*) with date *800 Kārtika kṛṣṇa pañchamī pauṣa nakṣatra śukra yoge budhavāre* mentions the reign of Śrīnivāsamalla (*viṣayarājye velasa*) and rule of Pramāṇa Bhagiratha Bhaiyā Bhāro (*prajyāya vela*).

An inscription of Badegaon (Baudhdhapuri) commemorating the occasion of a land grant for the *nityapūjā* (daily wor-

ship) of a *Chaitya* by a *Pramāṇa* of Chākbahāra, whose name was Viśvambhara, calls the donor the Chief of the Council of ministers (*sachivamaṇḍala mukhya mantrī*). This is dated 799 *Āṣāḍha 15*.²⁹

Bhagiratha Bhaiyā was a contemporary of Bhāgirāma and Chikuṭi *Pramāṇa* of Bhatgaon and Kathmandu respectively, and his influence in Patan matched with theirs in their respective principalities.

Bhagiratha was a very important personality as long as he was a Chautārā. He was held in high esteem by his sovereign, and was much trusted. Śrīnivāsamalla was guided by him in all of his activities. There was nothing, for which he did not consult Bhagiratha. Invariably in all records Śrīnivāsa acknowledges his debt to Bhagiratha. In his inscription of Machhendranātha (Tarabahāl, Patan) Śrīnivāsa speaks of Bhagiratha as one who was taken out of his body as a part from the whole, and whom he never regarded as something different from his own self. But it is strange that this respected minister had a sad end. We shall have occasions to say more about him in the next few paragraphs.

Foreign Relations and Conflicts

Śrīnivāsa's domain touched Tanhou and Gorkhā in the west. He controlled Dhunibesi and portions beyond that as far as Lāmidāndā (see his inscription at the temple of Gorakhanātha for a grant of land in Dhunibesi to a Parbatiya Brāhmaṇa, NS 790)³⁰ in the south-west and Gajuripedā in the north-west.

The corner stone of his policy was peace and good neighbourliness. During the initial years of his reign he had often quarrelled with the ruler of Bhatgaon. But this was due to his alignment with his Kāntipur cousin.

29 Inscription n. 82 in our Appendix.

30 *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, II. 3, 452-53.

As earlier described, Jagatprakāśa of Bhatgaon captured in early December of 1660 A.D. a military outpost of Kathmandu on its border and killed 21 men. Pratāpamalla and Śrīnivāsamalla carried four expeditions in retaliation to Bode and Ṭhimi which they occupied. According to BLI's version the war period lasted 3 years 1658-62 A.D. Śrīnivāsamalla began his reigning career with this war. He proved himself successful in the sense that his assistance was sought by combatants on both sides, and it was probably he who had helped to bring about cessation of conflicts.

The chronicle gives the following description of the war: On 780 *Śrāvāṇa kṛṣṇa 6* Patan occupied some forts belonging to Kāntipur. For this Śrīnivāsa sought the help of Bhatgaon ruler which readily forthcame; but the latter demanded as price of assistance two villages, Lubhu and Bisan̄khu, and 1 lakh rupees and 2 elephants. On Śrīnivāsa's refusal relations between Patan and Bhatgaon became strained. Patan at this time drew closer to Kathmandu and the two rulers meeting at Tekhu agreed to work together against Bhatgaon, after which the latter was attacked with their combined strength. In the first stage, several important places in the east outside the Valley e.g. Nālā, Chaukoṭ, Dhulikhel and Dāp̄chā were snatched away from Bhatgaon's ownership. Meanwhile Jagatprakāśa was also trying to hit areas in the control of his two adversaries. He sent his men in a large number to raid Pratāpamalla's forts situated near the border. They did not enter the well defended places as invaders in broad day light but under cover of nocturnal darkness stealthily introduced themselves as Śrīnivāsa's guards and overpowered the defenders, none of whom were killed outright and thirty taken prisoner, the rest having fled to the capital. Pratāpamalla on hearing the report of this treacherous action by Bhaktapur was determined to open a full scale war against Jagatprakāśa. He vowed that unless he captured them, he would not wear his turban. Then Ṭhimi was captured by a force under the joint command of

Patan's Chief Kāzi Viśvarāma and his counterpart of Kathmandu, Viraju. Here they got hold of 63 muskets and 109 shields and the booty was divided between the two rulers.

The *Thyāsapu E* (f. 6) has the following information; Bode was conquered on 780 *Māgha śukla 5 śaniścharavāra ādrā nakṣatra śivayoga*, but this was left in the possession of Kathmandu, this happened in the time of Viśarāmaju; the invaders captured Chorpur on *Mārgasira śukla 5 purvvāshāḍa nakṣatra* on *Sarivāt 781 Māgha śukla 11*, Kathmandu and Patan could occupy Ṭhimi and a little later Nakadeśa.

In 783 Vaiśākha the invaders reached the outskirts of the city of Bhatgaon and then it was completely blockaded, and the citizens were put to great distress due to shortage of foodgrains and high prices. As long as it was there the people of Bhatgaon were subjected to untold hardship.

The blockade lasted nearly one year. The invaders had taken hold of the crops sown in the area. Pratāpamalla also carried many valuable objects of the temple including the serpent hood of the gold superimposed on the pole of a large pond made by Jagajjyotirmalla. All these he helped to set up in temples and ponds in his own palace. At this time the leader of the Patan forces, Mulkāzi Viśvaramā fell ill, and the siege had to be lifted. The Kāzi died on 784 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 9* and with his death the prospect of a renewed attack on Bhatgaon grew dim.

But Pratāpamalla was still determined to further humiliate Bhatgaon Śrīnivāsa's enthusiasm, however, had cooled down and he was in no mood to carry out his cousin's designs on Bhatgaon. Besides, it would not serve Patan's interest if Kathmandu grew unusually strong at the cost of the other two neighbours. Śrīnivāsa had valid reasons to break the military alliance subsisting between Kathmandu and Patan at this stage. But Pratāpa took this attitude of Śrīnivāsa as an expression of hostile intentions towards himself. Before he attacked Bhatgaon he thought that he should deal promp-

tly with his recalcitrant ally. He conceived of a design to arrest Śrīnivāsamalla if he came on his call for mutual consultation. Accordingly words were sent to Śrīnivāsamalla requesting his presence in Kathmandu for urgent conference regarding Bhatgaon affairs.

Śrīnivāsa suspected foul designs of Pratāpamalla and severed connections with him. This gave relief to Bhatgaon whose ruler took special care to submit to Patan as against Kāntipur. Indeed, the latter was isolated and peace was obtained with territories restored to Bhatgaon after three years of struggle. In dealing with the harassed ruler of Bhatgaon Śrīnivāsamalla displayed a high sense of liberalism, which so ingratiated Jagatprakāśa that he felt ever bound to him. Pratāpamalla more embittered now turned to Jagatprakāśa and he proposed common action against Patan.

On a stone inscription on the wall of a temple in Gujibahāl³¹ in the city of Patan, which records the completion of the wooden doors of the building on 789 *Śrāvāṇa śukla 7 pra 8 svāti nakṣatra śubha yoga ādityavāra*, it is said that Bhatgaon was isolated there being an alliance between Patan and Kathmandu. But this alliance broke after a short while. According to the *Thyāsapu D*, the alliance had facilitated a joint attack on Mackwānpur on 790 *Māgha kṛṣṇa chaturthī* and they returned after staying a night there. But as the attack was unsuccessful, the alliance lapsed. About the sametime Jagatprakāśa visited Patan and the two entered into a pact. This was on *Jyeṣṭha śukla 15*. This very day they conquered Kasānakvāṭha and Hiṭigvala. Next day they sieged more areas. On Tuesday 3 places in Abaradosakvāṭha and 1 in Dare were won over at one stroke, they could also seige Nālā, 5 men were arrested, in the engagement, they had not even washed their faces. While the conquest of Nālā was made; it was just the first *prahara* of the day.

31 थ्व वेलस खपो याकात, यक् यरव उ राङ् ।

Now Pratāpa and Śrīnivāsa fell apart and their alliance ended formally. But this had not prevented the Patan ruler to extend welcome to two elephants of Pratāpamalla, which were being brought from Arapodora and conducted through Pulchok. The Patan ruler presented turbans, coconut and dish to the drivers on *Āṣadha śudī 1 of 790*.

About the sametime Patan singly was pushing its hostile expedition in the Terai. The *Thyāsapu D* refers that on *Samvat 791 Chaitra kṛṣṇa*, Mahārājā kumāra Śubhasimha, son of Morang's Hariharasena, came out and was caught by Jaga Bania. This was probably the only case of hostility between Patan and Morang. On later occasions, the Morang ruler obtained military assistance from the Nepal Valley to fight his kinsman in Mackwānpur. The *Thyāsapu D* reports that on *791 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 10 budhavāra* four ministers of Śrīnivāsa, four ministers of Bhatgaon and their hundred men as well as Gorkhā's Murārī Sāhi and Jagbaniā marched to launch an attack on Mackwānpur. Two days later on *dvādaśī śukravāra kṛttikā para rohiṇī* those of Kathmandu came again to capture Hitigvāra at 12 *ghaṭi*. They saw a hole on the wall of the fort and attempted to set fire through it, but the fort did not open inspite of it, Those who came to Nyaphala were arrested. Thereafter they again attempted to enter the fort. But they fled, only one of them was captured. In 792 on *Māgha śukla 15* the invaders of Bhatgaon and Patan started to capture 3 places in Thāpākvāṭha, and 1 place in the Prakaṭapākvāṭha and they conquered at 3 *ghaṭi* past in the morning. They also hoisted their flag. One man from amongst the defenders was taken into custody.

As a result of Patan going over to Bhatgaon in 792, Kathmandu was obliged to abandon all the areas occupied during the conflict with Bhatgaon. Now it appears that Bhatgaon and Patan began to harass Kathmandu. From post colophon statement in a ms. copy of *Brahmottarakhaṇḍa*

(Darb. Lib. Cat. 5847) we know that the two had raided into a border fort of Kathmandu in 792. The fort was Mayajalagrāma lying south of Chāngu near the border of Bhatgaon.³²

The invaders reached the border, and as they were little inside the intruders were caught and dragged. There included Chautārā Pramāṇa of Bhatgaon, another Pramāṇa and three others, yet more others having fled.

The *Thyāsapu D* also confirms this account. It says that the Chautārā Bhoṭubhā proceeded to capture Mayajalagaon but his allies of Patan reached a little late. The mission failed, and Bhoṭubhā was dragged by the head, and 6 others were arrested, and all others left the place.

There is no reporting of conflicts in the Valley since the time Pratāpamalla died upto Śrīnivāsa's death. According to the *Thyāsapu A* the three principalities had combined to raid the Sena kingdoms in the Terai and there was hardly an occasion for mutual quarrel.

We know from the *Thyāsapu E* that 'on 794 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 8 śukravāre* (Friday, April-May, 1674 A.D.), there was peace in the Valley, the three principalities had just pledged to live as friends, Śrīnivāsamalla and other chiefs, had opened the highways'. This *Thyāsapu* adds 'Bhatgaon's king Jitāmitramalla, Kathmandu's king Nṛpendramalla, Chautārā Bhāṇaju, Kathmandu's Chautārā Chikuṭiju, Bhatgaon's Chautārā Bhāgiramaju, Kathmandu's Māndhāta and other heads took oath on the bank of the Bāgmati by touching the sacred book, *Harivaṃśa*, the six princes had assembled and the swearing took place.

32 संबत् ७६२ ज्येष्ठ कृष्ण प्रतिपदा मूल नक्षत्र शुक्रमानेयोग
शनैश्चर वार व्वकुन्दु यरयाषंयो याव् नापं हतार वडा मयजर ग्रामसकतक
चिभाय भुनि ध्यन न रूकास्यं ह्यारिथ्य संजवयाव् राड्यन खंपोया चौतारा
प्रमान हम १ मेव प्रमान हम १ मेव कतक हम ३ थ्वते कतकराक सकरेड
वेस्यं वया ॥ ॥ चौतारा प्रमाण वराणकर खिचान, न्याक, डातकं राक ।

A fully cordial relation existed between Patan and the Rājput Rājās of the western hills as well as among the three rulers of Bhatgaon, Patan and Kathmandu since 794. The chronicle says that at the time of *Upanayana* ceremony of his son (795 *Māgha kṛṣṇa* 6) Śrīnivāsa's court was attended by the Rājās of Morang, Mackwānpur, Tanhou and Gorkhā besides the two rulers of Bhatgaon and Kāntipur. On 795 *Jyeṣṭha śukla* 3 Śrīnivāsamalla called a conference of the Rājās and Kāzis of Kāntipur, Tanhou and Bhaktapur; in which they pledged abiding friendship and peace with Guhyeśvarī as witness. All this speaks of the high influence Śrīnivāsa wielded over the politics of the Nepal Valley of those days,

Śrīnivāsa's relation with Mackwānpur was not marked with cordiality and on many occasions he attacked the fort sometimes by himself alone, and at other times in collusion with others. But in 794 Āśvin Śubhasena obtained assistance from Patan while Mackwānpur was threatened by Hariharasena of Morang. It is said that on Śrīnivāsa's initiative the forces of Bhaktapur, Kathmāndu and Tanhou attacked territories of Morang and restored to Śubhasena 17 villages then occupied by Morang. Śubhasena presented him 4 elephants in return for his assistance.

Respected Personality

Śrīnivāsamalla was an outstanding figure in Nepal of those days. Pratāpa's death in NS 794 left him in an unchallenged position to dominate the affairs of the governments of the neighbours. He was liberal to his adversaries in the latter's evil days; and he was all honest in dealing with them. Therefore even in the life time of Pratāpamalla, his elder cousin, he was universally respected and feared by friends and foes alike, and by force of his character he commanded more influence with the people than the Rājā of Kāntipur. His treatment of the Rājā of Bhatgaon, while the latter was being illtreated by Pratāpamalla in his days of defeat and during

the siege of the capital city was praiseworthy. It was mainly through his efforts that Bhatgaon obtained relief by way of grants of grains and articles in aid while the city was besieged and restoration of lost territories and its ruler awarded fair deal in the negotiation. This fact has been acknowledged by the king of Bhatgaon in one of his dramas (*Malayagan-dhinī*) where he lavishly admires Śrīnivāsa in the most pleasing and flattering language.³³ It was said that up till then no king of Patan and Kāntipur could be blessed with the sight of the goddess Taleju in Bhatgaon, but Śrīnivāsa was allowed to enjoy this privilege in 784. He had seen the goddess in person and obtained her blessing. The king of Bhatgaon was so much obliged to him that he had conceded the right of the *darśana*.

He could never lay hands on the life and property of the vanquished and the weak. Yet he was brave enough to repel and resist any attack on his territory. The Senas of Mack-wānpur and Morang had a hard time because they dared encroach (792-795) on his frontiers; the latter while trying to capture Sindhuli met a defeat, (792 *Māgha*), and both sued for peace with an offer of presents of elephants to Śrīnivāsamalla. The chronicle says that Śrīnivāsa headed a confederate force of Patan, Bhatgaon, Gorkhā and Tanhou

- 33 चौखण्ड नरपति तोहर वखान ।
 लिभुवन नरपति सम नहीं आन ॥
 निरमलमतितुअगंगा जलधर ।
 गनगजराज मोति सुन्दर हार ॥
 चौषठि कलापरसरूपहिकाम ।
 शवदेख शारीमुखवउ अभिराम ॥
 सूत्र हेप्रिये एहेन राजा श्री श्री निवासमल्ल ।
 उन्धिक जश वर्णना भक्ता पूरक राजा श्री श्रीजगतप्रकाश मल्ल

सतत करञ्छि ॥

(Dr. Bagchi's quotation in Bengali Parichaya).

to meet the challenge of the Senas. At a later stage his influence was used to restore some of the captured lands of Mackwānpur from the hands of the Rājā's cousin of Morang. We shall see that the story of a combined attack on Mackwānpur by the kings of the above noted principalities is also confirmed by the *Thyāsapu A and E*.

Mackwānpur seems to have been an object of regular attacks by Patan also since about NS 800 (=1680 A.D). But the three principalities had also not totally relinquished their internal feud, and they are often seen going to war inspite of assurances and pledges to maintain peace.

We are informed by the *Thyāsapu E* (f. 3) that 'on *Samvat 801 Chaitraśuddhi 10* Patan started to invade the territories of Mahakumārya (Śubhasena). The three rulers had combined, Kathmandu's prominent officers, 4 ministers of Patan and 4 ministers of Bhatgaon, left on a military expedition and they said that they would conquer Sindhuli.' We do not know if they had achieved their mission.

From lines inscribed³⁴ on the pedestal of Garuḍa image in front of the Śikhara Nārāyaṇa at Pharping it appears that in 803 on the day of *Māgha pūrṇimā* Patan had besieged Mackwānpur, which was attacked on *Phālgūṇa śukla chaturthī*. In a line of another stela, that of Nakabahil, (attached on the wall), Patan, dated *803 Phālgūṇa śukla saptamī* it is stated that Mackwānpur was opened this very day. The

34 पुन भीषा ध्वगुथि मकवानपुरघेर ययाडावचोडा वेलस माघपूर्णिमा
कुन्हु संकल्पयाडां ध्वनलिफाल्गुणशुक्र या चतुर्थी कुन्हु मकवानपुर चालादिन
जुरो शुभ ॥

The fact of getting open the route to Mackwānpur is also mentioned by a stone Inscription of Nakabahil (Patan city) which dates in *803 Phālgūṇa śukla saptamī*.

ध्ववं कुन्ह मुखापुर चार जुरो महाराज श्री श्रीनिवास मल्ल प्रभुठाकुर
महाराजा ।

inscription records the fact of formally installing the images of Hariharavāhana Lokeśvara, Padmapāṇi and Mahāvairochana in a newly constructed temple. We do not know what provocations led him to attack Mackwānpur. But Śrīnivāsamalla is mentioned to have been victorious in the engagement. According to the chronicle he had defeated the Rājā of Mackwānpur also in 792 by leading a joint command of the forces of Tanhou, Gorkhā and Patan.

But such skirmishes were common in the atmosphere as it obtained, where rulers of small states took recourse to fights even for solution of petty issues, and we should not be surprised at the repeated incidents of fights and invasions between two states.

It appears from the *Thyāsapu E* (f. 18), that a little earlier on 803 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 10* Tuesday, the ministers and peoples of the three principalities attacked Mackwānpur. It was said that the Chautārās of Patan and Bhatgaon did not join the party. In *Phālguna* there was one more offensive launched against Mackwānpur by these parties. On *śudi 4 (Āśvini nakṣatra aṅgāravāra)* of this month at 12 *ghaṭi* past night Mackwānpur was defeated. Next day, the expedition returned, and they said that the communication was open. On the 4th day, which was Wednesday, the invaders had reached Paliakvāṭha. At this point they had to face a rescue operation launched by Tanhou, but they repulsed, many persons were arrested and sent back, the operation was revived twice, but each time it was beaten back. Again they were stopped at Kotipvakala in the morning by another party. But they bypassed the route and came through Pharping. Now it seemed that they fled after conquering Mackwānpur. Śrīnivāsamalla who had accompanied the expedition also returned with the party. Meanwhile, Patan made friendship with king Pārthivendramalla of Kathmandu, kings Jitāwitrāmalla and Ugramalla of Bhatgaon and with the kings of Gorkhā, Lamjung, Pālpālis, Bhirkot, Rising, and Sisia. With

this alliance, Mackwānpur was occupied, and Jagasing Bania was released. At this time the Chief Ministers of Patan, Bhatgaon and Kathmandu were Bhāgiju, Dukhiju, and Chikuṭiju respectively. Patan presented an elephant to Kathmandu, it also returned all those areas belonging to the latter. The account of the alliance forged with the many hill states by Patan at this hour is given by the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 48). It says '*Sarīvat 803 Kārtika kṛṣṇa daśamī hasta nakṣatre aṅgāravāra*, this day, the astrologers having accepted a time between 6 and 10 *ghaṭi*, they went to launch an attack on Mackwānpur. The parties in the attacking were Kathmandu, Patan, Bhatgaon, Gorkhā, Lamjung; the Rājās were assembled together and marched. They conquered Mackwānpur on the night of *803 Phālgua śukla 4 pra 5 aśvinī pra bharaṇī nakṣatra aṅgāravāra*'.

No incidents of military expedition are reported for the year 803. There were some in 804. But we shall deal with these a little later as we delineate the circumstances of Śrīnivāsa's abdication and retirement to a life of seclusion.

Śrīnivāsa's Children

The Varṃśagopāla inscriptions³⁵ of *800 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 5* shows the temple to have been built by Kīrtimaṅgalā, second (madhyamā) daughter of king Śrīnivāsamalla, and her husband Amarasiṃha. From the Buṅmati *pāṭi* (stone attached) inscriptions we come to know that the benefactors were Rudramati, Śrīnivāsa's eldest (*Jyeṣṭha*) daughter and her husband Rudrendramalla. There must have been a third daughter, but we do not know about her from the available records.

Yoganarendramalla was the only son to grow to age and maturity and then placed to occupy the throne on his father's abdication.

35 A stone attached on the southern wall of the temple near Kumbheśvara.

According to a noting in a ms. copy of *Sudramatādarsa Śrāddhavidhi* Śrīnivāsamalla's successor Yoganarendramalla was born on 786 *Śrāvāṇa śukla 4 pra 5 ghaṭi 11 uttraphālguṇī* (=July-August, 1667). It appears that he was the second son of Śrīnivāsamalla. We hear of another son of his, who was born on 786 *Kārtika śukla 8* but the baby died after 75 days. An inscription of the year 786 (Mūlchok copper plate) set up on *Āśvina śukla pratīpadā* mentions his son Yogamalla and the latter's mother Mṛgāvati.

Yoganarendramalla is reported to have cherished an ambition to become a *de facto* ruler as soon as he crossed the threshold of his youth. He fell into the company of men and women who encouraged his ambition and appetite for power. This annoyed his father, and ultimately the latter abdicated to lead a life of renunciation and devotion. But to this we shall return a little later.

Crisis of Life

Śrīnivāsa lost one of his queens in 802. She died on *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 3 pra 4 bṛhaspativāra rātrisa* (at the night of Thursday, December-January, 1681-82).³⁷ The *Thyāsapu D* reporting her death gives more details, while confirming the date, it says 'as the *chaturthī* had touched *maghā nakṣatra bṛhaspativāra*, one *ghaṭi*' prior to daybreak she died. She was the married wife of Śrīnivāsamalla, and she was just 32 years old when she breathed her last. Earlier in 800 he had suffered bereavement in the death of his mother on *Pauṣa śudī 3*.³⁸ It was said that the demise of the queen made him very unhappy and a strong desire to relinquish his worldly affairs. He read evil forebodings in the appearance of the comet and an earthquake in NS 800, which added to his sad heart already laden with grief.³⁹

36 In the possession of Eisvaradhara Sharma.

37 *Thyāsapu A*, f. 20.

38 *Thyāsapu E*, f. 6.

39 *Ibid*, f. 6.

The *Thyāsapu E 'Saṁvat 801 Pauṣa śuddhi 1* a comet came to view in the sky.⁴⁰ *Saṁvat 801 Pauṣa śudi 2* a comet appeared in the sky to the south. It looked as if that part of the sky had caught fire, it was said that there was *dikdāha*.⁴¹ Again the next day the comet had appeared in the same direction as if a flame had risen up.⁴² On *Jyeṣṭha śuddhi śanicharavāra* of the same year the Nepal Valley was rocked by severe earth tremor at 18 *ghaṭi* past midnight, it was not possible to count the number of the houses damaged, this was Saturday and once again on Monday, the earth shook but not as violently.⁴³

Since this year also the occasion of the annual car festival of Machhendranātha was not without its evil omens. This was true of every annual *yatra* till 804. The *Thyāsapu E* gives a full account, which is as follows: 'Saṁvat 800, the painted plaster over the face of the idol of Bugadeo fell down as the chariot had reached a site near the present Podeṭol (f. 3). The painting was done once again in the chariot itself, but this time the chariot reached its destination in time. *Saṁvat 801 Vaiśā śudhi 1*, this day the chariot of the deity was drawn from Buga, the same day one beam joining the two wheels of the chariot broke, in the local language this beam is called *ākasi*, once more it broke at Chhasikvāṭha, and again on the way near Khoknā, in two days it reached Gvāratichor, as it arrived Khvayanavide, two royal visitors, Kathmandu's Pārthivendramalla and his brother came, also the kings of Bhatgaon, Ugramalla and Jitāmitramalla, for 3 days and 4 nights the wheels got struck into the mud, after that the chariot reached Nakhu, but here again on *ākasi* (आकसि) broke, the chariot stopped for one day, then it came to Yappāṭola where it stopped another day. Here the chariot

40 f. 6.

41 f. 5.

42 f. 6.

43 Ibid.

had arrived after 3 days since it began the journey, the chariot reached on the 10th day Ilurāyata, Śrīnivāsamalla walked along with the chariot repairing the road through which it had passed, also with him were Chautārā Bhāgaju Chautārā Chikuṭiju of Kathmandu and Chautārā Dukhiju, and two others, Bhāyirāju and Bhatichā of Bhatgaon ; on the 11th day the chariot reached Gādbahāl, the *ākasi* did not break since it left Nakhu, from Gādbahāl it stopped at Mahāpāra as it was unable to go further to Nogal where it arrived the next day. It had reached there on the 13th day, but the *ākasi* broke when it was moving from Nogal to Lagan, the front and hind *ākasi* broke, the two front wheels had come out and the chariot was about to fall down ; at Nogal the king of Kathmandu had come but the king of Bhatgaon did not come, the *yātrā* had to reach Lagan on that day, but it could not ; next day,.....at Lagan once again one *ākasi* broke, the next day the wheel struck into the ground, for this reason, a *vali* (of goat) was sacrificed, in Syeṅgu also a *vali* (of goat) was offered, that day the chariot was not drawn, on that day the report of opening the road to Sindhuli reached Patan, next day the chariot reached its destination, altogether 19 days had passed since the God had been seated on the chariot, from Lagan the chariot had reached at the end of 5 days and 4 nights, this year the chariot was drawn from Buga, those of Komati were the first to draw upto Gvāticho, then from there those of Chyāsal drew to Yāglatyāgla, those who were engaged were given some remuneration in cash and kind.

Now the return journey of Machhendranātha began. It was the bright fortnight of *Jyeṣṭha* and its eleventh day. But here again one *ākasi* broke at Thambuga and could not reach its appointed place on that day. Two *ākasis* broke as the chariot proceeded ahead of Bugāḍa. For that reason the procession was held up, 4 *ākasis* had broken since the God came on his return journey. The God reached Jyāpāra (modern Jyaulākhel) after 4 days and 3 nights since the

chariot began its journey back to Buga. At Jyāparā when the chariot was being drawn backwards, two *ākasis* broke, another broke at Bhodiksera, there the repairing was done, and here again an animal was sacrificed. The chariot was then drawn and ahead of Nakhu it arrived at Thusabahāra. Next day the chariot came to Khvayanādaha, and the day after it reached Tichodo where an *ākasi* was broken. A day later to this one *ākasi* broke at Chhyāsikvāṭha and on proper repair the chariot proceeded at the usual place Gāmarāyatā after five nights and six days. Before reaching Buga it stopped 3 nights and 4 days. The chariot had now to reach at the appointed day the original site from where the procession had started for Patan. As before Śrīnivāsamalla personally accompanied the *Jātrā* and he used to supervise the work done to expand the road and fencing it with bamboo sticks. Altogether 18 *ākasis* were broken this year, Chautārā Bhāgiju was indifferent, but all *pramāṇas* were bestowing full attention. When the chariot started from Thusabahāra, there was only one *Panju* who got half of the offering made to the deity'.

A 12-yearly Car Festival

The chariot drawing festival of 801 was a 12-yearly one. We have seen that the festival was ignominious in the sense that many times the *ākasi* had broken and *jātras* could not be celebrated in appointed hours on account of the chariot reaching different centres of celebration out of time. But the year following though it was an ordinary one also not without its inauspicious events. According to the *Thyāsapu E '802 Vaiśākha śuddhi 1, Friday*, the deity was placed on the chariot, and on the third day reached Gāvahāra, this was Monday, two *ākasis* had broken before it arrived Nakabahāl, that day there was no procession, next day the chariot arrived at Gāvahāra, the day it was drawn from Gāvahāra to Nogal once again one *ākasi* broke at Chakra-

vahāra, that day there was no business, kings of Kathmandu and Bhatgaon came, next day another *ākasi* broke, that day the kings returned, there was no drawing, the morrow an animal was sacrificed, this was done at Thantu where it touched the residence of Rayakula, for 3 days the *ākasi* broke, the last time twice, the next day the chariot reached Nogal, upto Nogal eight times the *ākasi* had broken, it had reached Nogal after 7 days and 6 nights, the day the chariot proceeded towards Lagan one *ākasi* broke, there was no drawing, that day also the animal sacrifice of the night took place at Lagankhel, next day the chariot was drawn but it had to stop as another *ākasi* broke, the breach was on the left side, it was mended with a wood known as *Kākhasi*, but again it broke, no drawing took place that day, a day later two Brāhmaṇas read *mantras* and animals were sacrificed at the altar of Dulana worshiped as the mother of Machhendranātha, 19 days had passed since the deity came to the chariot, now the Lagan *jātrā* took place, up till then 12 times the *ākasi* had broken. The return journey began on *Jyeṣṭha vaddhi 4 Wednesday*, that day also one *ākasi* broke, next day the chariot was not drawn, there was *pūjā* in the king's house, his youngest daughter was performing a ceremony called *Ihī*, therefore for 3 days the chariot had to stop, next day it proceeded but again the *ākasi* broke, and not until the morrow the chariot could move, the Jyāval *jātrā* took place after 7 days, Śrīnivāsamalla and others attended, 60 lamps were lighted, from Lagankhel the king accompanied the chariot supervising the construction of the road, he did not enter the palace, there was peace among the 3 cities, Bhāgaju was Chautārā, this year 15 *ākasis* had broken. Next year, 803, 12 *ākasis* broke till the chariot reached Lagan after 20 days'.

The year 804 was not different from the previous year. Full of bad omens these were anxious days for the king of Patan. He feared that something bad was in store for himself and his people.

Since 797 NS the father and son were ruling jointly. An inscription of Pimbahāl in Patan says that while they were ruling *Śrī 2 Śrīnivāsamalladeva Śrī 2 Jaya Yoganarendramalladevasa nemha vākāyasa vijayarājya velasa* one Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa started carving the image of Nārāyaṇa on 797 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 10* which he completed a year and quarter later on 798 *Kārtika śukla 9*.

There are copious references to his son Yoganarendramalla in the inscription from this time onwards. In the inscription of Bhīmasenathāna, which bears the date NS 801 *Mārga śukla 2* (this temple was built in this year by the order of Śrīnivāsa) the son is mentioned in eulogising terms. Earlier to this, in the year NS 800 (*Jyeṣṭha śukla*) a Kwābahāl stella has an inscription to say that Śrīnivāsamalla and his son Yoganarendramalla were both ruling in that year.

In Kīrtipur (Siṃhaduvāṭol) there is stella which has in the beginning 804 *Śrāvaṇa śukla aṣṭamyām* (completion of the temple).....// *Māgha māsa śukla pakṣe pañchamyām tithau revati nakṣatre śubhayoge yathākaraṇa muhūrte bṛhaspativāsare kumbharāśi gate savitari mīnarāśigate chandramasi "thva kunhu"..... "Śrīmat Śrī Lalitapuryām Mānigalādhipati, Md Śrī Jaya Śrīnivāsamalladeva, tat putra sakalanītisāstra kāvya vyākaraṇa kośalaṅkāra saṅgītādi kuśalarājarājendra Śrī Śrī Jaya Yoganarendramalladeva prabhuchhatradhārī—tasmin samaye—etc, etc.* This inscription though issued in *Śrāvaṇa* has *Māgha śukla 5* as the date for the start of the building of the temple, which was constructed to enshrine the image of Lokeśvara with Tārā and the latter date is also linked with the line giving the names of the ruler.

I think that all the references to Yoganarendramalla as king upto 803 NS were meant only to show courtesy to the crown prince. But the expression, *chhatradhārī*, used for Yoganarendramalla in the Kīrtipur inscription of 804 as above cited definitely suggests a change in his position.

Probably he was invested with administrative responsibility by his father since about this time.

In 804 Śrīnivāsa visited Kathmandu on *Kartika śukla 12*, and gave insignias (a turban) of the office of minister to Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa and others. Upto this time relation between the two principalities had been cordial. But ever since then Patan and Kathmandu were drifting apart. Both *Thyāsapu D* and *E* relate accounts of fights between Patan and Kathmandu for that period. In the words of the *Thyāsapu D* 'Saṁvat 804 Mārgasīra śukla 3 mūla nakṣatre ādityavāra Patan was all alone. Obviously Kathmandu and Bhatgaon had combined against Patan. According to the *Thyāsapu D* on the same day Kathmandu captured eight places with one stroke, 3 in Thāpāgvaḍa, 1 in Chapataka, 1 in Hiṭigala, 1 in Tejoranokha, 1 in Nakapāra and 1 in Kosana. Three days after, 1 Atakhvāta and 1 Pukhmachā were also seized.

According to *Thyāsapu E* (f. 21) under date *Mārgasī sūddhi 3* Sunday 'the three cities were again on bad terms, Kathmandu and Bhatgaon were allies but Patan was left alone, this day Bhatgaon and Kathmandu occupied the fort of Thāpākvāṭha, and Tapanagugvaḍa. 3 days after on the day of Pañchamī they again took the two forts of Pukhurichā and Atakhvāṭa in Kīrtipur.

But on *Saṁvat 804 Śrāvāṇa kṛṣṇa 3* the road between Patan and Kathmandu opened. Śrīnivāsamalla presented a nine tier-turban to Pārthivendramalla who had conquered Chemdol. This place was allowed to be seized by the ruler of Patan. This transaction involved only one fort. This was exchanged for the area known as Ekhachhetol in Chāpāgaon.

The place names in the account of the *Thyāsapu D* as given in relation to the areas taken away from Patan in *Mārga* are not as clear. The *Thyāsapu E* (f. 21), however, clearly mentions the places. All of these belonged to Patan.

From the same source (f. 21) we also know that on *Māgha śukla 5* of 804 Bhāgaju was dismissed after sixteen years of service as Chautārā and he was replaced by the second son of Rāyaku Bhāju. The latter was given insignia of office exactly a month later on *Phālgunā śukla 15*. About the month of *Śrāvāṇa* the three rulers were on friendly terms. On 804 *Śrāvāṇa 8* they agreed to maintain peace due to efforts of the eldest Bhāju of Tavajhyā in Patan. Earlier on *Śrāvāṇa śuddhi 4* Kathmandu had taken hold of Chudolakvāṭha this was done with mutual consent and was handed over to Kāzi Poṣṭika.

The king dismissed the new Chautārā on *Śrāvāṇa vaddhi 13*. Hardly 7 months had passed since he became Chautārā. The latter was not allowed to come out of his home. Probably this was to appease the crown prince who was pressing the father to have men of his choice in key positions. We do not know what for Bhagiratha was dismissed. He was so close to king Śrīnivāsamalla that his dismissal was unthinkable as it came in that context. The *Thyāsapus* we have availed of give little information to clarify any doubtful point in that respect. But Yoganarendramalla's hands are clearly noticeable in the treatment that had been meted out to Bhagiratha Bhaiyā. About 804 (=1684 A. D.), two families in the Patan court were rising to prominence. One was the family of Bansidhara. Perhaps his father Kalyāṇasiṃha carried much influence at the court as the daughter Jayalakṣmī was a concubine of the crown prince, who was loved to distraction by her husband. The other was the family of Paraśurāma who according to the *Thyāsapu E* was at the head of an infructuous and unsuccessful expedition conducted against Mackwānpur in early 805 and later became *Senādha-kṣya* (Inscription on a slab of stone of Tavapukha in Patan.) These happen to be behind Yoganarendramalla. The crown prince must have been instigated by them to secure the dismissal of the old and tried statesmen of the time so that the vacated posts might fall into their hands.

Śrīnivāsa's Abdication and Crowning of Yoganarendra

According to the chronicle Śrīnivāsamalla's relation with his son was further strained about this time. He sensed that the crown prince was trying to act independently. It was reported that the latter was engaged in trade and commerce in cooperation with a merchant and was secretly spending public money for the purpose. This was unbecoming of the high status he enjoyed in the realm, but without taking any action to correct his son Śrīnivāsamalla now wanted to give him tastes of all sweets and bitters of the life of a ruler and crowned him king on *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 5 of 805*. This fact and the date of his crowning are confirmed by several authentic sources.

Yoganarendramalla's first record dates NS 805. This is a coin (Walsh, V. 6, wrongly read). In view of this coin, there is no doubt that Yoganarendramalla became king in that year. He had become king not because the throne had fallen vacant due to his father's death but because the latter had abdicated and gone to lead a retired life in the tradition of his own father.

About the circumstances of Yoganarendramalla becoming king and of Śrīnivāsamalla's death we obtain an information from the *Thyāsapu A*, which is not much different from that of the chronicle. It says, 'on the day of *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa pañchamī bṛhaspativāra hasta nakṣatre* of 805, Yoganarendramalla was declared king by the Rājās of Kāntipur and Bhatgaon, as his father Śrīnivāsa was no more the king' (f. 55) and adds a little later that 'on 807 *Māgha śukla ekādaśī mṛgaśirā nakṣatre eindra yoge śukravāra* Śrīnivāsamalla died' (f. 60). It is not clear from the above whether Śrīnivāsamalla had abdicated and left the country unnoticed, of course, this he did having expressed a desire to retire. But the *Thyāsapu D* clearly states that he abdicated on 805 *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 5*, and left the city after formally declaring his son as king of the principality, and he died on 807 *Māgha śukla 11 śukravāra mṛgaśirā*

nakṣatra. From *Thyāsapu E* we learn 'Saṁvat 805 Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 5 vasuvāra this day, Śrī Joganarendramalla was crowned king, Śrī Śrīnivāsamalla having abdicated, the kings of Kathmandu and Bhatgaon declared him king. The minister Śyāmadāsaju who had arranged all this became Chautārā. In view of these authoritative informations there is no doubt that Śrīnivāsamalla had abdicated on *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 5 of 805*.

What happened to Śrīnivāsamalla after his abdication is unknown to us. But it is reported by two *Thyāsapus* that he came back to the city of Patan some 17 months later, and this happened at a time while Patan was entering into a crucial phase in its relation with Kathmandu and the other neighbour.

Although for a short while in 804 the two principalities had drawn together, their relation was not smooth following the abdication of Śrīnivāsamalla. According to the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 42) and *E* (f. 16) Patan was not even approached to join the new alliance between Bhatgaon, Gorkhā and Kathmandu, and in consequence was isolated in *Jyeṣṭha* of 805.

The youngest prince of Kathmandu escaped in *Mārga of 806*, and it was rumoured that he had taken shelter in Patan and this had further strained the relation between the two principalities (*Thyāsapu A*, f. 47). Patan was again ignored while the kings of Bhatgaon, Kathmandu and Gorkhā had met at Gedemohan on *806 Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 7 budhavāra*. Meanwhile the *Miramhajuju* of Kathmandu appeared publicly in Patan where he was welcomed by Yoganarendramalla. Now there was a greater risk of immediate conflict with Kathmandu whose ruler was demanding the surrender of his brother.

A meeting between the two rulers to settle the important issues was being arranged for *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 12*. Śrīnivāsa had reappeared on the early morning of that day. It is probable that he wanted to advise his son as to the steps he should take in respect of the matter raised by the Kathmandu ruler.

Śrīnivāsa Reappears

There is a reference to Śrīnivāsamalla in a passage of the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 59) under date line 806 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa dvādaśī somavāra*. It says 'Śrīnivāsamalla juju (king) arrived and the three cities were opened; at Tekhu the three kings met, they swore by *Harivaṁśa* (a sacred book), *Sāligrāma* (a sacred blackstone) and *Jāgeśvara* (Phallus). The *Miramhajuju* (the junior king) was sent for, but he did not come; the Khasas and Brāhmaṇas were beaten severely and then imprisoned, Patan was isolated, the people combining did this.'

This passage is not fully explanatory, but there was a trouble in Patan. We do not know for what reasons. We can, however, supplement our information from the chronicle. According to the chronicle *Miramhajuju* of Kathmandu was wanted at Tekhu and he was summoned. The Patan ruler was to take him there. But Yoganarendramalla while consenting to attend to conference himself refused to bring Mahipatendra along with him. The chronicle while mentioning the king of Patan does not do so by name. He could be Śrīnivāsamalla or Yoganarendramalla. But if the chronicler had meant Śrīnivāsamalla he was surely wrong. There is another source of information on the subject. This is the *Thyāsapu D* which clearly states that Śrīnivāsamalla reached the capital on the early hours of 806 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa dvādaśī somavāra*, and on the same evening Yoganarendramalla visited Tekhu to confer with the king of Kathmandu.

Śrīnivāsa seems to have appeared suddenly. But his efforts failed to bring reconciliation between Kathmandu and Patan. It had, however, helped to arrest the conflict, which again flared up on his death.

Death of Śrīnivāsamalla

Śrīnivāsamalla died in the month of *Māgha* of 807 as the *Thyāsapu A* tells us. We have similar information from the *Thyāsapu D*. It says: *Saṁvat 807 Māgha śukla 11 śukravāra*,

Patan's king Śrīnivāsamalla died, nine women became *śatī*, his body was burnt at Saṅkhamul ; in Kathmandu and Bhatgaon there was no booming of guns. The mortuary rites (*daśakryā*) was performed by the second prince at Saṅkhamul. The coffin was brought from Kathmandu, the king had died at eight *ghaṭis* passed in the morning, the coffins brought from Bhatgaon had reached in the evening, for 4 months the worship at the royal *āgama* was stopped'.

(IV)

Yoganarendramalla (1684-1705)

The following are the documents in the name of Yoganarendramalla as king between 805 *Māgha*, and 807 *Māgha*, the date of the death of Śrīnivāsamalla.

(1) A stone inscription in front of the Mahālakṣmī temple in Kisipidi. This is dated 805 *Māgha śukla 13 puṣa nakṣatra*, and has the line *Śrī 3 Yoganarendramalla prajyāyasa*. The record mentions the installation of the image of Umā-Maheśvara.

(2) Sau-bahā stele, *Śreyostu śarasomāṣṭa yāte Nepāla vatsare (=805).....chaturthyām.....Śrī Śrī Yoganarendrasya vijaya Lalitāpure*.

(3) The stone inscription of the Gaṇeśa temple of Valukhu at Patan, which bears the date 805 *Chaitra vadi 7* has both Śrīnivāsamalla and Yoganarendramalla ruling at the date (*ubhaya parjyāyasa*).

(4) The stone inscription of Yatalibi (Patan) dated 805 *Vaiśākha śudī saptamī puṣya nakṣatre siddhiyoge yathakāraṇa muhūrte bṛhaspativāra* etc. has the following passage, *Śrī Śrīnivāso naradevarāja yobhut prajānām pratipāladakṣa tasya prasādāt cha chakārarājyam vichakṣano Yoganarendramalla tasyaiva vijayarājye pure Lalita sañjāka* etc.

(5) A stone inscription attached to the Ko-baha temple of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa in Patan *Śrī Māñiglādhiputi saṅgītārṇava*

Md Śrī Śrī Jaya Joganarendramalladeva prabhu thākurasana rājapatnī Jogalakṣmīdevīsana.....Saṁvat 805 Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa pratipadā etc.

(6) A stele attached to the *Chaitya* at Chhusikaṭol, Patan. *Saṁvat 806 Kārtika kṛṣṇa ekādaśī hasta nakṣatre.....etc. Rd Śrī Śrī Joganarendramallasya vijayarājye.* This marks the inaugural ceremony of the completion of the *Chaitya* (*bhaṭṭā-raka*), which was accompanied with *yajña* and a ceremony of setting up an umbrella.

(7) A stone inscription in a temple at Gvankhel, Patan. This is a record of the inaugural ceremony of completing the construction of a temple where the image of Umā-Maheśvara were placed. This is dated in 806 *Vaiśākha śukla 9*. Yoganarendramalla is described as an efficient and handsome ruler who reigned like his father (*pitṛāsamam*).

The n. 4 inscription above suggests that the people viewed Yoganarendramalla's reign as something of a gift from his father. We have the information from n.3 that both Śrīnivāsamalla and Yoganarendramalla were reigning at the date of the record. Perhaps the people believed that Śrīnivāsamalla was yet on the throne, and he had retired leaving only the administration into his son's hands.

The Sonāguthi inscription of Śrīnivāsamalla's queen Siddhimaṅgalā, dated 806 *Āṣāḍha śukla 9* (*chitrā pra svāti nakṣatre śiva yoge ādityavāra mithunarāśigata sūrya tulārāśigata chandra*) complicates the issue of the date of his death because it commemorates the event of building a *vāstavya maṅḍapa* and a water conduit (*praṇāli*) for the emancipation of her departed (*paralokagata*) husband. It is obvious that at the date the inscription was set up, Śrīnivāsa was being regarded as dead.

But as we have already seen, this was not true. His whereabouts were not known for sometime after his abdication. But he had appeared in Patan in 806 *Jyeṣṭha* so what the scribe wrote of him a month later calling him dead was

not warranted. Perhaps the scribe made a mistake in reckoning the year.

There is a stone inscription attached to the *satal* of Yaṅgubahāl in Patan which dated in *vasuvindugajānvite* (=808) *Vaiśākha śukla pakṣe tṛtīyā ravaudine*, and says the following about the reign and the donor : *Śrī Śrī Yoganarendramalla nṛpati svarge yathā vāsabho bhāti Śrī Lalitāpure nṛpa maṇivīro vadānyaḥ sudhīḥ rājñāḥ ṣoḍasa varṣa janmanigate mantri dhuraṅh prāptayaḥ soyam vaṁsaprakāśaka kularavirbaṁśīdharahaḥ sunderaḥ*. Baṁśīdhara had become minister of the crown while he had attained the age of 16. He had built the *Satal* (*maṇḍapa*) as the inscription records. At the time Yoganarendramalla's crowning took place there was no Chief Minister. But Baṁśīdhara was soon to be appointed to the job.

Yoganarendramalla had just completed his eighteenth year of age while he was crowned. In the beginning of his regnal career he seems to have obtained considerable help from one Baṁśīdhara of Yāgrabahāra. The young king was intelligent and full of vitality and energy. But he was probably not wholly guided by his own wisdom in conducting the administration of his state. Baṁśīdhara was the real power behind the throne. How he reached that position ? His past career is not known to us. His rise coincides with the fall of Bhagiratha Bhaiyā. He also came to take the place of Śyāmadāsa Pramāṇa who was the man entrusted with the task of looking after the new king by his father. It is reported by *Thyāsapu E* that Patan had been isolated on 805 *Jyēṣṭha śukla 5 vasuvāra*,⁴⁴ exactly 13 days after Baṁśīdhara took over as Chautārā. Baṁśīdhara was appointed new Chautārā on 805 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī*.⁴⁵ From the *Thyāsapu E* we also learn that Bhagiratha Bhaiyā was killed on 805 *Bhādra vadi 3*⁴⁶ Saturday. Why was he killed ? Perhaps the same

44 *Thyāsapu E*, f. 21.

45 *Ibid.* f. 21.

46 *Thyāsapu E*, f. 22.

elements which had brought about his dismissal earlier had caused his death. The removal of Bhagiratha had for all times to come removed the threat of an internal dissention likely to cause annoyance to the clique in power. At least Baṁśīdhara and his supporters had thought to make their position secure by this device. We do not know how long Baṁśīdhara remained in saddle. There is no reference to a minister of Patan in the *Thyāsapu E* for the time upto early 813 when the Chautārāship went to Kāzi Śyāmadāsa. Baṁśīdhara's inscription is dated in 808, so he enjoyed a tenure definitely longer than that of his predecessor.

Baṁśīdhara owed his position to the fact that he was a brother of Yogalakṣmī, one of the concubines of Yoganarendramalla. According to his Yagbahāl inscription, she was his elder sister (*Jyeṣṭha bhaginī*) Yogalakṣmī, as we shall note later, figures in a coin of the king (Walsh, V)⁴⁷. She and Narendralakṣmī jointly figure in a coin of Yoganarendramalla, which is dated 808⁴⁸ respectively. She is noted as Rājapatnī (wife of the king) in the inscription of the Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa temple (see above), which is dated in 805 *Śrāvāṇa kṛṣṇa pratipadā*. Baṁśīdhara in his inscription mentions her as one dear to the king at the date of the record (808 *Vaiśākha śukla 3*). It is quite likely that Baṁśīdhara was thrown out of power as Yogalakṣmī lost influence with the king. We shall say more about her sometime later.

Yoganarendra's Relation with Neighbours

The account of the Patan ruler's involvement in the conflict started by Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa has been already related. By fear or favour Patan had chosen to side with Kathmandu up to 808. But as we have seen it could not go the whole hog with Kathmandu in the latter's treatment of Bhatgaon,

47 n. 12 in our Appendix.

48 Walsh V. 5.

and the two broke away. The beginning of 809 saw Patan's allignment with Bhatgaon.

The chronicler of the *Thyāsapu A* noted with regret that on *Samvat 809 Phālgūṇa śukla pañchamī aśvini nakṣatra śubha yoga* Patan and Bhatgaon had combined and isolated Kathmandu's child ruler Bhūpālendramalla (f. 71). The inhabitants of the two principalities had made an attack on Kathmandu on *809 Vaiśākha śukla dvitīyā kṛttikā nakṣatre saubhāgya yoga bṛhaspativāra*. On this very day Bhūpālendramalla was taken in procession round the city through the main thoroughfares (f. 72). But a little later some forts belonging to Kathmandu were attacked by the forces of Patan and Bhatgaon. There were more occasions in the immediate future, when Bhatgaon and Kathmandu together fought Patan. But the alliance could not continue for long. Soon Jitāmitra was to visit Kathmandu. He attended the marriage ceremony of Bhūpālendramalla on *810 Māgha kṛṣṇa 4 uttara-phālgūṇi nakṣatra atigaṇḍa pra krambhayoga* while he struck a deal with the authorities of Kathmandu, by which the two principalities were to become allies. They had been able to evolve a common policy towards the principality of Morang.

On *810 Phālgūṇa śukla ekādaśī adrā pra punarvasu nakṣatra ādityavāra* the Pramāṇas of Kathmandu and Bhatgaon went to Sindhuli to meet the Pātsāha (f. 75). Meanwhile Patan captured some forts of Kathmandu and two of Bhatgaon on *Phālgūṇa kṛṣṇa 11 uttarasāḍha nakṣatra somavāra*, and on this day Jitāmitra formally signed an agreement with Bhūpāendra pledging to be allies. An attack was made on Mura on the day of *810 naṣṭa Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī*, and one Kampāli was killed as he was hit on his head by a gun shot ; the one who came from Gokarṇa was caught, Kampāli was burnt to death after four days (f. 76).

According to the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 77) the ruler of Bhatgaon along with his brother and son met Bhūpālendramalla at the

house of Daivajña Jagannātha on the occasion of his erecting the pinnacle over the roof of the newly constructed temple in honour of his tutelary deity. The day was *Samvat 810 Aṣāḍha śukla pratipadā puṣya nakṣatra harṣaṇa yoga śukravāra* (f. 77). The same Jagannātha obtained a prize of gold bracelets from the hands of his king, Bhūpālendramalla on *811 Āśvina śukla pūrṇimā ādityavāra* (f. 80). The two kingdoms were now reconciled. Jagannātha was later appointed to the post of the administrator of Patan.

Probably because Bhatgaon had not been harassed during all this time, its ruler thought to break with Patan and join hands with Kathmandu. Now Patan was isolated. But Yoganarendra had continued to fight Kathmandu in his own way until the two had come to terms on the death of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa.

We learn from the *Thyāsapu* that on *810 Kārtika kṛṣṇa somavāra* Patan's Śrī 2 Yoganarendramalla, Pramāṇa Išvara-dāsa and Rāyakula Bhāju's son of Balhachhi went to Kīrtipur and they were joined by some more men, prominent of whom were Bhadrasing Bhāju Dalinba (second) Prithirsing Bhāju and Eghasing Bhāju. The party attacked some outposts belonging to Kathmandu lying on the other side of the rivulet Balkhul. The attack took place quite early in the morning when people had not even washed their faces. Some places were occupied to the disadvantage of Kathmandu. Bhatgaon had also to part (f. 74) with some of its border outposts.

As Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa died in *Bhādra 810*, peace returned in the relation between Kathmandu and Patan. This had paved the way for better understanding among the three rulers of the Nepal Valley, who had met in Kathmandu for consultation on *811 Āśvina kṛṣṇa śaptamī punarvasu nakṣatra ādityavāra*. The *Thyāsapu A* (f. 80) reports that the three kings were now tied in friendship and they and Pāsāju met at Mohanchok that day.

It appears that at the time of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's death

Bhatgaon was friendly with Kathmandu, but not Patan. This is evident from the fact that while Jitāmitra was called to Kathmandu to advise the king during the crisis, this privilege was not extended to Yoganarendramalla.

Like his father Yoganarendramalla was also an imposing personality. He maintained the dignity and over all importance of his family. For about three to four years he yielded place to the Chief Minister of Kathmandu, but once he was gone (see above), the leading string fell into his hands. And the fact that in Kathmandu there was in succession for about 30 years a rule by minors helped him a great deal to consolidate his position and maintain his ascendancy in Nepal for a considerable time. But he died a premature death at the age of 39.

In the beginning, however, Yoganarendramalla exhibited indiscreet behaviour. He was also intemperate in his habits and easily influenced by those close to him. His sexual weakness had also at times got over his other qualities. That tended to make the administration weak while toughness was demanded from it.

As Patan was embroiled in the politics of the day in the Valley, it had not been able to turn its attention to raiding Mackwānpur for at least another 7 years. But now out of the turmoil Patan renewed the activity with more than its usual vigour.

We know it from the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 81) that on 812 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 11* a combined attack on Mackwānpur by the three rulers of the Valley. But the peace in the Valley was broken after a year when Patan tried to violate the border with Bhatgaon on 813 *Bhādra kṛṣṇa 6 rohiṇī nakṣatre āditya-vāra*. The king of Bhatgaon called for Kathmandu's aid in his fight against Patan, which led to Patan's isolation. Bhatgaon and Patan had again combined while Kathmandu's king had been away on *Khedā* expedition (*Māgha śukla 6 āsvini nakṣatra*, 816). But in *Chaitra* Patan joined Kathmandu and invaded Obhu (*Thyāsapu A*, f. 86).

Twelve Yearly Jātrā of Machhendranātha

The *Thyāsapu E* graphically describes the course of the 12 yearly festival of the chariot of Machhendra, which fell in 813. There were many instances of *ākasi* being broken as it was in the year 801. King Yoganarendramalla accompanied the procession as his father did. Up till then peace had prevailed in the Valley. But since this year the three rulers began fighting again.

Thus says the *Thyāsapu E*: *Samvat 813*, this year the chariot was drawn from Buga. Yoganarendramalla was the king, Śyāmadāsaju was Chautārā and Mahādeva was *deśanāyaka*, the three cities were on friendly terms, the day the God was seated on the chariot one *ākasi* broke at a place called Totakha and it came to a halt, next day it moved and reached Gvaraticho, the repair work was done by those of Buga upto Saṅkhagara, those of Komah had to do for the distance upto Gvāraticho, they obtained Bhotiya beans 3 *phams*, each *pham* of 3 *Kuruva*, then salt, oil and ghee of a certain measurement, from Gvaraticho the chariot came to Khvayanādaha, the men of Khoknā now took charge and they drew upto Nakhu where the God stayed for 3 nights and 4 days, from there the chariot was drawn to Yaglatyāgara. Thereafter, from Yanglatyāgara to Gābahā, and to Irayata (Igulayata), the face of the deity turned eastward, from there until the chariot reached Hatakhu, those of Gadvara were to draw. An *ākasi* broke in Gavahara. It did reach Lagan in time, so it happened when it had to reach Jāwalākhel, ornaments of the image were taken out, also *dhamakhvā*, the face of Bhairava painted on the buffer and also the flagstaffs, as the chariot reached Yappākosa the wheels got stuck into the ground for 4 nights and 5 days, kings of Kathmandu and Bhatgaon were present, but the king of Patan did not come. On the 5th day the chariot left Yappāko and arrived in Khoyanādaha, the *pānju* was only one, the share going to him was as it was when the deity was in his temple at Buga. The people of Khoknā and

Bugmati took upon themselves the task of drawing the chariot, it stopped at Khvanādaha, next day it was getting late, the stoppage was decided; something happened the day after, when the chariot came to stop before reaching Chhatikvātha, it was getting late, so it could not be drawn. A day later it reached Gamaraya where the deity stopped for 3 nights and 4 days, then the image was removed to the temple, the king was walking side by side with the chariot, the day it had reached Buga one *ākasi* had broken.

On 816 *Phālguna śukla 12* (= March, 1696), Yoganarendramalla entered into a solemn agreement with Jitāmitramalla who called him the elder brother not to quarrel between themselves (*kachiṅgal*) while the dance of Harisiddhī was staged in Bhatgaon. This agreement is inscribed in a copper plate attached to the front wall in the Mulchok of Bhatgaon palace, which we have already given in full in English translation.

The *Thyāsapu B* reports that on *Jyeṣṭha śukla chaturthī ādityavāra* of *Samvat 816*, Iśvaradāsa became Chief Minister of Patan. This man served his master ably and he figures in the chronicle as one to have played a prominent role in the various spheres of the public life of the day since 810 until he died on 822 *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa pañchamī budhavāra* (Wednesday). When he died four women followed him on the funeral pyre. There was no one to rival him in Patan. He was followed by Gogobhāju as Chautārā⁴⁹ who was appointed to the post on 822 *Māgha śukla pañchamī bṛhaspativāra* (*Thyāsapu B*).

Villains Mahādeva and Kantu

In the year 818 the three rulers of the Valley, Yoganarendramalla, Bhūpālendramalla and Bhūpatīndramalla entered into an agreement pledging abiding friendship to one another

49 f. 10.

and took an oath not to break this agreement and solemnly affirmed that any one acting contrary to this would provoke the wrath of Taleju, Paśupatinātha and other deities of Nepal. The witnesses to this pledge are Gods, Sun and Moon, Śrī Śrī Jaya Ugramalla, Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhāskaramalla, Brāhmaṇas, Viśvambhara Upādhyā, Vidyānanda Upādhyā, Jayata Upādhyā, Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Bhāju, Navamīrīha Bhā and Gvagala Bhā. According to the statement these rulers have made in the copper plate inscription now preserved in Patan Mulchok with date 818 (no further details are given) this agreement was necessitated by the fast deteriorating moral condition of Nepal, and in view of the threat posed against their life and to eliminate the very root of the trouble they pledged never to give shelter of any sort to the archvillain Mahādeo Ojhā's family members wherever and whenever it may chance to be; whichever king or queen, collateral, Kāzi or anybody allowed Mahādeva Ojhā's descendants to enter the principalities, talked to them, gave them fire, drinking water, hospitality, food, clothing and anything, he will incur the evil eyes of Taleju, Paśupatinātha and all the other deities of Nepal, he will commit *Koṭi* fold of the five principal offences, his sin will be as much as the destruction of *Koṭi Śivaliṅgas* amounts to, and as much as the eating of prohibited food materials *Koṭi* times carries. The execution of the copper plate inscription was occasioned as Kāntu was perceived to have been trying to kill Bhūpālendramalla by isolating Yoganarendra malla, and the present agreement was reached after deliberation by the three rulers. It is said that Mahādeva and his son Kāntu Ojhā's mischievous activities had been solely responsible for the ills Nepal had faced in those days. In the copper plate Kāntu has been charged with the crime of creating dissension amongst the members of the ruling family and of causing death to kings, ministers and noblemen in the most intriguing situation. Among other things Kāntu Ojhā's causing grief and harassment to many the inscription enumerates certain unpleasant

incidents of the time, which owed to his machination: e. g. the conflict between Bhūpatīndramalla and Pārthivendramalla and between the latter and Yoganarendra, the fight of Mahīpatīndramalla, conspiring to kill Baṁśīdhara, Bāvat and Kisi, banishment of Syāma Ojhā and Gaṅgādhara Ojhā, expulsion from caste of Guṇi Ojhā by causing pig cubs hung round his neck, death of Mahīpatīndra, of Chikuṭi and his family and of Pārthivendra by (Lakṣmīnārāyaṇata bharaṣā biyāo) assuring Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, and lastly death of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa himself. Pārthivendramalla knew about Kāntu Ojhā's misdeeds, and had him dismissed. While his design to bring a quarrel between Yoganarendra and Pārthivendra was known a copper plate was pasted to the wall in Mulchok warning that Kāntu being a villain should not be permitted to enter the kingdom. But Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa acted ignoring the inscribed message of the Mulchok copper plate. Kāntu was thrown in prison, but from inside the bars also he successfully plotted to bring about the death of several others and last of all contrived to end the life of Bhūpālendramalla isolating Yoganarendramalla, about which the executors acted so quickly on information that it went to foil the game.

Earlier in the inscription the father's (Mahādeva) crimes are noted. To him is attributed Bhīmamalla's death, who was killed on the false statement of Mayāsing Kāzi of Bhatgaon who was again led to this course by Mahādeva. Māndhātā had poisoned to death many innocent persons. He had disrupted the unity of the rulers of the Nepal Valley. Several noblemen had been killed because of his machination. He had polluted as many litergies. He had raped and thus killed numerous minor girls, such was Mahādeva Ojhā. His son Kāntu Ojhā had not spared his own benefactors when they came to resist his evil designs.

This archvillain's first victim was Jayakṛṣṇa who had put him in the service of Māndhātā but he had so poisoned the latter's ears against him (Jayakṛṣṇa) that Māndhātā

killed Jayakṣṇa and his son without even trying to know if this action was justified. The next victim was Dhvajarāja who was also killed. Badal Ojhā whom he had served in his initial career was exiled because of Kāntu's intrigues. This man had also helped Kāntu to secure a job at Māndhāta's house. But Māndhāta's turn was not also far, and Kāntu now in league with Chikuṭi Pramāṇa used his invidious talent to finish him, upon which Māndhātā was done away with. Earlier to this, on the same day as he came to know about Kāntu's designs Māndhāta had him dismissed from service. But this was too late for Chikuṭi had been already dead set against him. After Māndhāta's death Kāntu started trying his hand on Chikuṭi whom he wanted to do away with. Nṛpendramalla, being informed of Kāntu's intrigues, dismissed him from the court, but Chikuṭi had him back to his favour. Kāntu, however, started machinating against Chikuṭi who was expelled from service and forced to leave home. Thereafter Kāntu disrupted the relations between Pārthivendra and Bhūpatindra.

This inscription throws light on many events of the Nepalese history of the period lying so far quite obscure. In this connection it may be said that the facts mentioned therein do reveal new incidents so far hidden in the maze of unauthentic account of the chronicles.

A good deal is being said of the nefarious activities of Mahādeva Ojhā and Kāntu Ojhā in the inscription. But were they alone to be blamed for the many unhappy incidents that occurred in the period i. e. to say did they act on their own? Even after the pledge of 818 the three rulers had not changed their attitudes to one another, their internecine feud continued unabated and each yet plotted against the other for petty advantages as it happened earlier.

All those who became victims of the Ojhā family's intrigues were persons belonging to Kathmandu. So it appears that the other two principalities were not subjected to the strain of their intrigues although Mahādeva and Kāntu

are accused of causing friction between kings of the Nepal Valley. But none of them was harmed. Therefore there is a ground to believe that Mahādeva and Kāntu could not have successfully carried their activities without the complicity of the rulers and Ministers of Patan and Bhatgaon. The court nobility of the Kathmandu principality must no less be responsible for anything that took place in that course. Kāntu and his father were the agents through whom they have worked. The account given by the inscription makes it clear that those who are said to have been victims of the machinations of the two intriguers were themselves engaged in conspiring to oust one another. Kathmandu had seen the worst kind of intrigues in the years following the death of Pratāpamalla. There was a race for position of vantage and meanest tricks were not spared to defeat the opponents. I do not suppose that these persons could be absolved of their responsibility in the unhappy incidence. Individually Bhūpatīndra, Yoganarendra and Bhūpālendra could be exempted because even if some of the incidents took place while they were seated on the throne, they had absolutely no hand in anything as they were minors. But the men who professed to become their guardians were guilty of gross misdeeds, which inscription ascribed to Mahādeva and his son. Equally guilty were those of their predecessors who had ruled *de facto*.

Writing off their involvement in the activities of the Ojhā father and son, the three rulers and their advisors had only tried to wash off the taints from the sacred memory of their forefathers. But this could not have been wiped out without exonerating men who had served them. Hence the contemporary pramāṇas had escaped being condemned in the copper plate inscription. But the truth ever remains that but for these men, rulers and ministers, who either connived at the doing of or instigated Mahādeva and Kāntu, the heinous offences could not have been successfully committed, and so many precious lives would have been saved.

We may not however, think of the two intriguers so singled out in the documents as the villains as only scapegoats made to suffer for the crimes of others. Criminals they were indeed. But their only crime was to help men of influence to carry out their invidious designs of plotting to overthrow their rivals in their mad race for power. To that extent Mahādeva and Kāntu could be condemned in no uncertain measure. But they were not the only criminals, we are led to believe that everybody else was a saint, which was untrue. How could the posterity view the judicial pronouncement made public in the copper plate of 818, when for the crime mentioned in course of the statement the real perpetrators had been allowed to go scot-free whatever was the motive of action, all of them whether king or noblemen, deserved to be condemned along with Māhadeva and Kāntu.

But the young kings of the three kingdoms thought that each could escape the blame by condemning a third party.

Yoganarendramalla issued a *mohar* coin in 820, which is also the date inscribed on the coin (Walsh, V. 9). Both sides have his name as legend inscribed on them, but while the obverse has *Jaya* before Yoga, the reverse shows *Vīra* in the same place. This is also the only *mohar* which shows no concubine's name in it.

Decree to Regulate Mourning

Yoganarendramalla did also like his father issue a directive emphasising the customary rules of observing mourning in Patan. According to an inscription (copper plate at the Mulchok, 819 *Māgha śukla 15*), the king's fresh order in that respect based its authority on the unanimous opinion of the learned men of Patan, led by Śrī Vidyāchandra Upādhyā. As he was decreed, all persons living in Satigla, Pulbahār, Kobahār and Metrapāla were to observe mourning for 45 days. If the king was to go outside Patan, then he observed mourning for 12 days. But the princes and colla-

terals were to be in mourning for 45 days. As for holding the *khadga* during the *Daśaharā* festival, the traditional rules were to prevail.

Maṇimaṇḍapa Repaired

To the right of the main gate of the royal palace at Patan lies a raised platform under cover of a roof of tiles. This is used by the priests and astrologers to determine auspicious days for the various functions connected with the *Jātrā* of Machhendranātha. The platform is called *maṇimaṇḍapa* in an inscription (slab of stone) lying there. According to the lines, the *maṇimaṇḍapa* was repaired by one Narahari with the permission of Yoganarendramalla. The same lines state that the *maṇḍapa* was raised as a *Sabhāmaṇḍapa* of Bhīma, and this was to be used for occasions while the kings and councillors met. The *maṇḍapa* has a throne reserved for the king of Patan. There are also images of Bhairava and Śakti. The inscription bears the date 821 *Chaitra śukla 6 brhaspativāra*, which day the inaugural ceremony was performed.

Maṇimaṇḍapa was also often used for the purpose of crowning the king.

Coins and Concubines

We have seven specimens of coins of Yoganarendramalla's reign, and they are of different designs and religious symbols covering dates from 1688 to 1700 A.D. His wives mentioned in his inscriptions, Yogalakṣmī and Narendralakṣmī, figure combined in a coin (Walsh, PL. V. 5), and the same Yogalakṣmī (V. 7) and Narendralakṣmī (V. 8) also figure separately. One more wife Pratāpalakṣmī is mentioned along with Narendralakṣmī in the fourth coin (V. 6)⁵⁰.

Jayalakṣmī is the fourth wife of Yoganarendramalla whose

50 All figures from Walsh.

name also appears as a legend in a coin (n. 11 in the Appendix). This coin is dated 805.

Yoganarendramalla besides assuring to himself the royal address of a sovereign, the *Nepāla Chūdāmaṇi* (V. 8), uses high sounding expression like *saṅgītārṇavapārāga*, meaning skilled in the field of concert music (Walsh, V. 5, 8, 9) to make a parade of his achievements in the field of music and dance.

It appears from the *Thyāsapu B* that all the three wives of his, whose names appear in the coins were all concubines (see below). A stone inscription of Ko-bāhā (Patan city) attached to the temple of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa (805 *Srāvāṇa kṛṣṇa pratipadā*) calls Yogalakṣmī just *rājapatnī*.

As we have already said she was the sister of Chautārā Baṁśīdhara. According to the *Thyāsapu B* one of his Maiju by name Jogalakṣmī died *on 825 Śrāvāṇa kṛṣṇa pratipadā aṅgāravāra*. Perhaps the latter Jogalakṣmī is the same as Yogalakṣmī of Baṁśīdhara's inscription and of Yoganarendramalla's coins.

According to the *Thyāsapu B* (f. 1) Narendralakṣmī had accompanied her husband to Harivāsa where he met Bhūpālendramalla on 816 *Āṣāḍha śukla 12*. We have no information of Pratāpalakṣmī and Jayalakṣmī from documents, either inscriptions or *Thyāsapus*.

Yoganarendramalla seems to have little or no feeling of love towards his married queens. If Yogalakṣmī had lived until 825, then probably she was also neglected.

His Love of Poetry and Music

Yoganarendramalla adopted the title of *Nepālachūdāmaṇi* like his father and also Vīra to his name, (Walsh, V. 9), and this shows his sense of pride and sensivity to arrogate military valour to himself. *Nepālachūdāmaṇi* is inscribed in two coins (Walsh, V. 8, 9). We have just seen how he called himself proficient in the art of music. Almost all his

inscriptions similarly bear these titles. But these also bear additional adjectives e.g. *sakalaśāstra saṅgīta vidyāpāraḡa* (one who has crossed the bounds of all knowledge) (see inscription at North Aśoka Stūpa, Patan, NS 810). A stone inscription of Kīrtipur (Siṃhaduvalṭol) dated NS 807 has '*kāvya vyākaraṇa kośālaṅkārasaṅgītādikuśala*' meaning 'adept in Grammar, Lexicography, Music and poetry'. This was the expression used to adulate him by the donor.

In another inscription (stele at Ivisthura Patan, 810 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa dvitīyā pūrvāśādhā para uttarāśādhā nakṣatre eindrayoge śukravāra*). Yoganarendra's designation runs, *sakalaśāstra nṛtya vādyā sakala kalā kośala saṅgītavidyāpāraḡa*. Ordinarily where such grandiose and long titles were wanting, the common *saṅgītārṇavapāraḡa* was fixed (e. g. the stone Inscription at the Ko-bāhā temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, 805 *Srāvaṇa kṛṣṇa pratipadā*; Siku-bahi stele in front of the Chāmuṇḍā temple of 816 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī*; Sarasvatī temple stone at Lubhu of 819 *Māgha śukla trayodasī bṛhaspativāsare etc*).

Bendall (*Journey*, p. 55) gives a ms. dated 1693 (NS 813). *Sabhāparvam*, and the colophon of this ms. records that the work was written by a Bengali Brāhmaṇa, Harihara, to be read to Yoganarendramalla. There is another poetical work now in my possession and the author writes that the composition was intended to delight and entertain his master. This work is a collection of lyrics to be sung on different occasions of the six seasons of the year. His interest in learning and studies is thus undoubted.

His Piety

The God Paśupatiṅātha received the highest respect of all kings including Yoganarendramalla in the Valley of Nepal and without exception. But Yoganarendra, like his father, was also devoted to Lokanātha, the Buddhist name for Matsyendranātha and to Taleju, Harisiddhī and

Vajravārāhī. Lokanātha which is another name for the Bodhisatva Avalokiteśvara comes in for respectful notice in the four separate coins of the ruler (Walsh, V. 5, 6, 7, 8, 10). *Talejusahāya* meaning by Taleju's grace inscribed in his coin (V. 10), along with Lokanātha, shows his devotion also to Taleju.

Yoganarendramalla built many temples and offered sacrifices to the many deities of his devotion. He also attended ceremonies connected with pious deeds.

In Śikharāpurī (Pharping) Yoganarendramalla was present on 816 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 6 śukravāra* during a ceremony of completing the construction of a temple of Chāmuṇḍā. He himself offered to the Goddess a gold *siṃhāsana*, on which the image was placed.

He also attended a ceremony at Lubhu on 819 *Māgha śukla 13 (puṣya nakṣatra āyusmānyoga brhaspativāra)*, which was held to set up an image of Sarasvatī by one Pātravaṃśa Hariśaṅkara. The king himself placed the image on the seat made for the occasion, which was decorated with a gold umbrella uncovered.

There were more occasions of worship and attendance, that are fully described in different *Thyāsapu*s. We have already seen how in 813 he had walked the whole way from Buga to Lagankhel and back along with the chariot of Machhendranātha.

From the *Thyāsapu A* we learn that Yoganarendramalla was a regular visitor to the temple of Paśupatinātha. In f. 45 we have the information that Yoganarendramalla came to Deopatan for the *darśana* of Paśupatinātha on 802 *Śrāvāṇa śukla 9 pra 10*. There were many more occasions when the king of Patan visited the temple to play his respects to Lord Paśupatinātha. Yoganarendramalla's coins bear the Śaivite emblem of a trident (Walsh, V. 9) as well as symbols of Buddhist faith.

According to an inscription of the temple of Vajravārāhī

dated 820 *Phālguna śukla 10* Yoganarendra offered to Goddess Vajravārāhī an artistically sculptured stone he-buffalo (lines inscribed on the pedestal). He also planted a gold tree and set up an umbrella of gold. All the offering was accompanied with gifts to Brāhmaṇas and a *yajña* (*yajñyokāri nṛpena tena vidhinā mañtraścha vedaistataḥ paurāṇa śruti ghoṣajaīssumadhurai...lakṣyāhutaū śāstroktena*). He attended the *jātrā* of Śikharaṇārāyaṇa on 825 *Bhādra śukla 11* and on that day he created a *guṭhi* for the expenses to be incurred in the worship of the deity on different occasions of the year.

According to an inscription of the temple of Kumbheśvara in Patan which dated in 821 *Kārtika śukla 15* (*kṛttikā nakṣatra śiva yoga śukravāra*). Yoganarendramalla helped to revive a *guṭhi* for the maintenance of the temple of Sarvveśvara.

He, however, was equally devoted to other deities. His daughter's Inscription (Inscription n. 22 of BLI) says of him as (*Viṣṇupādasamarpitachitta*) surrendering his thoughts at the feet of Viṣṇu. This is dated 843 *Māgha śukla 2 Monday*.

Irregular Life

He was very much lax in observing standard of sexual conduct and loose in habits, and his sex life was irregular. A passage in a copy of the ms. *Kāmakaḷākālī* shows that he had practised the art of erotics worshipping the Goddess *Kāmakaḷākālī* uninterruptedly for five years (See to the colophon of the book below).⁵¹ With his corpse were burnt to death his thirty three wives, a fact which shows how

51 ॐ अद्यादि । मानवगोलास्मत् श्रीयोगनरेन्द्रमल्लवर्मण पञ्चवर्षावच्छिन्न श्रीकामकलाकाली प्रीतये इमं छागं वन्हिदैवतं श्रीकामकलाकाली देव्यै घाटयिष्ये ।

lustful his life was in that respect; he had maintained a harem in the most luxurious fashion.

Yoganarendramalla's relation with neighbours

From the *Thyāsapu A* we know of Yoganarendra's relations with his neighbours for the years prior to 816. In f. 80 the rulers of Bhatgaon, Kathmandu and Patan along with Patsahju of Morang who has reported to have made in a conference at Mohañchok on 811 *Āsvina kṛṣṇa*. Later the three rulers of the Valley had attacked Mackwānpur on 812 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 11 hastanakṣatra śukravāra* (f. 81). About 10 months later, there was a violation of Patan's border by Bhatgaon, and Kathmandu having joined the latter, Patan was isolated. But in 816 *Māgha śukla* Bhatgaon and Patan had collaborated to keep Kathmandu lonely.

We have already referred to the copper plate of *Phālguna* of 818 by which Jitāmitra and Yoganarendra had pledged to avoid provocations on certain occasions. However, a month later Patan and Kathmandu had combined to invade some areas in the Bhatgaon principality.

The *Thyāsapu B* (f. 1) tells us that Kathmandu having presented one elephant, a horse and *mohar* dor 2 to Yoganarendramalla the two principalities had agreed to act together. The agreement was reached on *Chaitra śukla pūrṇamāsī*. On *Saṁvat 816 Chaitra kṛṣṇa pañchamī ādityavāra* they proceeded to attack Obhu, and the whole of Obhu was open to them. Amharasingh Kumharju was entrapped and Vīrabhadra Bhāju killed and also the second son of Maṅgarājaju of Tavajhyā captured. Next day 11 men were caught and they were brought under arrest and there was alliance between Kathmandu and Patan. Again 13 months later, the two rulers Śrī Śrī Yoganarendramalla and Bhūpālendramalla met at Harivāsa on the bank of the river Bāgmatī, where queen Rddhilakṣmī (mother of Bhūpalendra) and

Narendralakṣmī Maiyaju (a concubine of the Patan ruler) took holy bath on the occasion.

But this should not lead us to think that the two principalities had established permanent peace between themselves there were occasions in the immediate future while they had fought like life-long adversaries.

From the *Thyāsapu B* we have the following information about Yoganarendra's military engagements, which are given under different date lines. *Saṁvat 816 Chaitra śukla pūrṇimā aṅgāravāra* this day, Patan and Kathmandu became allies, the latter presenting one elephant, one horse and 2 mohordor to Yoganarendramalla. It contributed to the welfare of both the kingdoms (f. 1). *Saṁvat 816 Bhādrapada kṛṣṇa navamī budhavāra* this day, in Deothari the Thana was captured and four days after, the Sāhebjū of Bhatgaon sitting at the water conduit of Viśvarāma Bhaṅḍāri, the three cities became friends; Bhatgaon gave to Patan 20 mohars and one elephant by name Gajamukunda, and to Kathmandu 25 mohars. Śrī Yoganarendramalla added to their welfare. The three cities had become friends while Kāzis Iśvaradāsa and Navamīsiṁha were ministers in Patan and Kāthmandu respectively (f. 3).

Saṁvat 818 Māgha śukla dvādaśī bṛhaspativāra, this day, Śrī Śrī Yoganarendramalla and Śrī Śrī Bhūpālendramalla went to Bhatgaon to pay respect to the deity Taleju; on *Māgha śukla pūrṇimā* they had *darśana* of the Goddess; the ruler of Bhatgaon did not join them pretending that he was out of station, as a result of his indifferent attitude Bhatgaon was isolated next day (the treaty was broken). Again the following day, the two allies, kings Yoganarendramalla and Bhūpālendramalla invaded Bhusakalyam (f. 5).

Saṁvat 818 Āsāḍha kṛṣṇa dvādaśī ādityavāra (Sunday), this day Patan was isolated as Kathmandu and Bhatgaon signed an agreement of mutual friendship (f. 6).

Saṁvat 818 Bhādrapada kṛṣṇa daśamī pra ekādaśī somavāra (Monday), this day, three cities again became friends (f. 6).

Saṁvat 819 Kārtika kṛṣṇa chaturdaśī somavāra (Monday), this day, Patan and Bhatgaon became friends isolating Kathmandu (f. 6).

Saṁvat 819 Mārgasira dvādaśī ādityavāra (Sunday), this day, the three cities had united, but the Rājās of Kathmandu and Bhatgaon were not on speaking terms (f. 6).

Saṁvat 819 Māgha śukla ekādaśī aṅgāravāra this day, Kathmandu attacked Ṭhimi, but the invaders were compelled to flee at night and Patan protected them (f. 7).

Saṁvat 819 Vaiśākha sukla khaṣṭamī aṅgāravāra, this day, Patan was isolated (f. 7).

Saṁvat 819 Bhādra kṛṣṇa pañchamī somavāra (Monday), this day, the three cities became friends, and one elephant Dalabhanjana by name was presented to Kathmandu (f. 7).

Saṁvat 820 Mārga śiraśuddhi chaturthī budhavāra (Wednesday) this day, Śrī Śrī Yoganarendramalla set out to the east for the purpose of hunting and capturing elephants (f. 7).

Saṁvat 821 Vaiśākha aṣṭamī somavāra (Monday), this day Bhatgaon was isolated (f. 10).

Saṁvat 821 Srāvaṇa kṛṣṇa trayodaśī budhavāra (Wednesday), this day, Śrī Śrī Vīra Yoganarendramalla juju was isolated (f. 10).

Saṁvat 822 Mārga kṛṣṇa pañchamī pra ṣaṣṭhi aṅgāravāra (Tuesday) this day Bhatgaon and Patan combined, Kathmandu became alone (f. 10). On *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa saptamī pra aṣṭamī* the three cities were friends again.

Saṁvat 823 Kārtika śukla saptamī śukravāra (Friday) this day Patan was isolated, Kathmandu and Bhatgaon united (f. 12).

Saṁvat 823 Chaitra śukla trayodaśī pra chaturdaśī śanivāra (Saturday) this day, Kathmandu was isolated (f. 13). But on *Śrāvaṇa śukla dvitīyā* Patan was isolated.

On *Saṁvat 823 Āśvīnī śukla saptamī pra aṣṭamī bṛhaspativāra* Kathmandu occupied Thanas in Rāmajini, Chudor, Sarcho, Megar, fortress of Pirayā, Sapācho and Narade (f. 16).

Saṁvat 824 Bhādra kṛṣṇa amāvasyā ādityavāra (Sunday), this day, Patan and Kathmandu became friends, Bhatgaon was isolated.

Saṁvat 824 Phālguna śuddhi daśamī brhaspativāra, this day, Bhatgaon's ruler surrendered himself at an outpost and entreated Śrī 2 Vīra Jaya Yoganarendramalladeva prabhu ṭhākura, he gave *mohar* dor 10, one elephant to Patan and *mohar* dor 10 and one elephant to Kathmandu (f. 17).

We do not produce the above passages to swell the narrative nor we think these minor skirmishes are important as facts of history. But these may certainly go to show the common situation as to the interrelation between the states of the Valley as well as their neighbours.

According to the chronicle Yoganarendra was much respected by the ruler of Tanhou. The latter presented 2 elephants to Yoganarendra while he was on a visit to Deoghat.

We know that the *Thyāsapu B* wrote with bias about Yoganarendramalla's feats in battles and exaggerated its achievements. Even if the estimate was true the gain was transitory, and Yoganarendra hardly derived lasting advantage out of his many adventures.

It appears from the above passages that the three kingdoms were on peaceful terms for some years since the death of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa of Kathmandu. This continued till 816 except for once in 813, when Bhatgaon and Patan had fallen apart. Since *Chaitra* 816, however, feuds between Patan and Bhatgaon were very common. But with Kathmandu Yoganarendramalla maintained friendly terms though the two seem to have quarrelled on a few occasions. We shall note a little later that Yoganarendramalla had died while invading a border outpost belonging to Bhatgaon.

There is no doubt that with Bhūpatindra's crowning as king of Bhatgaon the relation between Patan and Bhatgaon.

was not as smooth. Unlike Jitāmitra Bhatgaon's new king had shown gut and courage to come to blow with his neighbours no matter what the nature of the issue was if he was challenged. But he could not be accused of playing an aggressive role. We know for certain that in this period aggression came from his neighbours.

Just as it happened in the case of Śrīnivāsamalla, the 12 yearly car festival of Machhendranātha, which Yoganarendramalla saw for the last in his life-time in 825, was full of bad omens. The *ākasi* had broken several times, and *jātrās* scheduled for particular days were not being observed as the car was not reaching its destinations in time. The *Thyāsapu B* (f. 17-18) stated: On *saṁvat Jyeṣṭha śukla dvādaśī budhavāra*, this day, Śrī 3 Bugadeva was drawn to Yāvara, Śrī 2 Vīra Yoganarendramalla himself was not present, Śrī 2 Bhāskaramalla came and drew the Chariot. For three days together one or the other *ākasi* broke, on the fourth day 2 *ākasis* broke, again the next day one *ākasi* broke, this day Bhatgaon had been isolated. Bhāskaramalla helped to draw the chariot and then it reached Jyāvara.

It is suggested that the incidents of breaking the *ākasi* several times were unusual and the absence of the Patan king during the *Jātrā* was also enough to displease the God.

He died in early 826. About a year earlier on 825 *Pauṣa śukla 13 budhavāra* Yoganarendramalla undertook an expedition to invade Obhu; he laid under seige the village for 9 days, capturing 5 men at the first instance and 18 at the second. He captured several forts, such as Phurabani Kvātha and Dāpcho Kvātha, and then on *Māgha aṣṭamī ādityavāra* he conquered Kābhre. This intimidated the king of Bhatgaon so much that the latter came to surrender himself at an outpost. He presented elephants and silver *mohars* as tribute to king Yoganarendramalla (*Thyāsapu B*. f. 16). But Yoganendra was not satisfied with this victory over his opponent. He wanted to cause further humiliation to the

Bhatgaon ruler, and hardly six months had passed he undertook another expedition to attack Obhu once again. But before he could see his plan mature death carried him away.

Yoganarendramalla's Ministers

The first Chief Minister of Yoganarendramalla was Baṁśidhara. He was followed by Śyāmadāsa who continued till 816 when Íśvaradāsa was appointed on *Jyeṣṭha śukla 4 adityavāra*. Kāzi Śyāmadāsa is mentioned as witness in the Taleju copper plate⁵² of *816 Phālguna śukla 12 Gogol Bhā* appears as Chautārā when he is a witness to the tripartite agreement of 818⁵³ and also in Yoganarendra's Bhatgaon Darbar copper plate of the same year⁵⁴. I do not know how to reconcile this evidence with the statement of the *Thyāsapu B* which states that he was appointed Chautārā on *822 Māgha śukla pañchamī* on the death of Íśvaradāsa. Earlier to this date Gogol Bhā again figures as a witness in the Bhatgaon Taleju copper plate⁵⁵ of *822 Mārggaśira kṛṣṇa 9*, but the title Chautārā is missing, which however goes to another witness Íśvaradāsaju.

I think that Gvagala Bhā had become a stop gap Chautārā in 818 in the absence of Íśvaradāsa who might have taken ill.

The *Thyāsapu B* reports that Gogol Bhā continued as Chautārā up to *NS 823 Āśvina*. Then on *Āśvina śukla pra 8 Thursday* Ānandahariju of Bakanabahāra was appointed Chautārā (f. 13). The latter served Yoganarendramalla until his death. We shall note later that Ānandahari was leading an invasion to Obhu in the month of an early 826, which was withdrawn on the death of king Yoganarendra.

The king had changed his Chief Ministers too often. Only in one case natural death had removed him. This was Kāzi

52 Inscription n. 102 in our Appendix.

53 Copperplate inscription n. 104

54 Copperplate inscription n. 105

55 Inscription n. 110 in our Appendix

Iśvaradāsa. But we do not know what really caused removed of the others. Perhaps the king's instable temper was largely responsible for this situation.

Death

Yoganarendra died quite early in life. He died at the age of 40.

Wright's version of the story of his end that he entered upon a life of renunciation is proved incorrect. It may be remembered that there is a legendary tale reproduced in the chronicles (Wright and others) as well that Yoganarendramalla is still alive, and will remain so as long as there remains the bird over the head of his statue on the pillar in front of the main gate of the palace. The pillar supporting the statue with a bird on the head still exists. The legend says that while renouncing the world he had prophesied to come back or in the event of death the bird would leave. According to the chronicle he died in Chāngu on 826 *Kārtika śukla II budhavāra*. (Wednesday, October-November, 1705 A.D). He had gone to Chāngu on *Bhādra śukla 7* to personally supervise the military operations against Bhatgaon. The aim was the capture of Obhu, a fort about a mile due north of the city of Bhatgaon. The attack was led by Chautārā Anandahari, Yoganarendramalla had stayed in Chāngu during the operation. Meanwhile he fell a prey to the machination of the minister of Bhatgaon. He was poisoned to death. The tobacco he was smoking was mixed with poison and he died of its effect. His body was brought to Patan the same night and it was cremated the next day at Saṅkhamul, the queen mother of Kāntipur and Mahendramalla, his own son attended the mortuary.

The *Thyāsapu A'* also has the same date for his death. The line runs: *NS 826 Kārtika śukla ekādaśī budhavāra thakunhu, Śrī Śrī Yoganarendramalla Yalayā juju Chāngusa abhāgajura.....satī oṅgmha 33*. This is also supported by the

KINGDOM OF PATAN

Thyāsapu C and the *Thyāsapu B* (f. 17). The latter gives the following names as those of his wives who were burnt with him on the pyre, Rāni Sāvitrīdevī, Rāni Jagadeśvaridevī, Maijus Narenḍralakṣmī, Satyabhāmālakṣmī, Pratāpalakṣmī, Jayalakṣmī, Mahālakṣmī, Dhanalakṣmī, these were those who had been living in the palace and more others those who lived outside numbering 24 also became *sati*. One Maiju Jogalakṣmī had died earlier on 825 *Śrāvaṇa śukla pratipadā aṅgāravara*. 75 pieces of coffin and 200 tolas of gold were needed for cremation (f. 19).

The manuscript *Kāmakaḷākalinityarchana* has in the last page as a separate item a line about this death confirming the above date and facts.⁵⁶ It reads, *Samvat 826 Kārtika śudi 11 Śrī Yoganarendramalla juju abhāga jura | | Rāni mha 2 mha 31 satī vangā juro*. The last available inscription is dated 825 *Bhādra śukla 11* (Śikharanārāyaṇa stone of Pharping). There is no other record available for the time in between the date of his death and the above noted inscription of 825 *Bhādra*. It is said that he met his end in pursuit of a mirage of glory.

The *Thyāsapu A* has a passage (f. 104-05) which by implication corroborates the story of the circumstances of his death as given by the chronicle. It says “*Samvat 825 Bhādrapada kṛṣṇa saptamī rohiṇī nakṣatre budhavāra*, this day they marched to Obhu at the time, Patan’s ruler came to Chāṅgu; Bhatgaon’s ruler and his son both of them, kept themselves in hiding in Banepā; having reached the declivity of Nālā the march halted and the invaders encamped there, but no attack could be made during the *Daśaharā* festival, Patan’s king did not return and as he was staying in Chāṅgu the sacred rites were performed by the priest. *Samvat 826 Kārtika śukla ekādaśī budhavāra*, this day, Śrī Śrī Yoganarendramalla, Patan’s ruler, died in Chāṅgu; he was not sick, just for a while he developed fever, at night was taken to Patan,

56 सम्बत् ८२६ कार्तिकशुद्धि ११ श्रीयोगनरेन्द्रमल्ल जुजु अभाग जुर ॥
रानि म्हं २ म्हं ३१ सति वड जुरो ।

next day his dead body was carried to the burning *ghāt*, those who were burnt as *Sati* numbered 33, all that required, the mother of the king having come, were arranged. The night following his death the invaders fled dismantling the camp, they could not conquer Obhu, though it was encircled on three sides on the fourth day of the death, on *chaturdaśi śanaiścharavāra*, at night the people of Bhaktapur assembled together, killed those of Kāntipur.

Yogamatī's inscription, however, has no word to say about this incident. It only says that he died there and was burned with thirty one wives. The chronicle puts the figure of the women burnt to death 2 Rānis, 7 Lavatinis and 23 Maijus.

Yoganarendramalla did not leave behind him any legitimate issue for the throne. According to the *Thyāsapu B* (f. 7) a son was born to him. The *Thyāsapu B* said.

"*Samvat 819 Vaiśākha śukla pratipadā bṛhaspativāra* (Thursday) this day at 23 *ghaṭi pra 2 Śrī 2 Sāhebju* was born," But we hear nothing of the Sāhebju at the time of Yoganarendra's death. Although the *Thyāsapu B* omits further reference to Sāhebju we take it that he died in the life time of his father. This created a situation where his daughter could manoeuvre to have her son seated on the throne. But it appears that just before his death a son was born to him, who was to become king some four years later. This was Mahendramalla born of Rājeśvarīdevī whose parents according to one writer came of a Khasa clan of Kṣatriyas. Mahendramalla was regarded as an illegitimate issue and denied the right of succession for some time.

IV

Age of Infant Kings and Powerful Regents

1705-1722 A.D.

Lokaprakāśā (1705-1706)

As Yoganarendramalla died his daughter Yogamatī came to figure prominently in the politics of this part of the

country. She is virtually a dictator for some time, often she was eclipsed, but she used to reappear in the scene and play her part. She made and unmade kings, intrigued with ministers, killed and maimed many of them, and fought battles with the neighbours.

According to the chronicle Lokaparakāśa followed Yoganarendra on the throne and he ruled only for eleven months. The *Thyāsapu C* states that he was crowned on the day following the day of the death of his grandfather. The funeral ceremony of Yoganarendramalla was attended by Bhāskaramalla, his mother and brother (*Miramhajuju*). According to the same source there were people who favoured the candidature of Mahendramalla for the throne. It further reports that on the 13th day of the same fortnight some people from Kathmandu came to Patan mustering strong. They even prevented their own Rājā and Rānī from intervening. But the Patan defenders killed 114 of them beating them severely. Next day there was a fire in Bhatgaon and 2 Ranis, 7 maijus and 24 maids were burnt to death. The *Thyāsapu B* has also the same date, 826 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa ekādaśī pra dvādaśī*, for this occasion. It adds that Bhatgaon's ruler Bhūpatīndramalla personally put the vermilion mark on the baby's forehead. As the *Thyāsapu* is fairly correct on all such matters we can accept its date as more reliable than that of the chronicle. In the chronicle it is said that taking advantage of the death of Yoganarendramalla, some men from Kāntipur had tried to take away Patan's elephants and horses, but they were massacred by the local populace. The minister of Kathmandu wanted Bhāskaramalla to occupy the throne of Patan, but the timely interference of Bhūpatīndramalla from Bhatgaon on Yogamatī's appeal obtained the same for her son.

Walsh is of the opinion that Lokaparakāśamalla was a minor son of Yoganarendramalla. But this is wrong as in the inscription of Yogamatī who describes herself as the

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daughter of Yoganarendramalla, the deceased, Lokaprakāśa, is mentioned as her minor son.⁵⁷ Lokaprakāśa has a coin in his name with Yogamatī in the obverse. This coin has a date NS 826. Walsh incorrectly read 827 and because Indramalla's coin is dated 826 he thought that Lokaprakāśa followed Indramalla. Indramalla's coin is also dated 826 (Walsh, V. 11). The figure 6 is quite prominent in this coin. The order of the date in these two coins one read as 826 and another as 827 has confused the order of precedence between these two monarchs. But Indramalla's records push his reign down to NS 829, while Lokaprakāśa has no record except for the year 826.⁵⁸ A noting in the ms. *Pūjāpaddhatisaṁgraha*⁵⁹ states that 826 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 4* was the day when a gold finial was set up on the roof of the temple of Taleju in Bhatgaon; at night a drama was staged and on this occasion Rājā Bhūpatīndramalla, Yala's Śrī Śrī Lokaprakāśamalla Mahārājā and Chautārā.....were present.

Indramalla (1706—1709)

Lokaprakāśa was destined to be a king only for a short while. He died about 11 months since he became king. He was succeeded by Indramalla.

Unlike his predecessor and successor Indramalla was not an infant. He had a wife as references in some documents indicate so. But we do not know if he was youthful enough to marry.

57 The Chyasingdeval Inscription. Sanskrit portion, n 22 of BLI.

58 CCIMC, 1906, I. p. 288. Walsh only describes the coin but does not illustrate. But this very coin is with Kesariraj and I have published illustration of the same.

59 In the possession of Eisvaradhara Sharma.

सम्बत् ८२६ ज्येष्ठकृष्ण चतुर्थी षष्ठीया तलेजुस गजुलिच्छात्रो
पु ११ छाव रुपोलन चिक वेलस जकुसोहोकाया मूल चुकं चेन थ्वगुलिदनं
प्याख वथाय दयकु ॥ थ्ववेलस राजा श्रीभूपतीन्द्रमल्ल जुजु यलया श्रीश्री
लोकप्रकाशमल्ल महाराजा चउतारादत...यलया तलेजु...डात पोल

The chronicle stated that Lokaparakāśa died on NS 827 *Āśvina vadi 6*. This is, however, a mistake. As the coin of the next reign shows, the chronicler in miscalculating the regnal year noted 827 in place of 826 NS. In all certainty Lokaparakāśa died on 826 *Āśvina vadi 6* after 11 months on the throne. He was succeeded by Indramalla who was crowned on *Āśvina śudi 13*. Indramalla is a son of Śrīnivāsamalla's daughter as we find from the inscription of Viṣṇumalla (Saṅkhamul), and he issued his coin on the day he was crowned with date 826. He had succeeded Lokaparakāśa who was a direct successor of Yoganarendramalla. In *Gaurīvivāhavyayanirdeśa*⁶⁰ of Bhūpatīndramalla, a noting gives 827 *Pauṣa śukla tṛtīyā dhanēṣṭha nakṣatra śukrayoga śukravāra* as the date for the staging of the said drama in the presence of Patan's Śrī Śrī Indramalladeva. This is the earliest ascertained date of the monarch coming after his coin. It is obvious that Yogamatī might not have gone to fetch a distant relation of her for the throne while she could avail of her own son for the asking. So at the outset she had her own son crowned king of Patan. Jaya Indramalla was crowned on *Āśvina śudi 13* of the same year soon after Lokaparakāśa died. Indramalla is referred to as a full sovereign in an inscription dated NS 828 *Phālguna śukla chaturdasī śravaṇa nakṣatre somavāsare* (Pulchok Vihar, Patan) which records the installation of a gold image of Śākyamuni at the date. In the coin of Jaya Indramalla there is no mention of Yogamatī. Probably the king functioned free from her tutelage. Nothing much is heard about this monarch. The *Thyāsapu C* states that he died at *13 ghaṭi* at the night of *Chaitra sudi 13* of 829. The chronicle has also the same date for his death.

But with Indramalla is introduced a new monarch so far omitted by the chronicles of later date. Bendall also omits

60 Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 330.

श्रीश्रीजयभूपतीन्द्रमल्लदेवसन गौरी विवाह प्याखन एलाया श्रीश्री
इन्द्रमल्लदेवसके प्याखनहुयकल वाडा दिन जुरो ।

him. In my chronicle Indramalla, as the son of Bauddhamalla is mentioned and the chronicler gives him a reign of $1\frac{1}{2}$ years. According to the *Thyāsapu B* 'Bauddhamalla died on 821 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa khaṣṭhi pra saptamī* Thursday and Rāni Manimati became a *Sati*' burning herself on the pyre with her dead husband (f. 8). Indramalla's wife Bhāgyavatī, whose name figures in the reverse of his coin (Walsh, V. 11 ; Landon, No. 14)⁶¹ must have played a chief role as the place she obtained in the coins indicates. A dramatic work, *Mudāvatiharāṇa*, calls Indramalla the husband of Bhāgyamatīdevi.⁶² The drama composed by Baladeva was staged on 828 *Āśvina kṛṣṇa 10 budhavāra*.

Vīranarasimha (C. 1709)

Since her father's death Yogamatī was acting as the power behind the throne. But appears that she had not been able to pull her full weight at the time Indramalla ruled. But it is said that again in 829 she asserted this role for sometime, as the coin dated 829 of the next ruler, Vīranarasimhamalla, having in the obverse the legend Yogamatī shows (Pl. V. 12). Vīranarasimha is omitted by all the chronicles.

Some historians think that Vīranarasimha was her husband,⁶³ and she had installed him in power after the death of her infant son. But the time given for his reign is wrong, as Indramalla intervenes between the two it was said that the husband and wife, would not pull on well for long and Yogamatī having pushed him out of power after separation placed in throne, an illegitimate son of Yoganarendramalla, living then in Tanhou, by name Mahendramalla whose coin dated NS 829 (Pl. III. 7) without Yogamātī is wrongly given by Walsh in the Kathmandu list. In the

61 Walsh wrongly read as Bhagavatī.

62 *Jayarātnākaranātaka*, Kathmandu VS 2014, p. 16.

63 An article in an annual issue of monthly *Śāradā* in the Nepali language written by Baburam Āchārya.

coin his name spelt as Mahīndramalla. Mahendramalla was a child when he became king. According to the chronicle Yogamatī had to obtain the blessing of the Rājā of Kāntipur for his coronation. About this Mahendramalla there is one more evidence to call him a king of Patan and that is the legend Lokanāthanāma in his coin which establishes him to be a ruler of Patan. This expression along with *Karuṇāmaya* is not to be found in any coins except those of Patan rulers (See coins of Yoganarendra and his successors, Indramalla Lokaprakāśa, Hṛddhinarasiṃha, Yogaprakāśa and others all without exception).

As there is also a coin⁶⁴ of Vīranarasimhamalla without Yogamatī, there is reason to believe that although his reign was short he had a regnal career, which was not sustained by her support. Perhaps this coin was struck after the ruler got rid of Yogamatī's influence. Similarly it could be suggested in view of Mahendramalla's coin without Yogamatī that her influence had waned in that period, and Mahendramalla was probably enthroned against her wishes had no hand in pushing up.

The circumstances of Mahendramalla's succession is given by the *Thyāsapu C* thus: Indramalla died, the bath of Matsyendranātha was to be performed next day (*Chaitra kṛṣṇa I*); the dead body was not removed and Mahendramalla was brought and declared king, and then the ceremonial bath of the deity took place. Thereafter the dead body of the late king was removed to the cremation ground.

As the *Thyāsapu C* does not mention Vīranarasimha's reign and directly passes on to Mahendramalla, we are to regard his reign as one of a very short duration. Perhaps he was ousted by the ministers on account of his weak titles to the throne.

Perhaps seeing Mahendramalla elevated to the throne Yogamatī had declared Vīranarasimha as the king of Patan. But the declaration does not seem to have been made in the

city of Patan, for according to the *Thyāsapu C* Mahendramalla was already accepted in the Royal palace as the rightful successor to the late king. Because of the coins in the name of Vīranarasimha, it is a fact that he was declared king by Yogamatī in a place other than Patan. We do not know from where the declaration was made. We are also unaware of the circumstances of their quarrel and of Vīranarasimha's disappearance. But it is certain that his regime wherever it might have been collapsed within a short time.

It is much difficult to say in what relationship Yogamatī and Vīranarasimha stood to each other. There is no evidence of the latter's ancestry or even of identity. We cannot build up an assumption in a vacuum. It will be wrong to try to establish any kind of relationship between the two.

Nevertheless Vīranarasimha was her protege, and he remained as such for some. It appears that when they parted company Vīranarasimha had not his usurper's throne. We do not hear anything of him except anything implied by the two coins. Yogamatī, however, appears after a 15 year old eclipse in the inscription of Chyāsingdeval, which is dated NS 843.⁶⁴

About Mahendramalla, there was a lot of confusion. But in view of the many reliable documents available in places within the jurisdiction of Patan, his position as the king of Patan ruling between NS 829 and 835 is firmly established and can in no way be doubted.

We have attempted to cite here as many documents of his reign as are available to us. This would clear the position of Mahendramalla in the genealogy.

Mahendramalla (1709—1714 A.D)

After the coin of 829, the earliest date referring to his reign occurs in the colophon of the ms. *Jyotiṣaratnamāla-*

64 Inscription n. 128 in our Appendix

ṭikā (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 3344), *Śreyostu Saṁvat 830 Jyeṣṭha māse śuklapakṣe dvādaśyām tithau svāti nakṣatra parigha yoge ādityavāsare chandra horāyām vṛṣarāśigate savitaritulā-rāśigate chandramasi asmin samaya Śrī Lalitapurī mahānagare Śrī Śrī.....Mahendramalladevena mātā Śrī Rājeśvarī-devī sammatena nītinā prajāpālītā*; at this date Mahendramalla was reigning and protecting his people with wisdom with the advice of his mother.

We have Mahendramalla as ruler in two more colophons (2) the ms. *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (in the temple of Matsyendranātha Patan). *Svasti Śrīmat Karunamaya charaṇa kamala dhūri dhūsarita śiroruha Śrīman Māneśvarī devatā valabdha prasāda dedīpyamāna mānonnata ravikula tilaka Hanumaddhvaja Nepāleśvara Md RR sakalarājachakrādhiśvara Śrī Māṇiglādhipati Śrī Śrī Jaya Vīra Mahendramalladevanām sadā samara vijayinām prabhu ṭhākurasya vijayarājye|| || Saṁvat 831 Mārga śukla 15 rohiṇī pra kṛttika nakṣatre sādhyā yoge śanaīścharavāra bṛchchharāśī gata savitari bṛsarāśī gata chandramāsi sampūrnam etc.*

(3) Another copy of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*⁶⁵ The same epithets but the date is 832 *Kārtika śukla 15 rohiṇī nakṣatre siddhiyoge budhavāsare bṛṣa rāśī gate chandramāsi bṛīścha rāśī gata savitari sampūrnam etc.*

(4) Mahendramalla's reign is mentioned in a stone inscription of Kwābahāl dated NS 831 *Vaiśākha śukla ekādaśī pra dvādaśī uttaraphālgunī nakṣatre vyāghāta yoge budhavāsare* and with the expression, *Mahārājādhirāja Vīra Mahendramallasya vijayarājye*⁶⁶ *Śrī deguribahāla devayāñhuibane Śrī agitāma tathāgata jirṇajuvasa nyāsapikāsyāñ suvarṇa toraṇa tasya pratiṣṭhāyāṅga.*

(5) There is one more stele of the same year 831 and *Chaitra kṛṣṇa trayodaśyām uttarāśāḍha nakṣatre budhavāsare*, which has *Vīra Mahendramalla nṛpati rājyapālite.*

65 In the possession Kānchha Guvā of Hyandu vibāra near Sundhārā in Patan.

66 In the possession of Yajñānanda Vajrachārya, Patan.

(6) The sixth document of his reign is the colophon of the ms. *Smṛtisamuchchaya*, which reads 832 Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa 3 Śrī Baladevachārthe likhitam, thva kunhu Śrī Vīra Mahendra Rājā mānana sahita eṇa era vijyākadina eṇ deśasa māsa 10 to vijyāṅgava. We have one inscription for the year 833.

(7) This is a stele in Balambu (Lachhiṭol) details of the date being *Vaiśākha śudi dvāpara tṛtīyā rohiṇī nakṣatre śubhayoge brhaspativāsare vṛṣarāśi gata chandramāsi*.

(8) A stone inscription of the *Chaitya* at Kutulachchhi (Patan), shows him reigning on 834 *Vaiśākha śukla dvitīyā rohiṇī nakṣatra Wednesday Nepālavarṣe yuga netra nage rādhecha śukla sutithau dvitīye nakṣatra rohiṇyapi glausuvare ...Śrī Lalitanagaryam Śrī Vīra Mahendra nṛpateh surājye*.

On this day the donor completed the construction of the *Chaitya* and a pond and an inn in the name of his parents so that they may be relieved of worldly troubles and straight go to *Sukhāvātī* heaven (*triramyā*). An inscription of Śikhara Nārāyaṇa records the grant of land on the occasion of a visit to the temple by Mahendramalla and his mother on 834 *naṣṭa Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa 7*.

There are other records of the period between 830 and 834 NS. He ruled for nearly 5 years and a little more dying of an attack of smallpox on NS 835 *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 2* (=Dec. 1714 A.D.).

According to the chronicle he was barely thirteen years and two months old when he met his end. But an epilogue of a dramatic work (10), *Sarveśvaranṛtyagrantha*, played on 831 *Chaitra kṛṣṇa 11 somavāra* in the reign of Śrī 3 Vīramahīndramalla says that the king (*juju*) was 5½ years old at the date (*janmavarṣa 511 dareṇa juro*)⁶⁷, which means he was hardly of nine and half years when he died. This very work states that Mahendramalla was ruling with his mother.

67 *Jayaratnākaranāṭaka*, Kathmandu VS 2014 Introduction, p. 19 (Published).

It is apparent from the three documents above cited (n. 1, 6, 10) that Mahendramalla's mother was the real power behind the throne. If Yogamatī does not figure as power for the five years of Mahendramalla's rule, it must be due to Rājeśvarīdevī gaining influence at the court.

We have recently discovered a half *mohar* coin in the name of Rājeśvarīdevī, which has, however, no date. The coin has the legend of *Taleju* in the reverse, and *Śrī Śrī Rājeśvarīdevī* in the reverse (n. 18 in our Appendix). The issuing of coin by the State in her name whatever the denomination amply proves the fact of her predominant position in the kingdom. She was guiding the affairs of State as the queen regent of the realm.

Mahendramalla's coin has the spelling Mahīndramalla. However, as most of the records use the spelling Mahendra we have followed the same in our narrative.

Hṛddhinarasiṃha (1714—1717 A.D)

Hṛddhinarasiṃha was the next ruler, we have two coins of his both dated NS 835 (Walsh, 836, PI, VI, 1 and 2). An inscription at Pulchok Bahal says that Hṛddhinarasiṃha, son of a nephew (sister's son) of Yoganarendramalla (भागिनेयात्मजो) was the ruler in NS 835 *Māgha māse kṛṣṇa pakṣe trayodaśyām śravaṇa nakṣatre parighayoge ādityavāsare* (=January, 1716 A.D). In another inscription Hṛddhinarasiṃha is mentioned as the son of Rudrendramalla, son of Rudramatī who was a sister of Yoganarendramalla (inscription dated 825 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 12* at Saugal, Patan). Rudrendramalla is again mentioned in a stone inscription lying in a *pāṭī* of Machhindrabahal in Buṅgmati. This is dated NS 801 *Mārgaśira kṛṣṇa chaturthī puṣya nakṣatra eindrayoge somavāra* and speaks of him as the son of Rudramalla by his wife Rudramatī ṭhākuraṇī eldest daughter of Śrīnivāsamalla. Hṛddhinarasiṃha was installed on the throne on *Māgha śukla 13* Saturday of NS 835 according to a two-folio fragment of a

chronicle in Newāri, which I have obtained out of a rubbish in a priest's house. This is also the date given by the chronicle. But a noting in ms. *Meghadūtakāvya* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 3244) gives the day following (*Sunday 14 Māgha śukla of 835*) as the date of his coronation. It further adds that Śrī Bhavānī Śaṅkara and Śrī Gaurī Śaṅkara made him king and Miruju became Chautārā.

The chronicler of the fragment said that the *Pramāṇas* of Patan were responsible for taking him to the palace (f. 44b). The ceremony was attended by the ministers of the court of Kathmandu, Bhatgaon and Patan; also a sacrificial offering was made upon the alter of fire. Hṛddhinarasiṃha is spoken of in this fragment as the son of the Ṭhākur of Satiggal.

Hṛddhinarasiṃha is omitted by Wright, Bendall and Levi. According to the chronicle he was an infant installed on the throne by Yogamatī. But he did not live long, and died on *NS 837 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa amāvasyā* Thursday (=May-June, 1717 A.D) to give place to Mahīndrasimha who was at the time ruling over Kathmandu. The body of Hṛddhinarasiṃha was cremated in Saṅkhamul. The date of his death is the same in all sources.

IV

Patan, Kathmandu United under one Ruler (1717—1722 A.D)

As Mahīndrasimha was crowned king of Patan, the two principalities came to be ruled by one monarch. However, as political units Kathmandu and Patan had remained separate. Because there was no merger, the semblance of unity achieved through a common monarch disappeared as soon as he died.

In the chronicle the difficulty encountered by Yogamatī in the act of enthroning Mahīndrasimha is graphically described. It is said that the Guru Vireśvarānand and Diwān

Sherbābu opposed his installation on grounds of unknown birth, and even invited Raṇajitamalla to occupy the vacant throne of Patan. The Bhatgaon crown prince taking advantage of the confusion in the court invaded Patan but was captured along with his compatriots, the priest and the minister. Raṇajitamalla was let off on payment of a ransom of 16 thousand rupees and two elephants.

In the ms. *Meghadūta* just cited these very circumstances are described as follows:⁶⁸ *Samvat 837 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa ekādaśī pra dvādaśī somavāra* those of Bhatgaon attacked Koṭesvara, with muskets, but they were beaten off; however, Patan was isolated and on the 4th day of this incident Śrī 3 Hṛddhinarasiṃha died. Thereafter the people of Patan begged of Mahendrasimha in Kathmandu to spare them a son of his to become their ruler. On *Āṣāḍha śukla pūrṇimāsī śukravāra* Śrī 3 Mahendrasimha himself was crowned king of Patan having conquered it. It appears that the date of Hṛddhinarasiṃha's death as given by the chronicle is supported by this noting.

According to the fragment 'Nepal suffered terribly on account of a widespread epidemic for sometime since *Chaitra* of NS 836. Many persons died. In *Āṣāḍha* and *Śrāvāṇa* about 100-120 persons died daily in Patan and Kathmandu. In *Āśvina* and *Kārtika* the death rate was slightly lower 108-110. It was said that there was scarcity of materials needed for cremation, and many households went without purification rites for want of expense. The epidemic not only took a toll of human lives, during the sametime a large number of domestic animals and birds

68 सं ८३७ ज्येष्ठकृष्णएकादशी प्र. द्वादशी सोमवार ध्वकुन्हु हतार वर खप्वयापिं कोटि वाहारस श्रीकोटीश्वरतुपखं कयकर खप्वया पिनिसेन जल याकात ध्वनपेन्हुरिव श्रीश्रीश्रीऋद्धिनरसिंह मृत्युजुर ॥ ध्वनंलि प्रजानं अस श्रीश्रीश्रीमहेन्द्रसिंह देवसके कायच्छह फोन आषाढशुक्र पूर्णमासी शुक्रवार ध्वकुन्हु श्रीश्रीश्रीमहेन्द्रसिंह देवन जलतेर जुरो ॥

were also killed. At this time, a tooth appeared in the mouth of the southern face of Paśupatinātha. In the same-time the wooden buffer of the chariot of Matsyendranātha broke 31 times as the same was being drawn by Rājā Hṛddhinarasiṁhamalla. The chariot of Mīnanātha was burnt. Hṛddhinarasiṁhamalla died soon after the evil omens had appeared. The date of Hṛddhinarasiṁha's death is confirmed by the fragment (f. 44). He died on the morning of 837 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 30 (amāvasyā) bṛhaspativāra*. In the evening the dead body was carried on his *palang* (bed) to Saṅkhamul, where it was cremated according to traditional rites. The chronicler stated that the Pramāṇas and peoples (*prajās*) of Patan called for Rājā Mahendrasīṁha of Kathmandu and crowned him king installing him on *maṇimaṇḍapa* throne with due honours after *Sindurayātrā*. This Mahindrasīṁha was descended from Śivasīṁha.

Mahīndrasīṁha's documents in Patan have been given in the account of the kingdom of Kathmandu. Mahīndrasīṁha rarely visited Patan. The chronicle says that the noblemen of Patan requested him to permanently post his two wives as regents in the city, which he accepted and his two *Rānīs* thereafter lived in Patan.

Although Kathmandu and Patan were united under one ruler since 837 up till the death of Mahīndrasīṁha, this had not prevented Bhatgaon's ruler from seeking advantage at the cost of his neighbours.

On 839 *naṣṭāśvina śudī* Bhūpatīndramalla attacked Patan. He was defeated and his son was taken prisoner and was released on paying a ransom of two elephants and Rs. 16,000.

Mahīndrasīṁha ruled from the year 1717 A. D to 1722 A. D (*NS 837 Āṣāḍha śukla pūrṇimā* to 842 *Bhādra kṛṣṇa 11*). We have already given his documents for Patan. The coin dating 837 was issued on the occasion of his being crowned as of its king.

(V)

*Last Forty-five years of Patan's Independent Existence
(1722-1768 A.D.)*

Yogaprakāśamalla (1722-1729 A.D.)

Jaya Yogaprakāśa became king immediately after his death. His coin is available only of the year NS 842 (=1732 A.D. wrongly read by Walsh as 832, Pl. VI, 3). He must have succeeded in that year. One scholar says that he was a puppet whose name was purposely omitted in the inscription (No. 22 of BLI, the inscription of Yogamatī). In this, the name of the ruling authority is absent unlike in others where as a rule it is always preserved. But Viṣṇumalla who followed Yogaprakāśamalla is profusely lauded. According to the chronicle Raṇajitamalla crowned him king on 842 *Bhādra kṛṣṇa 11*.

The chronicler says that Yogaprakāśa was enthroned with the help of Raṇajitamalla who put vermilion mark (*tīkā*) on his forehead at the initial ceremony. He also gives an account of the fight at about this time between Bhatgaon and Lalitpur and of Gorkhā's changing role of an ally, who sided sometimes with the one and at other times with the other. Bhaktapur was a loser in this tussle because in the last round its ruler had to purchase peace by paying a tribute of Rs. 24,000/- and 2 elephants to Gorkhā, Patan and Kāntipur, who divided these between themselves. The agreement was signed at Koṭeśvara, not far from Paśupati's shrine.

Was Hr̥ddhinarasiṃha an infant ruler? And was Jaya Yogaprakāśamalla a non-entity under the thumb of the Regent Yogamatī? The coins of these monarchs have however no reference to Yogamatī in any one of them. This factor may tend to disprove the fact of her control over the affairs of state in the time of both these rulers. As we have it on the report of the chronicle she seems to have totally lost her supremacy in the time since Vīrasimha had been removed.

Yogaprakāśa's ancestry is yet to be determined. In the chronicle he is mentioned as a descendant of the Patan ruling family through a daughter. Yogaprakāśa's reign was up till now taken as obscure. Up till now, the documentary date available for his reign provided at least by four documents at our disposal.

(1) A copper plate (In the possession of Top Bahadur Bhandari, Dhāding, West No. 1 District).⁶⁹ This is a sale deed for the transfer of some land in favour of a Brāhmaṇa of the area by *Māṇiglādhipati Śrī Jaya Yogaprakāśamalladeva prabhu ṭhākurasana*. The witness is *Śrī Viṣṇumalla ṭhākula* and date *Samvat 844 Srāvaṇa sūddhī 1*.

(2) ms. *Dharmaputrikā* (Govt. Nat. Lib. n. 5365). *Samvat 845 Kārtika śukla aṣṭamyām tithau śravaṇa nakṣatre sūlayoga budhavāsare Damodareṇa likhitam Śrī 3 Yogaprakāśamalla vijayarājye*.

(3) A stone inscription belonging to his reign at a temple of Bhīmsena in the western outskirt of Patan (Chhayabahil). The date reads *845 Vaiśākha māsa śukla pakṣe dviṭīyā tithau aśvini nakṣatre pṛītiyoge sanchabalasare* (Saturday), when the temple was repaired.

(4) A copper plate (in the possession of one Gangā Bahadur in Dhāding).⁷⁰ This is another record of a sale deed of land to an individual of the area by *Māṇiglādhipati Md Śrī Śrī Jaya Yogaprakāśamalladeva ṭhākura* *Śrī Viṣṇumalla ṭhākura* is the eye witness, while the date is *848 Chaitra śukla ṣaṣṭami*.

A Capuchin Missionary then residing in Bhatgaon notes in his *Journal* to say that Jagajjayamalla was nominated as heir to the throne of Yogaprakāśa, but this could not materialise (see above).

During the early days of Yogaprakāśa, the two princi-

69 *Purātatvapatra Saṅgraha*, pp. 39-40

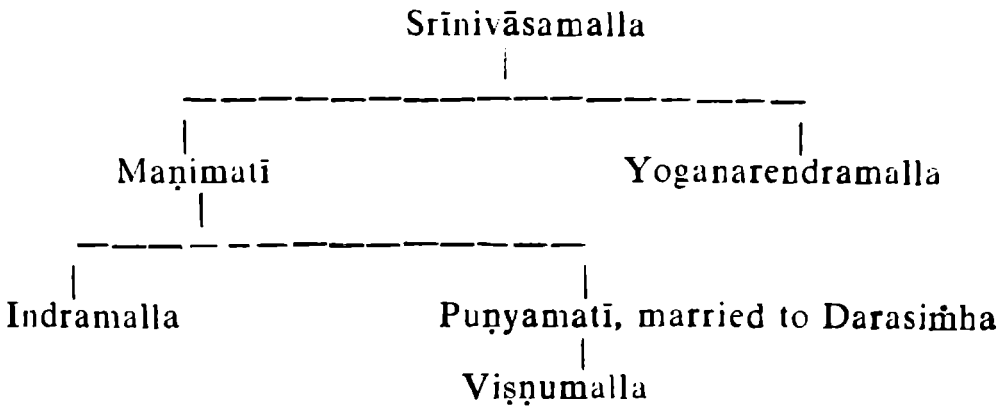
70 *Purātatvapatra Saṅgraha*, I, pp. 41-42. I had not the occasion to check both the original copper plates.

palties of Kathmandu and Patan were united. But Raṇajitamalla of Bhatgaon manoeuvred to isolate Patan. He occupied Bisan̄khu, an outpost to the south-east of the city of Patan. To appease Kathmandu the Bhatgaon ruler gave Rs. 13,000 and an elephant to Jagajjayamalla. But the latter broke with Bhatgaon as soon as he obtained the prize. In NS 845 (=1725 A.D) the three rulers met in Koṭesvara and Raṇajitamalla offered as price of 2 elephants and rupees 24,000 to Kathmandu, Patan and Gorkhā.

According to an inscription⁷¹ of 846 *Phālguna śukla 3* one Ganga Saṅkara was Yogaparakāśa's Chief Minister.

Viṣṇumalla (1729—1745 A.D)

Viṣṇumalla, nephew of Indramalla, succeeded Yogaparakāśa who had died childless on 849 *Bhādra kṛṣṇa 12* (=September, 1729 A.D). According to the chronicle Viṣṇumalla was the son of Puṇyamati, Śrīnivāsa's daughter's daughter. The inscription of Yogamati also traces his ancestry to Śrīnivāsa's daughter Maṇimati whose daughter was Viṣṇumalla's mother⁷² (*NS 843 Māgha kṛṣṇa 2 uttara-phālguni somavāsare makararāsi gate savitari kanyārāsi gate chandramāsi*). According to another inscription Puṇyamati was married to Darasiṃha who was Viṣṇumalla's father (Saṅkhamul, 852 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 5*). This inscription produces the following genealogy.



71 On the cornice of the roof of the temple of Bhīmasena in Patan.

72 This inscription is published by BLI but without the Newari text.

As late as 1737 A.D. Viṣṇumalla had a long one Act Play *Uṣāharaṇanāṭaka* of his own composition performed and enacted. (In the Government National Library).⁷³ The *Abhinavaprabodhachandrodaya*⁷⁴ written at about the same time in Kathmandu by orders of Jagajjayamalla is an adaptation in Maithili-Bengali mixed language of the Sanskrit work *Prabodhachandrodaya* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I, 1154).

Viṣṇumalla's first available coin dates NS 849. We have four types bearing similar date; two in Keśarīrāja's collection, third in Landon, n, 13) and yet another in Walsh (VI, 5). But Walsh wrongly read the date as 859 instead of 849 which is correct reading. The other coin of his (VI. 4) presents 850 as its date.

In the coins of Viṣṇumalla (Pl. VI, 4, 5)⁷⁵ dated NS 850 and 849 (three varieties in Keśarīrāja's collection) and Rājya-prakāśamalla (Pl. VI, 6, 7, 8, 9)⁷⁶ as well as in those of Viśvajitamalla the venerable name of Yoganarendramalla figures in the legend of the reverse in the same way as the deity Lokanātha.

The chronicler states that Viṣṇumalla reconstructed the palace with the active help of his subjects; the building was completed within 3 months and was renamed Chaukvāṭha. The construction had started on 854 *Māgha śukla 1* (=January-February, 1734 A.D).

Viṣṇumalla has to his credit several acts of piety such as, building temples, inns and water conduits, performing *yajñas*, making gifts of land to the deities and Brāhmaṇas etc. His inscriptions give us information about some of his pious deeds. He built temples, dedicated land for their maintenance and performed rites to please the gods. On 852 *Śrāvāṇa kṛṣṇa 7 bharaṇī nakṣatre aṅgāravāra* he donated 15

73 Recently acquired.

74 See below.

75 Walsh

76 Walsh.

ropanis of land to Lord Byāghra Bhairava of Kīrtipur.⁷⁷ The income from the land was to be used for worship on the day of *Simhasaṅkrānti*.⁷⁸ He also rebuilt a part of the palace in the same year.

He performed on *Bhādra śukla 15 uttarabhāda aṅgāravāra* of 850⁷⁹ a *Kotyāhuti* to please Goddess Mahālakṣmī in connection with her annual *pūjā* and donated lands for the expense of worship on *Jyeṣṭha śukla 15*. Viṣṇumalla performed the annual *pūjā* and donated some land to please Goddess Chhinnamastikā in his own name and in the name of his wife (*Bhogini*) Viṣṇumatī. On 853 *Mārga śukla pūrṇimā kṛttikā para rohiṇī nakṣatre siddhiyoga somavāsare chandra grāsa chudāmaṇi mahāparvani*.⁸⁰ The big bronze bell in front of the shrine of Taleju on the outer courtyard of the palace was offered to the deity by Viṣṇumalla on 857 *Māgha śukla chaturthi para pañchamyām tithau uttarabhādra para revatinakṣatre Siddhiparasadhyayoga somavāsare*. He repaired the temple of Vajravārāhī and set up a gold finial over the roof, which was completed on 855 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 10 budhavārare*.⁸¹ On the day of *amāvaśyā* he offered to Śrī 3 Sarveśvarasadāśiva (Kumbheśvara) a bull made of gold.⁸²

According to the chronicle Viṣṇumalla strengthened his position by various measures. His first measure in this direction was to do away with the obstinate tutelage of Yogamatī. Probably he extricated himself out of her grip by cultivating marriage relation with the ruler of Kathmandu, who gave him his daughter Chandramatī. The marriage was performed on *Māgha kṛṣṇa 3 uttaraphālguṇī nakṣatre somavāra* of 850. This also brought closer the two hitherto

77 A copperplate attached to the front wall.

78 A stone at the temple.

79 A stone inside the temple.

80 A slab of stone near the temple.

81 Inscription on a stone in the temple.

82 A stone in front of the main door of the temple of Kumbheśvara.

fighting houses of chiefs and it is said that thus it went to counteract and checkmate Bhatgaon's designs on Kathmandu and Patan and its ruler's aspirations to control both the kingdoms by taking advantage of the state of bickering and ill-feeling subsisting between them. In 851 the two rulers attacked Bhatgaon with the help of Gorkhā and occupied Nālā and Sāṅgā. Later Raṇajitamalla got back these areas through the help of Tanhou and Lamjung. In the engagement 120 Gorkhālis were taken prisoner. But Kathmandu and Patan could not pull on for long. The alliance broke, Kathmandu, however, had retained the friendship of the Gorkhālis. Patan on the other hand had patched up with Bhatgaon. As their relation became strained, Kathmandu occupied Lāmidānda, but it had to evacuate the occupation owing to Gorkhā shifting its alliance to Patan. At one time Bhaktapur had to sue for peace by surrendering rupees 13,000 and one elephant to Kathmandu, the ruler of Gorkhā having sided with the latter. As a later stage Gorkhā and Lamjung again sieged Deorāli, a hill on the outskirts of the Valley in the immediate west. This was at the cost of Kathmandu. Meanwhile Tanhou had captured Chitlāng, which was evacuated by the victors only on receipt of a ransom from Patan.

Viṣṇumalla bore the same form of address as that of his predecessors, although his coins have simple designation in that respect.

Rājyaparakāśamalla (1745-1758 A.D.)

Viṣṇumalla died on the 8th of *Śrāvaṇa śukla* of 865 (=August, 1745 A.D.) and he left his throne to Rājyaparakāśa, his brother-in-law, whom he had adopted as his successor. About Rājyaparakāśa's identity there is no doubt. We have an inscription of NS 871 *Śrāvaṇa śukla 13 pūrvāṣāḍha nakṣatre prītiyoge brhaspativāre* at Pharping, which calls him the son of Jagajjaya and Kumudinī. The date of the first of Rājyaparakāśa's coin is 865 and not 856 as read by Walsh (Pl. VI. 6),

There are also other coins dated 865 (Walsh, 856), 865⁸³ and 875.⁸⁴ Rājyaparakāśa figures as a witness to some grants made by Jaya Viṣṇumalla.

A stone inscription⁸⁵ at the temple of Gaṇesa at Chalapoṭa, Patan: *Ahorātra sukham kṛtvā sukhamālabhate nṛpam Rājyaparakāśa sahitam Viṣṇumallamyajanmudā. Saṁvat 865 Kārtika kṛṣṇa daśamīyām tithau hasta nakṣatre āyusmān yoge ādityavāsare etc.* The record shows that Rājyaparakāśa was already nominated successor in early 865. According to the chronicle Rājyaparakāśa was compelled to leave Kathmandu on account of the maltreatment he received from Jayaparakāśa, and then went to Patan where he was declared crown prince. Rājyaparakāśa was a witness to Jayaparakāśa's charters and grants until 863 *Mārga śudī 9*, the date of the Paśupati copper plate, where he figures for the last time in that capacity.

A copper plate attached to the wall of the temple of Bhairava at Kīrtipur, dated 870 *Phālguna śukla daśamī aṅgāravāra*. This contains an order from *Śrī Māṅglādhipati Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Śrī Rājyaparakāśamalladeva*, which says 'No one in the fort of Kīrtipur (garh) should fell trees, and any one disobeying this order would be fined *mohar* and *aṅka 12*'. The order was intended to protect the inaccessibility of the hill fort from the western and northern side.

It appears that the record belongs to the early days of Gorkhā penetration into the Nepal Valley. The precaution about the entry into Kīrtipurgarh might have been occasioned by fear of an attack by the Gorkhāli forces.

A stella recording the construction of a temple for Nārāyaṇa (*Śrī 3 Śikhara Nārāyaṇa pritina*) in Pharping by *Śrī Māṅglādhipati Md Śrī Śrī Jaya Rājyaparakāśamalladeva* on 871 *Śrāvṇa śukla trayodaśī (pūrvāṣāḍha nakṣatre prītiyoge bṛhaspativāsare)*.

83 Unnoticed.

84 Unnoticed.

85 Unnoticed.

All of his coins have in the reverse as legend Śrī Śrī Lokanātha and Vīra Yoganarendramalla. We have several inscriptions of the reign of Rājyaparakāśa for the years between his first regnal year and 878 while he died.

In 1754 A.D. (NS 875) the Capuchin Mission record an order of that year under his signature.

Rājyaparakāśa's reign though fairly long, for he ruled full 13 years till his death in NS 878 *Āśvina śudī saptamī pra aṣṭamī* (8 *Āśvina*), was otherwise full of troubles for himself and the country. Patan could not enjoy respite all these years, and it was always seething in restlessness and agony as a result of instability and chaos engendered by the most heinous type of palace intrigues let loose. A group of adventurist noblemen led by Kāzis Dhanavant, Kālidāsa and Bthinkwā had usurped in practice the powers of the state and used them for their own ends. These Kāzis were virtual king makers in those days, and they played their part in such a fashion that while they had the man of their choice on the throne they also saw that no one of the appointees could enjoy his full term of reign so that all governmental powers came to be always vested in the king makers. This group became extraordinarily powerful towards the end of Rājyaparakāśa's regime, and it was quite possible that this monarch lost his eye sight due to their machination, and finally died a virtual prisoner.

Since Rājyaparakāśa became the ruler of Patan, the Valley was being subjected to a series of attacks by Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh, the king of Gorkhā. It was said that in 868 *Pauṣa* Tanhou attacked Chitlāng and Lāmidāndā. But through Gorkhā's intervention these were restored to Patan. Gorkhā might have done so to ingratiate Patan so that it stood by its benefactor in the latter's conflicts with the ruler of Kathmandu.

Rājyaparakāśa lost his eye sight in 872 (=1752 A.D). It was suggested that he would regain his eye sight if the deity

Gaṇeśa of Chobār was duly propitiated. Accordingly the old temple of the deity was repaired and a ceremony of *pūjā* was held at the site. The king of Patan invited the other two rulers to attend the ceremony. It was also planned to hold a summit conference on the occasion to consider the feasibility of a joint action against the growing menace of Gorkhālī invasion. But while Raṇajītamalla of Bhatgaon responded to the invitation, Jayaprakāśamalla not only refused to go to the *pūjā* ground despite repeated requests but acted also to provoke Patan by setting fire to the many forts within its jurisdiction. The king and ministers were so enraged that they encourage Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh to hit Kathmandu by seizing important forts which fell to the invaders at the time. Jayaprakāśa retaliated by getting Kāzi Kālidāsa murdered, Kālidāsa was an experienced minister of the Patan court, and his death was widely mourned and this created further cleavage in the relation between the two principalities.

Rājyaprakāśa had become almost insane towards the end of his career. His only son died, and this left a permanent wound in his heart, which never healed up. As he was waiting for the inevitable end, Gorkhā had succeeded in wresting a large slice of territory within the Nepal Valley, which included Dahachok, Thānkoṭ, Balambu, Satingal and Pharping. This posed a constant threat to the security of the Valley.

Viśvajitamalla (1758—1760 A.D)

Rājyaprakāśa was succeeded by Viśvajitamalla of Nhugal. He was crowned on 878 *Āśvina śukla 9*. He reigned for 2 years and 9 months (For his coin dated 878 vide ante, Walsh, Pl. VI, 10, 11).⁸⁶ He was only 18 years old while he was crowned. The chronicler states that Kāzis Bhinkhwā and Dhanavanta placed the crown on his head. Viśvajita killed himself by thrusting a dagger into his belly for fear

86 A quarter mohar, Walsh wrongly reads 872.

of an attack by a Pramāṇa's son (the Kāzi of Chāckbahāl) whose wife Thaku Maiju (daughter of Kāzi Kālidāsa) was living with the king as his mistress. An old and torn foolscap sized sheet of a Nepali paper which I got from Chandraman Joshi of Ṭhimi shows 880 *Śrāvāṇa kṛṣṇa 13 ādityavāra* as the date of Viśvajita's death. This must be the correct date as the writer happens to be one who was a contemporary. According to the chronicle Viśvajitamalla died on *Bhādra sudi 14 of 880*. The chronicler describes the event thus: The king was returning after a *darśana* of Matsyendranātha. He had suddenly taken ill while he was witnessing the *jātrā* and was complaining of giddiness, to his eye the Matsyendra appeared to look to his back. The Rājā fell also to his knees while ascending the staircase of his palace. He was worried over the cause of his illness, and then his mother and wife brought him to the window overlooking the public courtyard. As he was seated there, the son of the Pramāṇa of Chāckbahā threw a stone on the window and then fled. The Pramāṇa's son had committed an unpardonable offence but the Kāzis thought that he was to be captured and not killed, and accordingly ordered some people to bring him to the palace. The Rājā's men threw a cordon round the Pramāṇa's house. But the two sons of Pramāṇa resisted them. As there was no order to kill the offender, the men sent for their arrest retired. But the Pramāṇa's son advanced to the palace both swords in hand. The guards in the palace tried to arrest them. But as weapons were not being used by the palace guards, the two brothers entered the king's apartment and killed him in cold blood. His mother unable to bear the shock threw herself into the funeral pyre and died. She cursed the people of Patan, who had failed to protect their sovereign.

Jayaprakāśa, Raṇajita, Dalamardana and Tejanarasimha
(1760—1768 A.D)

After the death of Viśvajitamalla the king makers experimented on king making some time with the ruler of Kath-

mandu and at another with the ruler of Bhatgaon and yet for once at the third time they attempted to place Patan under the ruler of invading Gorkhā, who, however, sent his brother as a representative and judicially avoided coming himself. But all these were rulers in name. Even the coins struck in their name had nothing original of their own. The design, the symbols, the deity (*Lokanātha*, or *Karuṇāmaya*) were all of them in strict conformity to Patan's tradition probably in keeping with the order of the day. Jayaprakāśamalla was the immediate successor of Viśvajitamalla.

So far no coin of Tejanarasimha, the last ruler of Patan was traced, but now very recently we have found out a *mohar* in his name which is dated NS 886 (=1765 A.D).⁸⁷ Dalamardana Shāh's coin bears the date NS 884 (=1763)⁸⁸ and on Joseph's authority he vacated (*Asiatic Researches*) the throne in about two years' time in 1765; Raṇajitamalla preceding Dalamardana Shāh had the Government run in his name for a year and half between 1761-63.

Jayaprakāśa, Raṇajita and Dalamardana being outsiders were not effective rulers but they had also little stake of their own and their loss at the end of the regime was no more than the loss of the throne which they nominally occupied at the mercy of the king makers. But as we have said earlier their two predecessors Rajyaprakāśa and Viśvajitamalla were unfortunate enough to pay with their life the favour they had gained in royal status at Patan.

Jayaprakāśa's Patan copper plate inscription shows date figure of *881 Māgha śukla 15*.⁸⁹ The chroniclers (Wright and others) are wrong to put his reign over Patan to the time after Raṇajita's reign (882). His reign surely preceded that of the latter as the date figure shows. I have seen a coin of Jayaprakāśamalla with date 880, which shows the emblems

87 Coin n. 26 in our Appendix.

88 Coin n. 25 in our Appendix.

89 Inscription n. 152.

used generally in Patan coins. Although the coin could not now be located, this nevertheless establishes beyond doubt the fact of Jayaprakāśa's reign over Patan. But while Jayaprakāśamalla would not try to set his foot firmly on the soil, Raṇajita seems to have proceeded to work out his task with great firmness having made master of the situation in the short time. He even dared to correct the people of 'Yalle Deśa' who had deviated from the path of righteousness and strayed beyond bounds of their ancestral customs and customary rules. All this is contained in the copper plate inscription⁹⁰ of *NS 882 Āśvina śukla 10* attached to a wall in one of the courtyards of the Patan Darbar, where he calls himself lord of Māniggal (Māniggalādhipati)⁹¹ unlike Jayaprakāśamalla who does not use this form of address, and there he defines also the duties of the various castes each within the community and outside towards one another. According to the chronicle Raṇajita was enthroned in Patan on *Jyeṣṭha śukla* of NS 882, and ruled for about a year and half. The latter chronicles have wrongly put his reign immediately after the death of Rajyaprakāśa (878). We have a *mohar* of Raṇajita with date 882, which he struck for Patan,⁹² and this is the most reliable evidence of his reign at the date.

There is no inscriptional data for the second reign of Jayaprakāśa, which according to the chronicle occurred after the removal of the Bhatgaon ruler.

The copper plate inscription of the year 881 has two copies, one and another lying in the collection of Paśupati-nātha. This suggests some disturbance at a village called Bulludeśa, which lies about a mile south of Chāpāgaon,

90 We have lost the rubbing of this inscription, and the copper plate also is missing.

91 This inscription is dated *NS 882 Āśvina śukla daśamī* (October, 1762).

92 n. 19 in our Appendix.

close to the foot of the Valley's southern hill. The disturbance by itself is not so important as the fact of its connection with Jayaprakāśamalla who was called upon to deal with the situation in his capacity as the ruler of Patan.

The decree said that no one should create disturbance in Bulludeśa and should not attempt to alter the customs and traditional rules of this area. The inhabitants of Bulludeśa and those taking care of this place also are protected from harassment; the latter shall not be dismissed.

Bulludeśa was declared to be a land of Gods; all properties therein belonged to them. Any infringement of rules was to be punished with a fine of 8 *sukā*, which was to go to the treasures of Paśupatinātha. If a he-buffalo trespassed into Bullu, the animal will also belong to the gods. The witness to this *pātra* was Jaya Jyotirmalla.

Raṇajitamalla's charter was meant to apply to the whole of the kingdom of Patan. It was meant to correct the many immoral aspects of the judicial system. It decreed that there should be strict impartiality in matter of judicial decision unless all the three parties are present, the punishment cannot take place. If any one tended to show partiality, he would be cursed by Taleju, Karuṇāmaya, Harisiddhī, Guheśvarī and Garuḍanārāyaṇa. Any punishment should conform to the nature of offence. Unless the guilt is proved, no accused should be punished. Unless the nature of his offence is ascertained, nobody was to be deprived of his property. One could be excused if he really repents over his decision. Henceforth everybody should avoid taking his shoes in Mulchok. Also, tobacco and *bhāṅg* are prohibited in Mulchok; spitting is not allowed. Again the pledge, if the Rājā did anything wrong, the people must bring it to his notice. If the people had transgressed the rules, it is left to the Rājā and his Pramāṇas to consider the matter. If the Pramāṇas proved themselves the wrong doers, then the Rājā and his people should sit together. The witnesses to the charter are

Chautārā Ratṇasiṃha Bhāro of Dalpuchhe, Dhanavantsiṃha Bhāro, Devīdāsa Bhāro, Amṛtasiṃha Bhāro, Vīranarasiṃha Bhāro, Bhavānīdāsa Bhāro, Kīrtilakṣmīsiṃha Bābu, and Lakṣmīdhara Bhāro.

It is stated in the chronicle that Raṇajitamalla was driven away by the Pramāṇas of Patan while he was performing annual *Śraddha* in Saṅkhamul. On the earlier occasion when Jayaprakāśa was king the same trick was played and Jayaprakāśa was forcibly ejected. He had gone to Tekhudovan and was not allowed to return. The precise date of Jayaprakāśa's second enthronement is not given by the chronicle. But it might be sometime in NS 883-884, and he ruled for six months.

It is said that Jayaprakāśa deceptively called to Kathmandu the ministers of Patan, Kāzi Bhiṅkhwā and Dhanavanta and had them killed surreptitiously while he also publicly insulted several others not killed, who were taken round the city clad like women. These Kāzis were asked to visit the king on a solemn oath that if anything happened to them, seven generations of Jayaprakāśa's forefathers would go to hell. But the king broke his promise and arrested the Kāzis. One of them, Kāzi Binkhwā had earlier vowed that he would not fall into Jayaprakāśa's hands and also never salute Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh. The death of Binkhwā and others caused such a bitterness in the minds of their relatives that most of them forthwith invited the Gorkhālis to invade Kathmandu. Father Giuseppe alias Joseph who was at the time living in the Capuchin Missions' sanctuary in the Valley of Nepal writes about the incident as follows: "After the defeat of Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh in Kīrtipur the nobles of the town went to confer with Jayaprakāśa, but being all assembled with the king in the same apartment, they were all surprised and seized by his people. After the seizure of those persons Gainprajas (Jayaprakāśa) perhaps, to revenge himself of those nobles for having refused their concurrence to his nomination as king, privately caused some of them to be put to death;

another, by name Dhanavanta was led through the city in a woman's dress, along with several others, clothed in a whimsical and ridiculous manner...⁹³

This incident is also mentioned in a noting in the ms. *Vividhastotra*⁹⁴ which runs 'Saṁvat 884 Mārgasīra śukla 5 Dhanavanta died. A day earlier to this Bhinkhwadhana was found dead. Bhinkhwādhana was imprisoned by Jayaprakāśa of Patan; he killed himself by thrusting a *chupi* (a kind of knife) into his abdomen. The cause of his death could not be known for sometime, but it was discovered later'.⁹⁵

Pr̥thvīnārāyaṇa's brother Dalamardana was crowned king on Friday *Māgha śukla pūrṇimā śukravāra* of NS 884 (=1685 Śaka), but just after a year he was dethroned and sent back to his brother. The circumstances of his becoming king of Patan are described in the next volume. Dalamardana was accepted as the ruler of Patan so that he may alleviate the suffering of the people resulting from the blockade. It was said that supplies of salt and cotton had been totally stopped at the time, and the ministers of Patan had thought that with Dalamardana on the throne the Gorkhā ruler would concede to minimise the regours of blockade by liberalising the conditions under which the articles on demand would flow into Patan. But Pr̥thvīnārāyaṇa Shāh was not willing to make concessions to Patan in respect of the blockade. For that reason the Pramāṇas of Patan ultimately expelled Dalamardana Shāh. On the *gaddi* of Patan now was seated one Tejanarasimhamalla who was enthroned on *Thursday Vaiśākha śukla 12, 885* (=April-May, 1765 A.D).

93 *Asiatic Researches*, II.

94 In the possession of Nārāyaṇarājānanda, Patan.

95 धनम युमुक्क दिन जुरो । थ्वनन्हथुकुन्हु भिष्वाधन सिकमिलाकात ॥
भिष्वाधन, यथा जयप्रकाश कुहात आत्त...थमचुपिकं शुयां सिक । सिक
ह्य रूपके मफुलिपतस ह्यका मिराकर ॥

We have a *mohar* each in the name of Dalamardana Shāh and Tejanarasimhamalla dated 884 and 885 respectively (Appendix, Coins nos. 25,26).

Tejanarasimha was the last ruler of Patan. He ruled from NS 885 to 888 (=1765 to 1768 A.D). He was compelled to relinquish his throne and flee to Bhatgaon for the safety of his life on the advance of Gorkhā troops. We have given in the next Volume all the particulars of the invasion by Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shāh as it came since 865. By 880 most of the areas around the Valley in the west, north and south had been captured. By defeating Gurgin Khan in Mackwānpur in January, 1763 the Gorkhā ruler had also succeeded in eliminating any possibility of an attack on the rear of his offensive from the southern approaches to Patan. Kīrtipur, however, stood unconquered for sometime more inspite of several assaults on the fortress. And in October, 1767 he had to face the advancing British come to Jayaprakāśa's aid from the south-east. By March 1768, Kīrtipur was under-siege from all the four sides. The Gorkhā troops had descended to close in from Pharping and Dahachok. Its link with Patan was cut off as Nagaon, Pāngā and Chobār were occupied by the invaders. Inside the fort the people had got tired of a protracted struggle and desired peace even with total surrender. Kīrtipur gave way on *Śaka naṣṭa chaitra śukla 9* and the invaders entered the fort at night being received by the inhabitants with silence. Patan was the next target. Earlier Bisankhu, Godāvarī and neighbouring places had fallen to the invaders. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shāh crossed the river Bāgmatī from the west and planned an assault on the capital. But his attention was diverted to another sector of the war by the news of the British expedition trying to breach the blockade from Siṅdhuli and enter the Valley. He was, however, successful in frustrating the design of the British marchers who had advanced as far as Siṅdhuli. The British having withdrawn, the Gorkhā ruler was now engaged himself in capturing the cities of Patan and Kathmandu.

The chronicle writes that Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh wanted to avoid further bloodshed and started negotiation with Jayaprakāśa for the surrender of Kathmandu. But Jayaprakāśa refused to voluntarily surrender his capital city. He yielded not without some fight even at the last hour. And when everything was over he quietly left for Patan through a secret route.

The details of the eleventh hour engagement are furnished in our earlier volume which deals with the subject matter of the Gorkhā king's conquest of the Nepal Valley.

EPILOGUE

According to the chronicle the Gorkhā invaders entered the city of Kathmandu on 888 *Bhādra śukla 14 purva phālgunī nakṣatre gaṇḍa yoga ādityavāra*. It was at night past 17 hours of the day that the palace had fallen. A noting in a ms. copy of *Navapatrikā* says 'Samvat 888 *Bhādra śukla 14 Śrī Śrī Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa* conquered the principality of Kathmandu; eliminating Śrī Śrī Jayaprakāśamalla, he occupied the palace at 11 *ghari* past night, Rājā Jayaprakāśa escaped to Patan...'¹ This information is also confirmed by another noting of a ms. copy of *Nityārchanavidhi*.² The former noting further adds that Jayaprakāśa stayed in Patan for three days at the time,

1 सम्बत् ८८८ भाद्रशुक्ल १४ श्रीश्रीपृथ्वीनारायण राजान यं देशकार श्रीश्रीजयप्रकाशह्यासय याडा रात्रिया घटि ११ जावेरसकार राजा जयप्रकाश यर देसस विज्यात यरयाराजा तेजनरसिंह काजि धाराच्छेयासिरव्वार, थ्वनरि राजा जयप्र(का)श खन्हु चोडा, खोप विज्याकजुरो, खोपया राजा श्रीश्रीरनजित राजा.

2 सम्बत् ८८८ भाद्र शुक्ल चतुर्दशि आदित्य बालथ्वकुन्हु रात्रिश, यदेश श्रीपृथ्वी नारायण तेल.

Tejanarasimha was the ruler, and his Kāzi was Siṅkhwāl. But Patan surrendered without a fight and then Jayaprakāśa went to live in Bhatgaon where the king Raṇajitamalla received him.

Patan was the next target. Its fall was inevitable in the circumstances. Without an attack on the city the control passed into the hands of the invaders. The Gorkhā chronicle gives the date for the surrender of Patan as *Śaka 1690 Āśvina 24* (=Second week of October, 1768 A.D). According to other chronicles Tejanarasimha and his guards evacuated the city on *Āśvina vadi 7 of 888*, and the Gorkhālis effected their entry 4 days after on the 11th. It was said that the ministers of Patan deserted their king and went over to the enemy who was clever enough to assure them of their safety. The knowledge of their proposed move had impelled Tejanarasimha to flee to Bhatgaon. After his exit the Gorkhālis entered the city, and with this, the independent principality of Patan came to an end.

Nearly 14 months later, Bhatgaon's turn to be beaten by the enemy had come. The capital was captured at the night of *890 Kārtika śukla 12* (=November, 1769 A.D),

Raṇajitamalla was not caught unawares. He knew that his own elimination was just a matter of time. The enemy was now close at the very suburb of the capital city. It was reported that the Gorkhālis had soon crossed the river Manoharā from the west.

Bhatgaon's defeat was certain in the context as it had developed on the defeat of Jayaprakāśa and Tejanarasimha. Bhatgaon was now on all four sides surrounded by the enemy positions even inside the Valley. Sāṅgā and Nagarkoṭ were in the hands of the Gorkhālis since more than two years with the matters of Kathmandu and Patan principalities Pṛthvī-nārāyaṇa Shāh now threatened Bhatgaon from inside the Valley also in the north, east and south-west at a distance of 3 to 4 miles.

Patan had surrendered without fighting. But Bhatgaon did not yield without putting up a stiff fight. It was said that Raṇajitamalla was promised to be left in peace if he handed over the kings of Kathmandu and Patan to the Gorkhālis. But the Bhatgaon ruler refused to accept an offer which compromised his ideals. And there was no guarantee either that the all pocket of an independent principality of Bhatgaon had a chance to live while it locked the very viability. Raṇajitamalla, however, hoped against hope as he girded up his loins even at the eleventh hour to meet the enemy in the battle field.

According to copper plate in a temple of Gaṇeśa in Nakadeśa two miles to the east of the city of Bhatgaon (dated 889 *Mārga śudi 9*=December, 1768) Raṇajitamalla had issued a proclamation making it prohibitory to exact undue tributes from the peoples of Bode, Nakadeśa and Ṭhimī. This order asked *pramāṇas* and *duvāls* to keep in mind the essential principle that they should not in any way resort to taxing more than what was traditionally dictated and no more exactions was to be made on grounds of emergency.

But all this was of no avail when Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shāh advanced to the city of Bhatgaon. Nakadeśa, Bode and Ṭhimi fell one after the other without even a semblance of fighting. In the heart of the capital city the invaders were challenged, but the defenders were no match for the superior force of the enemy. Bhatgaon capitulated after a fight waged within the precincts of the palace, which had continued for twenty four hours. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa captured the whole of the Royal Palace on *Kārtika śukla 12* of the year 890. The Palace, finally surrendered at night suffering a heavy casualty in dead and wounded. The chronicler reports that a portion of the city in the vicinity of the Palace was destroyed by fire. More than 2000 men had been killed and nearly 500 houses had been totally gutted. The King was taken prisoner along with the fugitive rulers of Kathmandu and Patan.

Jayaprakāśa had been wounded on his leg, and he died the next day at Āryaghāṭ, while Raṇajitamalla had been permitted to proceed to Banaras. Tejanarasimha alone remained in confinement for a long time. He might have died in duress and died a lonely death almost unwept, unheard of and unseen by his near ones. Nothing is heard of him once he fell into his enemy's hands.

Jayaprakāśa was hit in his leg by a bullet as he was trying to climb a staircase to cross over the other part of the palace. He then fell down and as the conquerors found him in an almost dying state he was removed to the Āryaghāṭ, the bank of the river Bāgmatī below the temple of Lord Paśupati. This was due in accordance with his last wishes. He died there in the evening of the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of *Kārtika*.

Raṇajitamalla was given an option to live in regalia in one of the smaller towns of his old domain or to quit for Banaras. He preferred exile to a dependent regalia. He died in Banaras where he lived for some time with his many wives and sons.

The above account of the fall of Bhatgaon is corroborated by what Lalitāballabha, a court poet of Gorkhā, wrote about this subject in his Poetic work 'The Bhatgaon-Victory poems' (*Bhaktavijayakāvya*). The poetic composition in 109 verses was prepared in Śaka 1691 in the month of *Phālguṇa* and on the 11th day, about 4 months after Bhatgaon fell to Pṛthvī-nārāyaṇa Shāh. These verses do not give details of the fight, but are intended to present as a panegyric in the most summary fashion the last phase of the Gorkhā conquest of the Nepal Valley, only the theme of the fight, i. e. the conquest of Bhatgaon by the Gorkhā ruler, is stressed in so many flowery phrases at the cost of the details. True facts are missing. If one thought that from this *Kāvya* he would know facts about the Bhatgaon Gorkhā conflicts of the year, he is disappointed. But one fact mentioned by Lalitā-

ballabha might be cited. Here was an appreciation on general by the Gorkhālis of the different characters in the scheme who were being confronted. In this we shall note the poet's high praise of the bravery and unbending spirit displayed by Jayaparakāśamalla in his hour of defeat and final collapse is significant in as much as a tribute is paid to a bitter foe's qualities in words that would give credit also to the largehearted conqueror's sense of appreciation.

'This is how the poet brings into sharp focus the character of the three personalities involved in the conflicts as opposed to Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa's ambition. Lalitāballabha wrote: The city was under siege for sometime, but the gate at one place had been smashed, and the invaders were approaching the royal palace. There was panic all over the city and the people were running helter and skelter crying aloud for help. The piercing noise rose to pitch, and the palace now threatened from all sides felt uneasy for its safety. The three kings were assembled in a room, sitting in a conference to decide the step to be taken in view of the impending danger. Raṇajitamalla spoke in a trembling voice." Friends, now tell us what to do in this dire crisis. We are repaying what we sowed in our time of prosperity. The king of Gorkhā is already moving to the palace, should we give up further attempts at resistance ?

'I think the situation is now totally out of hand. It is better that we surrender to the victor so that our lives will be spared if we do so.' To Jayaparakāśa the idea of surrendering alive to the foe was intolerable. He chided Raṇajita for nursing a desire to live in the care of his enemy, It was the most sorrowful plight he would be in if he lived thus. Their fate would be that of a prisoner. They will not be free and after all they will die one day. Jayaparakāśa further said in anger 'Even if we are spared, and allowed to enjoy our fortune and whatever had remained of it the end will certainly come to these all. Man is mortal and every one

has to die irrespective of his power and position. Therefore why die in ignominious circumstances. Let us face the death bravely. I shall go forward to fight the enemy even at this eleventh hour. If you are so anxious to save your life then enjoy immortality and remain here to welcome the care of the enemy. After all, this physical body is nothing but full of indecent and putrid matters. What have we done so long? We wasted our energy and resources in fighting one another, and we never cared to look after the larger interest of our mother land.

'Even if we are spared by the enemy, our life will not be worth living. It shall not be certainly creditable to live on the mercy of the enemy. For myself if I am killed in action I shall think that I am cleared of the blots which came to be attached on my name as a result of our misdeeds. We shall not be better at this stage if we live. I shall be able to erase the many blots on my life if I am killed by the enemy.' Saying this the king of Kāntipur rode his horse and went forward with his Khasa, Kirāta and Madhesia soldiers to meet his enemy in battle. Jayaprakāśa had worn his armour and held in his hands a sword and a shield. Some of his brave soldiers used muskets and some threw arrows and many fought a hand-to-hand fight with swords and axe. The invaders were also met with stone boulders rolled from the roofs of the palace. But God favoured Jayaprakāśa's adversary. His officers and men met the end one by one at the hands of the Gorkhālis. The last casualty in this battle was his ownself. He was wounded severely.

Jayaprakāśa was hit by a bullet on his right leg, and he bled profusely. Even though mentally conscious, physically he was fast waning, and the light was now going out. Death was staring at him, and it was just a matter of hours, and everything would be done away with him. Meanwhile the victorious Gorkhāli combatants had entered the palace as the resistance within the camp of defenders had collapsed,

The inmates including the three kings were brought together in custody. This was the last phase of the campaign Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa waged in fulfilment of his ambition to become the master of Nepal. Lalitāballabha describes the qualities of the King of Kathmandu using choice epithets and calling him brave, patient, largehearted and the ornament of the Malla clan. Coming as it does from the pen of his adversary's court poet, it is no ordinary compliment which Jayaprakāśa had earned. It was the enemy who was praising his qualities. As we have already suggested in another context Jayaprakāśa had heroic qualities and he was a great stumbling block in the way of the Gorkhā king who applied all his skill to bring Jayaprakāśa down by whatever means was possible. Jayaprakāśa's bitter enmity with those who counted in the other two kingdoms weakened the defence position of the Nepal Valley. Gorkhā had become so strong by gradually acquiring ever new and new strength that it was impossible for one Malla kingdom to continue to resist the invaders from within Kathmandu. Nobody doubts his patriotism. But he had many other shortcomings, and he met his end so tragically also due to these. However, the general environment more than he had brought defeat to the Nepal Valley rulers. The lack of unity in the Valley was always exploited by Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh to further his ends. Jayaprakāśa was the greatest stumbling block. It was understood that with his own flight from Kathmandu it was just a matter of time that the other two capitals would fall to the invaders. In Patan as we know it there was no resistance at all, although Bhatgaon paid heaviest toll of all in the loss of human lives due to the last minute fight inspired by the Kathmandu ruler.

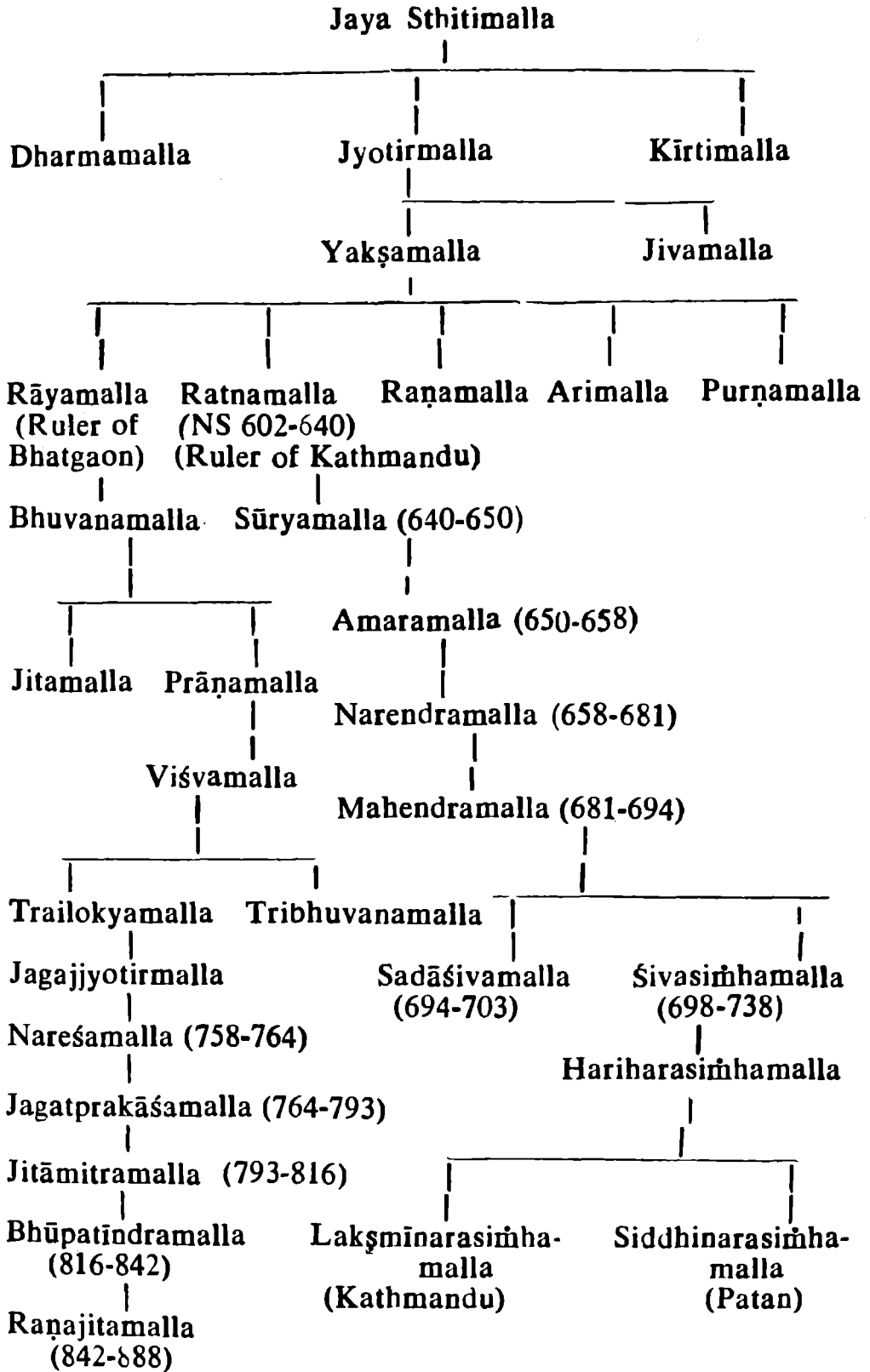
A few words more about the causes leading to the defeat of the Malla rulers. As a matter of fact the fate they met was inevitable. This applied also to the petty hill principalities. All these could survive as long as the balance of power existing in the situation was maintained due to every-

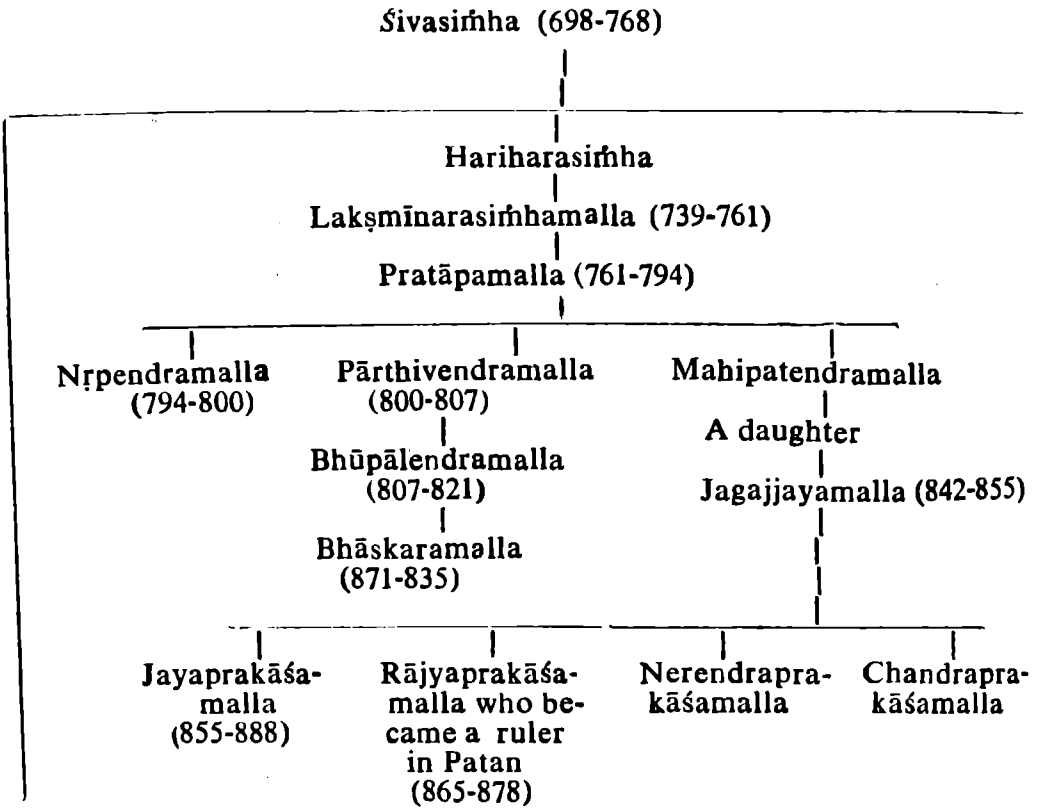
body remaining the same weak ruler that he was. Once the balance was upset even to a small degree, the state acquiring additional strength was bound to push forward at the cost of the others. It was a chaotic situation Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa had inherited and all that he needed to do was to acquire new military resources and an indomitable spirit to go forward in his scheme of conquest. Divided as his opponents were he had no reason to fear a combined defensive operations from them. Thus he was safe on all sides and could deal with his foes one by one.

I think that the lack of unity in the rank of his adversaries was the greatest factor to help him to consummate his ideas of the conquest of Nepal and to contribute in general to their defeat.

It was said that their failure to withstand the assault of the Gorkhālīs was due to the latter's superior technique of warfare. But we shall know later that in respect of weapons and trained man-power Gorkhā had not excelled the combatants in the Nepal Valley. We shall, however, reserve our judgment about strategic considerations as we deal with the subject matters of defence and warfare.

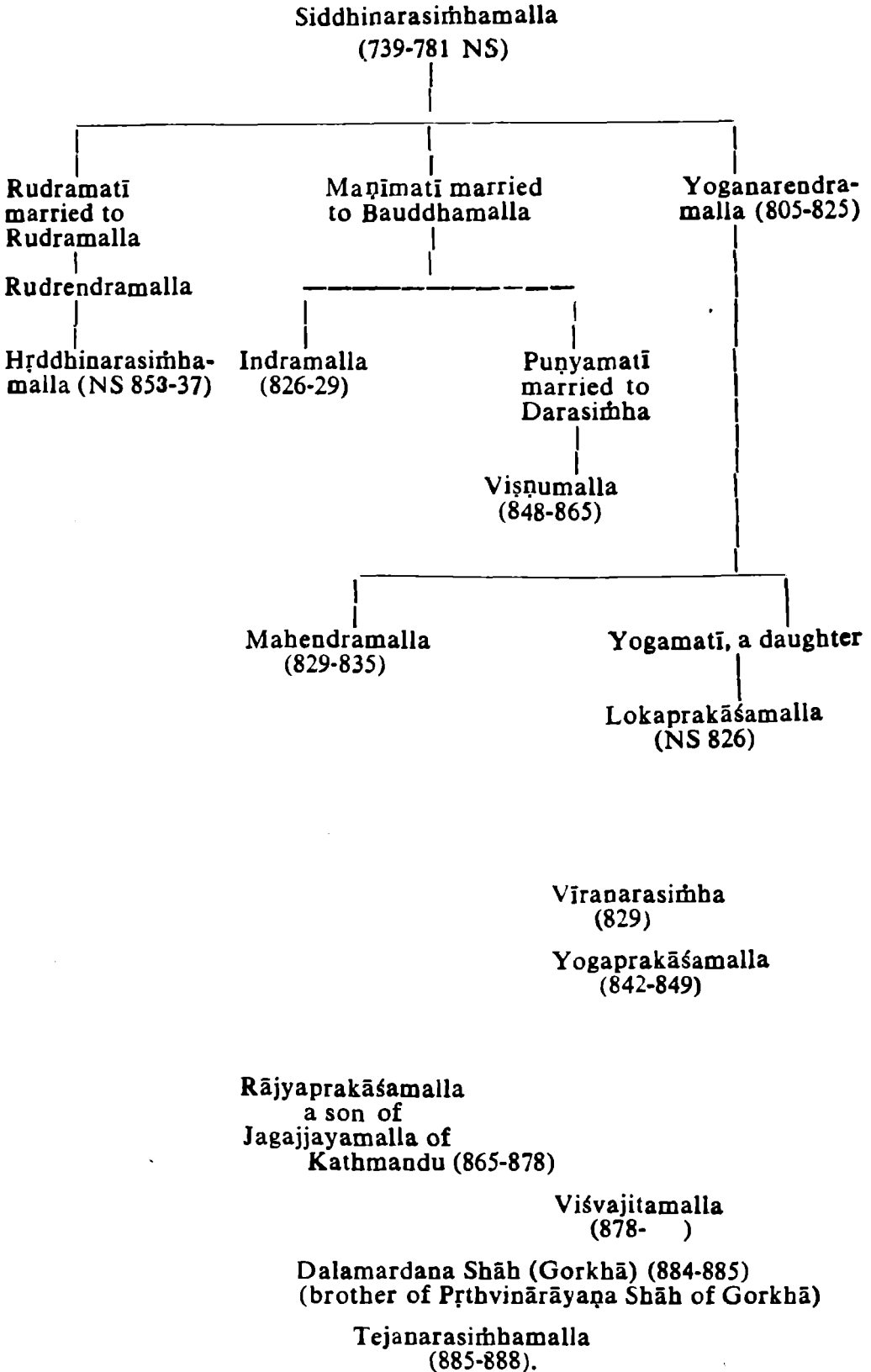
With the fall of Bhatgaon, the domain of the king of Gorkhā extended from the river Chepe in the west to the river Dudhkośī in the east. Its southward expansion covered the stretch of territory from the river Gaṇḍak to the river Kamalā. More territories were now to be acquired. And thus a new state bearing the old name Nepal but much larger than its usual size came into being.

Genealogy (a)

Genealogy of Kathmandu (b)

In the 7th genera-
tion on the daugh-
ter's line, Mahin-
drasīmha (835-842)

Genealogy of Patan (c)



CHAPTER V
POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS
OF
THE NEPAL VALLEY IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

I

The Nepal Valley: Frontier Lines and Geographical location:

We have already said in the last volume that the frontiers of Nepal at this time were much narrowed because of the rise of feudal principalities in the west. In the course of the 17th century these numbered not less than two dozen and the nearest of them was only twenty to thirty miles from the centre of the Valley. In the west the river Ānku, and at times the Triśulī Gaṇḍak, 20 miles farther west of Kathmandu formed the boundary of Nepal. But roughly the line traversed along a Sātsayakholā, Charange, Dhāding and Kadrangarhi from North to South. To the east Nepal frontier extended as far as the river Tāmā Kośī and in the north the portion of the Himalayas between Gaṇeśa Himal and the source of Tāmākośī came in its sphere. The coming into existence of Mackwānpur cut off the entire area south of the Mahābhārata from the base. A Jesuit Missionary passing in 1661 (Levi, I, 86-87) on route to Kathmandu from the plains says that he had to pay customs duty at a depot maintained by Mackwānpur at Heṭaurā about thirty miles south of the Valley. The principality in Mahottari must have covered all as far as the Mahābhārata ranges in what we call today the No. 2 Eastern District.

Now to come to the territorial limits of each of the three kingdoms of the Nepal Valley. We have the kingdoms of Kathmandu and Bhatgaon quite extensively situated, their

frontiers touching regions far beyond the limits of the Valley. Kathmandu controlled a big slice of territory in the north as far as the Tibetan border, though to the west its jurisdiction hardly extended to are as beyond thirty miles from the capital. In the same way Bhatgaon had its frontier line in the north in the snowy ranges touching Tibet. But in the east Bhatgaon extended upto the river Tāmākosi, a distance of 60 miles from the centre. Patan, however, was a smaller unit compared to its two neighbours. It was all confined to an area comprising the southern portion of the Valley and a little beyond in the immediate south and west.

Patan formed a triangular diagram controlling to the south-east the area of Godāvarī with the Phulchoki ridge and Pharping to the south-west and all lands west of the rivulet Balambu. It must be remembered that the lines of frontier between any two of the three kingdoms were undemarcated and rough enough to cause frequent dissensions and armed conflict between them. This was more so in case of the relations between Bhatgaon and Patan. Patan had an easier and more direct outlet with the outside world in the south through its contact with Mackwānpur in the Indian plains but Kathmandu was more advantageously placed with the passes south of the Kerraung and Kuṭi for crossing over to the other side of the Himalayas. All of Patan's merchandise going to Tibet had to pass through Kathmandu and there lay its weakness, which led to its being controlled in external trade by Kathmandu. Bhatgaon's position was a little better. It commanded its own trade routes, through Siṅdhuli to the plains and through Banepā—Dhulikhel—Dāpchā—Dolkhā to the Himalayan border. Kathmandu and Bhatgaon stood therefore on equal footing and as appears from Kircher's interpretation of F. Grueber's account, one had to pass through Bhatgaon or Kathmandu in descending to the Indian plains from Tibet. Inside the Valley the river Manoharā divided Kathmandu and Bhatgaon as the river Bāgmatī formed the dividing line between Patan and Kathmandu in

the immediate east upto Saṅkhamūl. Kathmandu controlled Gokarṇa, Chāṅgu, Sāṅkhu within the Valley and outside of the Valley Palāñchok, Chautārā and also a part of the East No. 2 District. From Chautārā it controlled the pass at Kodāri. It appears that Bhatgaon had under it the entire southern portion of the territory which is known today as Kābhre-Palāñchok district and also of east No. 2 district. Thus Nālā, Banepā, Dhulikhel, Dāpchā, Dumjā and areas upto Dolkhā fall under Bhatgaon's jurisdiction, and also the area south of the line upto Mahābhārata ranges e.g. Pannauti, Byāvara, Khopāsi etc. From the south-western side Patan also had an access to Siṅdhuligarhi, but I do not think that it was more than a small stripe of territory that Patan had managed to control. In the west Kathmandu had Noakoṭ and all areas as far as Śātasayakholā and Charange and in the north it extended to Russoa pass. Kathmandu had under its jurisdiction all areas beyond the Valley to the north-east. For example Narjā, Kaviḷāsa, Dāngmai, Bhimdhungā and tracts to its immediate west were within Kathmandu. But farther west Dhāding belonged to Patan including the basin of the Maheśakholā. Not only Dhāding, but all tracts what are now today within the district of Dhāding in the south as far as Lāmidāndā came under Patan's jurisdiction. At Lāmidāndā the boundary touched Tanhou.

The river Bāgmatī formed a dividing line between Kathmandu and Patan from Saṅkhamūl to Tekhudovān (the influence of Bāgmatī and Viṣṇumatī). In the south-west, the rivulet Balambu which joins the Bāgmatī near Chobār was the frontier line. All areas to the west and south-west belonged to Patan. The Chitlāng-Mārkhū Valley as well as the Tistuṅg-Mārkhū Valley came within the purview of the Patan kingdom. Patan also thus controlled Nepal's usual route to Heṭaurā.

For Noakoṭ we have inscriptions to show that it was under

1 See for details the narrative above in the second chapter.

Kathmandu. Mahendramalla's Noakoṭ document of 68 etc. shows his *vijayarājye* in that area. This is followed by inscriptions of Śivasimha (737.....*aṣṭamyām jyeṣṭha nakṣatre*) and Pārthivendramalla (803 *Vaiśakha kṛṣṇa 3*), and Bhāskaramalla (823 *Chaitra śukla 10*). We have referred to many inscriptions of Kathmandu rulers in Chāngu and Sānkhu, (Sako) which we may not mention here. In Palāñchok Jayaprakāśa's stone inscription is enough to prove Kathmandu's jurisdiction over the area (867 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 4*). His father Jagajjayamalla had also executed a *tāmrapatra* for the grant of land, the income of which was to be spent for the worship of the deity on a particular occasion (848 *Āśvina śudi 5*).² This king had also made a grant of land in that area on the same date to one Anirudra Āchārya in lieu of rupees 714 (848 *Āśvina śudi 5*).³ The land lay in a locality known as Bakuryaṭār.⁴ Another grant of land in the same area (in the village of Patasil) was made to one Pradyumna Pantha by Jagajjayamalla on 848 *Āśvina śudi 13*. Jayaprakāśa executed a sale deed in favour of one Purandara Adhikāri to grant him some lands of a site known as Jyamilakhel. The record is dated 859 *Paukha śudi 1*.⁵ A *tāmrapatra* of 862 *Māgha vadi 11* states that Jayaprakāśa had on this day sold some of his lands situated in the Chinsa village of the area to one Viṣṇuhari Upādhyā. Jayaprakāśa's copper plate granting land in Kavilāsa to one Nandupādhyā (880 *Aṣāḍha śudi 2*) establishes his hold of the area.⁶

There is a copper plate sale deed executed by Jagatprakāśamalla of Bhatgaon selling his land in Byāvāra, south-west of Pannauti, to one Godāra Thāpa (836 *Vaiśākha*

2 *Purātatvapatra saṅgraha*, published by Archaeological and Cultural Dept., Kathmandu, VS 2016, p. 10.

3 *Ibid*, p. 15.

4 *Ibid*, pp. 13-14.

5 *Ibid*, p. 16.

6 *Ibid*, p. 17.

vadi 6)⁷ Bhūpatīndramalla's son Raṇajita also sold land in that area to another person, Kṛṣṇa Thāpā (*Śaka 1667 Phālguna kṛṣṇa 13*)⁸. We have several inscriptions in the name of Bhatgaon rulers all over Nālā, Banepā, Pannauti and Dhulikhel. We have stone inscriptions of Jagatprakāśamalla and Jitāmitramalla in Pannauti belonging to 789 *Māgha śukla 15*⁹ and 794 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 11*¹⁰ respectively. There are others belonging to Bhūpatīndramalla (837 *Aṣadha śukla 9*)¹¹ and his son, but these are as important as Bhatgaon had possessed control of Pannauti and areas round it except on few occasions. The inscription of Gorakhanātha temple of Banepā 769 *Phālguna kṛṣṇa 8 mūla nakṣatra* etc belonging to Jagatprakāśa's reign establishes the fact of Bhatgaon's hold of the area. But no records dating earlier to 769 belonging to the Nepal Valley rulers of the period are so far traced in that region. A large stone inscription near Dhulikhel records the construction of a water conduit by Bhāgirāma in the reign of Jitāmitramalla on 796 *Vaiśākha śukla 15*.

As for the Patan's ruler's jurisdiction over Dhāding area we have land grant records of the reign of Śrīnivāsamalla and Yogaparakāśamalla. (801 *Chaitra śukla 1*, and 844 *Āśvini sūddhi 1* and 848 *Chaitra śukla 6*)¹². There is one more record of the latter's reign (868 *Vaiśākha sūdi 1*)¹³ which makes a grant of land in Gajuri in the same area. Dhāding district was contiguous to both Kathmandu and Patan in the immediate west outside the territorial limits of the Valley of Nepal. It appears that Kathmandu also had control of a small area in the vicinity of Bhimdhungā on the outskirts of

7 Ibid, pp. 32-33.

8 Ibid, p. 34.

9 In the court of a water conduit in Āghāṭol.

10 attached to the back wall of a *pāṭi* in Āghāṭol.

11 Brahmāyanī temple.

12 *Purātatvapatra Sangraha*, I, pp. 37-42.

13 *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, I, pp. 155-56.

the Valley. Both Patan and Kathmandu touched at Deorāli in this sector (see copper plates for the grant of land in this area by Śrīnivāsamalla and Jayaprakāśamalla).

Nepal's location in the larger Geographical context

The records of the age in many instances show Nepal's location in a larger Geographical context.

The following is the set expression used for the purpose and this will show how the Geographical situation of Nepal had been presented in those days.

We shall note that the traditional expression not only points out to Nepal's Geographical location but also shows the particular time of the Kali age through which Nepal was passing.

We shall yet remember one thing more in this connection. This is the absence of any reference to Nepal in the records of the areas outside the political boundaries of the three Kingdoms of the Nepal valley.

This is how the records express :

ओं अद्य ब्रह्मणो द्वितीय परार्द्धे श्वेत वाराह कल्पे वैवश्वतमन्वन्तरे अष्टा विंशति तमस्य चतुर्युगस्य कलेः प्रथम पादे जम्बुद्वीपे, भरत खण्डे भारतवर्षे आर्यावर्त देशे, हिमवद्क्षिण पादे नेपाल मण्डले, श्रीश्रीश्रीपशुपति सन्निधाने, वासुकि क्षेत्रे etc. etc.

In our Appendix we have given several documents where in the very first few lines the expression denoting the location of Nepal within Āryāvarta finds place :

- (a) A stone inscription of Su-bahāl (Patan), 656 *Vaiśāṣa śukla 15 viśāṣanakṣatra śukravāsara br̥ṣarāśigata savitari tulārāśigata chandramāsi*,
- (b) The Bhīmasenathān copper plate of Kathmandu, 684 *Māgha kṛṣṇa*. The Gokarṇa stone inscription of 703 (n. 21 in our Appendix),

- (c) A copper plate inscription of Śrīnivāsamalla in the possession of the temple of Gorakhanātha, NS 788,
- (d) A copper plate inscription of Pratāpamalla in the temple of Gorakhanātha, NS 793 (*Itihāsaprakāśa*, II. 3, p. 453-54).
- (e) The Paśupati inscription of Pārthivendra's mother Indumatī, NS 796.
- (f) The Mālaticok inscription of Bhūpatīndramalla of Bhatgaon, *Phālgūṇa śukla navamī*.
- (g) The Dolesvara inscription of Bhūpatīndramalla 828 *Māgha vadi 9*,
- (h) The Brāhmayanī temple inscription of Pannauti, 836 *Āṣāḍha śukla 9 chitrā nakṣatra ādityavāra*.
- (i) The Paśupati copper plate of 847 *Pauṣa śukla 15 somavāra*.
- (j) The Paśupati copper plate of 839 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 30 ādityavāra*.
- (k) The Paśupati copper plate of Jagajjayamalla, 848 *naṣṭa Vaiśāvadi 14*.
- (l) The copper plate record of land grant by Jagajjayamalla, 848 *Vaiśāṣa śukla viśakhā nakṣatra somavāra*, etc. (*Purātatvapatrasaṅgraha*, I, n. 3).
- (m) n. 2, 11, in *Purātatvapatrasaṅgraha*, I.

All these inscriptions except (c), (d) and (e) are reproduced in our Appendix. But this is not an exhaustive list. More numerous records are available with more or less similar context. The above records might be treated as specimen. However, a vast number of inscriptions and other records avoid this expression in all forms.

There is a slightly different version of the same expression in a few records. But the two do not differ in essence. They carry the same meaning in a common context.

From the above expression it appears that Nepal was said to have been situated on the southern feet of the Himalayan ranges and within the Āryāvarta region of a larger unit called Bharatakhanda and Bhāratavarṣa. But it should be understood that the location had no political connotation, it is only cultural.

The earliest of documents to adopt this kind of expression is the Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa record of NS 605.

As we notice from a series of documents, the statement appears more often in records since NS 750 than earlier. This appears both in the Buddhist and Saivite records.

Regionally Bhatgaon records show by far the largest use of the expression more than any documents belonging to Patan and Kathmandu.

According to *Nepālamāhātmya* which might have been composed in the 16th century and was incorporated into the *Skandapurāṇa*, Nepal covered a stretch of territory bounded in north by the Nīlakaṇṭha mountain, the source of the river Triśulī, on the south by a line running through the *Tīrtha* of Naṭeśvara, now in the Champāran District and on the east by the Kośī—and on the west by the Gaṇḍakī.¹⁴

We have more or less the same boundaries suggested in the Buddhist texts. Nepal was shrunk to a size which even if its three kingdoms were put together it could have hardly passed as a big kingdom worth the name. But even within that limitation the country was divided into three kingdoms, each enjoying hardly a better position than that of a district of present day Nepal.

I think that I should elaborate the points in regard to the

14 गरङ्की कौशिकी चैव तयोर्मध्ये वरस्थलं नीलकरुण तटै शौचंतयोः प्रावस्तथाविधम् नेपाल इति विख्यातं... (79.1)

There is another reading which brings in the temple of Kuśeśvara in place of Nāṭeśvara.

location of Nepal within the Āryavarta region as made out in the many inscriptions of the age.

I have already suggested that the implication was only cultural and never political.

The political unity of India under the name Bhāratavaṛṣa with a geographical basis as it existed during the British period was not born yet. Although the Moghuls at one stage had been able to unify politically a large part of India both in the North and the South, yet the Eastern Himalayas as well as Eastern Assam were outside the empire of Aurangzeb who had attempted to bring Cooch Bihar and Assam under his control. West Assam too was not being fully absorbed. Moreover as Aurangzeb died the Mogul emperors were fast losing their grip over distant provinces. Any way, it would not be said that the Mughals had put on the map the same Bhāratavaṛṣa which existed at the time of the British. The history of the period immediately preceding the British is nothing but an account of a struggle which the country powers including the British had waged to gain supremacy for an empire. The power struggle was inevitable in a state of vacuum as it obtained after the disintegration of the Moghul empire since the beginning of the 18th century A.D. Ultimately the British became triumphant and after nearly a hundred years persuing their game succeeded in creating an empire, the like of which was seen never before in the subcontinent. But the struggle for power and supremacy amongst different independent political units in India was not a new phase. It existed since times immemorial, and no period of history was free from it. As for the extent of the empire, not even Aśoka could claim to have built so vast an empire in the subcontinent as the British. The Mauryas no doubt had control over the W.W., North and Central India, but we do not know whether in their regime the empire embraced East Bengal, Assam and a large part of South India. It is a known fact that other empire-builders, such as the Sunḡas,

Sātavāhanas, the Guptas, the Moukhāris, King Harṣavardhana, the Pālas, Rāṣṭrakuṭas, Chālukyas etc. all of them, ruled over a limited territory though large and each had to confront rival states in the neighbourhood within what we are apt to call the subcontinent today. None of their empires have enjoyed possessions equal in size even to the half of the British empire. Of course, the cultural boundary of India did not agree with one political State, however large in territorial possessions. Cultural boundary cut across political boundaries. Therefore, it would be a mistake to suppose that there was ever in history a political India which could be taken as the same unit as Cultural India. Nepal certainly shared with parts of Political India common heritage of culture and for that the Nepalese in the later middle ages put their country on the cultural map of Bhāratavarṣa which embraced all areas between the Himalayas and the Indian Ocean. As we know it, a large number of Nepalese records of the same period have nothing of the statement suggesting location of Nepal within Āryavarta. So even if quite a few of the inscriptions do show the location of Nepal within Bhāratavarṣa on the cultural level, it is obvious that the practice was not universal or invariable. At any rate there is no basis for thinking that the inscriptions using expressions like *Bhāratavarṣe* *Bharatakhaṇḍe* etc. inserted to give an idea of a geographical location of Nepal did imply in any way its political community with any empire or kingdom of India as such no matter how much territory it embraced.

After the geographical location we need now consider the approaches to the Valley of Nepal.

It should be understood that Nepal being placed on the southern lap of the Himalayas is not separated by a natural barrier from the Gangetic plains and therefore is easily accessible from that side. We have only thing of usable roads in this connection. But access to Nepal from Tibet

involved a journey across the heights of the Himalayas. This means crossing a natural barrier, which was impassable except with extreme difficulties.

Trade route

Kuṭi-Kathmandu-Heṭaurā-Bichhākhori-Garhparśa lie on the trade route to Patan from Lhasa according to Grueber. The time taken by a traveller from Kuṭi to Kathmandu was full six days.¹⁵ The trade outposts lying between the Valley of Nepal and Lhasa included (1) Sāṅkhu-Chautārā-Phyria-Laish (Nesti), Kodāri and Kuṭi. But one could go to Kuṭi through, or (2) Banepā-Dhulikhel-Palāñchok due north, catching the course of Bhotia Kośi reaching Nesti and Kodāri (Sāṅkhu was always a bone of contention between Bhatgaon and Kathmandu). But Banepā permitted unhampered traffic to Bhatgaon. Kathmandu did not grudge Bhatgaon's access to Kuṭi from that side. All these trade outposts lie on the route to Kuṭi. We have another route through Noakṭ along Triśulī to Russoa and Kerraung. This is the easiest route and the pass over Himalayas lie only at an altitude of 7,000 ft. high above the sea level.

More details of the Kuṭi-Kathmandu highway are furnished in the account of the travels of the Capuchin Missionaries who passed through this region either on their way to or on being expelled bag and baggage from Lhasa¹⁶. From Lhasa to Patan (Nepal) it was a journey of about 45 days and from Kuṭi to Patan of about 15 days but the travellers of this journey were mostly sickmen, one of whom was very seriously ill. Fathers Grueber and D'Orville

15 According to Grueber 'five days' journey from 'Cuthi' to Nesti and thence six days' journey to reach the capital of Nepal which is called Cadmendu. It is surprising that none of the fathers seems to have known anything about the Russoa Pass (about 3 days' journey from Kerong).

16 Father Hilarion's writing in *Catholicus*.

covered the distance between Kuṭi and Patan in 11 days.¹⁷ It took 42 days (16 April to 28 May) for Father Freyer to reach Kathmandu from Lhasa.

The journey from Kathmandu to Heṭaurā in the words of Father Grueber was covered within 5 days.¹⁸ The exact line of the thoroughfare and details are not provided in the account. But from another source of information it appears that the route traversed through the Chandrāgiri, Chitlāṅg-Bhīmphedi-Bhainse-Heṭaurā-Bichhākhori line (Father More's Account). Kirkpatrick who travelled through this route in the winter of 1793 A.D. seems to have toed the line of the earlier travellers, which happened also a regular public thoroughfare of the day. There was yet another thoroughfare which passed through Khoknā and thence through the bed of the river Bāgmati for some miles and down to Mackwānpur. This was the route followed by Ippolipo Desideri in January 1722 A.D. This met at Heṭaurā the first route. Then the common route crossed to the Terai either to reach Simraongarh or to follow the original highway either at Garhparasa or a little below at Kalewā. The link through Sindhuli Garhi took to Mahottari through Tinpāṭan to Janakpur and thence to the Indian border.

For an idea of the journey through these routes undertaken by foreign travellers, we turn to Levi's comment on some of the descriptions provided in the accounts of the Jesuit and

17 C. Wassels, Op. Cit., p. 195. Desideri took full 14 days. Op. Cit., 'Arrival in Nepal' BK. IV, Ch. I.

18 Father Georgi and More give detailed account of the journey. According to them, one crosses the territory of the Moghul at 'Barrihua' to the kingdom of Mackwānpur. They talk of dense forest and malaria (Levi, I, p. 120). At Heṭaurā the officials attempted to extract as much as possible from the Nepalese travellers when they levied cheoki or customs. Another trade route mentioned in Tavernier but only once so far as foreign accounts are concerned passed through Pālpā from Gorakhpur (Levi, I, pp. 97-98). It took about nine days from Pālpā to reach the frontiers of Tibet.

Capuchin Fathers who had ventured in the eighteenth century to walk to Lhasa from Patan via the Nepal Valley. Here is what Levi wrote :

“The description of Father Marc, according to Father Tranquillo, neglects the indications of stages and emphasises on the dangers of the journey; ‘From Nepal to proceed to Lhasa, capital of the Great Tibet and where we had monastery the track extends towards the north-east through mountains, rivers and forests so difficult in crossing that neither bullocks nor asses can pass. This is the reason why the merchants of Nepal who correspond greatly with Lhasa have no other means of carrying their goods than on their own backs, or on certain goats that are big and that carry a passable weight. Mountains are ascended and descended and streams crossed with difficulty, which streams round some mountains are gushing torrents, filled with large rocks and stones, particularly at one spot where one has to cross a chain of these badly connected here and there, from one rock to another, whilst the torrent forces at a depth which makes one dizzy to look at. Well, certain travellers blindfold themselves and have themselves tied to a plank which is well fastened to the chair and thus they cross over helped by the dexterity of an expert native. In rambling thus for ten days and finding only a few inhabited spots one arrives eventually at a town named “Cuṭi” situated on a barren mountain where ends the territory of Nepal and commences that of Tibet.¹⁹ At this place there is a complete and sudden change of climate; intense cold suddenly prevails and we have snow and ice; we now proceed rumbling from this spot through other mountains covered with snow the whole year round. but by an easy and inhabited road, so that every day one finds inhabited spots where one can procure himself with all the essentials and one can travel

19 Levi: at the time of Father Tranquillo’s passage the frontier of Nepal went beyond “Nesti” indicated by Georgi as the limit of the kingdom and reached “Kuṭi”

on ass-back or horse-back, the road is safe and one can travel comfortably at little expense.²⁰

At that time the Nepal Valley was the only link connecting India and Tibetan highlands and further north the plains of Hwang-ho.²⁴ This explains the importance of the passage for all kinds of commercial and cultural contact between the two great areas of the Asian continent and Nepal also naturally owed its superior trade position to the entrepot trade, which contributed in turn very much to the economic prosperity of the locality. For details of the commerce that passed and its importance to the powers that be in India refer to the IIIrd Volume of the series in the chapter written in connection with the Anglo-Nepalese trade pact and British Mission to Tibet.

Strategic Nepal Valley

The Valley commanded the strategic position of a highway between Tibet and India. For the whole of the Himalayas except the Kashmir-Ladakh routes, there was no more convenient opening to Tibetan region than the Kathmandu, Kerraung and Nepal-Kuṭi routes. Because of this route the Nepal Valley had enjoyed the importance of the strategic area.

In 648 A.D. the Chinese army had passed through this route to suppress the Feudatory Aruṇāśva of North Bihar, who had become the master of that region on Harṣa Silāditya's death. Although the memories of the Chinese march had faded, the Nepal route was being regularly used for cultural and trade contacts between the two sides of the Himalayas up till the beginning of the eighteenth century, and its strategic importance had not diminished.

²⁰ Levi, 1 Footnote to p. 130.

²¹ *Asiatic Researches* Vol. 17 (1832), route from Kathmandu to Tazedo on the Chinese frontier, pp. 513 ff. (Collected by Hodgson). The traveller reached Tibetan border at the 13th. stage.

(b) *The Government*

King: With his divine person the king commanded the most powerful position in the society. He was the source of all laws and executive forces as well as a fountainhead of justice. Except when restrained by the customs or traditional practices and by his own inherent weakness, there was no check on his powers he exercised over his peoples. Like the kings of the ancient and early medieval periods he was called Pm-Pbh and also used a *viruda* showing himself off as an incarnate of the lord Viṣṇu. The monarch enjoyed all prerogatives by virtue of hereditary rights which devolved from father to the eldest son as by rules of primogeniture.

In course of own narrative we have marked that there was absolutely no contest for the throne and the event of succession was smooth. The eldest son of the king or in his absence who ever was entitled to succeed to the throne as by established usages was highly respected within the family and by the pramāṇas and the mass of the people and his claim was least challenged. Illegitimacy was no bar to succession if a legitimate heir was wanting. In the absence of an heir on the son's line a recourse was taken to pick up a successor on the side of the daughter, who was either a grandson or even a great grandson of the late King. In this act even a distant relation was accepted as we saw it happen in the case of Mahīndrasimha and Jagajjayamalla. The instance of a daughter's son succeeding his maternal grandfather is provided by Lokaparakāśa. Similarly a great grandson of Śrīnivāsa on the daughter's life, Hṛddhinarasimhamalla, was placed on the throne as the main line had ended without an heir. Even a son of the King's daughter's daughter had a chance to succeed as it was so in the case of Viṣṇumalla.

The usual address of the Kings of the Valley followed the pattern of Jyotirmalla's epithets with some modifications.²²

All the three kings called themselves *Nepāleśvara* or *Nepāla mahimaṇḍalākhaṇḍa Md.* The epithet *Nepāleśvara* was more often used by the kings of Kathmandu and Patan, while the latter expression is mostly used in the *praśasti* of Bhatgaon kings. But Bhatgaon rulers also have sometimes used the epithet *Nepāleśvara*.

The following is the royal *praśasti* of the kings of Malla dynasty: *Śrīmat Paśupaticharaṇakamaladhūlidhūsaritaśiroruha śrīman Māneśvarīstadevatācharaṇa labdhaprasāda dedīpyamānamannonnata Raghuvamśāvatāra Ravikulatilakasakalarāja Chūḍāmaṇi* (or *Chakrādhiśvara*) *Vidagdhachūḍāmaṇi Md. Rd.* etc. etc.

The king of Kathmandu and Patan used also the epithet meaning 'with Hamumāna in the banner' (*Hanumaddhvaja*). We also find in some records the same epithet in the *praśasti* of the rulers of Bhatgaon but there are comparatively fewer documents. Often, the kings of Bhatgaon called themselves *Nepālachakravartī*. But all these epithets were sometimes commonly used by the three rulers and we need not take them seriously, we shall have to keep in mind that these high sounding royal addresses were assumed without regard to the size of the country they ruled, which was no larger than the combination of hardly 2 districts of the present time. For the exact epithets used in our documents the reader might choose to look into the inscriptions in our Appendix.

It may not be out of place to recall here that since Jaya Sthitimalla's time up till the last days of the Malla rulers, all the kings invoked the blessing of Goddess Māneśvarī in their documents (*Māneśvarīvaralabdhaprasāda*) in addition to paying obeissance to the feet of Paśupati (*Paśupaticharaṇakamaladhūlidhūsarita*). Has this Goddess Māneśvarī anything to do with Mānadeva ?

As it goes all the kings invariably bore the title of 'Lord of Nepal', 'Lord of Mountains', 'King of Kings' and 'Sovereign of the Mahārājā' (*Nepāleśvara Girirājarājarājendrachakra-chūḍāmaṇi Mahārājādhirāja*).

The King enjoyed no greater absolute authority than a chief of a small independent principality. This would not be otherwise in the situation that had developed with the division of the kingdom. The ruler was not far removed from the throb of public life. He freely mixed with the people, was accessible to them and responded to their aspirations. He shared their joy and sorrow. He participated in religious functions of a public character. We have cited examples of the Royal family also attending religious and social ceremonies at the request of private individuals. Yakṣamalla's Palace Gate inscription (d. 573 NS) tells us that the king shared the responsibility for the defence of the country with the residents of his locality in equal measure. He spared no efforts to fulfill his obligation and bore cheerfully all that entailed upon him in the defence. He led his men in the battle fields. He had no doubt a claim to call for aid from his people who had to join the fighting at his bidding but he was forbidden not to shirk his own responsibility as the leader for otherwise escaping personal risks and sacrifices. According to Śrīnivāsamalla's Machhendranātha temple inscription the king had no authority to impose compulsion on the subjects except when it meant to enlist their services for the defence of their country or making them do some duty of a religious character. If he in anyway did anything to make his people unhappy, the latter were to make representation to the ruler about the whole affair, so that the grievances were redressed. Without delay Śrīnivāsamalla makes it known in the same record that this was the customary rule in Nepal that the people had the right to appeal to the king even against the royal decree if it was thought to be unjust. An inscription of Raṇajitamalla (d. 882 NS) issued in Ṭhimi expressly makes it permissible to his ministers and subjects to approach the king if at any time he misbehaved and committed unjust actions. Not only that, the people were consulted by the king if there was a serious issue the country faced at any time. We have seen how Raṇajitamalla had confronted a situation

on the flight of his queen to Ṭhimi where the baby crown prince was declared the rightful ruler and how in the words of a Christian Missionary the Bhatgaon monarch had allowed his people individually to speak their mind to him. We notice that the people enjoyed the liberty of criticising the ruler's action openly or otherwise, and the criticism was encouraged and not suppressed, though the occasions for expression were not as many. Whatever the people said in that course did not meet with reprisal on the king's part. The Padre who was an eye-witness of the event observes that critics though in disguise called names to the king who had to listen everything in silence. Such was the predicament of the king who sought to assess opinion on his state policies regarding the declaration of independence by Ṭhimi with his son as king. Because the people had direct access to the king, the ministers also used their powers sparingly; none dared override customary checks on their use of authority. I think that the same held good in regard to the exercise of powers by the subordinate officers in the districts and suburban areas. In Bhatgaon matters went even further than what was implied by open consultation and seeking their opinion. We know it from the case of minister Bhāgirāma that the people could even compel their king to pursue a course of action which was not to his liking. Bhatgaon was suffering from economic distress owing to the blockade it was subjected to by Kathmandu's Chief Minister. The people had somehow got the impression that if Kathmandu was appeased their suffering would end. King Jitāmitramalla was literally dragged by his own subjects to Kathmandu to plead before Chautārā Lakṣmīnārāyāṇa Joṣī who was demanding the surrender of Bhatgaon's Chautārā to his custody. But Jitāmitra had refused to comply with his request. This shows the helpless plight of the king in the tumult of a disaster which set the people to revolt against their king. The people thought that Jitāmitramalla was the sole cause of their troubles. Earlier they had demanded the dismissal of Bhāgirāma from

the post of the Chautārā, but the king had not judged it right to accept their demand. On his refusal they had acted and the action was nothing but the exhibition of crowd mentality with a difference that they did not appear to have been led by veterans for a fixed purpose. If Father Freyer is to be believed, such a crowd was also responsible for dethroning the king of Kathmandu in 1737 A.D. But his life was spared. The crowd did not kill their king, albeit they killed their minister as they did in taking the life of Chikuṭi by dragging his ailing body through the street. Once or twice we heard of the king being poisoned to death. For example, king Pārthivendramalla was said to have been dead as a result of being poisoned, but though the report comes from a reliable authority like the *Thyāsapu A*, because as no identity of the mischief-maker has been given we might take the incident to be a case of food poisoning due to causes other than something planned, which was, of course, exploited by a faction in the court to further its own ends. By and large, the kings were kept outside the province of conspiratorial action and ran the least danger of facing a threat to their life on that account. If they provoked popular wrath by their inept or indiscreet handling of the situation, they were subjected to public reproach but no physical harm was intended in the action. Even the courtiers who fought among themselves like enemies saw it that the area of conflict did not extend to affect the king's personal interest. Of course, kings had their own arena of fight, which composed the Nepal Valley and adjoining areas in the country ruled by the Malla dynasty.

The immunity enjoyed by the king for personal safety was because of the fact that the people considered him a divine being and paid him respect due to a divinity. That respect remained undiminished even when the monarch's actions angered the people to rise against him.

The king's person was sacred as that of the divine being.

More than that, even his habitation was looked upon as a sanctuary, whose inhabitants could not be molested without the order of His Majesty. According to Father Freyer (see below Appendix) a man accused of criminal offence could not be arrested if he remained touching by his person any part of the Royal palace including the outer wall.

Royal powers were absolute in general but these were exercised seldom arbitrarily. The king had to be responsive to the pressure of public opinion. He had to feel the pulse of the nation at every step and conduct himself respecting popular wishes as otherwise he ran the risk of being overthrown. But rarely a king had been beheaded. The monarch was an autocrat but he was not certainly a tyrant. There were many checks on his powers some imposed in conformity to traditional practices by the royal spiritual tutors and ministers and yet more born of the situation of a kingdom of a limited territory and resources.

The Nepalese rulers were brought up in a liberal atmosphere. Their catholicity was boundless.

They were followers of Śiva and Viṣṇu in their religious attachment, but they did not discriminate between Śaivite and Buddhist faiths when it came to extending support to the temples and shrines belonging to these. Both received equal treatment as is evident from the many records of buildings and land grants made in honour of the various divinities. That is more significant is their attitude towards Christianity. They had allowed full freedom to the Christian Missionaries who came from Italy to preach their religion in so distant country as Nepal and Tibet.

Śrīnivāsamalla who called himself in records the one who serves the feet of Buddhist Lokeśvara donated lands to Viṣṇu, Śiva and Gorakhanātha. In these very documents he also addressed himself as the person purified by the dust of the feet of Paśupati-nātha. He saw little difference between the Buddhist and Śaivite deities and he respected both with a feeling of devotion.

As in the pages dealing with the political history we have enumerated in detail all instances of pious and religious actions of the rulers, we may not like to make this section more cumbersome by adding further details which would be only repetitions of what we have already said on the subject.

Coronation: While using this word we must stick to its dictionary meaning, which is the ceremony for crowning a king. Actually speaking we have no information from any source whatsoever about the elaborate ceremony which we are used to read as coronation. The *Thyāsapus* or noting in the ms. colophons mentioning this subject just take notice of a very simple ceremony literally called crowning by which a king obtained a *ṭikā* (mark of a mixture of vermilion, rice, sandal wood paste put together) on his forehead along with the crown. In some instances the mark was put by the seniormost king of the dynasty. The *ṭikā* was given before the body of the late monarch was removed from the palace. We learn from the *Thyāsapu* and also from the Newari chronicle that Mahendramalla's body was taken away from the palace only while the new king had been proclaimed. The *Thyāsapu C* says that Indramalla's body could be taken away for cremation only when Mahendramalla could be procured as the next ruler.

When a king died, his counterparts in other kingdoms came to attend his funeral. The seniormost of them might put *ṭikā* on the forehead of the new incumbent to proclaim him king. Nṛpendramalla of Kathmandu (796-800) got his *ṭikā* from Śrīnivāsamalla of Patan who was the seniormost ruler of Nepal in the Malla family because of his age (*Thyāsapu D*). When Pārthivendra was crowned the ceremony was attended by the kings of Patan and Kathmandu (*Thyāsapu A*, f. 25) and not only that, the latter also proclaimed him king, while infant Bhūpālendramalla succeeded his father in 807 *Āṣāḍha* it was the privilege of the Bhatgaon ruler to put a *ṭikā* on the new king's forehead

(*Thyāsapu A*, f. 64). Śrīnivāsamalla was dead at the time. If there is abdication then the father himself would put the *ṭikā* on the son's forehead and proclaim him king. This happened while Śrīnivāsamalla had succeeded. But while he abdicated and left without notice it fell to the kings of Patan and Kathmandu to declare his son king of Patan (f. 55).

Bhūpatīndramalla of Bhatgaon offered *ṭikā* to Yogamati's son, Lokaparakāśa, (NS 826) while he was proclaimed king by his mother superceding Mahendramalla.

Sometimes the man who gave *ṭikā* was also supporting the claim of the incumbent if there was a dispute about succession. The chronicler said that Yogamati had brought Bhūpatīndramalla on her side to counteract the pressure of Kathmandu whose ministers were contriving to annex Patan. It is a well known fact that while Kathmandu's king and queen mother were present during the funerary rites accompanying Yoganarendra's death, there was an attack by armed groups from across the Bāgmati on certain vital areas of Patan including the Royal palace. Bhūpatīndramalla's presence intimidated the invaders who were afraid of reprisal at the hands of the Bhatgaon ruler and left hurriedly with some plundered property.

The *Thyāsapu A* is not clear as to who put the *ṭikā* on the crowning of Yoganarendramalla. It only says he was made king of Patan by the kings of Kathmandu and Bhatgaon. It is likely that the Royal priest had put the *ṭikā*. We cannot, however, draw any conclusion from this obscurity of facts. The *ṭikā* by the Royal priest does not seem to suggest any particular occasion, which would make it a case by itself. Ordinarily the Royal High Priest conducted the ceremony and crowned the ruler and put the *ṭikā* on his forehead with his blessing. This practice is in evidence in many instances. But even that much detail generally read in the *Thyāsapu* about the crowning ceremonies in Patan and Kathmandu is missing which it comes to the treatment of the history of

Bhatgaon. We might suppose that kings in the minority of age alone are to seek *ṭikā* from a senior king of the dynasty. The *Thyāsapu D* states that because Śrīnivāsamalla was the *Thakālī* (the oldest member in the clan), he applied the *ṭikā* on Nṛpendramalla's forehead. This may by and large support the view that the seniormost king was to enjoy the honour of crowning another king by putting the *ṭikā* on the forehead.

I do not think that we shall gain anything by prolonging the discussion on the subject of *ṭikā*. So we leave it aside and proceed to consider other matters. But let me add that whether to give *ṭikā* or not the kings had to attend the ceremonial rites on the death of another king in any kingdom of the Valley of Nepal. Because they shared common blood having descended from a common ancestor not very long ago their attendance at the ceremony had also an element of compulsion in it. They would not refuse to attend it because it was a ceremony at the house of a close relation.

To close the discussion on the subject of crowning it should be stressed that the crowning ceremony held under the shadow of the death of a monarch on the same day and at the same hour could not be one of rejoicing. It was just an elementary ceremony which had no least pomp and splendour. Its objective was to proclaim a new king. A brief ceremony was enough to serve the purpose. After the body was cremated, the royal family observed mourning for 12 days. Where was the occasion for rejoicing for having a new king?

. During these 12 days they could not eat and drink as they like, could not meet people they liked and could not leave the palace. As if, this was not enough, another period of mourning for 32 days and yet another period of 10½ months followed and they had to observe certain austerity in their daily life. The mourning actually came to an end at the end of a full year. Unless a new ceremony of coronation was held to renew the feeling of rejoicing, nothing was allowed to occur to remind them of the happiness which came at the

sight of the new king. The latter again if he was an adult would not like devoting himself to the delight of a colourful coronation ceremony while the rest of the family was mourning.

Not all kings were crowned on the day the throne fell vacant. If it was a case of abdication, then crowning took place as soon as abdication was proclaimed. But if it was the death which occasioned the seating of another man on the throne, then it took some days before the latter was crowned. Of course, the successor sat on the throne as soon as the incumbent died. But the ceremony of crowning was performed after the 12-day period of mourning was over. This did not, however, apply to cases where there was a dispute over the issue of succession between claimants. In such cases no time factor was taken into consideration.

When Śrīnīvāsamalla succeeded his father, the crowning was performed on the same day because the latter had abdicated. The circumstances of Yoganarendramalla's crowning are similar as Śrīnīvāsamalla also had abdicated, Lokaparakāśamalla was crowned on the second day of Yoganarendramalla's death. Mahendramalla (829-35) was crowned a little before his predecessor's body was despatched for cremation. On both these occasions there was a fear of a dispute about the successor, and those in control of government hastened to present a *fait accompli* by the act of crowning a successor without even waiting for funerary rites. Both represent abnormal situations. Because of want of information we do not yet know the circumstances of the death of many kings. So it is difficult to generalise, and make out a case for the exact time of crowning. We know of the dates of crowning of Bhūpatīndramalla and his son, but the circumstances in which Jitāmitra or even Bhūpatīndramalla had died are not known to us. Although the account of Jagatprakāsa's death due to an attack of small-pox is provided by the *Thyāsapu D*, we are debarred from knowing the fact of his successor's crowning. We are in dark also about the

circumstance of succession in regard to the kings of both Bhatgaon and Kathmandu until the *Thyāsapus* come to our help, but such notings are not available for the periods before NS 780, which again means that the events of the type we seek are wrapped in obscurity. The *Thyāsapu A* gives an account of certain deaths and successions occurring in Kathmandu between NS 799 and 822. According to the noting Nṛpendramalla died on 800 *jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 3 śanaiścharavāra*, and he was succeeded by his brother, Pārthivendramalla who was crowned king after 14 days. While Pārthivendra had died on 807 *Āṣāḍha śukla 3 śanaiścharavāra*, there was a gap of 12 days before the successor was crowned. We have the information from the same *Thyāsapu* that Bhūpālendramalla was crowned on the 15th of the same fortnight. Bhāskaramalla must have been crowned in similar circumstances as for the simple reason that the report of Bhūpatīndra's death in far off Ayodhyā reached Nepal some 20 days later. It appears that although the successor was placed on the throne before the deceased was removed to the cremation ground his crowning took place only after 12 days of mourning was over. This might have been a general practice which was ignored or broken only in specific circumstances. We also find that coins struck in the name of the new monarch bore the date year, which occurred in some cases nearly four months after the event of crowning. The coins of Pārthivendramalla as well as of Bhūpālendramalla were struck in this way. Although the cause for this delayed issue of coins is obscure it is quite likely that the coins were issued on an auspicious day while the 2 or 4 months' mourning had ended and this was done in persuance of the injunction of some *Śāstras* in this respect.

Kings, Literatures and Art-lovers:

Jagajjyotirmalla of Bhatgaon was the most versatile scholar of the age. With the help of Vaṁśamānī Jhā he wrote dramas in Sanskrit and other poetic compositions and also

works on prosody, rhetoric, music and theatrical arts. He also restored treatises of astronomy, astrology and medical science. We need not recapitulate them here as all these are described in detail in our narrative. Next to Jagajjyotirmalla comes Siddhinarasimhamalla and Pratāpamalla. To the former's credit are attributed some dramatic works. The latter in spite of his mediocrity was most presumptuous. He claimed a very wide range of scholarship extending from poetry to fine arts and epigraphy to magic. It appears that when king Jagajjyotir died Vamśamani shifted to the court of Kathmandu. It is on the record that he wrote two dramas for the court of Kathmandu, one of which was staged on the occasion of Pratāpamalla's *tulādāna* ceremony. Pratāpamalla informs us through many inscriptions that he was a prolific writer of *stuti ślokas*, groups of verses, composed to propitiate different deities such as Lord Paśupatinātha, Goddess Guhyeśvarī, Mother Vajrayogini, Nāgarāja Vāsuki, Mothers Kālī, Taleju and Degutale and Lord Naṭarāja. Pratāpamalla composed *Vṛṣṭichintāmaṇistotra*, and claims that he entered the 27-roomed 3 storey house of Śāntipur on the Svayambhunātha hill and overcoming many obstacles got hold of the piece of cloth painted with the blood of the serpents, which caused rainfall at a time stricken with draught. By causing inscription of a multitude of scripts on a stone, which again bore no meaning, he thought that he had acquired mastery over a wide variety of scripts and languages though such a claim was quite ridiculous. He felt that he was a poet of the status of classical composers ; he called himself the king of poets (*Kavīndra*). In his Kavīndrapura inscription Pratāpa said that he had himself become Nṛṭyanātha while he was witnessing a dance play. In no records of his the king forgot to qualify his name with the epithet *sakalaśāstraśāstra saṅgītā-dividyāpāraga*, which meant that he was well-versed in different branches of learning and art of warfare as well as in the field of fine arts including music. Pratāpamalla's son Pārthivendra who had also developed the same proclivity for

acquiring a reputation of a poet composed verses in honour of Paśupatinātha and Mother Taleju. In the pillar inscription of 803 he tells us that he was proficient in the art of weapons and in *Śāstras* and other studies including music (*Śastraśāstra-saṅgītādiyāvadvidyāpārāga rasika śiromaṇi*). He was adept in lexicon, grammar, legendary tales, formularies, six systems of philosophy, music, literature and ancient laws and logic, (*Kośevyākaraṇapurāṇa-tantre cha vaiśeṣike saṅgīte vedānta-pātanjale kāvyālaṅkāraṇe śrutau cha nipuṇa sāṅkhya stutantar kako*).

Yoganarendramalla is always addressed as *saṅgītārnavapārāga* (one who has crossed the bounds of the ocean of the knowledge of music). In the Kīrtipur inscription he is said to possess knowledge of all the learning such as grammar, lexicon, literature, philosophy, history, polity and laws. Yoganarendramalla's coins also bore the epithet *saṅgītārnavapārāga* (Walsh, V. 5, 8). Bhūpālendramalla was since his childhood given the title of *Kavīndra*; the coin issued in NS 812 bears this title (Walsh, n. 21 not illustrated). In another inscription of the same year he is called *vidyādguṇālaṅkṛto* meaning adorned by the qualities of the learned men (BLI, n. 20). At one place he is called *Kavīrāja-śiromaṇi*, a diadem of the court of the king of poets (see above). King Jagatprakāśamalla of Bhatgaon called himself a teacher in musical studies *gāndharvavidyā-guru*). He composed verses in Sanskrit as Pratāpamalla and his son did. He also wrote dramas. The Bhatgaon kings were famed for their contributions to the dramatic literature of the age. They wrote in a mixed language, partly Sanskrit and partly Newari, and Maithili. The reader should read the section on literature to have an idea of the works they produced. As literature Jitāmitra, Bhūpatīndra and Raṇajita are noted with distinction. Some of their works are described by critics as excellent. Raṇajitamalla in particular has some astronomical works in his name either original or translated from Sanskrit into the Newari language.

We may not take seriously some of the tall claims put forward by our kings. Perhaps they knew not as much as they trumpeted. We might also not take them as the real authors of all the poetic and dramatic works attributed to their pen. Perhaps they got many of the works written by scholars of the court and passed them as their own. They might have tried their hand to produce some; they might have been also co-authors or authors of a few. But all these high sounding titles can be disputed. However their love for learning and patronage of scholarship cannot be doubted. We have seen that some of the kings took pains to copy or read *purāṇas* like *Bhāgavata*, *Harivaṃsa*, etc. and have a copy of *Harivaṃsa* which was read by *Prāṇamalla*. The great Buddhist Mahāyāna work, *Prajñāpāramita*, was read in its full text by another king. *Pratāpamalla* copied the *Bhāgavata* with his own hands. Even as a child *Bhāskaramalla* developed a taste for drama, and this is seen written by the author in his prologue. Nobody can refuse to accept the fact of their taste for music and fine arts. Because they were devoted intensely to their religion, they were taught from the beginning to chant liturgies in honour of the deities. It appears that the kings and princes were placed under *Brāhmaṇa* teachers who taught them various subjects, the knowledge of which was indispensable to the rulers of the age both in the interest of good government and attainment of pious objectives. It is obvious that the men entrusted with the education of the prince were keen to inculcate in their royal pupils virtues of character, discipline and good conduct. *Manu* says that the king was to be taught the three *vidyās*—the *daṇḍanīti*, *ānvikṣikī*, *ātmavidyā* and *vārtā*. *Chāṇḍesvara* comments that by *trayividya* *Manu* meant studies of the three *Vedas* by *ānvikṣikī* logic, by *ātmavidyā* *vedānta* philosophy and by *vārtā* agriculture and trade. *Somadeva* thinks that to these should be added other branches of learning such as history, astronomy, grammar, ancient laws, *mimāṃsā*, *nirukta*, *chhanda* and others. I think that the knowledge to which our kings laid

claim was prescribed by Kauṭilya, Manu and other teachers of Indian polity and it is obvious that the training of the kings was on the traditional line. Again following the traditional line of education, the king was also apprised of certain things which they had to do, and also of those which they had to avoid. Chaṇḍeśvara repeating what older authorities had recommended emphasises the avoidance of *daśakāma* (ten lusts), *aṣṭakrodha* (eight angers) and *aṣṭadaśa vyasanān* (eighteen evils). These included hunting, sleeping at daytime, dancing, singing, playing musical instruments, drinking alcohol and wandering without purpose. The king is required to seek association with learned men, to observe punctually all religious rites and again like a father protect his people from sinful and wicked persons, thieves and robbers (according to Yājñavalkya). Manu states that the foremost duty of a king was to protect his people and to pay respects to Brāhmaṇas. Nārada suggested that the king was to follow the *Dharmaśāstra* discarding *Arthaśāstra*, a maxim which Yājñavalkya also supported. The latter says that he was to do whatever the *Dharmaśāstra* said because this was a greater teacher than an *Arthaśāstra*. Above all, the king was not to be covetous. If by his greed he impoverishes the country, then this life also withers away. He will perish with his clan if he enriches himself by unjust actions.²⁵ The king possesses the *daṇḍa*, and as Chaṇḍeśvara observes in his commentary, law-givers like Manu, Yājñavalkya and Nārada want the king to make good use of the instrument of *daṇḍa* against the evil-doers. The *daṇḍa*, i.e. the institution of punishment is a god made object, and the king has to use it only against those who deserve it but in that process he has to ascertain also the crime committed.

23 याज्ञवल्कः—

अन्यायेन नृपो राष्ट्रान् स्वकोशं योऽभि वर्द्धयेत् ।

सोऽचिराद्विगत श्रीकोनाशमेति सबान्धवः ॥

Manu also stresses the importance of preserving traditional practices by the king who was to be alert if *Svadharmā* of every individual was threatened. We do not know how far the instructions of the ancient law-givers were followed in practice by our kings. But they certainly received training in the way the Ṛṣis desired. They could not be the ideal kings for they suffered from many shortcomings. Rules were easily ignored and things done in furtherance of selfish ends. In spite of religious temperament, king and ministers would not shirk committing misdeeds when it meant carrying out a design. But all these deviations occurred when politics, love, war or the king's own worldly interest was involved. As for politics Manu, Yājñavalkya and others have prescribed the play of the four instruments, *sāma*, *dāna*, *daṇḍa* and *bheda*. So if our kings are found often quarrelling and trying to push their selfish design, it could not be called something condemnable. Chaṇḍeśvara quotes Manu to propound an idea that the king has always to maintain *dvaidhibhāva* (double dealings) in pursuing his policy towards other kings.

This was an open call to act dishonestly in diplomacy. Kāmandaka, the commentator of Kauṭilya, goes further and counsels his king not to put faith on anybody. Distrust was the keynote of polity, he suggested²⁴ (Kāmandaka was as widely read as Chaṇḍeśvara in Nepal). Manu while reminding the king of the efficacy of the *sāmadāna daṇḍa bheda nīti* tells him that his main objective was to protect himself, and for this end no means was objectionable. Chaṇḍeśvara elaborating a maxim suggested that the king should act like a heron when he thought of adding wealth, he must behave like a lion in the battlefield, he must fondle his prey as does the wolf and then walk in a crooked manner like a hare into the

24 संज्ञेपो नीतिशास्त्राणामविश्वासः परोमतः ।

राज्ञस्तमाद् विश्वासः केवलं हितमात्मनः ॥

arms of a strong ally to elude overpowering enemy.²⁵ The teachings of the law-givers taken as they are must be treated as something enabling the ruler to adopt means according to expediency. Moral considerations are all thrown to winds.

The statecraft taught to these monarchs though did not openly ignore the *dharmasāstra* did in practice justify all their actions which disregarded considerations of piety, justice and fair play. Of course, not all kings ignored the teaching of the *Dharmasāstra* and took to accepting the formulas of the *nītiśāstra*. But with many kings stratagem was a policy. It was true that only an aggressive king intent on pursuing a policy of playing deceptive tactics in his dealing with neighbours tried to put himself in contravention of the rules of conduct as recommended by *Dharmasāstra*. As *nītiśāstra* required the king to put his own interest before anything else, one who thought to act in that manner did not hesitate to cast to winds all considerations of good and evil if it served his interest. We have seen how under cover of darkness the kings launched attacks on neighbouring countries. Such attacks are prohibited by our laws of war. But our kings did not mind violate this law. We can cite numerous examples in support of our statement. According to the *Thyāsapu* the strategic townlet of Ṭhimi was attacked at night by Bhūpālendramalla in NS 818, and this was done surreptitiously. Bhatgaon had sent its men to attack Sāñkhu secretly in NS 848. The attack on Ṭhimi was repulsed by the timely arrival of help from Bhatgaon and also because Patan rushed men from Lubhu. Sāñkhu was saved by its own force as the inhabitants in the nick of time rose to a man and drove away sneaking invaders who had not yet thrown their full weight in the fight. For the wisdom and bravery the people displayed on the occasion the king of Kathmandu awarded them prizes, which is mentioned in an inscription of Sāñkhu

25 वक्रवत् चिन्तयेदर्थान् सिंहवच्चपराक्रमेत् ।

वृकवच्चानुलुम्पेत शशवच्चविनिष्पतेत् ॥

of the same year. We may not need more examples for an idea of the mentality exhibited by rulers while they attacked neighbours. This had become almost a general practice, and we might not expect anything otherwise in the vicious atmosphere of the day. Anything moral was an exception where a moral consideration prevailed.

For those in the Valley of Nepal there was no world beyond their immediate vicinity. They had no doubt contacts with their immediate neighbours on all sides, but they had no larger vision than what their knowledge of their geographical surrounding permitted. They certainly lived in a narrow world and they applied here everything that they were taught by Manu, Kāmandaka, Chaṇḍeśvara and others. Each played his game in his own way forgetting that there was a vast world outside which existed with kings and emperors, feudatories and vassals, in comparison to whom all their pomp and glory paled into insignificance. But our kings were proud of their little principality. They could not see beyond their nose, and thought that they were sent on earth to play the part of an emperor and with all deception, tact and skill they commanded they felt they were to rule there. But the tradition of the crafty monarchs was not wholly applied. This was the reason that, we find our kings displaying on occasions a noble and large mind. The faults acquired due to circumstances were there, but these were minimised, because we had also side by side a tradition of love, tolerance and magnanimity. Here we must remember pious kings like Siddhinarasiṃhamalla and Śrīnivāsamalla. These were in true sense *rājaṛṣi* whose way of life differed from the average monarch of the age. They were free from the taint of selfishness, greed, deceit and falsehood. We have also to bear in mind that politics was not the end of all activities. A crafty king encouraged and patronised art and literature as he also did his duty towards his deities and priests with all the sincere and pious feeling.

Absence of Bigotry : Religious belief and system of

worship had for a long time in the past borne equally a mixed character of harmony and adjustment. Religious partiality or prejudice was quite unknown. We have numerous examples of how the rulers encouraged all shades of religious beliefs, and the latter in turn responded to this liberalism of the rulers with tolerance and respect in their own rank. About the catholicity and impartial attitude of the rulers towards religion we have the various Buddhist and Śaiva monuments and shrines to their credit, which speak volumes for themselves. A monarch took delight and pride in bestowing attention on prayers and grants to deities irrespective of the school of worship. A glaring instance is provided in Jyotirmallā's Pāśupati inscription, where the royal personage speaks of himself amongst other things as one bent under the weight of the fame earned by means of the virtuous deed he earned in repairing the broken *Chaitya* of Svayambhu and the image of Mañjuśrī.

Inscriptions of Jayasimharāma and his successors though meant for commemorating the setting up of Śaivite deities have invoked Buddhist principles and trinity for their blessing. Madanasimharāma set up the image of Dīpaṅkara Buddha in Itambahal. Pratāpa had erected a shrine in honour of Svayambhu as well as dedicated monuments and temples in Patan and in Bhatgaon all without exception.

We find that following the ageold tradition kings and their officers in our period also paid equal homage to both the Śaivite and Buddhist deities. There are numerous epigraphic records in support for this kind of religious catholicity and liberal devotion.

As we suggested earlier a remarkable fact was that they were also equally attentive to faiths that were extraneous to Nepalese tradition. We find that in this period European Christians had secured rights to preach freely and not only that but also obtained much facilities for the purpose and

were provided with Chapels and grants in money and land in aid in the same way as Śaiva and Bauddha religious institutions. We hear also of Muslims to have been patronised by the Malla rulers.

Generally the rulers were deeply religious and possessed devotional bent of mind and were preoccupied with activities directed to that end. The inscriptions show that each of them was deeply religious and lived under influences of elaborate rituals (see about Pratāpa), though vices of the age did not leave them untouched and penitence accompanied by suffering deliberately undergone was also so common with them. Besides religious endowments for the upkeep of the temples and monasteries, the rulers built wells, tanks, bridges and public inns and drainage for the convenience and welfare of the general mass of the people. The rulers fulfilled their social responsibilities in terms of religious duty as ardently as if it were ordained by traditions. This had one merit. The rulers as happened under primitive conditions were always in direct touch with the mass of the people. There were many social functions connected with the celebrations of certain popular festivals or anniversary of some special day in honour of the deities, in which they took prominent part. In all these they had to appear in person and bless the occasion and in several cases as the earthly incarnation of the God concerned.

Humble means: In theory the kings were the owner of the entire kingdom, yet means for their own personal comforts were so limited that some of them had to borrow money or food from the wealthy endowments. Besides obtaining the state revenues from land and trade (see below section on the economic life), the kings were also private landowners. But we should not forget that each ruled a small kingdom, which in no case enjoyed viability as an economic unit. To add to their already attenuated resources, the not infrequent wars occurring in the Valley between one or the other ruler or rulers further tended to impoverish them. Individually the

kings could never command beyond a medium of resources just enough to keep up appearances. The means of taxation were limited, and the scope of expenditure was wide enough to deflate the Royal treasury. The royal pomp and splendour took away a great portion of public revenue, so did religious donations and devotional and ritualistic practices. For the king of a small country it was not possible to indulge in activities which required huge expenses of resources. They could not be extravagant without undermining potential wealth of the country. But the kings inspite of their humble means were never tired of living a pompous life though a part of this pomp and show was of religious character.

Recently a piece of old paper of a fullscape size with some notes written on it has come to my hand. The paper in its make looks as old as 200 years. The noting is about a large quantity of rice made over to the kings of Patan from time to time.

Given to Mahārāja Rājyaparakāśamalla

Rice	Pham	100	on <i>Āṣāḍasukla</i>	...	...	7
"	"	100	" " <i>kṛṣṇa</i>	...	...	9
"	"	200	" <i>Śrāvanakṛṣṇa</i>	...	...	5
"	"	400	" <i>Phālgunaśukla</i>	...	...	1
"	"	400	Through Birinchi Bhāju on <i>Bhādraśukla</i>	...	...	14
"	"	200	Through Birinchi Bhāju on <i>Bhādrakṛṣṇa</i>	...	...	5
"	"	200	" " " on <i>Bhādrakṛṣṇa</i>	...	...	4
"	"	250	" " " " " "	...	...	11
"	"	200	" " " " <i>Bhādraśukla</i>	...	...	1
"	"	200	" Dhana in <i>Bhādraśukla</i>			
"	"	100	in <i>Śrāvanakṛṣṇa</i> .			
"	"	420	Through Dhanavanta Singh Bhāju, <i>Bhādrakṛṣṇa</i> .			

Given to Viśvajita Mahārāja

Rice	Pham	60	Through Bhajimasta Juju and Bhadrabhāju.
			Viśvajitamalla died on 880 <i>Srāvaṇakṛṣṇa</i> 13-
„	„	45	given to the king in <i>Bhādrakṛṣṇa</i>
			through Dhanchā Bhāju.
„	„	120	Given to the king through Birinchi Bhāju
			in <i>Samvat</i> 884.
„	„	70	Given to the King in <i>Samvat</i> 885 through
			Birinchi Bhāju.

Given to Tejanarasimhamalla Mahārāja

„ „ 60, 60, 60, 50, 40—

The quantity of rice came from the granary of Śrī 3 Mahābuddha in Patan.

I have reproduced the above just to give an idea of the economic resources of the kings of the Nepal Valley in general. Of course the period coincides with the progress of Gorkhā expansion and this was the time when the enemy had almost descended to the low lands of the Valley capturing many areas lying at the foot of the surrounding mountains and beyond together with outer Valleys these areas were yielding to the three kingdoms their revenue in grains. But the grain position should not have been so bad for the loss of the territories if they had acted discreetly in other matters. In fact the Nepalese kings even in their heyday were of poor means and the pomp and splendour of the court was telling heavily on the resources. And again all this was due to the fact that the kingdom each ruled was of a very small size. The reader, however, should not forget that Gorkhā was a smaller principality and its king who conquered the Valley was poorer than any of them. But different factors were creating a situation where Gorkhā's victory was assured.

In spite of their limited resources, the kings had nevertheless a proclivity to parade their amassed wealth, exaggerate the values of their possession and pose a false pretence. They

were ever trying to create an untenable impression about their meagre resources and then to demand the highest praise which is due only to the master of a vast kingdom. They adopted all the imperial titles, did not hesitate to compare themselves with the classical heroes of India in respect of valour and superhuman feats and appeared to surpass the best talents in art and literature. Above all their Majesty was divine. The people offered them the same devotion as was given to gods. A throne in the temple of Lord Kṛṣṇa provided for Siddhinarasiṃha, speaks for the people's concern for the person of the King, who was to be treated as a divine character. The throne is in display during a festival in August. This bears an inscription showing that the throne was meant for the king. Similarly, the *maṇimaṇḍapa* in front of the Royal palace had a throne meant for the sitting of king Yoganarendramalla. This was offered by one of the ministers of the king. In the inscription attached to the wall the minister tells us that the occasion was blessed by His Majesty and he worshipped the feet of the king. Thus there was a divine halo surrounding the king's image.

His being a monarch of a small country was no reason to look down upon him otherwise than a divine personality.

But as we have already observed the king exhibited sufficient sagacity and foresight, he was not to be possessed by ideas to become absolute and function as an irresponsible dictator. The people always won when the tussle came between the ruler and the ruled. If they felt that the king had to act in a particular way the people rose in revolt and dragged the person of the king compelling him to do as they liked it as it had happened in the case of Jitāmitramalla in 807.

The reader's attention is drawn to the account of religious activities we have drawn in the portion of the present writing dealing with the political history of the period.

Sahebju: The king's son who was to succeed him was known as Sahebju (Inscription n. 121, 143 in our Appendix).

He was also called *yuvarāja*²⁶ or *Mahārājakumara*²⁷. By a special decree he was declared crown prince since his very infancy. When he came of age he shared responsibilities of governing the country with his father. We have seen how *Pratāpamalla* was ruling as a co-king under his father. *Śrīnivāsamalla*'s becoming a *de facto* ruler while still his father was alive is another example. He on his own part had allowed his son *Yoganarendramalla* to share responsibilities, though the latter was just out of his teens. Under age he could do nothing, yet figured as a witness to the many pious deeds, land grants and governmental decrees, whose name unflinching appeared in the record incorporating the same (Inscriptions in our Appendix *Purātanapatrasaṅgraha*, I, no. 2, 7, 14, 18, 19) while coming of age the *Sahebjū* was sent to lead his men in the battle field. The succession was governed by the rule of primogeniture. So always the eldest son succeeded the father. When the father died the eldest son automatically succeeded. In case the eldest son died without a son then the second eldest would be chosen. Also, when a king died without any heir he was succeeded by his brother, If per chance, there was some hitch or an attempt to supercede the legitimate claims either by the dying father or by a *Pramāṇa* clique in the court it was not allowed to prevail. The throne ultimately went to the rightful successor, the eldest living son. There were few occasions of conflict between brothers as to the right of succession. The brothers appeared to be living in an atmosphere of perfect accord and amity. Each of them was called *Juju* (king) by their people. The youngest was known as *Miraṃha juju*. If the son was already born he got this designation. In the *Thyāsapu A* the youngest son of *Pratāpamalla* is called *Miraṃha juju* (f. 57, 65). The same *Thyāsapu* calls him *Miraṃha juju* while one or the other brother was ruling.

26 n. 72 in our Appendix.

27 n. 60 in our Appendix.

n. 69 in our Appendix.

The *Thyāsapu C* at one place calls an illegitimate son of the king of Patan the *Miraṁha juju*. The brothers of the king were also widely respected. In state affairs their role was no less important. They accompanied the elder brother to attend the interstate conferences. We have from the *Thyāsapu D* the Bhatgaon king and his brother meeting in a conference Kathmandu's king and his brothers in the month of *Vaiśāṣa* of 794. Bhūpatīndramalla's uncle Ugramalla played an important part also in the post Jitāmitra period.

If there was no legitimate son to succeed the father there was no bar to an illegitimate son succeeding him. There are many examples of illegitimate sons succeeding their father and functioning as king. The people raised no objection and the court also tolerated the practice. Taking the very recent example we have king Mahendramalla of Patan on the throne between 831 and 835 Nepal era, who was an illegitimate son of Yoganarendramalla. If Śivasimha's case (798-838) was considered, then we must admit that the ruling dynasty from him onwards up till the last had no claim to legitimacy.

Women of the Royal Family: From the very ancient days in Nepal as in other countries there have been powerful women who controlled at times the reins of government. In the late medieval period we have more than one influential women who wielded powers of state (see above). We have seen what a conspicuous role was played by Pratāpamalla's queens and later while his grandson reigned the administration was dominated by Pratāpa's daughter-in-law, Ṛddhilakṣmī, mother of the ruler. Ṛddhilakṣmī's daughter-in-law, Bhuvanalakṣmī, was another powerful woman who ruled efficiently for some years during the infancy of her son. Thus no period of history seems to have run its course without some women playing a leading role in the activities of the state in Nepal.

Polygamy was rampant in the society. In the upper crust it was more so and the rulers maintained a kind of harem with queens and concubines and maids to attend upon them.

Although in the religious atmosphere of the day they devoted their time to reciting prayers and visiting temples and sacred formularies they were no less given to sensuous pleasures, which took their time and energy to the detriment of state affairs.

As it was the practice in parts of India, the rulers of Nepal married more than one wife at a time and also maintained a number of concubines and kept girls in their harems. The married wife of the ruler was known as *Paṭṭamahīṣī* or when she was the mother of the Crown Prince and other successors as *Jagatjananī*. They were also called *Mahārāṇī*. But sometimes this designation was applied to the most favoured from amongst the second category of wives, who though married did not by birth belong to the first rank of Kṣatriya caste. There was another class of the king's spouse commonly called *Bhoginī* or *Bhogabadhūṭikā*. But she was not treated as the married wife of the ruler, although she enjoyed a status not very much inferior to them because she also at times figured in inscriptional records along with the queens of the first rank. *Bhoginī* according to Bharata is a spouse of second rank 'who has a good character, little vanity, no pride, kindness, modesty and practice.' In some Nepalese records of those days *Bhoginī* is often referred to as *saṅgrihiṇībhāryā* meaning acquired wife, obviously she was not a legal wife married according to Vedic rites. The large number of concubines were known simply as *Maiju*. If one of them was of a high birth she was called *Lavatinī*.

The above arrangement fits in very well in comparison with the system in vogue during the Rāṇā period with their *Rājāmahārāṇīs*, *Mahārāṇīs*, *Rāṇīs* and *Nānisahebs*—four categories of wives, who differed in status and ranks according as they were designated by state decrees of the Mahārājā Premier concerned.

When, however, it came to the matter of sharing a place in the funeral pyre along with the husband, no distinction of

status and legality to the *Mahārāṇī* or *Paṭṭamahīṣī* could be made because both were burnt in the same pyre with the king (see above).

The practice of *Satī* was very common with the royal family. As is evidenced from the findings of the chronicles and inscriptions a large number of king's wives were burnt alive with his dead body as it suited the occasion. It is very difficult to say if the common laity was influenced by the custom. But in the light of what we know about the systems of marriage and divorce it can be deduced that the custom of *Satī* did not at all affect the people in general.

It appears that sometimes not only the wife but also sisters and mothers were burnt on the pyre. The example of a sister being burnt is provided by a record in the case of the death of Mahendramalla (*vide ante*). We have seen how the mother of Viśvajitamalla preferred to join the funeral pyre while she found her son killed by a rebel courtier.

Members of the Royal Family:

We have already observed that besides the King's mother his married queen and pet concubine as well as brothers, other members of the Royal family also played an important part in the affairs of state. We have taken note of the very significant role played by Ugramalla in his nephew's reign. Ugramalla appears as a witness to the historic pact of NS 818, which appears in one of the Patan Mulchok inscriptions (n. 104 in our Appendix). We know from other sources that he was the main royal adviser in Bhatgaon for some time during the early regnal career of Bhūpatīndramalla. More members of the royal family figure in records of land grants, decrees or interstate political and cultural agreements. Some of them are unidentified, and hence our surmise that they were playing their parts even as first or second cousins. The identity of a person as a member of the royal family is

obtained through certain epithets used before or after the name. Two such epithets are *Jaya* and *deva*, the former preceding and the latter following the name. With these epithets the name would appear *Jaya so and so deva*. It would also be preceded by two *Śrī* unlike others who would have only one or even go without it. All members of the royal family including the king have invariably *Śrī 2 Jaya* before the name and *deva* after it. Sometimes the king goes without high sounding royal titles like *P-Pb-Md*, but he has always the two adjectives as enumerated above. Probably the sons of the king by concubines who were not staying in the palace were denied these epithets. If some one whom we know to have been a feudatory adds to his name these epithets, we should understand that this is a clear case of usurpation. Here the feudatory had tried to pass himself as a king for that part of the country over which he had ruled by usurping the central authority. The best example of such usurpation in our period is found at the very beginning of our period while Patan was yet not an independent kingdom but a feudal principality. Patan's feudatory Viṣṇusimha and his sons do not use high sounding royal titles but are content having *Śrī Jaya* and *deva*.* They did ignore the king if they had thought themselves vassals, but it appears that with these titles they assumed the status of the members of the royal family and felt being lifted to the ranks of the kings. Such feudatories, however, had completely disappeared as we step into the 17th century A.D., so that the epithets we have talked of came to be exclusively used by the members of the ruling family.

The Court:

The court was an ensemble of highly placed ladies of the palace including the queen, pet concubines and queen mothers, and ministers and other noble men who were

* Inscription nos. 3, 7, 19, 25.

either the relatives or close favourites of the king and his wife or mother. By the very nature of its composition it was bound to fall apart no single group feeling dominated the court as there were different elements, which were again divided by conflicting personal interest.

It was a faction ridden court and intrigue was rampant. These elements pulled their weight from different directions. There were pulls and counterpulls. The factions were acting in contrary directions, and often at the cost of the monarch's interest. There was no question of the country's interest coming first above every other interest. Very often factions rallied round the queen and the princes. The queen mother also became a rallying point on many occasions. She was an effective personality and could boast of her own camp against others. From the examples of Bhāgirāma Pradhānāṅga and Bhagiratha Bhaiyā. We might know how in an atmosphere of intrigue even the powerful personalities suffered. Both had enjoyed maximum confidence of their kings, but this was of no avail when crisis came to their life. The latter was killed probably with the consent of king Śrīnivāsamalla who had said on many occasions that the minister's person was a part of total physical personality. Rddhilakṣmī who had stood like an unassailable rock for ten years had to yield to the machination of her adversaries. When they contrived successfully to set her own son against her tutelage. The king whom she had brought up at a great suffering to herself disowned her, would not allow her to live in the capital and banished her to a lone hill fort near the Tibetan border. Pratāpamalla was encouraged by a faction to go against his father. The abdication of Śrīnivāsamalla was probably due to pressure of a group of persons who had rallied round his son and excited him to compell the father to resign. In other words, he was a victim of court intrigue.

Access to the court was possible only to the high bred. These were members of the royal family, the collaterals, their

relations by marriage, landlords and special favourites who rose to eminence on account of recognition given to their loyal services. The concubines were no less powerful in the court. Because illegitimate sons could also ascend the throne in circumstances where there was no legitimate male child, those concubines favoured with a son could look forward to becoming a queen mother and she was treated with veneration by the courtiers. Rājeśvarīdevī, mother of the infant king Mahendramalla of Patan, acted as Regent and issued half a *mohar* coin in her name, though she was a concubine and almost neglected by her husband king Yoganarendramalla as long as he lived. The brother of one of the concubines of Yoganarendramalla became Chief Minister in NS 807. He manoeuvred to bring about the downfall of another clique, and though very young made a debut in the field by getting himself nominated to the responsible post of Chautārā. So among the courtiers we may also place the family of the concubines of the ruler. But in this connection we must note that the king got his concubines from highly placed families in the city. This took pride in placing their daughter at the disposal of the king, no matter what status was given to them. At times because of the extreme liking the king evidenced for a particular concubine. She received a treatment better than the married queen. King Yoganarendramalla's coins bear in the 'reverse names, none of which was the queen's (Walsh, V, 5, 6, 7, 8).

Kathmandu's king Pārthivendra struck a coin with the name of his concubine in the reverse (Walsh, III, 2). In the Tāleju pillar inscription, this lady, Rājyalakṣmīdevī is called *Maiju*, a word meaning a kept wife, but her name appears prior to that of Rddhilakṣmī, the married queen (*Paṭṭamahīṣī*) and mother of the successor.

Of course, whatever may be the extent of powers enjoyed by individual courtiers, it was the king who was the ultimate source of all powers, and who bestowed rank on the various

types of people in the court, which determined their rank and status. In the ultimate analysis he played the most important role. It was only when he was weak-minded, intriguers became active, and the court factions fought one another. The resultant situation was very bad because it created instability. As we read our medieval history we find that tension arose while certain courtiers became extraordinarily powerful, and this happened when there was an infant on the throne. We are reminded of the time when Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Joṣī had become the Chief Minister of Kathmandu Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa by his arrogant behaviour and display of unattainable ambition had contrived to create tension in the Nepal Valley, which subsided only after his death. An arrogant king does equally help to create disquiet. We have seen the example of Jayaprakāśamalla. In spite of his patriotic motives he was a failure as a ruler. In the height of power his court successfully intrigued to oust him and although later he staged a come back and subdued the hostile court the intriguers went underground and started working up mass feeling against him. This was the reason why Kathmandu smarting under his tyrannical rule was ready to embrace the aggressor. In Patan the ministers so intrigued that the king became a captive. This would not have mattered had there been a sincere effort to patch up the ranks in the nobility for the sake of organising a stiff resistance to the invader. But the intriguers were not so farsighted. They were busy amassing fortune for themselves, and we know how the end came to them so unceremoniously with the total collapse of the Malla kingdom not only of one of them but of all of them. As a matter of fact, the Valley kingdoms fell to the invader, because of court intrigues, internal subversion and internecine conflicts subsisting in the interstate relationship of the Nepal Valley. The virile court had mostly to do with it because it was indulging in intrigues against the larger interest of the Valley kingdoms put together.

Old Nobility: Although ruling feudatories had disappeared in our period, their descendants were still a force to count with as land-lords and as those who inherited the glories of the old nobility. These persons continued to use the titles of their forefathers, titles such as *rābutta*, *kumhara* (*rāj Kumāra*), *pātra*, *pātravaṁśa*. Thus these were recognised distinctly from the new class of nobility. The title *Bhāro* though starting from the 14th century is of comparatively later origin and this is more often in evidence in our period than other feudal titles. So the *Bhāros* might be treated as a new class of nobility. In the Yanamugal inscription²⁸ of the reign of Siddhinarsimhamalla, the donors are all *Bhāros*. The Harasiddhi inscription of Śrīnivāsamalla has also many names with the title *Bhāro* after their names.²⁹ The Balambhu inscription of 777 brings out certain names with the *Bhāro* title as those who had built the temple of Māhālakṣmi.³⁰ Those intrusted to look after the water conduit in Kocchu Tole quarter of Pharping by Śrīnivāsamalla in his inscription of 797 are also *Bhāros*.³¹ In the Bhīmasena Temple inscription of 801 some persons figure with the title of *Pātravaṁśarāvutta*.³² The son-in-law of Śrīnivāsamalla bears the title *Kumhāra* (Prince).³³ Hākuchā, the Chief Minister of Bhatgaon in 818 is a witness to the Tālegu land grant of Yoganarendramalla, and in the inscription he is called *Raghuvāṁśarautta*.³⁴ Ambar Singa *Bhāro* and others appear in a land record of 848.³⁵ A great majority of ministers and *Chautārās* also have *Bhā* or *Bhāros* added to their names. The *Bhāro* class probably

28 n. 33 in our Appendix.

29 n. 63 in our Appendix.

30 n. 67 in our Appendix.

31 n. 79 in our Appendix.

32 n. 86 in our Appendix.

33 n. 87 in our Appendix.

34 n. 105 in our Appendix.

35 n. 136 in our Appendix.

replaced the old landed nobility of feudatories. But side by side, the *rābuttas* and *pātras* had also continued to exist, and exert influence at the court, while they were deprived of their ruling authority as feudatories in the areas now governed by *Pramāṇas*. The old nobility perhaps retained their traditional position as respectable families, and the Kings contracted their marriage relation with them. But the *Bhāros* as a class were getting more powerful. Comparatively they had become a strongly entrenched force in the palace, and as their numerical strength was more substantial they commanded more influence and position in the country than the old nobility which was fast being superceded or submerged in the ranks. The new nobility without any trapping of the old order was almost holding the monopoly of services in the state. Perhaps the nobility lived at the sufferance of the former. But marriage in the Royal family and similar other situation gave some of them a foot-hold in the palace.

With the division of Nepal into three kingdoms, the rulers had found themselves reduced to the position of a territorial lord with a much smaller area and population to rule over. Thus the territorial lordship of the *Rābuttas* and *Pātras* had vanished. Perhaps the *Rāuttas* of our days mentioned in the inscriptions were the descendants of those who had ruled over Pharping as feudatories for nearly hundred years since the 14th century A.D. Those who wrote *pātravaṁśa* after their name might have done so tracing ancestry from some territorial lords. Still, a great many of feudatories had disappeared beyond recognition in the new period. Those left were shorn of their old feudatory rights but allowed to retain their feudal titles to satisfy their vanity.

The main source of the strength of the nobility was their possession of power either by favour or intrigue. The monopoly over the export-import trade and their possession of land if not as enormous gave them also a prestige associated with fortune. From the report of Capuchin Mission in 1750 A.D it appears that some of the most influen-

tial noblemen of the Valley were carrying trade on herbs and mineral products. Probably the same people held also the monopoly of trade with Tibet.³⁶ Due to increase of population the pressure on land in the limited cultivable area of the Valley was so great that it fetched exorbitant rent to the landlord, and a small one could show himself off as important to lord it over his tenant cultivators.

Service to the state was remunerated by grant of Jāgir, which, however, did not give the same status to the recipient as that of the feudatory. The Jāgir carried certain amount of revenue equivalent to what the service holder was expected to get as his yearly salary.

Cultural Ties:

Having said so many things about their hostilities and alliance of a military character, it is now time we talk of the other aspect of their relationship as well.

If the kings of the Nepal Valley had often engaged in hostilities against one another this did not mean that they had completely broken other kinds of contacts in that course. In fact although they fought battles there was never a state of war between them, and far from the scene of operation the day-to-day contacts went on as usual. This was more so at the lower level. To kings any pin pricks backed by a show of force did certainly cause bad feeling and as a result bitterness ensued in their mutual relation, which was followed by incitement to reprisals and breach of relation in consequence thereof. They were on unfriendly terms for sometime, but as soon as the heat thus generated got cooled down, and tension subsided, old ties were speedily restored. At the same time customary practices and festivals brought them together cutting across the current hostilities, which looked on all occasions very temporary.

36 *Itailani Missionari*, etc. Vol. II, Pt. IV pp. 1-4.

Even as recriminations continued the kings could not abandon their obligations as enjoined by tradition and if these demanded meeting between opponents this could not be shirked. If it was so required one could not refuse to go to the opponent's house though the call might be too formal. At times these formal visits became the precursor to a change of heart on both sides and were followed by restoration of normal relation in other spheres of activities as well.

There is one factor which also helped restoration of normalcy speedily. As it went, although the kings were often fighting most of these fights were of very short duration. We do not come across a protracted state of civil war except on a very few occasions. I think that one of such exceptionally long drawn war occurred in NS 779 between Bhatgaon and Kathmandu. The war which was provoked by Pratāpamalla trying to take advantage of a weak defence position of Bhatgaon lasted for nearly 3 years at a stretch. Other instances of conflict did not involve a longer duration than one of a few months. Some conflicts ended within a few days of their start. Changing sides by the ally quite often had again rendered the conflicts untenable for a party in the sense that left to himself one could hardly continue to struggle with a prospect of success and therefore he sued for peace without delay. In some cases the party which was left in the lurch by the ally went himself over to the enemy side and patched up differences. At any rate apart from the facts of war and attitude of the ally, the normal contacts between kingdoms continued whatever happened in their political relation. We are told by the *Thyāsapus* that at times the roads connecting the capitals were closed and such contacts were lost. For example, in the beginning of NS 807 such a situation had arisen as Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Jośi pushed his design on Bhatgaon and Patan's ruler resented his unjust actions. According to the *Thyāsapu A* the roads were opened while Śrīnivāsamalla had arrived in Patan in the month of *Māgha*. He had to apply his skill in bringing about normal

inter-state relation for otherwise the situation would have turned grave. Earlier in NS 794 before Pratāpamalla's death the same kind of situation had developed in the Valley, but normal conditions were restored on Pratāpamalla's demise in the month of *Chaitra*. Physical contacts between the kingdoms had broken at times off and on. According to the *Thyāsapu B Patan's* contacts with the other two kingdoms had been snipped several times between NS 812 and 824. Whenever the physical contact had been broken it brought misery to the peoples of the three capital cities. So utmost attention was paid to the question of opening of contacts by leading citizens and people. We have seen how in NS 808 Jitāmitramalla was subjected by his own people to a pressure to come to terms with Kathmandu while the former was cut off from the western part of the Valley to its more sorrowful plight. It so happened that because of this blockade the people had to go without their necessities of life and for a few days the price of things went high as to cause extreme hardship to the peoples of ordinary means. Twenty years earlier Bhatgaon was forced into a similar kind of situation because its ruler was fighting the combined invasion of Patan and Kathmandu. According to the *Thyāsauu D Patan* had come to the rescue of Bhatgaon by opening the highway connecting the two capitals on *Pauṣa śukla 8*. Instances can be multiplied, but I do not think more details are necessary. At the end, however, we may observe that if the closing of roads was a policy often resorted to against the opponent their opening also followed as a routine affair in due course. All this happened without giving rise to suffering to the citizens of the Valley for if a road was closed and communication between the capitals was cut off it hit the economy of the Valley as a whole. It was to be advantage of all concerned that normal conditions were restored and trade activities allowed to go on as usual. There was nothing uncommon about these occurrences when the authorities helped to restore communication to that end.

Pilgrimage and trade were the two facts of every day life for the citizens of Nepal in which every state they might be. The Nepal Valley irrespective of political division was a unit by itself in this respect, which knew no other bounds. Economically one State depended on the other. Each had its own special position and one supplemented the other in economic and trade matters. Also politically one could be a complementary part of the other. Kathmandu received some of its food and clothing from Bhatgaon and different kinds of wares—brass, earthen and then art objects as well as all its artisans from Patan. The other two had to rely on Kathmandu for passage to their trade to Tibet and also for the supply of timber, salt etc. The centres of pilgrimage were equally spread all over the Valley. If Paśupatiñātha, the *stūpa* of Svayambhunātha and the temples of Chāngu and Vajrayoginī were within the Kathmandu principality, Patan could boast of Machhendranātha, Śikharanārāyāṇa and Koyana Gaṇeśa. Bhatgaon attracted a wide variety of visitors from all parts of the Valley during the *Jātrā* of Biskeṭ (1st of *Vaiśākha* according to solar calendar) and then there was Pannuati which passed as the tri-junction of rivers like the famous Prayāga in North India. Wars between kings could not prevent people from participating in the festivals in the temples. They were so sacred that the visitors were not scared away by a show of war or like attitude on behalf of a particular king. At the lower level the people mixed like their own kith and kin in spite of a conflict at a higher level. Similarly traders carried their job as usual not minding a state of conflict unless a city was closed for traffic. There was no natural barrier separating the kingdoms and therefore trade flowed through several channels even when the main route was not open.

Kings suspended their quarrel if there was a ceremony in any of the Royal houses. Śrīnivāsamalla attended the initiation ceremony of Jitāmitra's elder son in 787. He was

present also while the younger son was initiated in 791. Before both the occasions their relations had been strained. On Pratāpa's death a large-scale conflict had automatically ended and we find the kings of Patan and Bhatgaon helping the authorities in Kathmandu to tide over the difficulties resulting out of an impasse due to a dispute on the issue of succession, though none of them friendly with Pratāpamalla. The Patan ruler took trouble to go to Kathmandu and personally supervised the crowning ceremony of the successor. Jitāmitramalla saved Kathmandu from the effects of a rebellion when people's passion was frayed on the death of Pārthivendramalla in *Aṣāḍha* 807. Bhūpālen-dramalla was crowned in the presence of the kings of Patan and Bhatgaon. The ministers received their insignia of office from the king of Bhatgaon. All this amply proves that any time if a crisis had overtaken a kingdom due to the death of its king, it received ungrudging help from the other parties. From the *Thyāsapu E* we learn that the kings of Kathmandu and Bhatgaon attended the Chariot-driving ceremony on some special days. According to the *Thyāsapu A* kings of Bhatgaon and Patan were regular visitors to the shrine of Paśupatinātha. It talks of a scuffle between two parties in NS 801 while Yoganarendramalla had visited the temple of Paśupatinātha. Yoganarendra had also visited the temple of Tāleju in Bhatgaon in 819 according to an inscription of that year. Whenever there was a special ceremony or worship of a deity in any capital the kings and ministers of other capitals were invited to attend. The inaugural ceremony of the temple of Bhīmasena in Patan in 801 was attended by kings of other two capitals. In times of strained relation talks were held outside the capital. For example, the three parties had met at a site near Saṅkhamūl to settle certain dispute in the month of *Jyeṣṭha* of 794 (*Thyāsapu D*). All this in short represented the series of contacts between the kingdoms of the Valley, which had no military or defence significance.

Administration:

We now come to describe the administration. As is natural to feudal conditions the kings constituted the most important factor in the scheme of things. The ascent and beginning of a certain dynastic rule owed mainly to the decision of swords. But the conquerors from whichever parts of the country they happened to enter behaved as natives of the soil identifying themselves completely with the ruled.

There was not much of administrative responsibility. Even law and order was a matter of convenience rather than one of necessity and was preserved not owing to the inherent strength of the state but by a tacit acquiescence of the docile people in the divinity of the rulers who always traced their descent from the sun god and Rama of the epics. But court intrigue was rampant, and the fortune of the principality and its people rose and fell as the tide of the sea but in the most unexpected and inexplicable manner.

The monarch was assisted in administration by his near relatives and favourites from amongst the nobility and one of whom always played the role of Chief Minister. About the end of the 17th century on account of the influence of the *Chaubisis*, the Chief Minister came also to be called Chautārā. There were some more persons functioning as Ministers who were known as Pramāṇa, the title signified investiture of authority for the affairs of states. At a later date as we have noticed there were some officers of influence, who bore the designation of *Kāzi* Perhaps they held ministerial rank. Whenever a Chautārā was created it was done with some ceremony; the ruler applied *ṭikā* on his forehead and put a *Vetālī* or *pugree* (turban) over his head (See *Thyāsapu A.* f. 64 and B. f. 13).

In a stone inscription of Śrīnivāsamalla's time (Bāndegaon, NS 799),³⁷ the donor one Pramāṇa Viśvambara Bhāro of

37 Inscription n. 85 in our Appendix.

Chākbahāra calls himself *Sachivamaṇḍala mukhyamantri*, which means he was the Chief of the Council of Ministers. There are many inscriptions and other records which present persons addressing themselves as *mantri* or *sachiva* or *amātya*. Ordinarily a minister was called *Pramāṇa* by the local populace.

The appointment of a *Pramāṇa* was also accompanied by a ceremony while the king or the Regent adorned him with a headdress (turban). The *Thyāsapu A* in folio 49 notes the investiture of certain persons as ministers. Each was given a turban (Vetāli in Newari), which was an insignia of the august post.

We hear of eight *pradhanas* from the later chronicles. These were ministers of the court. Probably the Executive council consisted of eight ministers. It is said that Sivāji, the Marathā ruler had also a council of ministers to advise him, and this was manned by eight ministers.³⁸ Chāṇḍeśvara the Maithili scholar politician who flourished in Mithila in the 14th century writes in his *Rājanīti Ratnākara* that the king should nominate 7 or 8 men as ministers to aid and advise him.³⁹ Quoting Manu he pleads very strongly for the appointment of ministers and like Manu he argues that without ministers the country will not prosper.⁴⁰ In Chāṇḍeśvara's scheme there is also a place for a Chief Minister who plays a very important role in the administration. Manu and other law-givers also speak of *amātya-mukhya* at the head of the Government. However, these Ministers had to be persons of character, high lineage learned in ancient laws, *Smṛtis* as well as other *śāstras* and they must be well tested. But their powers were limited to

38 J. G. Duff, *History of the Marathas*, London 1826, Vol. I, p. 439; J. Sarkar, *Shivāji and his Times*, London, 1920, pp. 411-13.

39 *Rājanītiratnākara* edited by K. P. Jayaswal, Patna, 1936, pp. 10-11 (Text).

40 Manu, VII, 8.

tendering advice, for ultimately when decision was to be taken it was the king alone empowered to have a final say in the state affairs and he decided as he liked.

The council of ministers did not wield powers at variance with or at the cost of the absolute royal authority. The king alone was the final authority in the government in all its aspects.

Chañḍeśvara seems to have much influenced our political thought in the later medieval ages. The idea of appointing a Chief Minister and 6 or 7 more Ministers must have been derived from his writing. Chañḍeśvara's work on polity was popular in Nepal, so many copies of the same are available. It is likely that along with Chañḍeśvara's contemporary Indian scholars also might have inspired our medieval idea of governance.

The Chautārā: He was a very powerful person. He conducted the affairs of state in the name of the king. If the king was an infant he exercised real powers. Otherwise he was just the chief executive carrying out the king's orders. The *Chautārā* was not only the head of the civil administration, but he was to lead the armed forces if circumstances required so. We have heard of powerful *Chautārās* in Kathmandu, like Chikuṭi and Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Joṣī. These enjoyed powers during the infancy of the king and were supported by queen mothers. Bhāgirāma Pradhānāṅga initially managed the affairs in similar circumstances and later when the king grew of age the Minister continued to be in the same position of trust and responsibility with the desire of the king. Bhagiratha Bhaiyā, a contemporary *Chautārā* of Patan, was so extremely liked by the king that he enjoyed considerable authority at the royal behest but met with a very ignominious end due to machination of his enemies. As we have already noted a *Chautārā* of Bhatgaon by name Bhotyā Bhā was at the head of a military operation against Kathmandu in NS. 792. Earlier in 783 another *Chautārā* of Bhatgaon was killed in action at Ṭhimi

where the forces had clashed with the invaders from Kathmandu.

Pramāṇas: The *Thyāsapu A* speaks of several *Pramāṇas* in the three kingdoms. These were Ministers. We have already talked of their investiture. The *Pramāṇas* like the *Chautārā* held power at the sweet will of the king or his request. He exercised several functions, viz., assist the *Chautārā* in administrative duties, make arrangements for the festivals and *jātrās*, supervising district administration on behalf of the king and similar other duties. The *Pramāṇa* like the *Chautārā* was also entrusted with the task of leading a military operation. He had to fight a battle and face the attack of a lethal weapon. The *Thyāsapu A* reports that under the command of king Pārthivendramalla, a *Pramāṇa* whose name was Banśīdhara, had been sent on an expedition to invade Sindhuli (f. 31). The *Pramāṇa* received his emblem of office, which was a turban (*Thyāsapu A*, f. 51). The men acting as governors in districts also bore the designation of *Pramāṇa* (see below for details). But we shall speak of such *Pramāṇas* a little later.

The *Thyāsapus* have widely used the words *Chautārā* and *Prāmāṇa* for the Chief Minister and Ministers respectively. But inscriptions have rarely used these words in the sense other than an incumbent on the post of a governor. In the inscriptions of Jitāmitramalla the Chief Minister of Bhatgaon is called *Chautārā*.⁴¹ Otherwise the word *amātya* is used both for the Chief Minister and Ministers. The word *mantrī* is also popularly used for these state dignitaries.⁴² We need not go into details at this stage as the references to these official titles have been taken notice of whenever occasions arose.

But we may mention a few instances. Dhanadasimha is described as the *Mukhyamantri* of Bhatgaon in an inscription of Nāla.⁴³ Chikuṭi in his Naudeval inscription calls himself

41 Inscription n. 90 in our Appendix

42 „ n. 89, 122 „ „

43 „ n. 49 „ „ „

Pradhānāgraṇī, literally meaning the leader of the ministers.⁴⁴ A minister is also called *Pradhāna* as the above statement shows. In the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 31) *Navamisiṃha Bhā*, a *Pramāṇa* at the court of Pārthivendramalla, is called *mantri*. Motirāja, the chief minister of Patan in 757 is called *Mahāmantri* who knew the sacred laws and polity.

We have seen in some instances that a person with the title of *Chautārā* had been mentioned as *Pramāṇa*. For example, the *Chautārās* of the time Devidāsa (Chikuṭi), Bhagiratha Bhaiyā and Devarāma, all *Chautārās* of Kathmandu, Patan, Bhatgaon respectively have been mentioned as *Pramāṇa* in the inscription of NS 795 (n. 7 in our Appendix).

Although Bhagiratha Bhaiyā is mentioned as being appointed a *Chautārā* in the Machhendranātha inscription of NS 793,⁴⁵ his name figures as *Pramāṇa* Bhagiratha Bhaiyā in the Buga inscription of NS 796.⁴⁶ In the inscription where Viśvaṃbhara writes about himself as the chief of the council of ministers, he addresses himself also as *amātya* a little later.

Probably the *Pramāṇa* was as dignified a little as the *Chautārā*. It was also a primary designation; the incumbents therefore had not liked to discontinue it even after becoming a *Chautārā*.

Jayaprakāśa's Vajrayoginī temple inscription of 872 talks of *Chautārā Pramāṇa* and *Jyāgira Pramāṇa*. The distinction between the two is very obscure. But we may suggest that the *Chautārā Pramāṇa* was the chief minister, while *Jyāgira Pramāṇa* was the local governor. It appears that the various *Pramāṇas* posted at centres outside the capital were treated as ministers.

The post of a *Chautārā* or a minister was not hereditary. The choice of a person for the post was strictly the monarch's.

44 Inscription n. 76 in our Appendix

45 „ n. 72 „ „ „

46 „ n. 78 „ „ „

He appointed to the post anybody he liked. But the scope of his choice must have been limited to the immediate circle of men who surrounded him. This circle was the same as the court nobility, and we know the elements which went into its formation. We know that it was not a closed circle, to which entrance was blocked. If its gate was not wide open, it was not also closed to new entrants who were elevated from humble station of life by royal favour to the rank of the nobility. As we have already observed, these were the men who had either a concubine of the king as their near relation or themselves were sons of menials at the palace, who had lived there as the would-be monarch's playmates or Brahmanas who had freshly acquired rich gifts of land. The nobility enjoyed comparatively a large land property or interest in trade. If this was not so in the beginning the newly acquired power enabled the entrants to claim a status of property in course of time.

The nobility bore the title of *Bhāro* or simply *Bhā*. This was a class title due to the possession of wealth or acquirement of a courtier's station in the palace. A vast number of *Chautārās* and ministers have *Bhā* added to their names, which suggests that they belonged to the class of nobility. For example, we have Bhoṭyā Bhā as the *Chautārā* of Bhatgaon in the reign of Jagatprakāśamalla, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Jośi was known as *Bhā* of Maru (*Thyāsapu A*, f. 64). Three men who were sent on an expedition in the month of *Mārga* in 807 were Babaṭ Bhā, Navamisiṃha Bhā and Baṃśidhara Bhā. All these were ministers at the court. The name of Baṃśidhara Bhā figures several times in the *Thyāsapu A* between NS 801 and 807 until the death of Pārthivendramalla. All these were picked up from the nobility as their surname suggests. At a later stage we have Navami Bhā in Kathmandu, Gogal Bhā in Patan and Hāku Bhā in Bhatgaon as *Chautārās* in their respective kingdoms.⁴⁷ The former two figure in

47. Inscription n. 110 in our Appendix.

the Patan Mulchok⁴⁸ inscription of 818, and the latter in the Bhatgaon Mulchok⁴⁹ copper plate inscription of 818. The *Thyāsapus A* and *B* talk of Navamisīṃha Bhā and Gogal Bhā as the *Chautārās* of Kathmandu and Patan respectively. Sukhula Bhā appears as the *Chautārā* in Kathmandu during the last phase of Jagajjayamalla's reign.⁵⁰ Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa was replaced by Manasīṃhaju in 810. He also belonged to a courtier family. His successor Raghuvīra Bhā was also of a similar class. Sukhula Bhā was the *Chautārā* in Jagajjayamalla's time. From this long list of the names of the Chief Minister and ministers it would appear that the *Bhāro* class dominated in the administration. It appears that the *Bhāro* class was of Kṣatriya and Kāyastha castes with the exception of a few who belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste. The Vaiśya caste also played some part due to their wealth and manipulations in commercial transactions. But they were not allowed to have a say in the administration of the country.

Rājguru: There is no doubt that the nobility wielded much power. There were different grades of nobility. At a later stage, the spiritual head of the realm, the Rājguru emerged to be the most dominant factor. Together with four other learned Brāhmaṇas he formed a council; the king asked for advice on all questions that he confronted from these Brāhmaṇas. The Rājguru by himself acted as the Prime Minister, if the man appointed at the job proved incapable. According to a missionary Father Tranquillo D'Appchie "The Rājguru is a very important figure, whose words carry more weight and were more respected and listened to than those of the king. Everybody, high or low, including the king venerated him by touching his feet".⁵¹

48 Inscription n. 104 in our Appendix.

49 „ n. 105 in our Appendix.

50 „ n. 135 in our Appendix.

51 „ n. 42 in our Appendix.

The Rājguru's council was, however, not an effective body. It could not have superseded the *Pramāṇas* who were also wielding according to the nature of the situation. But nevertheless the Rājguru was the second important dignitary in the principality after the *Chautārā*.

The Rājguru played a very important part in politics as well as religious affairs. Both as the priest and preceptor he was also known as Rājopādhyāya. He was rarely affected by royal decrees of administrative character. According to the *Thyāsapu A* the Royal priest was removed and replaced by another person while Nṛpendramalla died. But this is one of the few instances of the dismissal of a Royal priest. By and large his was the most stable office in the administration, which carried religious sanctity with it.

The spiritual preceptor of Siddhinarasiṃhamalla was a very powerful person. His name was Viśvanātha Upādhyāya. He was the Āchārya of Siddhinarasiṃhamalla's *Yajña* which he performed on the completion of the temple of Lord Kṛṣṇa in Patan on 757 *Phālguna śukla 10 bṛhaspativāra*. This is commemorated in an inscription on a large slab of stone attached to the temple. The inscription describes the Upādhyāya's qualities as those of a very learned Brāhmaṇa, who could be compared with Vyāsa in his studies of Veda. Viśvanātha who gave the King the *dīkṣāmantra* is at another instance lauded by a chronicler as a person who helped the young Siddhinarasiṃha to propitiate Goddess Tāleju and enter into his *Kalaśa*. It is said that Lakṣmīnarsiṃhamalla while dying had chanted the *mantra* of Tāleju, which in the void of the sky turned into a luminous object and started flying. It was Guru Viśvanātha who contrived to capture the object by his magical performance and made it enter in a finial. The luminous object was Tāleju herself and if it was not the Upādhyāya doing his job at the appropriate moment, Tāleju would have left Nepal. Viśvanātha Upādhyāya was held in reverence also by Śrīnivāsamalla when he became King. According to the *Thyāsapu D*, Viśvanātha

lived in Bakhanimha in the city of Patan. After Viśvanātha's death the Upādhyāya appointed in his place was his son Harinātha who was the *Ācharya* in *Jyeṣṭha śukla* of 793 on the occasion of *Koṭyāhuti* performed by Śrīnivāsamalla. The same Harinātha performed a *homa* in Lele in the presence of Śrīnivāsamalla in 800 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa*. It appears that both the father and son exercised wide influence on the King, and they were consulted by him on several important matters.

In the undivided Kathmandu while Śivasimha was reigning a Brāhmaṇa from the South bank of the Kāveri was the royal preceptor who records in his inscription that the King held him in high esteem. In the inscription, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, such was the name, is described as one well-versed in various aspects of learning. The Upādhyāyas of the three kingdoms, who had advised the Kings to issue decrees about certain practices regarding mortuary rites figure by name in the Patan Mulchok inscription of 795.⁵² This shows that the Upādhyāyas were the main policy makers in regard to customary practices. But this is not all. The political agreement of 818, which the three Kings reached on oath through a copper plate inscription bears as witnesses the names of the Royal priests and this is enough to establish their importance in the political field. Their names precede those of the Chief Ministers and this is again adding to their importance in the agreement.⁵³ In the copper plate land grant⁵⁴ of the same year Yoganarendra mentions as eyewitness his two priests whose names appear just after the King of Bhatgaon but before everybody else including the *Rājapatni* (a concubine of the King). The Royal Upādhyāya's name appears before the Chief Minister's also in the Brahmāyaṇī copper plate inscription of Raṇajitamalla. The Kathmandu ruler Jayaprakāśamalla puts in his copper plate record of the

52 Inscription n. 105 in our Appendix.

53 „ n. 141 in our Appendix.

54 „ n. 147 in our Appendix.

Vajrayoginī temple (at Sāñkhu) that he consulted his preceptor, minister, the Omraos and others while issuing the decree incorporated. Here also the Royal preceptor is mentioned first of all. In the landgrants made to the Capuchin Padre, the Royal Priests are the witnesses.⁵⁵

Vyāsa, Manu, Yājñavalkya and quoting them Chaṇḍeśvara have described the qualities of a *purohita* who was to be employed to direct the proceedings of *homa* etc. Manu thinks that the Brāhmaṇa must be learned in the Vedas. Vyāsa as quoted by Chaṇḍeśvara says that the priest must be proficient in Vedas and rituals. I think that our Upādhyāyas were learned men who were proficient in *Śāstras*, *Veda*, *Purāṇa*, etc. It is no wonder that these men had considerable influence in the court, and received wide respect from the King and his courtiers. The Brāhmaṇas even otherwise commanded respect in the country.

At one stage in Kathmandu the Rājopādhyāya was asked to become *Chautārā*. This was when the predecessor was surreptitiously killed by Jayaparakāśamalla in the very beginning of his reign. The capuchin Fathers probably referred to this appointment when they said that a Brāhmaṇa had become the Chief Minister. Although this seems to be the only occasion of a *Rājopādhyāya* assuming the charge of the Chief Minister, they in general had been able to exercise their influence with the Royal family both in respect of political and religious matters.

The *Thyāsapu D* talks of a royal astrologer called *Rājadaivajña*. Although the *Karmāchārya* or *Āchaju* also had access to the palace to perform auxiliary services in the various rituals, he is not as intimately attached so as to deserve a special designation from his Royal master. He is simply referred to as *Āchārya*. The astrologer on the other hand was called *Rājadaivajña*, i. e. the Royal astrologer.

His work was to find out auspicious occasions for various pious deeds to be performed by the King. We do not know if he had any influence in political affairs of his country. He did not belong to the Brāhmaṇa caste but on ceremonial occasions he was treated at par with the Brāhmaṇas receiving gifts.

Rājavidya :

Belonging to the similar caste as the astrologer, the *Rājavidya* was the physician of the king's household. He figures in many records in that capacity. He had no political influence at the court and his job was confined to providing medical aid to the members of the Royal family.

Was there a commander-in-chief ?

An inscription of Yoganarendramalla's reign has a person who calls himself *Senādhyakṣa*. The record is dated 808 *Bhādrapada śukla trayodaśyām dhaneṣṭhā nakṣatra śukarmmayoge taitila karaṇe budhavāsare*. The document while giving the reign of the ruler states in the time of Paraśurāma Bhāro of Chākabhāra, who is a *Senādhyakṣa* (commander-in-chief).⁵⁶

This is the only instant of a *Senādhyakṣa* coming to our view. We do not know if it was proper to define his position in the present state of our knowledge. But at any rate there must have been a person holding an overall charge of the small contingent of royal bodyguards, the Sipahis and irregulars, the last officered by *Omraos* as we shall come to know a little later. As one at the top of the military the *Senādhyakṣa* was surely holding the rank of a *Pramāṇa*. He might not at all times join a battle field, for we know this work was done in as many instances by the minister. It is also likely that the *Senādhyakṣa* was not an indispensable officer, and some kings did not create this office. But

⁵⁶ Inscription n. 99 in our Appendix.

whenever he was there, he was an important person and he was equal to a minister in rank. In fact like the *Rājguru* exercising influence in spiritual affairs, the *Senādhyakṣa* had a say in military affairs which was only second to the King's in the defence administration. But by and large it appears that the *Senādhyakṣa* was more conspicuous by his absence, and one or two of the *Pramāṇas* rendered the work of leading the fight as the situation needed.

Bhandilanāyaka :

Besides *chhen bhandila*, we have also a *Bhandilanāyaka*, who is given the title of *amātya* in an inscription of 836.⁵⁷ He appears to be a higher dignitary than the *chhen bhandila*. *Bhandilas* figure in the *Thyāsapu*. They also receive insignias of office. The *bhandila* might be a common term for some one having connection in the royal house, who was in charge of some store or granary. Their leader was the *bhandilanāyaka* who held the rank of a minister.

The Omrao :

In the very last phase of the Malla period we come across a designation of an officer called *Omrao*. *Jaya Prakāśamalla's* *Vajrayoginī* temple inscription of 875 mentions *Omraos* as one of the parties connected in the issuing of the order incorporated in the record.⁵⁸ The *Omrao* was a military cum civil authority in districts in the *Gorkhā* period before the Nepal-British war of 1814-1816. He is mentioned as an officer-in-charge of a contingent of fighters all laced with weapons partly kept fit for service when the king needed it. The *Omraos* are not heard of in the accounts of our *Thyāsapus*. So they probably came into existence about the early 18th century when Nepal's contacts with the hill states in the west had become intimate. The *Omrao* must have

57 Inscription n. 122 in our Appendix.

58 „ n. 147 in our Appendix.

been a military officer who had under him the Khasa and Mogara fighters. The title was definitely borrowed from Gorkhā and other neighbouring principalities whose rulers copied the organisational system of the Muslim Sultanates of the Gangetic plains in all spheres including the military. The *Omrao* received land from the state in lieu of his services, the annual income of which went to meet his salary and expenses involved in the maintenance of the military personnel assigned to him. Kirkpatrick in his account of Nepal describes the Omraos as the officers commanding irregular militias. I think that the description is correct in so far as the same also applied to such officers in the employ of the Malla Kings.

The Taksāli: He was the superintendent of the mint. The post of the Taksāli must have begun since the practice of minting coins was begun. The post was continued more or less in the same situation by the Gorkhali rulers. The Taksāli comes in for reference in accounts of the Capuchin Missionaries (see below). He is nowhere seen in the local records. He did not hold a ministerial rank. But he was an important authority in view of the large income derived by the king from the mint.

We shall have in our consideration more posts of the type of a mint master. But as we proceed, we shall keep in mind that only four categories of posts came to be equated with ministership. These are the posts of (1) *Chautārā*, (2) *Rājguru* or *Rājopādhyāya*, (3) *Bhaṇḍilanākaya* and (4) *Senādhyakṣa*. If a division of the ministerial responsibility was there this also came to be confined to the functions rendered by the above mentioned four dignitaries.

Chhenbhandel: At one place in the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 95), we came across a passage which tells us that a particular person obtained a turban of the post of *Chhenbhandel*. *Chhenbhandel* literally might mean the man or an officer who was to look after the royal store-house. Up till fifteen years ago *Chhenbhandel* was the name of a department of public works.

which was engaged in building and repairing government houses and temples in its protection. It might be that the holder of this office had also to do with the work of repair or new construction as far as Government or Government protected buildings or shrines were concerned.

The Jobāla: In the Machhendranātha inscription of 793 (N. 72 in our Appendix) Śrīnivāsamalla issued a directive that the Guthi offered to the Lord was to be maintained by the *Pramāṇaṣ*, *Jobālas* and the *Guṭhikaṭaka*. We can understand as to who were the *Pramāṇas* and the *Guṭhikaṭaka*, but it is difficult to know who exactly was the *Jobāla*. The latter was obviously an officer of the state. He figures also in a few other records. Was he an officer-in-charge of the administration? But we are not authorised to suggest anything definitely on the nature of the post of a *Jobāla*. If *Jobāla* is a misspelling of *Duāra*, then of course, there is no place for argument. We shall consider the position of a *Duāra* a little later.

Gaṇanāyaka: The man who was responsible for rebuilding the structure of a hall called *maṇimaṇḍapa* in the foreground of the Royal Palace in Patan in 821 calls himself the head of the servants of king Yoganarendramalla (*Dāsānāṅgaṇanāyaka*). In the same record he is also called a minister (*amātya*). It appears that the man in charge of the servants in the palace was also a minister. We do not know to which category of servants, the word *dāsānām* applied. These might have been the king's personal retinue or bodyguards, etc. Their leader appears to be an important person in view of the fact that he undertakes to repair the *maṇimaṇḍapa* where the astrologers and priests meet to ascertain suitable dates for the different *jātrās* of Machhendranātha.

Governors: Now let us look into the nature of district administration. For this we need not specifically mention that the kingdom was divided into several administrative districts.

As every other region outside the four walls of the city and a few townlets or villages as we might call them in the Valley were very thinly populated, the king's administration was confined to Kathmandu or any other capital city concerned, and perhaps also to several trade depots where stood customs barrier. The capital was directly under the king's rule, while the various subordinate divisions were under a *Pramāṇa* each. There were subdivisions within the unit of a district as we may chose to call in this way. The area ruled by a *Pramāṇa* and each subdivision was under a *Nāyaka* or *Duāra*.

The administration in the district was not at all intricate. It was also free from intrigues if the headquarter was far away from the capital.

The Governor of the division was known as the *Pramāṇa*, e.g., the *Pramāṇa* of Deopatan (*Thyāsapu A*, f. 17), who was a brother of Chikuṭi or the one who arrested Mahipatendra (f. 65). An inscription of the reign of Pārthivendramalla in Noakoṭ dated 803 *Vaiśākhakṛṣṇa 3 bṛhaspativāsare mūla nakṣatre siddhi yoge* shows one *Pramāṇa* Bhavānī Śaṅkara (kara) Bhāro as the local governor (*Navakvāthasthanāya-pramāṇa verasa*). The inscription is attached to a *Chaitya*.

In a stone inscription of Bode, signifying the construction of the temple of Kalikā at Tankoṭol there is a mention of one *Pramāṇa* Rāmeśvarajaju of Chochhebahar ruling over the area under the reign of Bhūpatīndramalla. There is a stone inscription in the temple of Gaṇeśa in Bakochotol, Bode, which announces the completion of the construction of the shrine on 806 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 9* in the time of *Pramāṇa* Meruju. Obviously Bode was an important centre to be placed under an officer of a *Pramāṇa's* status. His headquarter was either at Bode or Ṭhimi. Nālā appears to be another place where a *Pramāṇa* was stationed. One Viśva Bhāro of Tupalachhheṭol, Bhatgaon, is mentioned as a *Pramāṇa* in an inscription of the area dated 771 *Āṣāḍha śukla 5*.

In an inscription of Ṭokhā (Thagalṭol), dated 841 *Phālguṇa śuddhi 8*, the place is named *Jayapulideśa* and it is stated that in the reign of Śri 2 Jaya Gajapati Mahīndrasimha, the *Pramāṇa* who governed the area was one Mukundasimha. Pratāpamalla had appointed a *Pramāṇa* to look after Pannauti when he conquered it (vide ante). There was a *Pramāṇa* for Śikharāpuri (Pharping) which lay within the principality of Patan (Inscription of Gorakhanātha, 793 *Chaitra kṛṣṇa 11 pra 12 bṛhaspativāra*). Similarly there was a *Pramāṇa* for the area lying to the west of the river Bāgmati who functioned from Balambu. We have an inscription of the temple of Mahālakṣmī of the place dated in 778 *Chaitra śukla 9*, which shows one Raghunātha as the *Pramāṇa* at the time.

The north-eastern part of the Valley within Kathmandu's jurisdiction was also under a *Pramāṇa* who had his headquarters in Śaṅkhu called *Sokodeśa*. Ṭokhā also was under a *Pramāṇa*, and he might have controlled the north and north-western part of the Valley. Harigaon, now a suburb of the city of Kathmandu, was also the seat of a *Pramāṇa*. This is shown by the inscription of a temple of Durgā in Harigaon, which has a date 820. This belongs to the reign of Bhūpālendramalla. We do not know what reasons drove the ruler of Kathmandu to station his Governor each in so near an area like Deopatan and Harigaon. The details of the date of the inscription is 820 *Vaiśākha śuddhi 4 mṛgaśirā nakṣatre atigaṇḍa yoge yathākaraṇa muhūrte śukravāsare*. Outside the Valley Noakoṭ called Nawakvāṭha has inscriptions recording the names of certain persons bearing the title of a *Pramāṇa*. Just as Banepā or Nālā was the seat of a *Pramāṇa* in the east of the Valley, Noakoṭ called Navakvāṭha was the headquarters of the *Pramāṇa* in the western sector of the hilly tract. The former was under Bhatgaon, while the latter was ruled by the king of Kathmandu. Inscriptions available in Noakoṭ show that a *Pramāṇa* was seated there.⁵⁹ Far off

59 (a) Inscription of the reign of Pārthivendramalla, 803 *Vaiśākha-kṛṣṇa 3 mūlanakṣatra Siddhiyoga Sanivāra*.

(b) Inscription of the reign of Jagajjayamalla, 848 *Phalguṇa* etc.

Dolkhā in the east often changing allegiance and a bone of contention between Bhatgaon and Kathmandu must also have been a divisional headquarter with a *Pramāṇa*, for the land records and inscriptions of the rulers of Bhatgaon show Dolkhā to be within their jurisdiction.

It is inconceivable that a far off place like Dolkhā was governed from Banepā or from Palāñchok when Kathmandu had seized it. Palāñchok itself does not show by its records to have been a seat of the governor.

The area of jurisdiction of different *pramānates* whose headquarters we have marked in the foregoing passages cannot be determined for want of information. Roughly, the areas round the headquarters should be under the *Pramāṇa* who functioned from time to time.

To our knowledge Patan had two *pramānates*, one for the western region, with headquarter in Balambu or Thankoṭ and another for the southern region, the *Pramāṇa* of which resided in Chāpāgaon. The *Pramāṇa* of Balambu ruled over the areas west of the river Bāgmāti as far as the kingdom's boundary line touched Tanhou. Near Balambu we have two more big villages densely populated, and perhaps these were also large commercial centres for the Valley's products, Kisipidi and Satungal, showing each a cluster of houses lie to the west of Balambu, a little far off on the other side of the main highway. All the areas are situated within a radius of a furlong or two. Kisipidi was known as Kisipva (inscription at the temple of Gaṇeśa, 806 *Māgha śukla 10 revatinakṣatra budhavāsara*) just as Satungal had a name in a slightly modified form. All the small villages along with Thānkoṭ might be treated as one area in view of their proximity to one another. Thānkoṭ was known as *Suprabhāpur* in inscriptions. Balambu itself was called as *Bhartyapurinagara* (Inscription, 787 *Chaitraśukla 9 puṣyānakṣatra dhṛtiyaga ādityavāsare*, at the temple of Mahālakṣmī). We do not know which of the villages, Balambu or Thānkoṭ,

was regarded as more important. I think that all the three sites were well fortified to resist any encroachment by the enemy. But we do not know where the governor resided. The *Pramāṇa* of the south protected the area up to the border of Mackwanpur both on the southern and south-eastern side. It had also under its control Kipu or Kīrtipur which was a natural fortress.

The Chāṅgu-Nagarkoṭ ridge was in the hands of the kings of Kathmandu but south of it the areas were within Bhatgaon's jurisdiction. The tributary of the Manoharā valley was the most fertile part of the Nepal Valley as was the Manoharā valley and within Bhatgaon the entire area gave to the kingdom a large supply of grains and vegetables. I think that by the appointment of a *Pramāṇa* in Ṭhimi it was intended to give a careful watch to the defence of this area in particular and of the region, south-east of Ṭhimi adjoining Patan in general. Ṭhimi and the other two villages nearby in the west could be taken as a single unit as was the case of Balambu and near by sites. Ṭhimi's Sanskrit name was Madhepur (See the last inscription in our series). The latter was equally a fertile grain and vegetable producing area. So although these were quite near to the capital, it was thought proper to treat the whole area as a separate administrative unit. I think that the *Pramāṇa* stationed in Ṭhimī confined his responsibilities to looking after the allotted areas within the hilly walls of the Valley. For defence of the region lying beyond the Valley in the east and south-east, the administration in Nālā or Banepā with their additional fort of Dapchā could be well depended. Thus the *Pramāṇa* of Nālā must have controlled a large slice of territory both in the south and east.

For the administration of territories outside the Valley Kathmandu had two *Pramāṇas*, one stationed at Noakoṭ and the other probably at Palāñchok. We cannot categorically state it in regard to Palāñchok because no inscription at the site show it ever to have been the headquarter of an adminis-

trative unit. Noakoṭ in all likelihood governed areas upto the international border both in the west and north. It controlled the routes and pass of Kerraung. Similarly, from Chautārā or Palāñchok the king of Kathmandu must have had his control over the trade route to Kodāri. As it appears from the account of Christian Missionaries the route was dotted with many forts which Kathmandu guarded.

Kotwar: In an inscription we come across a term *Kotvār* put as a designation before the name of a person. We have no means to know if the term is the same as 'Kotwal', an officer under the Moghuls in India, who was responsible, for law and order in a town. An inscription of the reign of Yoganarendramalla in Balambu (808 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 2 budhavāra*) talks of a *pramāna* and *kutuvāra* who are named (*Thvadeśayāpramāṇa Kobahāla Lāma (Rāma) Chandraju* etc.). A copper plate inscription of the temple of Paśupatinātha mentions one Gopālasimha Kotawar.⁶⁰ A Kotavāra also figures in an inscription of Harigaon. His exact function cannot be defined in view of the absence of any literature about administration in general.

The Police: There was hardly a modern police system in those days. The Kotwal might have been an officer in charge of law and order in town areas as the *Duāra* was in the rural areas. But he had not backed by a police machinery as we find him today. According to chronicles, a sort of police militia was maintained to do the job as well as to collect taxes for the exchequer. The members of the militia as well as armed forces were called *sipāhis*. This word finds mention in several inscriptions of the eighteenth century. The police militia was a body of those who worked only part time for certain months in a year. The police work was done also by another agency called Mahāne. He arrested criminal suspects and also guarded the forest areas. Hodgson testifies

60 Inscription n. 83 in our Appendix.

to the presence of Mahāne in the administration in Pre-Gorkha days.

Deśanāyaka: The important centres of the kingdom were otherwise known as *deśa*. Probably these were the headquarters of the area governed by a *Pramāṇa*. But there were other places bearing this name. Mostly these happen to be semi-urban areas and were also commercial centres of some importance. Even if such areas were within a distance of a mile or so from the capital they maintained their district identity in an inscription of NS 820. Harigaon now a suburb of Kathmandu at the north-east corner wearing a rural look is called *deśa*.

The *Deśanāyaka* was a person of importance, and exerted wide influence over the area. The same record shows the expression, *Śrī Śrī Bhūpālendramalla juju, deśayā nāyaka Kṛṣṇasimhaju, thva pani velasa* (also in his time). The importance of the man as displayed in the inscription might impart to the office a character of a feudatory but we should bear in mind that the feudatories had long ceased to exist; any one in that position was just an official.

It appears that the *Duāra* and *deśanāyakas* had the same functions, and they looked after more or less the same area in similar situation. Both served as officials in the subordinate divisions under a *Pramāṇa*. But as we have suggested the *deśanāyaka's* sphere of influence was rather more important. The Kotwal, however, functioned in the capital cities as head of the police.

Apart from the *Nāyaka* of a subdivision we have also a *tvāra nāyaka* (headman of the ṭol). Such a *Nāyaka* in Chapachoṭol in Ṭhimi built a temple of Gaṇeśa on 774 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 10 uttaraphālgunī nakṣatra śuddhiyoge somavāla*, (A stone inscription inside the temple). One inscription (in the temple of Maheśvarī, Bhatgaon, 866 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 2 mṛgaśirā nakṣatre etc*) talks of a *tvāra nāyaka* working with *tvārapañcha* to manage the affairs of the temple.

Duāra : As the *Nāyaka* was the head of a subdivisinal administrative unit, so the *Duāra* looked after an area which was less important than the one governed by a *Pramāṇa* but possessed more importance than a subdivision.

In Raṇajitamalla's inscription of Nakadeśa and Ṭhimī (see our Appendix) respectively the *Duāra* is placed just below the *Pramāṇa*. It appears that the headquarter of the region was the townlet of Ṭhimī where a *Pramāṇa* was stationed. The places of lesser importance like Bode and Nakadeśa were looked after by *Duāras* under the *Pramāṇa*.

It was the duty of the governors to guard their area from internal and external danger. They must have been charged with policing the entry of strangers into the capital as well as supervising the customs administration. It seems that practically the capital was surrounded by defence outposts, and these were placed under trustworthy commanders.

It is not known if the subordinate units of administration were well taken care of on a military plane or otherwise. But the *Duāra* was the king's man on the spot. He knew every body immediately. As such he was feared. The citizens were law-abiding. I think that the *Duāra* had a tight grip of his situation and there is no ground to underrate his performance.

Kvāṭhanāyaka: The *Kvāṭhanāyaka* is referred to in several inscriptions and notings of the *Thyāsapus*. It appears that all military outposts and the surrounding areas, whether these were hill forts or protected areas in the even land of the Valley, were placed under an officer called *Kvāṭhanāyaka*. The Bhīmasenathan copper plate inscription of Kīrtipur talks of the donor calling him *Kvāṭhanāyaka*.⁶¹ It appears that Kīrtipur was a fortified area under the protection of a *Kvāṭhanāyaka*.

61 N. 25 in our Appendix.

The inscription is dated NS. 707. So it seems that the old arrangement of defence of such areas as given by the *Gopāla Varṅśāvalī* obtained also in the later middle ages. According to Yakṣamalla's inscription (date NS. 573), the *Kvāṭhanāyaka* was in control of the *Kvāṭha* constructed over a gate of the Bhatgaon city. The *Thyāsapu A* also talks of *Kvāṭhanāyaka* at several places under dates between NS. 800 and 824. The *Kvāṭhanāyaka* was a military authority, but he probably functioned under the *Pramāṇa* who combined both civil and military powers of a governor.

The Superintendent of Irrigation: From one of Jitāmitramalla's inscriptions it appears that there was an officer in charge of the administration of irrigation, who was called *nirjharādhipa* in Sanskrit and *Dhalapā* in Newari (Inscription no. 90 in our Appendix). The word used in Newari does not suggest that he was an influential officer. He was a guard entrusted with the task of looking after the maintenance of canal works. But the Sanskrit word might suggest if taken literally that he was an officer of influence in the State. I think that he was an important officer. The inscription enjoins on the king himself to adjudicate on matters concerning any malpractices committed by the *Dhalapā*. The Minister or the Governor could hear complaints against him, so he might have been just a superintendent of irrigation. Probably the area governed by a *Pramāṇa* had each a superintendent of irrigation. But nothing accurately can be suggested about his powers and position in the present state of our knowledge.

We know practically nothing about the many departments of state, which are the essential instruments of any Government for the management of their affairs in different fields.

We can add further information only on assumptions.

There are six subjects in which the state was primarily interested: (1) Law and order, (2) defence against external

aggression, (3) collection of local taxes, (4) customs, (5) foreign relations and fulfilling obligations of religious nature. Each of these was probably a separate department under a minister.

Because we have to deal with a small principality so the existence of an elaborate machinery of state is ruled out. We doubt if there was ministerial responsibility vested in the *Pramāṇa*. Though for theoretical purposes he appeared in that fashion and fulfilled such duties when the king or his regent desired it so. A large standing army was out of question because of the lack of financial resources to meet the expenses involved. As such it is doubtful if it is proper to talk of a minister in charge of defence. But with this doubtful position we must admit the overall importance of the responsibilities of the *Chautārā* and the Rājguru, the former looking after external and internal defence and the latter supervising all activities of the palace in respect of religious duties, such as worship, sacrifices, land grants, donations and repair or construction of temples.

According to the Capuchin missionaries each of the Nepal Valley states had its trade agent in Kuṭi, Kerraung and Lhasa. Probably these also represented their country in diplomatic sphere. At a later stage we hear of an agreement between Kathmandu and Gorkhā, one accepting a diplomatic representative from the other. Gorkhā felt the need to station its representative in the three states of the Valley as well as in Tanhou and Lamjung as it expanded. The Valley states had their capitals so closely situated. They probably had no need to think of a representative as far as diplomacy within the Valley was concerned. Also, no official who could be called a minister of peace and war is in evidence. But the *Chautārā* with his overall powers might be expected to fulfill this function. According to the *Thyāsapu D* the *Pramāṇus* had accompanied the kings and princes when they met at Saṅkhamūl in *Jyeṣṭha*, 794. The chronicler of the

Thyāsapu A states that when Pṛthvīpati Shāh came to Kathmandu in 798, he was received at the Mulchok by the king in the presence of the *Pramāṇas* of the three principalities. There is, however, no trace of a minister of foreign affairs. Probably defence and foreign affairs were handled by the *Chautārā* at the order of the king but policies were framed on consultation amongst the *Pramāṇas*. The *Rājguru* on his part must have had his say in respect of matters within his sphere of influence. He was the royal preceptor as well as the priest. This entitled him to receive the highest respect at the court and with this respect he enjoyed political powers to the extent which nobody did. But in times of crisis he too was swept away from position of vantage. On the whole, however, he retained his powers intact.

Absolute King At Last: Without talking of ministries or departments of state we might, however, mention the council of ministers as has been claimed by the inscription⁶² of Viśvaṁbhara Bhāro who lived in Chākvaḥāra. Viśvaṁbhara Bhāro calls himself the chief of the council of ministers (*Sachivamaṇḍala mukhya mantri*). In the Newari portion of the inscription Viśvaṁbhara is called a *Pramāṇa*. In his Naudeval inscription Chikuṭi bears the title *pradhānāgraṇi*.⁶³ We have already drawn attention to the fact of the council of ministers, the existence of which is mentioned in Viśvaṁbhara's inscription. Of course, nothing would be wrong as an attempt to conceive of this council as a body functioning with a sense of joint responsibility. Probably what the word *Sachivamaṇḍala* conveyed was the fact of joint consultation by ministers to decide from time to time certain matters before the King. The decision was the King's. So there was no question of sharing responsibilities by the ministers. Perhaps Viśvaṁbhara meant the existence of more than one minister by using the word *maṇḍala*, and he had nothing more than

62 No. 85 in our appendix.

63 No. 77 in our appendix.

this in mind. The minister was the King's man. He was to handle any affair entrusted to him by his master. No departmental head at the centre is seen functioning. Therefore, the *Pramāṇas* were also shorn of any kind of departmental responsibilities. Every affair of the state was the King's own affair. So why talk of a department? The treasury was his. All taxes collected were deposited in the royal coffer. The tax collectors were subordinate officers at the district or *deśa* level. The King could easily dispense with the services of a minister of revenue, for he himself was his revenue minister. As a matter of fact the *Pramāṇas* conducted themselves fettered by the King's discretion. The *Chautārā* exercised some powers, but did so only if the King was an infant or an imbecile. In normal circumstances the King endowed with divine essence ruled paternally for the protection of his subjects. He had no need to view the affairs of the state or its possessions in any other light than his own personal concern. How else could it be when he had divine prerogatives to reign and govern? In short he personified the state. All political and administrative action were directed primarily to protect him, and secondarily to preserve social order as well as the life and property of the citizens through his divine personality. The *Daṇḍa* was the divine power he exercised to exact obedience to himself and to strike terror in the minds of the recalcitrants. This was what Manu laid down in his laws, and this held good for all times of absolute monarchy whether in Nepal or outside wherever the *Mānavadharmasāstra* was followed in letters and spirit. Supporting what Manu had suggested Chaṇḍeśvara started quoting also Nārada that the subjects were dependent on the king and the latter alone was independent in a dependent world and because he wielded the powers of *Daṇḍa* he was supreme. Somadeva in his *Nītivākyāmṛta* presents the king as the great Trinity as well as Yama and Indra. As an embodiment of the divine qualities of their beings the king was respected, feared and obeyed. In the face of such sweeping powers

vested in the monarch the administration was just a shadow of the royal authority as far as its centre goes. But the chief minister, royal priest, king's brother, if he was an adult, the *Senādhyakṣa*, each in his sphere, seemed to pull their weight subject to restraints imposed by the king on their powers by dint of his personality.

As a corollary to the monarch's absolute powers, the royal palace was virtually the seat of the government and the royal household in its various ramifications might constitute the secretariat. Those who looked after the king's household affairs might then be considered as officers of the state rendering appropriate functions for the governance of the country. Thus the *Gaṇanāyaka* was in charge of the body of servants and armed retinues at the palace. The *Bhāndilanāyaka* was charged with the responsibility of supervising the keeping of the king's stores, granary and other articles either collected as tax or purchased. Probably he was also the treasurer. This office was very important, for its incumbence received royal insignia as a mark of appointment and was called a minister. The *Chautārā* as the chief minister was the custodian of the royal seal, and he figured in the transaction of foreign affairs, which was, however, much limited.

Defence: It is very difficult to assess the character and strength of military defence for this period. Not until the end of the 17th century the system of a standing army comes to our view. We have a few remnants of the conventional weapons used in those days, the musket and the sword and dagger—all deposited in the Nepal Museum. But the musket does not go back to the time earlier than the 17th century A.D. For the earlier reigns we have accounts of defensive alliances, of attacks and raids and of pitched battles and skirmishes. From all what we have read about these it will not be very far from the truth to conclude that the fight was mainly conducted with the force more or less in the nature

of a rabble. The weapons used were knife, spear, sword, dagger, battle axe and a big bamboo pole called *nol* and then bows and arrows. The kings in their records talk of invincible fortress, but except for the main city and strategic villages or townlets being surrounded with walls, no idea of a fortress in the real sense of the term is obtained from pictures of the relics. There are instances of mob attacks from one city on another implying the absence of an armed force well trained and in a state of preparedness for offensive and defensive actions.

We have already discussed the position of the commander-in-chief. There might be minor officers, but considering the strength of the standing army I do not think there were many officers concerned with its organisation.

The rabble played the major part in the operations. Here it is futile to talk of the organisation of the armed force. This also shows that the attacks did not involve weapons requiring use of high skill, workmanship and elaborate practice. Was it because of this fact of fundamental weakness that the Valley fell an easy prey to the invaders coming from the hill areas, who commanded superior arms and were far advanced as warriors in the use of powder magazines? But the account of how Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa's attacks were met with in the Valley disproves this assessment. Things had surely changed towards the end of the 16th century, and now it was not only the mob or rabble doing the fighting but a kind of standing army of professionals also did its job in battle fields, though its strength was not much significant. It might be recalled here that at the time when raids from the western hills became frequent, the kings of the Valley had learnt, if not higher, as much advanced technique of warfare as the raiders were aware of and they met the challenge with the weapons as much known to the latter. As for the character of the army, according to Fr. Grueber's account reproduced by Kircher, Pratāpamalla 'had a large army on foot to oppose a little king named 'Varcam' who was disturbing him with the many

raids he undertook' (Levi, I, p. 87).⁶⁴ But it is not clear whether this was a standing army or just a mobile rabble of a force put into action to meet the challenge of the raids. Probably as the same authority talks of a militia under the ruler in the same context, such military unit might have consisted of a certain number of people reporting to duty for some time in a year, while they were all along engaged in their usual professions. But nevertheless there were some peoples who did the whole-time job, and these constituted the standing army.

Now turning to the organisation of military forces, we have at the head of the army militia and rabble included the monarch himself. Up to the 15th century the feudal lords had their own retinues all armed. Details of the set up are lacking. But *Jodhāpati* is a terminology used by VIII for a commander. Similarly the commander of a citadel or outpost was known as *Kvāṭhanāyaka* (VIII, ff. 52b, 53a). *Kvāṭha* is Sanskritic *Koṭṭa*, which meant a fort. But all this changed since the 16th century. The feudatories had been eliminated. Now, the king alone retained a kind of armed force which was of course, very small; he led the army in person or whenever he chose the army was led by his trusted minister or ministers; ordinarily the defence was in charge of the *Chautārā*, the Chief Minister. But the rulers relied more on the section manned by non-Newar tribes. Possibly these tribes were preferred because of their physical fitness. The army was standing in the sense that it was always available for action, but the armed force invariably lacked necessary training and equipment of a standing army. And again it had no cadre of officers to lead and often the army acted without professional captains but ordinarily as we noticed it the units were led by ministers or members of the royal family deputed for the purpose or even by kings. It was

64 Also see, C. Wassels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603-1721*, Pp. 192-95.

a civilian led army. At times even the spiritual tutor of the king led it.

We know that since the time of Ratnamalla, the Khasa and Magars were recruited as body guards of the kings of the Nepal Valley. They also manned the fighting forces however small their numerical strength was, and we might understand by the term *senā* (army) all such peoples collected together under some discipline to do the fighting for the king. Perhaps they were professional soldiers.

The Nepal army of our time consisted of the infantry alone. We have no knowledge of cavalry units. Nor elephants and bulls seem to have been employed in the warfare. Moreover, the nature of the warfare was archaic in the situation dictated by its surrounding. The professional soldiers were joined by a mob in any operation while fighting broke out.

In 1740 A.D. we hear of a war, which took the life of the Rājguru of Bhatgaon in a hand to hand skirmish. This shows that the character and strength of the standing army had yet remained undefined. Let us now quote two passages from an eye-witness's accounts of a resident missionary for a general idea of a battle in the Nepal Valley. The eye-witness is Father Loro. The passages read :

“When somebody has to sue for peace this is done when one man is killed. Whoever inflicts a loss of this type ultimately wins. The other side sends a woman naked with all her hairs dishevelled crying and beating her chest and imploring mercy for peace and cessation of bloodshed. At this sight the victors call a delegation, and after negotiations, certain conditions are imposed on the vanquished and the war is thus ended”.⁶⁵

And further;

“The war is a protracted affair, but because it is a purile

65 Cassino's *Journal in Italiani Missionari*, etc., Vol. II, Part VII, p. 13.

type of war the major qualification of a soldier is having his good legs to run away, and if you cut off the head of one of the enemies you win the battle. The soldiers are armed with arrows. But a few of them have also fire arms." (Letter by Constantino Da Loro, 12-15 May, 1740 A.D).⁶⁶

We have seen that the rulers often quarrelled, and there were wars and alliances between parties as it suited their different interests.

As the standing army in the care of each state was small, the brunt of any military operations defence or offence fell on the people who fought as irregular and again more as a rabble along side the trained military personnel. Sometimes the rabble conducted its warfare independently using even matchlocks as appears from the contemporary accounts of the chronicles. But mostly these would have acted as auxiliaries. We know from records what burden the people carried on their shoulders in matters of the defence of their country. One of Yaḡsamalla's inscriptions (d. 573 NS) tells us that the people had constructed a wall and a ditch around the city of Bhatgaon at great cost and suffering (see below for particulars). The responsibility for the preservation and maintenance of the construction as well as its protection from attack by its enemies also rested on the people in general.

The area of responsibility was divided according to the locality through which the construction was designed. Other inscriptions likewise tell us about the people themselves participating in the construction of a fortified area and their being engaged also to meet hostile operations conducted by an alien force. The *Thyāsapus* and ms. colophons while notify the incidents fight between the neighbouring kingdoms often talk of a crowd making raids into military outposts or other sites belonging to the adversary. The Sāṅkhu inscription of Jagajjayamalla lauds the services rendered by the people of the area in defeating the Bhatgaon ruler. The

66 Ibid, Vol. II, Part II, Pp. 15-17.

people in general had gone forward to meet the invasion. Raṇajitamalla in the same vein praised the people of Bode, Nakadeśa and Ṭhimī (Inscription n. 139 in our Appendix) for defeating the combined attack of Gorkhā. Patan and Kathmandu to grant them certain amenities against the encroachment of state officers and soldiers. Śrīnivāsamalla defines the obligation of the people vis-a-vis the state in his Machhendranātha inscription of Patan. From this it appears that the king was entitled to call for general conscription of the adult male population during an emergence of an external attack. It is well understood that the general mass of the people always played their part in offensive and defensive operations of their country against the neighbour. This they did when a call came from their king. Because the standing army was small the people in general bore the bulk of any type of military operations. But as we know no battle worth the name is fought by a rabble, it is fought only by a trained army. So when we talk of war between two kingdoms let us bear in mind that these were little skirmishes. A war in a large scale had never occurred. Though at times for years the tension continued, and the fighting parties nursed a deep seated grievance against each other.

When they invaded a territory they called it 'hathāra vanā'. If the party attacking encamped, they called the camp as 'thanā'; when blockade had been lifted or a town or fort beseiged had been freed, this was said to have opened (*chāra*). In case the place fell to the invaders, they said '*tela*'.

A strongly fortified area was known as a *garh*. Because the capital city was well fortified, the same was called *garh*. The fortification meant constructing walls around, the latter again was encircled by ditches. The opening to the fort was provided by massive gates which were placed under the care of a Commander (Nāyaka). Such installations were called *Kvāṭha*. Not only the capital cities, but other townlets

also were fortified in similar fashion and were called *garh*. There were military outposts called *kvāṭha*. These were also called *koṭṭa* while the record used the Sanskrit language. But the expression also applied to any town fortified with walls and ditches around it. The military outposts were maintained to guard the highways against external aggression. These looked also after the different routes leading to strategic capital and places like the market centres. If a hill was used as a fort it bore the name *durga*, which literally means inaccessible. The area round the summit was used with renovations to accommodate the military personnel and their arsenal. Walls of stones or bricks surrounded the installations. Sometimes the hill forts were called *garh* as well as *Kvāṭha*. So was any town or market depot or a village if the same was strategically important. For example, we find the hill forts of Gokarna, Pharping and Noakoṭ described as *Kvāṭha* in *Gopāla Vanśāvalī*. Similarly market depots and small towns like Banepā were being called *Kvāṭha* in the same document as well as ms. colophons. The same was the case as far as the literatures of the later middle ages go. We can imagine that they were fortified areas as they were actually so. But the term *Kvāṭha* had been applied also to places of lesser importance with only a ramshackle of a military outpost. We shall call to our notice many such places. In this connection let me also observe that one Kanu Śarmā, the court poet of Śrīnivāsamalla, writing in 773 defines *Kvāṭha* 'qualifying' it with *daśa* as a superstructure on the wall of the town, where a military unit was stationed. The construction was a little elevated and shaped like a balcony. We should not, therefore, think that there was any hard and fast rule to designate accurately a place or area of a particular strategic importance. Ordinarily, however, the *Kvāṭha* was generic term used for any kind of fortification.

Several contemporary records mention fortified areas and military outposts under various names. This gives us an idea

of the defence measures of the three kingdoms of the Nepal Valley, also the fact that each was suspicious of the other's intentions and wanted to be militarily strong for defence as well as offence.

We have already said by citing a reference from the account of an Italian traveller that the capital cities and other townlets were maintained as forts. Besides, there were other areas fortified which bore the name *garh*. Such was Thānkoṭ lying within Patan at the western end of the Valley. In a small inscription of the time of Rājyaparakāśa (record dated 873) the *garh* had been said to be repaired. Noakoṭ was a fort, which protected the entrance to the Tadi Valley from the other side of the river Triśulī. It guarded the passages coming from due west as well as due north. Noakoṭ is called the cream of the cities (*puravara*) in an inscription of Mahendramalla, which is dated 688. Noakoṭ controlled the commercial route to Kerraung and hence its importance both as a trade channel and defence outpost. An inscription of Rājyaparakāśamalla 872 calls Kīrtipur a *garh*. Unlike Thānkoṭ this *garh* was constructed on the summit of a hill with natural advantages of inaccessibility. The inscriptions show as well as the ruins that both Thānkoṭ and Kīrtipur had walls (*prākāra*) surrounding the fortress. Thānkoṭ guarded the route at a point where the frontiers of more than two kingdoms met and it is to be noted that these kingdoms were seldom at peace. Kīrtipur occupied a strategic centre commanded the defence structure for the whole of the north-western part of the Valley. The Vajrayogini temple of Jayaparakāśa at the upland of *San̄khu* treats places also like the hills of Svayambhunātha Chāṅgu, Gokarṇa as well as the upland occupied by the temple site of Vajrayogini as *garh*.

Pratāpamalla claims to have occupied many forts (*durgam*) belonging to Siddhinarasiṃhamalla, although he does not name them similarly. Siddhinarasiṃhamalla speaks of his

having recaptured the forts from his enemies.⁶⁷ Here too the names are missing.

The *Thyāsapu A, B, D, E*, bring out different names as *Kvāṭhas*; *Guchas*, *Dvārakvāṭha* in Śaṅkhamūla (A, F. 73); *Phurabaṇikvāṭha*, *Dāpchākvāṭha*, and *Kabhrākvāṭha*, all belonging to Bhatgaon in the present Khābhre Palāñchok development district—in east no. I (B. f. 16); *Kasānakvāṭha*, *Hitigvālakvāṭha*, *Abaradosakvāṭha* (*Thyāsapu D*); and *Thapakvāṭha*, *Pukhurichakvāṭha*, *Alakhvatakvāṭha* all of them in Kīrtipur (E. f. 21). Obviously, all of them were not forts in the real sense of the term. One could not think of any other real fort in Kīrtipur other than the natural fort of the hillock. At the most these were military outposts guarding certain routes. So we are not to be misled by the word *Kvāṭha*. The Nepalese were used to employing high sounding words for the ordinary. But the existence of so many *kvāṭhas* in these kingdoms leaves us in no doubt about their defence. They were protected by natural barriers, but in addition to it they spared no efforts to create their own defence structure and a net work of them had covered the country ruled by the Malla dynasty.

The capital cities were not only strongly fortified but their neighbourhood and all highways and thoroughfares leading to them were also strictly guarded with military outposts at strategic points. It was strange that these measures had failed to check the advance of the enemies when they invaded. There is a tragic spectacle of these forts and outposts falling one by one under the impact of the invasion. But structural weakness was not the cause of the defeat. If the Malla rulers had found themselves beaten it was because even in their hour of defeat they were disunited. Gorkhā was not militarily more powerful than any one of them. Even disunited each could have put up a successful resistance to the invaders. But the Malla rulers of the Nepal Valley

67 BLI, Ins. Nos. 17, 18.

were worse sinners because they often quarrelled, and made no distinction between their own dynasty and the aliens. To add to this, they sought outside help to seek victory over their own kiths and kins. They not only gloated over the defeat of the other Malla kingdom, but helped the enemy secretly and sometimes openly to bring about his discomfiture.

The fortified areas were maintained in an atmosphere of religious sanctity. Whenever a fort came into existence, it was blessed by the Brāhmaṇas with elaborate religious rites. Similarly, if there occurred some damage in any part of the fort, it was repaired with the accompaniment of Brāhmanical rituals. In NS 827 (*Māghavadi 14 śravaṇa-nakṣatra śukravāsare*), there was an earthquake and the fort of Dāpchā situated on a hill, about 8 miles from Bhatgaon, was damaged and had to be repaired. We get an information in this connection from a ms. noting that a propitiation ceremony was performed to please Śrī 3 Ugrachandā.⁶⁸ There were similar rites and sacrifices performed on occasions of calamities such as a storm, enemy raids, structural deficiencies being noticed over the area.

Besides Ugrachandā we also find Hanumāna and Narasiṃha associated with the warlike activities of the rulers. The three royal palaces in the Valley had the images of Hanumāna and Narasiṃha placed at the main gate. In Kathmandu, Pratāpamalla had set up the two images of Hanumāna and Narasiṃha at about the same time, the former's in *Vaiśākha* and the latter's in *Āṣāḍha* of 792.

68 ८२६ माघवदि १४ श्रवण नक्षत्र शुक्रवासरे श्वकुन्हु दापचाया काथरवाता । अथ दुर्गाप्रसाद कम्पित स्वसैन्य रक्षापर सैन्य भजनार्थ श्रीश्रीश्रीउग्रचण्डा देवार्चन निमित्तार्थ यजमानस्य श्रीश्रीजयभूपतीन्द्रमल्ल देवस्य खड्ग सिद्धिरस्तु... । सम्बत् ८२७ वैशाख शुक्र अक्षततीया रोहिणी नक्षत्रे बुधवार श्वकुन्हु श्रीश्रीजयभूपतीन्द्रमल्ल देवसन प्रतिप्रायाडा ।

Bhūpatīndramalla speaks of the same kind of images in his inscription of NS 818. The purpose of setting up of these images at the gate was to guard the entrance of the house against enemies, visible and invisible. Hanumāna was also associated with their banners, as the epithet *Hanumad-dhvaja* goes to indicate.

The military affairs were not free from superstitious belief. Even in times of opening an attack they consulted astrologers, and marched to the tune of the stars. The *Thyāsapus* which tell us of an expedition conducted together by the three kingdoms, Gorkhā and Lamjung to attack Mackwānpur in *Kārtika kṛṣṇa* of 803 was undertaken after the astrologer had testified to the auspicious occasion (f. 48) on a certain day.

Rituals and superstition associated with the warfare does not endow the method of waging it at the time with the character of a virtuous war, when certain rules were observed by both the combatants to avoid unnecessary bloodshed. But here we must remember that there was nothing of a battle which should be characterised as *dharmayuddha*. As it shall follow, the pledges given to an ally was broken without any remorse. Pledges in support of one's action was also extracted in duress. There were secret raids operated under cover of darkness at night, when civilians had been caught unawares, were harassed, their houses set on fire, articles removed and innocent lives killed. In short there were all elements of an irreligious war. One more point about the hostile activities of Malla rulers while we talk of hostilities, in which the Malla rulers indulged there could not be any show of liberal and magnanimous attitude towards the enemy. Rather all crafty means were employed to bring down the opponent as speedily as possible.

Military Alliance: The Nepalese rulers who fought amongst themselves each tried to strengthen their position by alliances. If any king could induce others to join hands with him, he was fortunate at least to neutralise the allies

in times of conflict against his adversary and this was considered to be a great strategic achievement and high diplomatic skill. But the alliances were shortlived, and these were made and unmade as suited the interests of the parties concerned.

We have attached to our narrative a long list of events where combatants of two kingdoms had attacked the third party. This is from the *Thyāsapu B*. The entire account is of conflicts waged by Yoganarendramalla against either Kathmandu or Bhatgaon in concert with the one or the other. The *Thyāsapu A, D* and *E* have also similar stories to tell. I do not think that it is necessary to recount over again all that the *Thyāsapus* have written about the internecine skirmishes in the Valley. We direct the reader's attention to the political scene of the Valley in the preceding chapters. It appears that forming alliances and breaking them had become a common feature of policy with every ruler in their inter-state relation. Our information for the period up to 750 is meagre, but as we proceeded upwards we view a situation where military alliances were usually entered into to enhance once military strength but to be broken at the convenience of the party which found it inconvenient to go ahead with it. In the early 18th century the Nepal Valley rulers widened the area by bringing in one or the other state of the *Chaubisi* group. The frontiers of Thānkoṭ and Gorkhā were contiguous with those of Patan and Kathmandu and obviously these were the hill states interested in the game. From the eastern side the Sena rulers of Morang and Mackwānpur were also entering the scene. The hill state rulers and the Senas backed one party against the other to seek their own advantage.

The *Thyāsapu A* reported that Gorkhā's Pṛthvīpati Shāh entered into an alliance with Kathmandu in 798 (f. 7). This is for the first time we hear of a hill chief coming into close contact with one of the ruling dynasties of the Valley. Kathmandu was in the meantime being approached to take

part in the family quarrel of the Senas when Bidhātā Indraji arrived at the court of Kathmandu. It was solely to seek latter's intervention in his dynastic war. If the Nepal Valley kings had remained united, they would have certainly made their influence felt in the politics of the neighbouring countries. But they lacked unity in their own ranks. Even when unity was achieved, this could not last long. The *Thyāsapus D* and *F* give interesting facts about the conflicts raging in the Valley between 1660 A.D. and 1673 A.D. According to the inscriptions of Pratāpamalla of 769 Kathmandu had fought Bhatgaon and Patan intermittently since 1640 A.D. According to one *Vaṃśāvalī* the very founders of the three kingdoms were always involved in a tug of war. The second brother who ruled over Kathmandu was in the beginning accused of a plot to overthrow his elder brother's throne. This excited the rebel in him and drove him to stage a revolt against the man who was the rightful heir to the throne of Yakṣamalla. All this might not be true, but the fact of quarrel between brothers is quite correct. I do not think that any period of our medieval history was free from incidents of internecine conflicts once the partition had become a settled fact. Coming to the later time we learn in a setting of constant struggle how the allies changed sides as often as it suited them. *Thyāsapus D* and *F* talk of an armed conflict between Kathmandu and Bhatgaon when the Patan ruler was the ally of the former. Pratāpa had acted in contravention of a two-year old treaty by attacking some military outposts of Bhatgaon. In the month of *Mārga* of 783 Pratāpamalla brought to Kathmandu a lion image by attacking a temple in the vicinity of the Royal palace in Bhatgaon, where it had stood. Śrīnivāsa was Pratāpa's ally in the earlier conflict as witnessed by Father Grueber but this time he was hesitant to take side. Two years later according to the *Thyāsapu D*, Śrīnivāsamalla was gone over to the other side. He was often visiting Bhatgaon and having consultation with its ruler. But again in 787 *Āṣāḍhakṛṣṇa* he joined hands

with Pratāpa and Bhatgaon was isolated. Śrīnivāsa and Pratāpa combined to act together and plundered some villages in Ṭhimī. In 790 *Māghakṛṣṇa* the principality of Mackwānpur was also the object of their attack. However, the two separated again, Śrīnivāsamalla now favouring Jagatprakāśa as against Kathmandu. Now it was the turn of Bhatgaon and Patan to offer a united fight to Pratāpamalla. But the latter would not lose time to try to win over Bhatgaon to his side. Many times between 769 and 793 he courted favour with the authorities of the kingdom of Bhatgaon. At one time he even tried to capture the person of Śrīnivāsamalla just to overawe Patan and cow the ruler to submission. In 793 Jagatprakāśa died and a year later he himself breathed his last. This put an end the age-old rivalry between the two kingdoms.

The *Thyāsapus* show a comparatively peaceful condition in the years to come up till NS 805 or so. We see rather the Valley rulers engaged to what their warlike appetite in organising expeditions to Mackwānpur and other two Sena principalities in the eastern Terai. But the ambitious young king of Kathmandu, Pārthivendramalla, showed tendencies to fight out his counterparts in the other two kingdoms. Kathmandu had attacked Bhatgaon. It is said that out of fear the Patan ruler had to choose to join Pārthivendra as against Bhatgaon. In 808 Yoganarendramalla had shed his fear complex and took courage to the rescue of Bhatgaon which was blockaded by its enemy. Peace prevailed again due to the death of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Jośī of Kathmandu, who was the most powerful personality of his time. But the peaceful atmosphere was disturbed again by Yoganarendramalla himself being tempted to dominate the situation.

It is our wish that the reader turns over the pages in the chapters dealing with the political events to get an idea of the shifting friendship and enmity between rulers in the Nepal Valley. This time was the early 18th century and the hill principalities had consolidated.

There were now so many states on all sides of Nepal, which competed with the Malla rulers for power and expansionist aim. Each of them now jostled with the Mallas as their equal. But internecine fights did not stop in the Malla kingdoms. The chronicles which are quite reliable for the last phase of the century concerning the Malla dynasty recount in pathetic words the tale of woe, brother fighting the brother, intriguing to bring about each other's downfall and taking delight in the discomfiture of the other if it so came. From NS. 865 as Noakoṭ fell to the Gorkhā ruler, and he spread his tentacles east and south it was understood that the Valley was going to be blocked from all sides. But the three Malla rulers were enjoying their own quarrel and rather each was trying to counteract the other with the help of the same enemy whose overall objective was to oust them all. An inscription of Ṭhimi bearing the date line 851 *Māghakṛṣṇa 2 para 3 hasta nakṣatra śūlayoga śanaiścharavāra* talks of a reward offered by the king of Bhatgaon to the people of the region (Ṭhimi, Bode, Nakodeśa and Chopur) who had frustrated the combined attempt of the kings of Patan, Kathmandu and Gorkhā to occupy Obhu.

This was 14 years previous to the capture of Noakoṭ by Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shāh. But things were not better when he actually descended into the Valley and occupied parts of it. We have already written much about the events related to Gorkhā invasion. The Nepal rulers do not come off creditably in the situation. They would not shed off prejudices. They would not confer among themselves while their very existence was threatened. On the other hand, intriguers were active to keep them divided to the advantage of the enemy. Bhatgaon's ruler was helping Gorkhā to beat Jayaprakāśa for a slice of territory in Chāngu, Sāṅkhu and Kābhre Palāñchok areas promised to him by Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa. Jayaprakāśa was sending an insulting reply to the repeated requests of Rājyaprakāśa for his presence in Chobar to forge a concerted action against the outsider. Patan's ministers

would not see the danger in a situation like that but would strike a deal with the Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa to tide over the economic crisis resulting out of the blockade. It was a sorrowful state of affairs which we find in the Nepal Valley in those days. The defence structure was crumbling, the alliance had no meaning, the rulers experiencing a crisis of character and everything heading towards complete disaster.

The skirmishes as they were fought: Having in the beginning cited a statement of a Christian Missionary in this regard. We owe an explanation regarding people's participation in the fight. He draws a picture of warfare which looked nothing but ridiculous. No doubt the crowd helped in the process of fight. But I do not think that all he wrote about the sort of wrestling, knifing etc. between crowds without the trained military personnel taking part was quite true. The *Thyāsapus* talk of an attack by armed contingents. They used to lay a siege and then blockade their target. For days together the outpost or a village remained under siege. Sometimes the invaders retired and at times the resistance within the besieged fort area collapsed, when the defenders had surrendered. The crowd with the long bamboo pole (*nol*), spears and dagger must have its due part in this adventure. But it was not all this. There were men armed with muskets and bows and arrows who were at the lead. Field guns seem to have been in action. I do not suppose that a suddenly collected mob could handle these weapons. As for women with dishevelled hairs appearing in the fray to demand cessation of warfare on behalf of a party the statement seems to be much exaggerated. But other parts of the statement coming from the Missionary in this regard cannot be dismissed as untrue. It appears from the account of the *Thyāsapus* that once the warring energy of a combatant party flagged, the corollaries followed. If he was an offender, then the men ran off, they were routed, some were followed and a few killed if they lagged behind. In the case of the defence party, the same happened if the battle

was a pitched one. If it was the fort to be surrendered, then some one came to speak for the inmates and terms were settled. Or the defendants ran away by leaving the post, here again they were chased by the invaders. This is in brief the actual fact and we must disabuse our mind of any misconception in this regard. We may not cite examples. Every leaf in the *Thyāsapus* is full of such stories, and we wrote the facts as they occurred in course of the narrative.

I am sure that the foregoing passage removes any confusion regarding the role of the people as participants in the skirmishes. The people acted as auxiliary to the small band of soldiers, which fought with weapons under some kind of discipline.

But the people appeared in the fight as a mob. They were hastily collected, and were successfully employed in a situation, where the opponent is attacked suddenly. Sometimes the people acted on their own without the king's orders. Here their behaviour was unpredictable as a crowd mentality was on evidence. The idea of a mob rising either against their own king or against the neighbouring State is noticeable in so many instances narrated by the *Thyāsapus*. We have seen how Jitāmitramalla was subjected to a harsh treatment at the hands of his people, while he had refused to hand over his minister to them. At such times although no ring-leader appeared in action, the crowd must have been incited from behind the scene by someone, an individual or a clique to act in a particular way. On hearing of Pārthivendramalla's death due to poisoning the people in a large crowd attacked Chikuṭi who was living near the sanctuary of Paśupatinātha leading a quiet life of devotion. They were worked up to believe that Chikuṭi was the king's assassin. The people displayed the most heinous mentality on this occasion. He was spat upon, kicked, stoned and then his body was dragged through the rough and tumble surface of the highway. The former minister received grievous injuries and died a little

later. In this particular instance the secret hand of the new *Chautārā* was noticed. Chikuṭi was regarded as a rival, and in order to avoid any likelihood of hostile intrigue from his side, he was to be physically removed. The new *Chautārā* Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa Joṣi achieved this purpose by his secret manoeuvres in inciting the people who thought that it was Chikuṭi who had poisoned the king to death. Such occasion often came. I think when the mob from Kathmandu had attacked the city of Patan on the death of king Yoganarendramalla, it was a clique of ministers in the former kingdom, who had instigated the people to rise and harass the late king's subjects in a bid to compel them to propose king Bhāskaramalla for the vacant throne. When the people acting apparently on their own have to be referred to, the document always made a mention of the fact that 'the *prajā* (citizens) rose in a crowd and attacked'. A revolt by the people took place in 1744 in Kathmandu against its king. But here as elsewhere the hands of the court intriguers could be seen. Although in many stages the crowd acted in the usual manner one cannot rule out the possibility of someone having incited them to act that way. Nevertheless suddenly worked up mobs had played their part in Nepal politics of the day, and we cannot also refuse to accept the fact. But generally the people acted only on instigation by interested parties.

One can ask whether the mob was not restrained by the soldiers of the king's bodyguard or whatever we call them in the situation. If the mob had attacked a neighbouring country surely it was checkmated by soldiers manning the outpost in the defensive situation. But within their own country when the people acted, they became defiant and had to be appeased. Perhaps the standing army was not numerically or otherwise strong enough to quell the uprising. We have not seen any king forcibly suppressing the revolt of the people. They have pacified with tactful appeals, but never suppressed. This indicates the poor organisation of the armed force at the disposal of the king.

Weapons: We have referred to the statement of the Capuchin Padre for the technique of warfare as it obtained in Nepal in the later middle ages. There is a broad hint in the passage as to the nature of weapons employed in the many military engagements, which presents the correct position in this regard.

The *Thyāsapu A* states that Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Joṣī of Kathmandu was killed in NS 810 by his opponents who had attacked him with a dagger known as *bhujyālī*. The same *bhujyālī* is called today *khukrī*. There are other statements which show also the use of another weapon called a *khadḡa*. The *khadḡa* is a kind of long knife, it is straight in shape unlike the *bhujyālī* which is comparatively larger in size and crooked at the sharpest point. The coinage of the period reveals as religious emblems the weapon *khadḡa* (Walsh, III. 4, 8, 12; IV 8, 11, 12). When the ruler's victory was to be prayed for by the donor or the priest the inscriptions used the expression *khadḡasiddhirastu*, literally meaning 'let *khadḡa* be successful.'⁶⁹ We hear from the *Thyāsapus* that muskets and field guns were also in action in the battles. Śrīnivāsamalla sent his troopers to invade Mackwanpur in NS 803 and they used fire arms in the attack. The minister of Kathmandu, Baṁśīdhara by name, who was deputed by his king to attack Sindhuli had marched with a contingent which was armed with muskets. According to the *Thyāsapu D* no field guns were fired in Kathmandu at the time of Śrīnivāsamalla's death in *Jyeṣṭha*, 807. The mention of field guns presupposes its use in battle fields. Poet Lalitāballabha in his '*Bhaktaviḡayakāvya*' tells us that Jayaprakāśamalla's men fought the battle in Bhatgaon with their swords, fire arms, daggers, axes, spears, clubs and sticks. The use of bow and arrow is testified by the Capuchin Padre in his account. As the battle was in progress the warriors blew trumpets, bheri

69 Inscriptions nos. 2, 19, etc.

and kahabijā, as they called them. They also beat drums. The king rode a tall horse and wore an armour for the protection of the front part of his upper body. Probably his ministers too if they were commanding the operation or even if they had played a secondary role rode horses. Lalitāballabha says that Jayaprakāśamalla was riding a tall horse. Ordinarily the common variety of horses was the Bhoṭiyā pony, but *Tangan* horses from central Asia too must have been imported for the use of the king and his nobility. While talking of weapons we must bear in mind that these came up to the standard reached by the Gorkhālis in their own field of armoury.

Espionage: We are now thoroughly acquainted with wars and diplomacy of the period. The consideration will not be complete without reference to espionage. We are here dealing with a situation where political representatives can be dispensed with. The Kings were, however, interested in keeping themselves apprised of the various developments, political or otherwise, in the other states. Spies were the channels through whom vital informations reached the King. The keeping of spies to watch the movements of the Kings in other states was prescribed by Kauṭilya, Manu and other law-givers. The espionage was not confined to watching kings in the other two principalities but it also did work in detecting conspiracies, crimes and foreigner's unfriendly activities within a country. Jayaprakāśamalla could detect a group of Gorkhālis, who had come to hatch up a conspiracy to overthrow him. With the help of his spies King Raṇajitamalla discovered that he would visit Palāñchok to confer with Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shāh at a great peril to himself. The chronicles talk of spies used by a king against another. Sometimes when discovered they were beheaded. The Gorkhāli spies had been beheaded all but one Brāhmaṇa. The spies appeared in different roles and passed in any activities they liked. Inside or outside the country they

were able to know many things without disclosing their identity. They were caves-droppers and overheard whispers without attracting attention. They assessed public opinion in its true light. The king could not but depend on them for accurate information. He was therefore called *Chārochakṣu*, the one who saw through the eyes of his servants. No wonder that our law-givers had advised the king to appoint honest and thoughtful men as spies.

Justice and Local Government: We are completely in dark about how justice was administered in that age. The king of course, was the supreme law-giver and he himself constituted the last court of justice and his will was law as far as it followed the practices enjoined by ancient scriptures, both Śaivite and Buddhist. It was not a very big area to be dealt with by the judicial authority. So justice was not a problem of a very great magnitude for the king or his subordinate governors stationed in tracts outside the capital. In some inscriptions there is a reference to a *Kotwara* so and so, but we do not know the function and status of this officer. Codified laws were unknown. Trial and punishment were determined according to customs and conventions. The character of these, however, is still little known. Political offences were, of course, dealt with mercilessly and hanging and beheading were the usual punishment. But otherwise penal rules, though seemingly harsh and judged from a modern standard cruel, are not known at all.

The general mass of the people were temperamentally tolerant and god-fearing. They abhor sins, and hated sinners. They strictly observed the code of conduct as prescribed by the *sāstras*. They would not resort to killing except to please their numerous divinities whom they offered animal sacrifice. Minor crimes must have been committed but major crimes were rarely in evidence. So justice was not a very big problem. Probably the king's court was more

active in matters of civil suits and in disputes arising out of the division of property and sales and purchase of articles.

The inscriptions lay stress on the five great offences, all related to murder, which the people considered horrible. All were to avoid committing these offences. The statement in the inscriptions regarding the five *mahāparādha* or *pātaka* is with respect to a warning that if the pious act was damaged in any manner the man responsible for it would earn for himself the demerits which followed the commitment of the five great offences. These offences were mentioned in several inscriptions by their name.⁷⁰ These are *gohatyā* (killing of cow), *bālahatyā* (killing of child), *strīhatyā* (killing of a woman), *guruhatyā* (killing of a teacher) and *pitṛhatyā* (killing of one's father). These were dreaded offences and any one likely to go astray had to be made aware of the consequences of the heavy guilt.

Manu produces a list of offences in which the above are included (8. 89). He also deals with cases of enticement, cattle lifting, theft, causing hurt, embezzlement and like offences. The punishment for theft was cutting off of the offender's limb, by which the crime has been committed (8, 334). Enticing a married woman was punished by cutting the offender's nose and ears. But there was discrimination between a high and low caste offender in such offences. These offences brought corporal punishment, but others such as breach of customary regulations, pilfering of articles of small values etc. were fined. Manu's treatise prevailed when the givers of law in Nepal during Jayasthitimalla's time when they were reviewing the extent of deviations in the usually existing social customs and practices and the law governing them. At that time Manu was faithfully followed in respect of several decisions taken about custo-

70 A Copper plate inscription of Śrinīvāsamalla 783 *Māghavadi* 5; Inscription of Pārthivendramalla at Noakoṭ 803 *Vaiśāṣakṛṣṇa* 3 *Svama-vāra Siddhiyoga*; Inscriptions Nos. 16, 76, in our Appendix.

mary practices. We do not know if the practices sanctioned then continued in all its aspects also in the late middle ages. But in the absence of any written code the king and his officers could not but have looked to Manu for guidance and light.

According to Manu a thief who stole valuables from the custody of a nobleman or lady deserves to be killed. We shall not be surprised if this practice was observed in our country.

I do not think that there were cells to confine the under-trial or convict prisoners. In the very nature of things the trial must be summary and quick. The next phase of the punishment, also must be such as did not occasion imprisonment, it was either death or decapitation if a physical punishment was involved. Fines also were common and this formed a source of income to the ruler.

There were not separate judicial officers like the Kazis who dispensed justice as judges in the Moghul Empire of India. Both executive and judicial functions were rendered by the ministers at the centre and by the governor in the divisional headquarters. The cases were those which the local *pañchāyats* could not decide or were not empowered to decide on their own. Ultimately, of course, the monarch was the supreme judicial authority and fountainhead of justice.

Hodgson who spent more than 18 years in Nepal from 1824-1842 states that the two central courts viz., *Intāchapli* and *Koṭilinga* which existed in his time came as a legacy of the old regime, and were continued by the Gorkhālis. The former had jurisdiction over criminal cases including murder, theft, causing injury etc. The latter was a civil court which handled cases of dispute or litigation between a creditor and debtor. They were the courts of appeal from subordinate administrators. The last appellate court was constituted by the king in person, and he decided the case in his discretion. We do not know the nature of punishment meted out to the

various categories of offences one committed. We learn from the Capuchin Missionaries that killing of a cow brought up on the offender capital punishment. Probably any kind of murder was met with capital punishment. In other cases the old *smṛti* laws were strictly followed. Fines were imposed for minor offences involving certain irregularities and malpractices. But a thief's limb or limbs were cut off to render him incapable of doing further mischief as Manu prescribed it. But Brāhmaṇas escaped both capital punishment and cutting off of limbs. There was a difference in punishment, which was based on caste if an offence was connected with sex affairs. But this was enforced only when a Brāhmaṇa or the members of the ruling Kṣatriya caste was involved. Others were treated much in the same way. Chaṇḍeśvara in his *Rājanītiratnākara* talks of a *prāḍvivāka* following observation by Kātyāyana, Bṛhaspati and others.⁷¹ He was the officer entrusted by the king with the work of adjudicating disputes, and presiding over legal proceedings. Chaṇḍeśvara calls him *dharmādhyakṣa* and an officer who dispensed justice (*Nyāyakari*). Kātyāyana thinks that a king was to appoint a learned Brāhmaṇa of high knowledge and character for the purpose of administering justice (*Nyāyakāritva*) if he himself was unable to do the same duty. Bṛhaspati defined his function thus the king was to watch the *prāḍvivāka* who was supported by the *sabhyas* and opinions of the *śāstra* questioned and cross questioned. Chaṇḍeśvara agreeing with Lakṣmīdhara says that he tried cases keeping before him 'fire and water' and he was to act finally the way he was directed by the king. Manu, emphasises the presence of these *sabhyas* with the *prāḍvivāka* at the time of decision (*Nirṇayaviṣayam*).⁷² In the section he devotes to the system of evidence he presents the *prāḍvivāka* as a judge both civil and criminal. Vyāsa also says that the *prāḍvivāka* was to

71 BORS, 1936, pp 16-1)

72 VIII. 60

preside the cases carefully in the presence of the *sabhyas*. Without mentioning *prāḍvivāka* Somadeva who is an authority writing in the 10th century A. D. observes in his *Nītivākyaṃṛta* that the *sabhyas* were the essential factors of the trial. K. P. Jayaswal is of the opinion that the *prāḍvivāka* was the minister of justice as well as the first judge and the *sabhyas* were junior judges.⁷³ We do not have any evidence regarding the post of *prāḍvivāka* in Nepal in the period under consideration. Nor there is reason to believe as Jayaswal does that the judicial officers were immune from the influence of the king. Even the existence of the *sabhyas* during trial can be ruled out.

As Hodgson found it in the early 19th century A. D. the trial by ordeal as prescribed by the Smṛtis did surely exist. The trial proceeded with oath-taking by all the parties. Then the accused entered into a deep tank or touched a burning fire at a great risk to himself. The survivor was acquitted. The ordeal had to be gone through to vouchsafe for one's innocence. A trial by ordeal was held in criminal proceedings when there was a *prima facie* case against the accused. But there were many cases which were disposed of in ordinary ways without any ordeal.

For evidence Manu⁷⁴ and Yājñavalkya are the authorities to be consulted. Manu says that the king has to seek out of the evidence the way to the discovery of truth. He is also to realise the *Vyavahārapakṣa* of the allegation, i.e. according to Kulluka Bhaṭṭa, a commentator on Manu, the king is to weigh the evidence in the light of changing circumstances, whether the crime is light or heinous is to be considered with reference to the particular country and the situation (time). Those called to give evidence should be men who would entertain feeling of love for all castes, know all tenets of religion, and are not greedy. But enemies,

73 *Hindu Polity*, Second Edition, 1943, p. 329.

74 VIII, 44-84

creditors and kinsmen of the accused or complainant, people who are faulty of eyesight, sick and have poor memory, the danseurs, the *Śrotri-brāhmaṇas*, a *brahmachāri*⁷⁵ or *parivrājaka*⁷⁶, a dependent, a robber, an old man, a child, an untouchable (because he is ignorant of law—Kulluka), whose organs have been ruptured, deranged in mind, all such men are not to be produced as witness. Manu says that barring the above categories of persons, the king was to call for the evidence of any person who had heard of the offence or seen it by himself. The person was to tender evidence as he saw or heard of it. Manu again and again argues that a greedy person is not to be a witness. The evidence of an unselfish person is weighty and is to be entertained if both parties agree (but this can only apply to civil suits). But a woman even if highly qualified and unselfish is deprived of her title to become a witness. However, she enjoys the privilege bestowed on all, by which one is enabled to take advantage of the evidence of a person of his own caste (the woman is treated here like a caste). A perjury or giving of false evidence was considered heinous, and invited upon the witness grave sins, if detected the state also punished them. The *prāḍvivāka* was to warn the witness that evil consequences would follow if he committed perjury. Manu has recommended fines ranging from 1000 *paṇas* to 4000 according to the motive behind such perjury. A perjurer was to be fined ten times i.e. 10,000 *paṇas* if his motive was the love for women, if it was done in ignorance the fine was 200 *paṇas*.⁷⁷ It was thought that a perjury was followed automatically within a week by the visitation of grave illness to the witness, or by his kin's death or some destruction in his house due to fire. If it so happened and the case was that of a settlement of debts then the debtor was to be freed and the creditor was fined.

75 An unmarried person devoted to religious studies.

76 A wandering monk.

77 VIII. 107

Yājñavalkya devotes a *prakaraṇa* (5th) in his *vyavahārādhyāya* to the consideration of the nature of *sākṣi* (witness). He endorses Manu's dictum of a trial with the evidence of the caste men of the accused. He also thinks that the witness must belong to a noble family, must be truthful and pious and merciful in temperament. He disqualifies all those persons from being witness whom Manu also has branded as those unfit for that task. Other considerations in this respect propounded by Yājñavalkya and commented by Mitākṣarā are similar to those of Manu. Yājñavalkya prescribed punishment for perjury and for the party who enlists the support of the perjurer. If a Brāhmaṇa commits perjury, he should be banished.

It is difficult to say if our judicial administrators took care of witness in the manner Manu and Yājñavalkya did. But some kind of proceedings involving taking of evidence was certainly there, and this obtained both in criminal and civil cases.

The punishment part of the administration of justice is most difficult to understand. We may again cite Manu, Yājñavalkya and their commentators. Because it was an orthodox society nursed in the best tradition of Brāhmaṇical ritualism we can imagine how these law-givers had influenced the system of legal proceedings. The system was not coherent, it discriminated between castes, and was devoid of mercy and in major offences it recommended corporal punishment resulting in decapitation of limbs or other organs of the body and even capital punishment, which would have been looked upon with abhorrence today.

The Brāhmaṇas always escaped with light punishment whenever they were found guilty of crimes. The most vigorous punishment he underwent was exile. Manu (VIII. 380) made it undesirable to inflict any punishment on the Brāhmaṇa, which might give him physical torture. There were certain purification rites a man had to perform to avoid the consequences of certain guilts committed. We shall

confine our statement to the consideration of penalty in cases of criminal offences.

According to Manu there are ten spots⁷⁸ which can be subjected to punishment. By spots (sthāna) Manu implies bodily organs as well as the entire body and money payment. The saying is to affect only the three castes. This will, however, be not applied to a Brāhmaṇa. Kulluka Bhaṭṭa suggests that physical punishment, beating or hurting, was awarded for heinous offences, while the minor ones were just let off with fines in money. The ten spots are sex organ, abdomen, tongue, hands, legs, eyes, nose, ears, fines in money and death sentence. The commentator adds that the punishment should correspond to the part relating to the crime committed. The physical punishment, however, have to be awarded with care. The king has to take into consideration while awarding a sentence the circumstances and place in which the offence was committed, the property and physique of the offender, the fact whether physically he was able to commit the crime, and also the magnitude of the crime. If the king convicts an innocent person, he earns discredit in this life and goes to hell after death. There are simple offences which should be punished with censure and reprimand. Some offences required to be met with fines but a capital punishment is necessary in some cases. For example, Manu prescribes a sentence to death for the offence of raping (VIII. 364) a girl before puberty. Kulluka comments that his organ of copulation should be cut off. But a person who offered in marriage without proper intimation a girl suffering from physical and mental defects is to be fined only 96 *paṇas* (VIII. 224). In the way if cattle destroy crops in a field, the owner of the grazing beasts makes good the damages, but this will not apply in the case of cows and bulls. Any misinformation in the question of border between two villages is to be punished with a fine of 200 *paṇas* (VIII. 263). In the

case of false allegation, a kṣatriya was fined 100 *paṇas* if the other party is of lower caste, a Vaiśya is fined 50 *paṇas* in similar circumstances but a Śūdra deserves to be killed. Similar fines are imposed on Brāhmaṇas and Vaiśyas if they falsely involved a person of upper caste in criminal cases. A Śūdra could not call names to a Brāhmaṇa nor was the latter to be ordered by him to do a thing. In such cases the transgressing Śūdra was to be punished by pouring fire hot oil into his ears or a spike of ten digits was to be thrust into his mouth. For mere insult of a Brāhmaṇa or *Dvija* the king was to cut off his lips. For minor thefts Manu recommends fines ranging from 5 *kṛṣṇala* to 50 *dama* to a larger fine of *paṇas*. In case of major case of theft decapitation of limbs or the part of the body instrumental in the crime was to be physically disabled (VIII. 334). Manu exculpates the crimes committed in self-defence as well as for the protection of one's spiritual tutor, children and Brāhmaṇas against a murderer (VIII. 348-51). Along with rape the offence of enticing a married woman was also punishable, but the degree of punishment depended on the caste of the convict, the lower his caste and higher the caste of the woman, the greater was the punishment he was given.

Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya endorses what Manu had said on perjury. Yājñavalkya also suggests similar punishment without details (VYAV. 81). The king was to discriminate between castes in respect of punishment for the same offence. The lower the caste of the offender in relation to the offended party the greater was the fine or corporal punishment and vice versa. There are also additional cases dealt with by Yājñavalkya. In case a person abuses another person's sister or mother he is fined 10 *paṇas*. If the offender suggested in abuse hurting the physical organs of the latter he was also fined. Yājñavalkya lays down rules for imposing fines in cases of impersonation, adulteration, profiteering and malpractices in weighing and measuring articles. For untraced

theft in villages the headman was to be responsible. The *Mārgapāla* bore responsibility for theft committed on his route if it remains untraced. If a thief was caught, he would be subjected to a corporal punishment such as decapitation of the limb which held him to steal. Such are Yājñavalkya's codes. The above paragraphs might give an idea of their nature, their crudity and oddity and their discriminatory and cruel penal provisions. We need not enter into other details about Yājñavalkya's recommendations, for they tally entirely with Manu's.

We have no means to ascertain whether the codes of Manu and Yājñavalkya were accepted in their entirety in Nepal. Probably they were not. But these might have guided the spirit of justice administered by our kings. In one instance however, the Nepalese unwritten codes might have differed. This is in respect of the rights of women. Looking into the status enjoyed by the woman under medieval practices retained up-to-date it is seen that she enjoyed freedom to talk to a male, to be in his company for social ceremonies and even marry a second time. This is in clear contravention of Manu's code which prescribes such intercourse except under specific circumstances. I do not also think that the administrators of the middle ages in Nepal though observing caste rules in social etiquette, food and touchability discriminated between castes in respect of crimes. The Brāhmaṇas surely escaped capital punishment and cows and bulls freely grazed over the green fields without the state's authority to fine their owners and make them pay damages. But perjury, false allegations, theft and robbery, profiteering and impersonation, defalcation and misuse of standard weights and measures were treated in the way Manu's codes prescribed them.

The Nepalese practice shows that the ancient codes were adapted to suit varying local conditions served by the community's own traditions. Here there was no question

of occasional charges by interpretation or by introduction of new treatises.⁷⁹ It is adaptations of codes according to the circumstances of the community. But the codes also represented traditions and of course, the Nepalese shared in common with other Hindu communities the orthodox traditions. But local circumstances varied from one community to another, and it was no wonder that in the middle ages our community exhibited much liberal features as compared to those who accepted in toto all that the Smṛtis had to recommend.

As we have already suggested above, most of the minor disputes and also such crimes committed were settled at the local level. So let us now turn our attention to the *pañchāyat* system as it then functioned in our country.

Pañchāyat: The village *Pañchāyat* was the people's court for the locality. The *Pañchāyat* looked into all minor cases, and gave their judgment. In many instances disputes of domestic concern went to the Council of Guṭhi. The Pañchas functioned originally as the agency for collective work of religious and social objective. In an inscription of Saṅkhu belonging to the reign of Jagajjayamalla, there is an expression *Prajā pañcha* (vide ante). A Ṭokhā inscription states that the Pañchas of the area had helped to collect people to witness a drama on 841 *Phālguṇa śudi 8*. An inscription of Jaybā-bahi in the city of Patan dated 808 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 3 hasta nakṣatre bṛhaspativāra*. Shows the *Pañcha* of Chākbahāra performing certain religious duty collectively in *Jyāṭhā vibāra (jyāṭhabahāla bahirisa puladayakāva pratiṣṭhāyāṅga.....chākhā bahāla tvālayā pañcha sakala sayānaruchhe dhagulisakalpe samohanam dayakā julo)*. The *tvāra-pañchas* figure in several inscriptions of the Bhatgaon area. From the inscription of the temple of Gachheṭol in Bhatgaon (868 *Bhādra śudi 12*) we know that the *Pañchas* of the *ṭol (thvāra pañcha)*

79 *Hindu Polity*, p. 330.

constructed the temple. Another inscription tells us that the *pañchas* of the Golmadhiṭol built a *pharechā* (a bench like structure with its roof) on 826 *Vaiśākha śudi 1* at a site near the temple of Virabhadra. We are told by the recorder of the inscription of the temple of Chaṇḍeśvarī in Bhatgaon that the *Pañchas* of Triprakochhe had built the structure having completed and formally opened the same on 848 *Jyestha kṛṣṇa 13 mṛgaśirā nakṣatre brddhi somavāla*.

We do not know how the body of the *Pañcha* was constituted. There is also no literature to inform us about its working, the range of its activities and its relation with the Prāmāṇa or the king. If the ancient tradition of local self-government had survived then, it was a comprehensive organisation that the local government of the village or urban area had maintained. As R. K. Mukherji said, 'the efficiency of local government required a variety of local bodies with differential spheres, structures, and functions, by which alone a system of administration could be effectively adjusted to the complex needs of heterogeneous communities'.⁸⁰ Surely, we do not get a picture answering to the adjustment as outlined in the above passage. But the *Pañchas* either in the village or town areas might have rendered a variety of functions to cater to the multiple requirements of the society at different stages. One of the important activities the local bodies had to do was to look after the temples, build them or maintain them at their own expense. But they also took upon themselves the duties of serving the various collective needs of the area, e.g. building and irrigation work, roads, sanitation etc. They also provided rest houses for the tired travellers and glens for the needy. They had both religious and secular functions, though in many cases it may appear that one was not separable from the other.

⁸⁰ *Local Government in Ancient India* by R. K. Mukherji, Oxford, 1920, p 202.

As to the mode of constituting the body of the *pañcha*, it is not possible even to make a remote hint. The ancient law-givers stressed that the local bodies should be manned with those who were pure and learned in Vedas, and belonged to noble families.⁸¹ They also suggested that the personnel might not be numerically large, 2 or 3 or 5 will suffice. Manu⁸² prescribed 10, and he desired election of those who were proficient in religious texts as well as of those who followed other professions. Now, in the absence of any evidence to tell us about the composition of the body of the *Pañchas*, it is impossible to say if the same conformed to the statement of the Hindu law-givers. But it might be that in constituting the *Pañcha* of the area, a consideration was given to learning, age and noble birth.⁸³ Perhaps it was also the practice to elect the *pañcha* at a meeting of the entire adult population of the area. But we have no source to show how the *pañcha* at the upper tier was constituted. For example, it is not possible to know the basis for the composition of the town *pañcha*.

Sometimes the *pramukha* of a *ṭol* also figures in records e.g. (1) in the inscription of Golmodhiṭol in Bhatgaon, which commemorates the occasion of completing the

81 बृहस्पति (XVII. 9, 10)

शुचयो वेद धर्मज्ञा दक्षादान्ताः कुलोद्भवाः ।

सर्वकार्ये प्रवीणाश्च कर्तव्याश्च महोत्तमाः ॥

द्वौ तयः पञ्चवाकार्या समूह हितवादिनाः ।

धर्मज्ञाः शुचयोऽलुब्धा भवेयुः कार्यचिन्तकः ।

कर्तव्यं वचनं तेषां समूह हितवादिनाम् ॥—(याज्ञवल्क्य, II. 191)

82 दशा वरो परिषदयं धर्मं परिकल्पयेत् ।

त्र्यवराः वापि वृत्तस्था तं धर्मं न विचोत्तयेत् ॥—(मनु, XII. 11)

83 चातुर्वैद्यं य अङ्गं विदधर्मपाठकः आश्रमस्थास्त्रयो विप्राः पर्षदेशा

दशावराःविधो हेतुकस्तर्को नैरुक्तो धर्मपाठकः तयश्चा श्रमिणः पूर्वे परिषत्सु
स्याद्दशावराः ।—(बौधायन, I, 1, 1, 8)

construction of an image of Gaṇeśa called *tvāra Gaṇeśa* (the Gaṇeśa of the ṭol) on 762 *Phālguna ādityavāra* ; (2) in the inscription of a *pāti* (near the Nārāyaṇa temple) in Inayaṭol, in Ṭhimi. which states that the *Pañchas* with *pramukha Jayamohan Duara* constructed the *Pharechā*. It appears that the *Duāra* of the area was also the head of the ṭol in the townlet. He might have been a leading figure in the locality, and might have combined the non-official function of a *Pramukha* with the official duty of a *Duāra*.

Relation with the Chaubisis: It is evident from a pledge (*Dharmapatra*) deed executed by Rājā Jayaprakāśamalla that there used to be a representative *vakil* from Kathmandu at the court of Gorkhā and vice versa. We have also marked the facts of these princes of the Valley fighting not only with one another but at times collectively or individually with the neighbouring Chaubisi. It was also a fact that the alignment was not entirely regional. Sometimes it crossed regional frontiers and also family bonds and we meet with instances of the princes of the Valley fighting one against the other with the help of the outsiders more particularly Gorkhā and Tanhou. Although there was no marital relationship between the Chaubisi and the Nepal Valley princes participated in festivities and at times intimate relations developed between one prince of the Valley with another of the Chaubisi group on account of the practice of *Mityeri*, by which one pleaded loyalty and friendship to the other through a sacred ritual. The feeling of intimacy was such that not one of them looked upon the other as strangers. Not only the three kingdoms of the Valley but with them also the Chaubisis behaved towards one another as members of a big family in that context. Even when there was a fight, and in that course territorial encroachment by the same comity. It would be wrong to distinguish the conflicts as something of an international conflagration and different from the one which involved a member of the Valley with the outsiders.

If one's character was internecine, the other was in no way otherwise looked in a large context.

New Entrants: While dealing with Pratāpamalla's reign, we have said that the Valley of Nepal was since a long time past attracting a large number of settlers from outside, the Brāhmaṇas, Khasas and Magaras, and amongst these quite a few enjoyed royal patronage and obtained free hold of land in various capacities. The emigration was gradual and up till the close of the period it appears the number of such settlers had become fairly significant. Siddhinarasiṃhamalla had granted some land to one Harikṛṣṇa Āchārya in Godāvāri (south-east Valley). Similarly Jayaparakāśamalla bestowed a free hold of lands in Mudikhu (north-east) on one Śivanārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. In the copper plate inscriptions of Jagajjayamalla attached to the Chāṅgu temple, the Brāhmaṇas, Khasas and Magars of the area are forbidden to chop logs of wood in the local forest and sell them in Bhatgaon.⁸⁴ This suggests that this part of the Valley was wholly inhabited by the new settlers. From accounts of Jayaparakāśamalla's reign, the importance of this problem will appear all the greater as we find the fighting forces enlisting a large number of the newcomers into the ranks and even officered by the latter.

By the beginning of the 18th century A. D. the Khasa and Magars were the only elements employed in the standing army of the kings of Nepal. During the war with Gorkhā the ruler of Kathmandu fought with these men, and they served him loyally. It appears that they were better fighters than the Newars of the Valley and this was the reason they were being recruited for the armed force to the exclusion of the local inhabitants. But the latter were allowed to participate in battles as auxiliaries.

According to the chronicle Ratnamalla (NS 602-640) was

84 Inscription n. 137 in our Appendix.

first king of the Valley to start the practice of enlisting Khasas and Magars as soldiers in his pay.

Relation with China: It appears since 1427 no Chinese mission came to Nepal. According to a Chinese source—‘During the ninth year of Young-tcheng (1731), the three tribes which composed the country of Pa-lo-pou (Nepal), those of Ye-long (Patan), of Pou-yen (Bhatgaon) and of K’oukou Mou (Kathmandu) addressed each of them, a petition to the Emperor written on gold leaves and offered as a gift the products of the country’.⁸⁵

A little later the Chinese Resident in Tibet informed the court of Peking that ‘the three Khans of countries beyond Tibet desired to send tribute’. The emperor replied that owing to length of journey matters had to be settled in Tibet.⁸⁶ Seven years later a new official report announced that the three Khans of Nepal were at war. This war probably referred to their struggle with Gorkhā. There was no further attempt in behalf of the Chinese to renew contacts with the Nepalese authorities as to their tribute or any other matter. The so-called Khans had been eliminated in 1768-69 and a new power had been born in Nepal. It is difficult to say if the Chinese ever cared to know what has happened to Nepal at this time.

Relation with Tibet: From the account of a Capuchin Padre written in the early years of the 18th century we gather that Nepal’s relation with Tibet was regulated by a treaty. If what the chronicle says is correct, then this treaty must have been the one which this authority speaks of to have been signed by Bhīmamalla in the beginning of the 17th century. Probably, this treaty

⁸⁵ *History of the Conquest of Nepal*, translated Imbault-Huart *Journal Asiatique*, 1878. p. 357, Levi, I, p. 170.

⁸⁶ E. H. Parker, *Nepal and China in Asia*, *Quart. Review*, 1899. p. 64, 82.

incorporated a revised draft of the old treaty. The new treaty gave possession of Kuṭi to Tibet, though nominal suzerainty had continued to be vested in Nepal. However, other provisions were to the advantage of Nepal. One of these enabled the Nepalese authorities to have trade agents in Kuṭi, Jigatse and Lhasa. Each of the three governments in Nepal had its own representatives. These heard and tried judicial cases of the Nepalese citizens within their jurisdiction. Another provided for the circulation of Nepalese currency in Tibet but the coins had to be of pure silver. The king of Nepal appointed officers to take charge of the outposts on the border. In regard to the area under occupation of Tibet in Kuṭi sector, the approval of Nepal was necessary for confirmation of the appointment of the governor and officers.

In commercial transaction, the Nepalese enjoyed a privileged position that was denied to other foreigners. They paid less import duty. They paid portorage at government rate. They were also entitled to refuse to pay the tax which the Tibetan Government levied on the entry of a person.⁸⁷

According to the life of Seventh Dalai Lama by Lcan-skyā Rol-pa'i-rod-rje chang chia Qutuqtu, these political missions visited Lhasa in 1721 A.D from Dsumli (Jumla), Yambu (Kathmandu) and Ye-ran (Patan).⁸⁸ In that year a large number of Tibetans had also fled to Nepal because of the Dsungar invasion.⁸⁹

Polha-nas, a minister of Tibet, in the thirties of the 18th century repaired the *Stūpa* of Bya-run-K'a-sol in Nepal with the money obtained from Skyid-ron (Kerrong) and Sa-dga.⁹⁰

87 Wessels, *Early Jesuits*, etc, p. 132; Desideri's *Account of Tibet* (London, 1931), BK IV, Chapter 3, pp. 309-22, 428-30.

88 Petech, *China and Tibet in the 18th century*, 1950, p. 70.

89 Ibid, p. 51.

90 Ibid, p. 109.

Padma-rgyal-po, father of Po-lha-nas is reported to have fought the Nepalese in the eighties of the 17th century.

A stone inscription in Svayambhunātha (on the outer wall of the temple to the west of the *Stūpa*)⁹¹ states that a Lama of Tibet by name Syāmārpā had come to Kathmandu in 871 and helped in the reconstruction of the structure of the *Stūpa*. It appears that although political relation between Tibet and Nepal had lapsed, cultural and trade contacts had continued as before even in abnormal conditions of the war with Gorkhā.

II

ECONOMIC LIFE

Let us now proceed to discuss some aspects of economic life, even if factual data on the subject be meagre.

We start with the next paragraph by initially presenting a quotation from a Capuchin Padre's diary which will provide a general survey, however, brief, of the cultivation of the Nepal Valley in the early eighteenth century. Here follows the quotation:

"The Valley is fertile, rice and citrus fruits are abundant, but wheat is scarce. There is prohibition on distillation of wheat. Oil is made out of *Tori* (mustard) but it is also not so abundant. Butter is scarce ; so we use *tori* oil. People get their drink from sugarcane. Buffalo meat is sold in shops at a suitable price" (Father Loro's letter).

The Valley of Nepal appears to be rich in food products, and it also obtained supplies of other necessities and comforts from within its own borders. Meat and drink were cheaply priced and always within reach of the poor and rich alike.

91 Inscription n. 151 in our Appendix.

The peasants laboured hard in the field. The artisan worked industriously at his workshop. The trader and shopkeeper earned his honest profit. The aristocracy consisting of the king, his nobility and priests patronised art and learning and encouraged and supported those engaged in industry and trade as well as those in agriculture and husbandry. The picture painted is that of a bounteous nature working with an industrious agricultural and artisan classes. The Malla period was undoubtedly a period of material and cultural progress. It was an age which did not know of slavery. Although kings and princes intrigued and fought amongst themselves, the mass of humanity believed in tolerance and fellow feeling. Yet it could not be said that life was all contentment for the toiling poor. Whenever there was bad harvest, the brunt was to be borne by the cultivators. They were the worst sufferers from famine and pestilence.

Agriculture was the main occupation of the people, whether it was producing cereals or raising other crops, such as those which yielded fibre, a great part of the population was engaged in this pursuit. Rice was the most important cereal. Next in importance came maize, rye, barley, beans and pulses. Onions, garlicks and potatoes available throughout the year formed intermediate crops every fourth or fifth month with two crops in a year. The time of sowing and harvesting was the same as it is today. Land was not ploughed, but tilling was done by spade. And no season passed without some or other kind of crops in the field, which meant that land was used for all the twelve months. Usually there were three crops, one that was sown in March and reaped in July-August, another sown in July-August and harvested in October and the third sown in November and harvested in March-April. Milling and husking of rice was done over a wooden pot, called *Uga* (Sanskrit *Udgala*) beaten with the help of heavy wooden poles (*lusi*) by two or three women. Nepal got its needful oil from its own products of rye pressed in its own hand mills.

In several inscriptions of the time issued by the rulers is mentioned a common variety of preparation of *gur* (sugar) used in offerings in temples and much widely consumed on ceremonial occasions, which was called *chāku*. Sugarcane, however, was not cultivated and sugar was obtained from a site just outside in the west.

The success or failure of crops depended on the vagaries of monsoons, north-east or south-west. But the state had improvised irrigation facilities for all contingencies of drought and late arrival of rains. We have seen how in different reigns canals were constructed to irrigate fields and distribution of water regulated to avoid disputes at the time of sowing (see above *Yakṣamalla's* and *Jitāmitra's* edicts); such canals exist even today and known as *Rājā* (royal) *kulo* are usefully rendering adequate service as was their wont in the past.

There was no problem of inundations in the Valley, and the entire area was absolutely safe on that account.

Agriculture: Land and Cultivation: Although Nepal included some territories outside the Valley as parts of its political kingdoms, its economic resources were mainly concentrated in Nepal proper which is a Valley watered by the *Bāgmati* system of rivers with their sources in the *Śivapuri-Phulchok* ranges or the ranges on their two sides. Of course, certain riverine valleys touched the feet of the surrounding ranges of the Nepal valleys from the otherside. These were the *Tādī* and *Indrāvati* valleys in the north, the valley of *Banepā* in the east and the valley of *Pālung*, of rivers *Mahesakholā* and *Kaghbeni* in the west. These were little Nepals, and contributed in their own way to the well-beings and prosperity of the Nepalese (in the old sense) on the whole. However, the major portion of the resources were produced in Nepal proper, and I need not add that land was the most important factor in all this. We are considering that aspect of economy which is related to land.

Proprietorship of Land: First let us deal with the subject of the ownership of land. We shall not repeat here the discussion about the theory of *the State versus individual ownership of land*. It is now become irrelevant. The medieval state was no less authoritarian than Manu's *daṇḍa*. The *daṇḍa* in Manu's own words is the creation of God. It is the source of energy and strength to the king, which was to be defied by anybody on earth. It symbolised the highest authority, and was the master of the situation. In modern parlance the *daṇḍa* was the embodiment of all state authorities. It was supreme, its order could not be transgressed. Although Manu does not say expressly that the king was the *daṇḍa* personified, he implies anything of such statements by making the king as the possessor of the *daṇḍa*. Whoever possesses the *daṇḍa* was the master of the entire country.

The overall proprietorship of all the wealth in land was vested in the state personified by the ruler. The cultivators had also his right on the land but this was subject to the right enjoyed by the state. The tenure of landholding depended either on the claim of the tenant as a proprietor-cultivator or simply as a tenant tilling the land under a freeholder or a *Guthi* endowment (see below). We do not find any trace of a system of Zamindāri. But there were large areas of freeholds in all parts of territories within the jurisdiction of the three Valley rulers. The class of landed aristocracy based on freeholds could emerge in the new situation which developed on the division of Nepal. The grants of freeholds by several rulers had deprived the state of a large slice of revenue. But all treasure trovers and mineral resources lying underneath the land belonged invariably to the state except where it was specified otherwise.

We have several inscriptions of the period which make grants of land and these show the linear measure adopted.

Measurement: Land measurement based as in other medieval systems on 'natural tests such as finger breadths, span and cubits.' The largest measure was *ro* derived from Sanskrit *ropanikā*. *Ropanikā* stems from the root *ropa*, which means to plant. This standard of land measurement is to be found only in the Nepal Valley. Neither classical texts nor other records of India on the subject have ever used this expression for land measurement. *Ropanikā* is a specially Nepalese word introduced by the local administrators for their purpose.

The *ropani* or *ro* is the highest standard of measurement and each *ro* measured 4 *jawas* in area. The *jawa* was also called *chulchhi*. We have another measurement known as *Karṣa* from the Sanskrit root *Kṛṣa* as is evident from expressions used in some inscriptions. What exact area was covered by a *ro* or *jawa* or a *karṣa* is not known. But about a hundred years after the end of the Malla period, a *ropani* measured 343.6 sq. ft. as appears from the following table provided to Percival Landon in 1928 (London, I, p. 255).

A.

8 lines	=	1 inch
12 inches	=	1 foot
3 feet	=	1 yard (Gaj)
9 feet 3 inches or 6 cubits and 4 finger-breadths	=	1 chain (<i>jañjūr</i>)
16 square chains	=	1 <i>Muri</i>
4 <i>Muris</i>	=	1 <i>Ropani</i>
25 <i>Ropanis</i>	=	1 <i>khet</i> nearly 2 acres.

B.

4 <i>dams</i>	=	1 <i>paisa</i>
4 <i>paisa</i>	=	1 <i>anna</i>
4 <i>annas</i>	=	1 <i>jawa</i> or <i>chulchhi</i>
4 <i>chulchhi</i> or <i>jawas</i>	=	1 <i>Ropani</i> or 2 <i>Vapi</i>
25 <i>Ropanis</i>	=	1 <i>Bhūmi</i> or <i>Khet</i> .

The present measurement is as follows:

$13\frac{1}{2}' \times 13\frac{1}{2}'$	=	1 <i>dhur</i>
$37' \times 37'$	=	1 <i>Muri</i>
4 <i>Muris</i>	=	1 <i>Ropani</i>
20 <i>Kaththas</i>	=	1 <i>Bighā</i>

This is a system of measurement which equates the equivalent area with the *bighā* system as it is prevalent in the Terai.

It appears from the above table that a *jawa* covered approximately an area measuring 16 square chains $(9.3 \text{ ft})^2 = 85.9 \text{ sq. ft.}$

Four times this area i.e. $72' \times 72' = 5184 \text{ sq. feet}$ could make one *ropani* or *ro*.

Sometimes the length of the *janjir* changed and changes have appeared to reduce the length as we proceed from one period to another. Perhaps the length was being reduced as time passed and we descended towards the present century. It has been suggested that in the middle of the 19th century it measured 12 ft or 4 yards so that a *jawa* or a *muri* covered a tract of 16 sq. yds. Earlier it comprised a bigger area of land. Kirkpatrick who visited the Nepal Valley in 1792 writes that the Newars had a land measurement by *ropani* equivalent to 3 'cottahs and 3 quarters of a Bengal' (*bighā*). This would mean about 13 *ropanis* to a *bighā* (4840 sq. yards). He further added that 4 *muris* made a *ropani*. Thus far it is alright. But he confuses the measures by making a *muri* equivalent to 75 *dhoors* or $3\frac{3}{4}$ *cottahs*. By present standard a *bighā*⁹⁹ measures nearly $13\frac{1}{2}$ *ropanis*. Even if we consider a larger chain of measurement for a *muri* and *ropani*, Kirkpatrick's statement is too wide of the mark in as much as it shows a disproportionately larger area for the *muri*. In the Moghul period the measurement known as *Akbari Gaj* was of a length of 41 finger-breadths, which was solely

employed for measuring lands. According to Edward Thomas,⁹³ the *Akbari Gaj* measured 29.92016 English inches or 30 inches for $41\frac{1}{2}$ Sikandari of the length of $41\frac{1}{2}$ finger-breadth. We do not know how the Nepalese measured their *Gaj* or yard to measure their cloth. In the Gorkhā period it was 2 cubits, each cubit measuring 2 spans of 12 finger-breadths each, which was also the prescribed length for a *hasta* in Manu. Each finger-breadth measured 8 *yavas* or barley corns. This might have been true of the measurement of cloth. But what about the measurement of land? In the absence of further information we are at a loss to find out either in Akbari system or Manu's the equivalent of a *ropaṇi* or *muri*. So to carry the argument any further along the line we have up till now traversed will bear no fruit. There is one more difficulty. There is a difference in the breadth of fingers as well as barley corns as to size. Thus unless we find a measurement based on the modern linear system, our difficulties will not disappear. There will be a rough but no a ready measuring standard until we trace a means to equate both but this is not possible in the present condition of our knowledge. Hamilton visiting Nepal in 1801 A.D. said that a 25 *ropaṇi* plot producing in an average 100 *muris* of paddy was called *Khet*. He refutes Kirkpatrick's statement which had said that a *ropaṇi* measured $3\frac{3}{4}$ *Katahs* of land in terms of Calcutta measure. It was said that the chain had been reduced in length from $9\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. This was a measure for a *muri* area.

In the ancient past we have heard seed measure or plough measure of land. By plough measure it was meant to convey the idea of a measurement of land which could be ploughed by a pair of bullocks in a working day. In the Valley of Nepal as no plough was used and instead the same work was done by a spade called *Ko*, we may suggest that actually the land measurement might mean to cover an area dug by

93 *Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 31.

a man with his spade during the working hours of a day. The seed measure has to be viewed with reference to sowing and planting operations. It may refer to the quantity of seeds sown or seedlings planted over an area within the working hours of a certain day. The area to have been worked under was to make allowance for a space for each of them to grow without restraint as is the practice today. But the same might also apply to the specified measure of yields from a ploughed or spaded area, the emphasis being on the yield so that the size of the field thus cultivated was accordingly defined. Thus a *muri* measure of land may be of a size, which on cultivation yielded a *muri* i.e about 80 lbs of rice. In the case of the plantation measure the area covered by seedling planted during the whole day was under measurement according to *Ro* measure.

The Malla rulers of Nepal in the later medieval age used the *ropani* measure for the Valley and *muri* measure for lands outside. Thus they correlated both the standards of measurements and established an accepted equation between the two. Perhaps the acreage under plantation worked for the duration of the day produced four-fold amount of paddy. When the land was measured by hand the *ropani* was said to equal the area producing 4 *muris* in quantity, each *muri* thus measuring again $\frac{1}{2}$ *Vapi* or 1 *Jawa* or *Jawachhi* or *Chulchhi*. Some inscriptions show along with *Ropani*, and *Vapi* a third measure, that of a cubit (*hasta*). So it is desirable that the *hasta* as well as the relation between these measurements *Ro*, *Vapi*, *Karṣa*, and *Ku* are better defined here at this stage. The land grant documents show these measurements as well as the *muri* when they deal with lands in the hilly tracts outside the Nepal Valley. An outsider Jogi Varanātha by name had donated 60 *muris* of land situated in Deorālī (in west No. 1 district) to feed every year the 12 sect monks of the *sampradāya* on *Vaiśākha śukla* 8 coinciding with the *Jātrā* of Machhendranātha (*Itihāsa Prakāśa*, II, 3, p. 45). There are similar other records, which support

the conclusion that the *muri* measurement obtained from outside the Valley.

Elderly Newar peasants tell us that what they heard from forefathers about the size of a measuring rod or chain was the fact of its being full 16 cubits long. If this was true then a *Chulchhi* i. e. $\frac{1}{2}$ *ro* was measured into $16 \times 16 = 416$ sq. cubits, four times of which would be a *ro*. We do not as yet get a source from which this conclusion would be supported. We can only assess the measurement on the evidence of reliable documents, which, so far, are lacking in such information. But sometimes all these key denominations, *Ro*, *Vapi*, *Chulchhi*, *Jawa* and *Karṣa* are traced in use together in records of land grant in a common context. This may provide us a clue to understand their relative measurement. But let us see if the available inscriptions and *Thyāsapus* throw sufficient light on important subject.

Every land granted bore its own name. The record of the grant invariably mentions the name, *bhūmī.....sajñakam* and it seems to have been essential not to avoid the nomenclature of a field or orchard whenever a grant or sale had had to be made. Along with the name the grant also mentioned its boundaries referring to highways or forests or rivers or a privately owned land. For reference to boundaries the expression used is *chātraghāta*. We shall point out here the many inscriptions which have recorded land grants with full particulars of the lands, the donee's name and conditions if any under which the latter was to enjoy his newly acquired possession. The reader's attention is drawn in this connection to the palm leaf grant records n. I to X in our Appendix 2, to all copper plate grants in the same section and also to all documents in *Purātatvapatrasaṅgraha*, I.⁹⁴ All these will give us an idea of the process of transfer of the ownership of land either by grant or sale as well as the measure of lands.

From a minute study of the details of the terms used for various measurements of lands we find that the field producing paddy by plantation is measured to *ropani*, *Vapi* and *chulchhi*; the area covered by these standards surely stood in diminishing proportion from the first to the third. The *Vapi* and *chulchhi* were the fragments of the *ropani*. *Karṣa* is mostly used to measure the lands used as orchards or to build a house or a cottage for animals or gardens in the low level valleys, as well as all kinds of lands on the declivity of the hill where probably the cultivation was done by sowing the seeds and not by plantation. In the latter category of land crops sown are *Ghaiya* paddy, maize, millet, barley and mustard.

The standard of measurements was obviously a chain or bamboo rod of a certain length measured in so many cubits. The cubit was called *Ku*, and only in a few specific instances the four boundaries of the land concerned are shown in cubits and their total area recorded as so many *ropanis* or its fragments. Thus far we can produce only 2 documents in this connection. The copper plate inscription of Raṇajitamalla (doc. 20 in the *Purātatvapatrasaṅgraha*, I) records the sale of land by the king to Kṛṣṇa Jhā which measured 11 *ropanis* in all confined to an area which extended from east to west to 198 cubits and from north to south to 591 cubits. Another record, a copper plate of Bhūpatīndramalla (*NS 829 Vaiśākha śudi 11*) published in the *Purātatvapatrasaṅgraha*, I (pp. 30-31), gives the measurement of the four sides of the three *ropanis* of land sold to one Bīrbhadra Thāpā as follows: East 230 cubits, south 76 cubits, west 234 cubits and north 66 cubits.

We have no means to grasp the implication of the measurement given in the second instance. This does not at least help us to indicate the measurement in terms of a square or rectangular area as *ropanis* or other standard measures as adopted at the present time. However, the bilateral measurement given in the first case might give us the

way out to determine the area involved in a rectangle if we multiply the two figures, and divide the same by 11 to break into a piece of a *ropani* each. Thus the calculation would bring $\frac{198 \times 591}{11} = \frac{117018}{11} = 10638$ sq. cubits for a *ropani*.

It is, however, difficult rather impossible to reconcile this measurement with the one existing at present, $72' / 72' = 1584$ sq. feet. With our method of calculation ; the old *ropani* would be at least ten times bigger. Even if we make allowance for a larger reduction in the length of the rod or chain, the difference between the two as we got it in the usual course is definitely untenable. The cubits (*hasta* or *ku*) and digits (*aṅgula*) were in the medieval ages the basic standards of measurements in the subcontinent wherever it may be. All other measurements will have to be reduced to these standards if we are to make the system clear to understanding. I think it is better to persue the matter of finding out a linear measurement for the *ropanis* and other terms which the moderners can understand.

The charters granted for accommodation to the Capuchin Missionaries (see the section below) all refer to cubits and digits as measurement of the land allotted to the Christians. The cubit preceded digit, therefore it is clear that it was the higher standard adopted in the basic categories. The records show digits upto 38 (d. NS 774 by Rājyaparakāśa) but we have yet to know how many square cubits formed a *chulchhi* bearing in mind the fact that the latter was the lowest denomination in the *ropani* measurement. One charter, the one granted for accommodation to the Missionaries in Kathmandu, specifies 3 *chulchhis* as 3 *padas*, which clearly means three parts of a unit. There were four parts to a *ropani*, and a *chulchhi* formed one such a copper plate inscription of Jagajjayamalla (in the possession of Paśupatiñātha) records the grant of land measured *Pādonatrichatvārimṣati ropanika ksetrāṅkatopi bu ro 42 chula 3* in NS 843. The Newari version makes it clear that 43 *ro*—1 *pada* is equivalent to *ro 42* and

chula 3, thus indirectly maintaining that 4 *chula* is equal to 1 *ropani*. Having established the equation between a *ropani* and *chulchhi*, 1:4, it will now be possible to equate *chulchhi* with *Jawa*.

Jawa or *Jawachhi* is never shown beyond the 3 pieces, which again indirectly goes to support the proposition of 4 *Jawachhi* equating *ropani*. The present usage both in regard to *chulchhi* and *Jawachhi* does not show any deviation from the old position.

Karṣa might have been a measurement both for lands in the higher altitude of the hills where crops are sown and for paddy fields in the Valley. If the soil happened to be gardens then there is no question of finding out a measure in terms of productivity. But if it lies within a hilly area called today a *pākho*, its measurement would be shown as many *mānās* (a *mānā*=1 lb) and *pāthi* (=8 lbs) in terms of its capacity to contain the dry seeds sown over its ploughed surface. Then the productivity per certain plot of a dimension is equated with that of a *chulchhi*. Today *Karṣa* has gone out of use. Its place has been taken by the *vijan* (seed) or *hal* (plough) or *Kodāl* (spade measurement). The ratio of the one measure with the other has been arrived at haphazardly on the basis of their produce.

But in a few instances *Karṣa* also comes along with the *ro* in the same context as measurement in application to the paddy planting soil. And here the wording shows that *Karṣa* was another equivalent of *chulchhi* or $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *ro*. For example two inscriptions of the Mulchok in Bhatgaon Palace mention *Karṣa* along with *ropanis* as half the latter in measure. The inscriptions are (1) Yoganarendramalla's copper plate dated 818, where the king records along with other specified lands the grant of a land $4\frac{1}{2}$ *ropanis* in a particular area, *Sārdhachaturropanikā*, expressed in Newari *rova* 4 *karṣa* 2 and (2) Viśvalakṣmī's (Raṇajitamalla's mother) copper plate of 842 making a gift of land of *Sārdhasaptaropanikā* again expressed

in Newari as 7 *ro* and 2 *karṣa*. In both *ardharopani* is expressed as 2 *karṣas*. So a *karṣa* would be equivalent to a *chulchhi* or *jawa*.

The issue of finding out in square cubits or digits the measurement for a *chulchhi*, however, remains. The *hasta* and *aṅgula* in the Capuchini charters will not help us as these are used to measure the length of the additional land given to the missions for outside communication to the house. No idea of a square plot is intended to convey.

The measurement of land used for building a house is done in a different way at the moment. According to Percival Landon (II:255)

1 22½ <i>hāts</i> (cubits)	=	1 <i>Jawa</i>
4 <i>Jawas</i>	=	1 <i>Khā</i>

The chronicler states that Sthitimalla had fixed the total area of a house according to the situation, the larger the area the nearer the house to the main road. The charters granted to the Capuchin Padres mention lands specified as *chhekha* 4 and *Keva khā* 13 (Inscription n. 144 in our Appendix). The *Khā* thus covers a specially measurement plot of land. There also must be a standard measurement for each *Khā*. But we have no means of fixing a measurement for a *khā* of any variety. A *Khā* is divided into four parts as the present practice cited by Landon shows. But how much cubits actually are involved in a plot of a part or the whole is not known.

Further we have yet to determine how the area cultivated by a method of transplantation of seedlings is to be equated with the one either measured in terms of produce or cultured by sowing seeds. The capacity of *karṣa* if it is a measure of paddy is also not known and that adds to our difficulties.

The ancient law-givers do not give us adequate understanding. The European visitors of the late 18th century present confused picture. Thus ultimately we have to base our conclusion on the system of measurement as it existed

before it came to be officially recognised a little more than hundred years ago, which, however, is not traced in its accuracy. This does not vary much from the present measurement.

Then a *chulchhi* was equivalent to a *muri*, which means it was in area $9.3' \times 9.3'$ square feet expressed in English linear measure. They say that the *chulchhi* was larger in area than the present measurement. It was $4 \text{ yds} \times 4 \text{ yds} = 16 \text{ sq. Gaj}$. But the *gaj* of those days might not have corresponded to 36." According to Edward Thomas the largest length of the *gaj* at any time during the Moghul period was never 36." We have the *Akbari gaj* of 46 fingers and *Sikandari gaj* of $41\frac{1}{2}$ fingers ($29.92016''$).⁹⁵ The largest *gaj* might be a little more in length say 32" as Dr. Thomas suggests. Our law-givers like Kauṭilya and Mārkaṇḍeya have also suggested a length of 48 *aṅgulas* for 2 cubits i. e. a medieval *gaj*. It is likely that Nepal which followed ancient Indian tradition so faithfully in all times might have adopted a measuring *daṇḍa* handed down to us in that order. So a longer measuring rod or chain for Nepal could be envisaged, which might approach the present *gaj* in length. I do not suppose that anything more can be said about the *chulchhi* in measurement. We could suppose that the area of a *karṣa* produced a *muri* of *Ghaiyā* paddy or other grains like millet or maize or *kāguno*. Although the seed was sown, the measurement was being calculated according to its produce, which is not so at the present time. At the end we shall add a table of measurement to our discourse.

26 to 24 digits or fingers	= 1 <i>hasta</i>
2 <i>hastas</i>	= 1 <i>gaj</i>
4 <i>gaj</i> × 4 <i>gaj</i>	= 16 sq. <i>gaj</i> = 1 <i>chulchhi</i> or <i>karṣa</i> or <i>Jawa</i> or <i>Muri</i>
4 <i>chulchhi</i>	= 1 <i>ropaṇi</i> .

95 S. K. Maiti: *Economic History of Northern India*, pp. 35 ff.

Systems of Land Tenure: There were crown lands under private ownership. Crown lands belonged to the rulers in their personal capacity. These were called *Rājakṣetra* and consisted of tilled lands, forest lands, deforested lands, waste and barren lands and common lands not cultivated used as grazing areas or for other purposes. The ruler made a grant of land to his favourites in two different ways. Either he made a straight grant of specified area of crown land to the grantee or made a sale of it to him at a nominal price. Sometimes he purchased lands from private possessions and made them over to the grantees. All lands given by the rulers as grants were exempted from paying taxes to the government. I think that the exemption of taxation also applied to lands sold by the ruler to a private individual if the deal was made under some conditions. The latter kind of deal was struck with the king's favourites in special circumstances. But at times the ruler was to part with his crown lands under compulsion of adverse circumstances, and he exacted either a full price or a nominal price or mortgaged it as it suited his needs and the dictates of his plight.

There were peasant proprietors and tenants. The latter enjoyed some rights over the lands they farmed or did not enjoy as such at all. The tenants in the latter case were evicted easily or their term for tilling was renewed annually at the will of the landlords. The tillers with tenancy right invariably were those holding lands in their own rights but subject to some conditions imposed by the landlord.

There were not many who enjoyed a very large possession of landed property. Even taking the area comprising the three principalities of Nepal, we do not find an extensive land mass in view.

There might have been large landed estates but these could be qualified so only relatively speaking. Indeed the royal family themselves belonged to this class. And there were

those whom we are used to know as the *Bhāros* in our inscriptions, from whose ranks came the ministers and district administrators. From records of land grants it is known that the largest donation of land came from the king and he was followed by other members of the Royal family and then the aristocratic landlords. The king was not only the master of all the royal landed estates but all lands in the kingdom not brought under plough belonged to him. So even in a limited sphere the gamut of his munificence in respect of grants of land was much wider than anybody else's. But land grants in many cases do not involve holdings of a large size nor they together constituted a large area when scattered plots had been given. The granted lands ranged from 5 *ropaṇis* to 25 *ropaṇis* on an average. There are grants of land going up to 300 *ropaṇis*. At the most one record mentions 1500 *ropaṇis*. Let me now give a gist of certain land grants to enable the reader to have an idea of the size of lands granted. These will be treated as specimens of larger category of grants in respect of the extant of land used for grants to temples or individuals, mostly priests.

A grant of land measuring 96 *ropaṇis* was made to a Brāhmaṇa by Jayaparakāśa to one Lilāmbara Jaisi of Gvala (Deopatan) in 884, and he was to enjoy to possess a *Kuṣa Virtā*⁹⁶. The land was situated on the bank of river Bāgmati to its south. A minister of king Nṛpendramalla donated 100 *ropaṇis* of land to a temple of Mahādeva in Kathmandu. This was one of the biggest land grants made by a person outside the royal family.⁹⁷

(a) A record of the grant of 200 *ropaṇis* of land to a monastery in Bhatgaon is available from the inscription of Gaṅgādevī dated NS 692. A fragment at the end talks of a grant of another piece of land to the extent of 105 *ropaṇis* in the time of Raṇajitamalla in 862.⁹⁸

96 *Purātatvapratrasaṅgraha*, I.

97 Inscription not published. But I possess the rubbing.

98 Inscription n. 25 in our Appendix.

(b) Bhīmamalla granted 62 *ropaṇis* of land to the temple of Śiva in Yatkhāṭol (Kathmandu) in 763.⁹⁹

(c) The grant of 430 *ropaṇis* of land in all by Pratāpamalla to Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa mentioned in the inscription of a temple of Viṣṇu situated at the western outskirt of the city of Bhatgaon (date NS 781, Inscription n. 61 in our App.).

(d) Siddhinarasiṃha's donation of land of more than hundred *ropaṇis* extent to the shrine of Lord Kṛṣṇa in 757 for the annual *Pūjās* on different occasions (BLI's 17).

(e) The builder of the Naudeval in Kathmandu who was the minister of Nṛpendramalla had donated land to the extent of 100 *ropaṇis* in 795 (Inscription n. 76 in our Appendix).

(f) Two texts of inscriptions speak of land donation 49 *ropaṇis* and 120 *ropaṇis* by Bhūpālendramalla and Jagajjayamalla respectively (*Purātatvapatrasaṅgraha*, I, pp. 5, 11).

There were grants of land of smaller areas as well. In the Paśupatinātha copper plate of Jagajjayamalla, we have a land grant of 29 *ropaṇis* to a Brāhmaṇa made on 843 *Chaitra śudi 11*.

Jayaprakāśamalla made a grant of 50 *ropaṇis* of land to a Brāhmaṇa according to the copper plate inscription of Paśupatinātha (date NS 859). The same ruler made a gift of land of 29 *ropaṇis* in 880 to Kulananda Upadhya being pleased with his work in performing a *homa* at the shrine of Taleju (*Purātatvapatrasaṅgraha*, I, p. 27).

A text of the *Tāmrapatra* published in *Purātatvapatrasaṅgraha* I (p. 28) mentions a grant of land 96 *ropaṇis* in area to a Brāhmaṇa of Deopatan in 884 *Chaitra śukla*. The paddy producing field lay in the Valley on the bank of the river Bāgmati.

Jayaprakāśamalla donated 72 *ropaṇis* of land as *Guṭhi* to the shrine of Gorakhanātha on 883 *Mārga śudi 5* (*Itihāsa Prakāśa*. II. 3, p. 455).

⁹⁹ Inscription n. 45 in our Appendix.

It appears that large donations involving area of land beyond 30 *ropāṇis* were made either by the members of the royal family or their relatives and ministers. Others could not donate lands of such large dimension, their donations varied between that of a *ropāṇi* and fifteen (Inscription n. 3, 6, 18, 41 in our Appendix). As we find that lands donated by the royal family went mostly to the temples and Brāhmanas, the landed gentry was a small minority solely belonging to the royalty, courtiers and priests. From an observation of a Capuchin Father who wrote from Patan in about 1740 it is also known that the bulk of foreign trade was the monopoly of the ruling class, the members of the reigning house and their relations. So every kind of wealth was concentrated in a few hands, in the hands of those who by dint of ruling authority in their hands controlled all avenues of earning for themselves.

The large mass of the people evidently were small and middle peasants who were tied to temples or to one or other members of the Royal family, or their ministers and priests. Peasants in general were reduced to the position of serfs, very few of them had their own lands. Such of them paid land tax direct to the state. The rest contributed in kind a large part of the total production to the temples or landlords as the case might be. The peasants in the situation were much impoverished but the soil was rich, and rate of production high and they supplemented their income by other occupation such as spinning, weaving, making of shoes out of a particular fibre etc.

Jāgir lands: The *Jāgir* lands probably did exist but not to a large extent. There are only a few records of land grants which talk of services rendered to the state. The service grants are conspicuous by their absence. There is nothing to show that any grantee had the authority to rule those inhabiting the land bestowed on others. nor the latter were to exact any taxes other than some specific quantity of produce paid as rent

holdings. The local officers such as *duārs*, however, were entitled to receive some kind of levies in lieu of pay (Inscription n. 153 in our Appendix).

The grant of land to the temples and monasteries are common, and this certainly created intermediaries. These were either priests or those who managed their affairs. Such landowners formed a class by themselves. The grants carried no obligation to the state; in fact they were free from any kind of obligation including the payment of taxes or revenues. They were free to rent their land to a temporary cultivator or assign permanent tenure by rights to a person without anybody's interference. The state did not come in their way in the management of their lands.

We have come across documents which show different forms of land-grants to individuals. More specially three varieties are prominently in evidence in this connection (1) lands granted to Brāhmaṇas as *Kuśa Vṛtti* (2) lands granted at a price, sometimes nominal and sometimes just enough to defray the expenses of a religious performance and (3) lands donated to the temples. The third category of lands constituted by far the largest area. All these were exempted from tax.

Whenever a deed for grant or sale was executed, it was done either in a copper plate or in a palm leaf. The person who received the land enjoyed the right to part with his possession whenever he liked and this was mentioned expressly through a phraseology used for the purpose in the record. The phraseology is *Svādhinenavartakanyāyena*. The grantee or the purchaser was to enjoy his full rights in respect of alienation and the fact was emphasised in the document through use of the phraseology (Docs. 8, 10, 13, 24, 25, in *Purātatvapatrasaṅgraha*, I; Doc. I to VIII in our Appendix). Sometimes the particular *nyāya* is not mentioned, but the expression *Svādhinenakrayivikrayi bhavati* is unavoidably used to stress the issue of the inherent right of a grantee or

purchaser. (*Purātatvapatrasaṅgraha*. 18 to 19, 20; docs. III, IV, V, IX, X).

In sale deeds the kings never failed to record that the price paid was the highest and conformed to the line as it obtained in the country at time and in the circumstances. (*Yathādesakālapravarttamānasancharārghena*). Probably the intention was to emphasise the reasonable nature of the price in question *Purātatvapatrasaṅgraha*, I, 8, 19; I to VI in our Appendix).

The record of grant of land to temples omitted such expressions (*Purātatvapatrasaṅgraha*, I, n. 2, 3, 4, 9, 11, 12; n. I, VI, VII in our Appendix) and further whenever the land was given as *Brahmavṛtti* or *Kuśavṛtti* (*Purātatvapatrasaṅgraha*, I, n. 16, 17, 22). We have also land grant records prohibiting the sale of the granted land without the permission of the sovereign who made the grant. This happened when the grant was of a nature sold at a nominal price for a political purpose (n. 20 in *Purātatvapatrasaṅgraha*, I). Land was also granted with the condition secret should not be told to the outsiders without the permission of the king and secret information from outsiders should be passed on to the king. Such grants to be made to non-Newar settlers in the region outside the Valley (Ibid).

Many sale records placed the donors of correcting the errors of the seller or donor if sometime for reasons non-political and accidental a dispute arose as to the land possession under the grant (n. III, IX, X in our Appendix). All the sale deeds executed in the name of the king as seller incorporated a statement that a payment in gold had been made to strike the deal.

The lands thus sold were tax free, and in the form they were handed to our times were called *sunāvirtā*. There was another class of freehold which paid a nominal tax to the government and such freeholds were known as *potāvirtā*.

Agriculture: Although we have made some observation

on agriculture in the middle ages, it has been very brief and therefore we are devoting quite a large space to the consideration of the problem in all its aspects.

We have no source to know about the method of cultivation, but I do not think that this was different in 1792 and 1801 while Kirkpatrick and Hamilton respectively visited the country. They have left us an account which might accurately represent the condition of agriculture prevailing in the century. This is what they purport to write. The cultivators did not use the plough in the Nepal Valley. They used a hoe to dig the soil, which they called *Ku*. Hamilton (p. 221) thought that this 'was a very awkward instrument, the blade is fixed by a long neck, so as to stand parallel to the short handle at about the distance of 6 inches. The labourer, therefore, must either stoop exceedingly when at work or must sit on his heel which is the usual posture'. At the time he visited Kathmandu Hamilton was told that a labourer could dig a *ropani* of land in 3 days. After the digging operation they broke the clods with a wooden mallet fixed to a long shaft. Then water was allowed to accumulate in the field. Each small plot was separated from the neighbouring plots on all sides by an earthen wall of a foot or if there is a natural formation of that type the height might be greater. This helped to fill the plot with water by obstructing the passage of the channel, If there were no facilities for irrigation the cultivation had to depend on rainfall and it was started late in the season. As the soil came to be under water for sometime, it was subjected to a process of further breakage and pounding by feet before transplantation. Now the muddy soil was ready and then transplantation of seedlings took place. The work was done by women. The seed was sown in a compact plot about 15 or 20 days earlier to the plantation operation. When transplanted they required about three months to bear crops. Meanwhile twice in the interval the cultivators had to remove the weeds, which they did with an agricultural implement called *Khupi*.

By the end of October the harvest was ready and reaped. The entire crop was cut with the help of a scythe, both men and women taking part as in plantation. The plants with chaffs and grains were tied to a bundle, the bulk being not heavier for a man to raise. It was then thrashed over a wooden or stone platform. The chaff was blown off by fanning called winnowing by two men standing on either side of the heap of corns, who used a basketlike implement, *Ghāmo*, to fan over the area when the corns were being removed from old place to a new one nearby.

Outside the Valley the transplantation was done upon a ploughed field. The bullocks were also brought for threshing. They passed in a pair through the ground where chaffs are spread to a considerable thickness.

For *Ghaiyā* paddy no plantation was necessary. Seeds were sown in March and harvested in July-August. This was followed by planting potato or sowing mustard seeds. Potato was of an inferior quality and was newly introduced. Fields receiving sufficient water during June were not spared for *Ghaiyā* paddy. There was a winter crop of wheat (*Chhusyā*) in such areas. Wheat was harvested towards the end of April. In the Valleys of the many rivulets the rice was the main crop. These might also provide in the winter season vegetables in case the wheat was not sown. Among the winter vegetables was a kind of beans called *Bagala* and others like radish (lain) peas (*kāgāo*), potato, onion, garlic, ginger (*pālu*), and Tibetan beans. Sugarcane was also winter crop. It was crushed for juice and put over a can; the juice was then boiled for sugarcandy (*chāku*), and less for unrefined sugar (*sakha*). The crushing of cane as well as of mustard seeds was done by a man with a heavy log of wood hitting vertically the seeds placed on a wooden vase called *Kol*. Leafy vegetables like *Chamsur*, *Pāluṅ*, and *Pachhāi* were also popular during winter. If the *Ghaiyā* (*vala*) paddy was not sown one could go in for maize. As the maize grew to

be two feet high black beans (*musyā*) and other vegetables might be grown into the same area.

We have seen that paddy was by far the most important crop. Amongst the pulse grains (*kain-Newari*) were black beans (*mayā-ke-Newari*), lentil or erverumlens (*mosu-Newari*), pea (*Pisum arvensis*) and *Kaigo* in Newari. All these were autumn or winter crops.¹⁰⁰

The radish was used as vegetable in a half putrid fermented form, which tasted a little sour. This was called *Sin̄ki*.¹⁰¹ Wet radishes in large amount were kept underground inside a pit for seven days. They ferment in that process, their colour growing a bit yellowish.

Father Desideri writes that rice was the principal crop of Nepal. He said "much rice is grown as well as wheat, millet, sugarcane, vegetables and fruit such as pears, pine-apples, lemons and oranges."* But he does not mention the kinds of fruits and vegetables. Even otherwise the information supplied by the Capuchin Fathers is very meagre. We find, therefore, imperative to draw substantially from Hamilton's account regarding food crops of the Valley of Nepal.

Many records show gardens to have been either sold or gifted by the rulers. Kanu Śarmā in his description of the city of Patan talks of fruits and flowers available in abundance and more particularly of pomegranate, plantain, and oranges. Flowers mentioned by him are *pārijāta* (*Erythrina Indica*), *sephālikā* (*Nyctanthus Arbor Tristis*), *karavira* (*Oleander*), *juhi* (*Jasmine*), *hasinā* (*Polianthes Tuberosa*), *kevarā* (*Pandanus*), and *kunda* (*Jasmine*).

In the palace inscription of Bhatgaon (n. 98, 103 in our Appendix) are mentioned *ajilasvān* (yellow *Jasmine*), and *golakṣeja* (*Leucas Linifolia*).

100 Hamilton, p. 228.

101 Hamilton, *ibid.*

* *Account of Tibet*, BK. IV, Ch. 2.

Hamilton said that Nepal did not produce apple, orange or citrus fruits, but it did produce peach and plantain in plenty. However, the valleys and uplands outside the Nepal Valley supplied its requirement of citrus fruits. The Capuchin Missionaries mistook them as fruits produced in the Nepal Valley.

Irrigation: The soil of the Nepal Valley was simply excellent, and the lowlands and vales of the many rivulets yielded crops perennially. But there were uplands above the deep of the valleys and they needed ample water for cultivation.

The rainfall was 60"—70" a year, according to European travellers of the 18th century. But valleys and uplands both needed irrigation facilities for a crop. Besides, rainfall is uncertain. Nature is delusive and might be niggardly or send late or early rains in the season or sometimes not at all causing damage to the crops. Hence the Nepalese peasant's quest for water from sources which he could tap with his own efforts. Water for irrigation was provided by canals from the rivulets, by the channel drawing water from the water conduits and also by canalising waters of the falls and springs in the high altitude of the mountainous declivity. We have an inscription of Śrīnivāsamalla in Pharping which records the king's order as to the division of water by two conduits, situated at two levels, which are also to flow into channels for irrigation. There is, however, no detail of the working of the system of irrigation in general in this inscription. The information is however available in the inscription of Jitāmitramalla of Bhatgaon. It is said that the water from the public canal was to be used at the rate of 1 *dām* to irrigate a field of a *ropaṇi*. The men who used to look after the maintenance of the canal were called *Dhalapā* literally meaning those who guarded the *dhala* (canals or drains). Everybody concerned was to contribute annually a day's labour for repair. They were to work there for the whole

day from morn to evening. Those who came for work are entitled to obtain a receipt bearing an official stamp. The people were not to labour for the personal benefit of the *ḍhalapā*; they were not to do any forced labour, not to collect woods for him and not to transplant seedlings. But if any one failed to work in the public canal, he was fined 3 *dāms*. The *ḍhalapās* were further to take care that in the distribution of water the order of receiving water was not broken, none was to be discriminated favourably or unfavourably because of his status. The distribution was to conform to the standing rules. If it was the rule that the poorest of the peasants was selling his share of water first, he should get it as ordained. In case of violence of rules the king had to give his thought on the matter or the *Pramāṇa* whom His Majesty ordered to examine the affairs, he should do it. The *ḍhalapās* were fined 6 *mohar tankas* if they failed to do their duty.¹⁰²

Even there was some industry and trade in the land Nepal drew its sustenance either for food or clothing through agriculture. This was the reason that the king and his people took so much care in the contribution and preservation of the canal. We have seen how the king issued regulation making it compulsory on his peasant population to contribute their labour for repair and maintenance. There was a special officer appointed to look after the canals in every region. The public and the officer both were fined for failing to render their duty as apportioned.

This is an instance of canal administration. Such canals were built by the king and the important of them were called the king's canals. These were either excavated from the river channel or from a large mountain spring. There was no problem of big rivers and of inundation caused by their flood. Between years the *Bāgmati* and the *Viṣṇumati* might have been in flood, but they never posed a serious threat.

102 Inscription n. 90 in our Appendix.

Pratāpamalla built a canal which drew its water from a spring at the foot of the Śivapuri hill. This irrigated all the areas from its source down to Kathmandu's northern suburb. The ruins of the canal are still in evidence.

Though a reference to small canals excavated from the tanks is little seen in reliable documents, the tanks nevertheless existed, and up till now the peasants dig canals from the bed of the tank to canalise water for their fields. For example the tank of Ṭaudaha, 3 miles in circumference, about which the Capuchin Missionaries have left records, might have a source of field irrigation. Ṭaudaha lies about 3 miles to the south-west of Kathmandu on a lowland near the deep chasm of the river Bāgmati. A smaller tank called Tāhāchal, which is dry during the spring and summer, also provides water to the fields nearby. These were not man-made tanks. The Nhupukha now called Ranipokhari built by Pratāpamalla on the outskirts of the town as it then existed was not meant to provide water for irrigation.

The canals dug for irrigation or river channel diverted for that purpose was allowed to fall from a precipice down to a field, and at such places one could operate a water mill for pounding flour. It appears from what Hamilton says that the Nepal Valley had water mills in several places in the countryside. Hamilton's statement might apply easily also to conditions in the period immediately preceding the Gorkhā period.

Describing the water-mill he writes, 'The stones are little larger than those of hand mills, and the upper one is turned round by being fixed on the end of the axis of the water wheel, which is horizontal, and is placed under the floor of mill, with which the stones are on a level. This wheel consists of six inches broad, which are placed obliquely in the axle-tree. On these blades the water falls down an inclined plane of about eight or ten feet in perpendicular height. The hopper is basket perforated at the bottom, but has no

contrivance to shake it. The people at one of the mills which we examined said that in one day it could grind twelve *Muris* or rather more than twenty nine bushels'.

Flora and Fauna: The *Sal* tree is often talked of in the account of the Capuchin Missionaries, but here we shall have to take notice of the fact that these were not of the variety grown in the forest of the Terai, for this forest was only partly inside the domain of Nepal towards its south-east. But the *Sal* trees grew in abundance in the many river valleys within the jurisdiction of the Nepalese kingdoms. Besides the *Sāl* trees there were other trees mentioned in records. The Svayambhu stele of Pratāpamalla (n. 57 in our Appendix) gives the names of many trees which had come up in the hill in particular *Champaka* and *Vaka*. We do not want the details regarding the flora as the same is preserved intact up till now, and anyone interested can refer to a modern book on the subject. I think we could avoid reference to the fauna of the time for similar reasons. The Capuchin Padres talk of jackals, tigers, hyenas, deer and antelopes to have seen in the jungles. The European travellers describe the presence of elephants in the royal stables. In the *Thyāsapus* there are references to the elephant hunting expeditions organised by the Nepalese rulers in their portion of the Terai. The rich certainly bred elephants and horses. But while horses were used in the battlefield, elephants were spared for religious and marriage ceremonies.

Weights and Measures: In the case of quantitative measurement a *phām* measured $8 \times 8 = 64$ lbs. (avoirdupois) and this was divided into 4 *kuḍuvas* or *Kus*, each *Ku* measuring 32 ounces. According to an inscription¹⁰³ of Bhūpatīndramalla a *Phām* was the same as the Sanskrit *prastha* which in classical measure system measured in capacity. 4 *Kuḍuvas* = 16 *palas* = $\frac{1}{4}$ *āḍhakas* or 32 *palas* = $\frac{1}{4}$ *āḍhāka*. In several inscriptions the *pla* (*pala*) is used as a measure next to

103 Inscription n. 103 in our Appendix

Kuḍuva. Perhaps 1 *pala* was $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *Kuḍuva*. This measure was used in measuring grains and oil. The lowest unit was known as *Chakhañchi*, which was $\frac{1}{8}$ of a *Ku*. We have also *Vāchakhañchi* equal to half *chakhañchi*, but no medieval records have used these terms. The measurement of a handful was, of course, the natural method for all kinds of measurement of cereals and the *Kuḍuva* carried 20 handfuls by this process. According to Monier William's dictionary a *Kuḍuva* is put by some writers as a measure containing 12 handfuls or $3\frac{1}{2}$ *aṅgulas* or 64 cubic *aṅgulas*. It applied also to a vessel 'to be a finger half deep and 3 fingers each in length and breadth, in terms of *tolās* it is equivalent to 32 in measuring the medicine.' In place of *chakhañchi* there is another word *astāchhi* used in the inscriptions.¹⁰⁴ It is a measurement used to weight ghee, cotton, yarn, sugar, honey and salt. It appears to be the lowest unit of weight measurement in vogue. The present weight measure is as follows :

10 <i>ratis</i>	=	1 <i>māsā</i>	
1 <i>dhebuas</i>	=	10 <i>māsā</i>	= 1 <i>tolā</i>
$4\frac{1}{2}$ <i>tolās</i>	=	1 <i>astāchi</i>	
2 <i>astāchis</i>	=	1 <i>vañla</i>	
18 <i>tolas</i>	=	2 <i>vañlas</i>	= 1 <i>pañla</i>
		4 <i>pañlas</i>	= 1 <i>kuñla</i>
		3 <i>kuñlas</i>	= 1 <i>dhārnī</i> = 720 <i>tolās</i>

The *astāchi* is $\frac{1}{4}$ of *pañlā*. Landon reports that in 1928 A.D., a *pañla* weighed 19 *tolās*.

In the absence of details to be gleaned from the inscriptions or other notings it is desirable to accept the above table of weight measure also for the medieval period. But as we accept the table we must be prepared to understand the facts of some difference in the weights of the lower units of measures in this connection. For example there might have been some difference from age to age in the weight of a

104 Inscriptions 98, 103 in our Appendix

tolā in terms of *māsā* and *rati*, and also in that of *astāchi* in terms of *tolās*.

For the measure of grains, oil, we may have the following table :

2½ handfuls	=	1 <i>chakhanchi</i>	
5 handfuls	=	1 <i>pla</i>	
2 <i>plas</i>	=	1 <i>mānā</i>	
2 <i>mānās</i> or 4 <i>plas</i>	=	1 <i>Kuḍuva</i>	
4 <i>Kuḍuvas</i>	=	1 <i>Phām</i>	= 1 <i>Prastha</i> .

The *prastha* and *pla* are known as *Pāthi* and *Pañlā* respectively. But *Pañla* is transferred to the weight measure.

The handful should mean a measure of grain contained within the capacity of the fist of a well developed adult.

The *tolā* as the lowest unit in the weight measure is mentioned in several records (n. 151 inscription in our Appendix, *Thyāsapu A*, f. 57).

It appears from our inscription n. 97 that ginger was like grains measured in capacity, e.g. the record mentions among *kuḍuvas* of beans also a *prastha* of ginger.

The silver *dām* was known as *Phasāñ pu*, which literally means an article easily blown by the wind. *Dām* or *dām̐* or *damma* occurs as means of monetary transaction in our inscriptions, e.g. as *Dakṣinā* (gift) to the Brāhmaṇas or fines for punishment or contribution to the king's undertaking (Inscription ns. 26, 89, 98, 112, 115, 116, 121 in our Appendix). The next unit available in such records is *Suki* or *Sukā* (Inscription ns. 89, 97, 116 in our Appendix). The *mohar*, the unit of the highest value come in for reference occasionally whenever such a unit had to be mentioned in transaction (Inscriptions n. 94, 105, 110, 116 in our Appendix). But no two-anna pieces are known from the records we have used so far despite the fact that such units were issued casually, and they are traced to our knowledge.

By and large the *mohar*, the *suki* and *dāms* were the coins in wide circulation in the period.

Walsh's table is largely influenced by his imagination. We can find it one by tracing certain units therein, which have not so far come to our view, e.g. the one-anna silver piece of coin.

Let us have our own table based on the information available from the writing of the Capuchin Padres.

10 cowries	=	1 <i>dām</i> . The same in silver leaf was known as <i>Phasañpu</i> .
4 <i>dāms</i>	=	1 copper <i>dhebuā</i> .
8 <i>dhebuās</i> or 32 <i>dāms</i>	=	1 half <i>suki</i> or <i>do-do-anni</i>
2 <i>do-annis</i>	=	1 <i>suki</i>
2 <i>sukis</i> or <i>sukās</i>	=	1 <i>mohar</i>
2 <i>mohars</i> or 128 <i>dāms</i>	=	1 rupee Moghul or 256 <i>dāms</i> .

No information of weight measure regarding silver or gold is available. But on the basis of the Capuchin Padres reports we can suggest the following table of silver weight measure.

10 <i>ratis</i>	=	1 <i>māsā</i>
6 <i>māsās</i>	=	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>tolā</i>
12 <i>māsās</i>	=	1 <i>tolā</i>

Wage Labour: Some idea of wage labour is obtained in regard to workers serving the state or commercial firms from the memoirs of the Capuchin Missionaries, which the reader will find a little below in the section under trade. But other facts are lacking. This is true of the whole of our period from the 17th century onwards. There is no evidence whatsoever epigraphic, literally or legendary about the existence of slavery for the same time. Some kind of forced labour does seem to have been in vogue in case of services rendered to the king or in the interest of village or public welfare. The copper plate inscription of Yakṣamalla, with date 573, which we have discussed so often lays down a duty on every citizen for contributing his labour to the building and repairing of forts in his area.

Hamilton who visited Nepal in 1801 A. D. gives an idea of the wage of different kinds of labourers. As his observa-

tion is of the time about thirty years later to the defeat of the Malla dynasty we might take it as also applying to the days of the earlier Malla period.

According to Hamilton a labourer ordinarily earned $\frac{1}{8}$ of a *mohar* per day. If he was a porter carrying luggage from Hetaura to Kathmandu his earning was 3 *mohars*, and if the distance was from Garhparsā to the capital then he got 2 *mohars* more. The usual load he carried in a *dokā* weighed 20 *dhārnīs* or 100 lbs. Persons travelling on hummock paid 24 *mohars* to the party of 4 carrying them from Garhparsā to Kathmandu. The wage of ironsmith and carpenter was 3 annas, of bricklayer $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas, of goldsmith 4 annas per *tolā*, of silversmith 1 anna per *tolā* and of coppersmith 1-2 *mohars* per *dhārnī* of weight.

The information on the subject of a labourer's wage is so limited that we have nothing more to add to what Hamilton has observed.

Communication: We have already an idea of the different trade routes that connected the Valley of Nepal both with Tibet and the Gangetic plain. Communication was difficult over the hills and dales of the region. But it was more difficult on the North than on the South. However, as accounts of the missionaries go to show, there were foot-tracks connecting different parts of the country to the capital. The south could boast of the road which was spacious enough for a rider on pony to pass through. One of the inscriptions of Pratāpamalla (n. 62 in our Appendix) tells us that he constructed a bridge over the river Viṣṇumati in 783. The Capuchin Missionaries also talk of bridges over the rapid streams, on the border in the north. These were bridges made of wooden planks supported by similar beams on both sides from beneath the structure. Some provided railing on two sides to catch by the hands while walking over the bridges, yet quite a few went without such handles. The Capuchin Fathers were awe-struck at the sight of load carriers

crossing over such bridges. People also were carried on a basket tied to poles on sides by long ropes, the operation involved drawing by one side and releasing by another. I think that all the three devices were used wherever there was a crossing of rivers. Many rivers which while in spate during the rainy season became unfordable were crossed on foot during the winter. For pedestrian traffic the authorities contrived also to make temporary bridges at many points. These were washed away by the rising waters of the rivers in early summer.

Father Desideri travelling about the end of December, 1721 wrote thus of his frightful experiences of the journey through mountainous route from Kuṭi to Kathmandu.^{104a}

“During the journey from Kuṭi to Kathmandu one crosses an iron chain bridge such as I have described before. The road skirted frightful precipices, and we climbed mountains by holes just large enough to put one’s toe into, cut out of the rock like a staircase. At one place a chasm was crossed by a long plant only the width of a man’s foot, while the wooden bridges over large rivers flowing in the deep valleys swayed and oscillated most alarmingly. During the last days we ascended and descended one mountain after another, but they are not so bare as in Tibet, there is grass and the pleasant shade of trees. Here it is of course impossible to ride, but easy to find men who will carry you. They have leather straps across the shoulders and forehead attached to a board about two hands in length and one in width. On this one sits with legs hanging down, and arms round the man’s neck. Father Felice, although old and tired, insisted on walking with me until at last I persuaded him to be carried, but he was so tall and heavy that it was difficult to find men who would carry him, so the poor Father suffered much.”

As we read between the lines of relevant inscriptions, the

104a. *Account of Tibet*, 1931, BK. IV, Chapter I, p. 312.

position as to food drawn by the Italian missionary is fully supported.

To the people of Nepal the principal food was rice. There were different varieties of paddy; paddy was grown in the lowlands of the Valley. Hakua rice was consumed widely. It was prepared by putting the rice inside a pit for sometime. It was not considered to be a good quality. Tibetan goat, local goat, Tibetan sheep, ram, buffalo provided meat. The inhabitants ate fishes but the Valley obtained its supply of fish from outside.

Drink was common. It was prescribed for the occasions of the *puja* in temples as well as during festivals. There were both fermented and distilled liquor. Fermented liquor came mostly from boiled rice. Distilleries used rice, wheat, millets, potato to produce strong alcohol.

Revenue and Taxation: The system of taxation is not known. For several construction works the state obtained physical labour from the populace, which was compulsory but could be escaped by a payment of money. The constructive activities implied making of roads, tanks and temples and shrines and projects like irrigation and afforestation.

The source of income of the government was the tax on land and customs duties on transit of goods from and to Tibet and from and to the Indo-Gangetic plains (also see below for details). The share of the state from farms, levy in kind or monetary contribution, cannot be assessed accurately for want of reliable data. There was a sort of poll tax realised per family. But the rate was comparatively lighter and the same had become just nominal during the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁵

Expenditure: The term public expenditure is a misnomer as applied to medieval ages. Yet if we like to apply it so we may designate any expenditure of the king in that manner.

105 *Italiani Missionari, etc. Op. Cit, Vol. II, Pt. IV, p. 26.*

Whatever amount he appropriated for his household and personal expenses might be called civil list. This was not very substantial as the kings in those days led a simple life, but there was the pomp of the court, and favours and gifts he distributed were certainly lavish. Strictly speaking the civil list was more formidable than public expenditure as the king's personal interest touched every activity of the government. We may, however, bring under category of public expenditure all such items that lay directly outside the scope of the civil list. The kings had to lay aside part of their revenue for the running of administration. If this was in the form of Jāgir, then also the money value of the allocation has to be counted in the overall expenditure. Besides the civil administration the king had to maintain a contingent of armed men as body-guards or retinue or a fighting force. Sometimes the king paid cash to the body-guards and usually the expenses were met with assignment of lands, the revenue of which was utilised for that purpose. There were welfare activities of the king, which require expenses. For example the king built roads, bridges, canals, rest houses, temples etc. Whatever amount he spent on these items, this was covered by public expenditure. It is clear that the scope of public expenditure was much limited. We are also short of source materials to be able to speak more on the topic. Thus we may not elaborate the points further, and treat the subject as closed.

Industry and Trade: Industry and trade flourished side by side of the cultural activities. Nepal produced its own cotton, spun its own thread and wove the cloth required, and every Jyapu and Udai household had its own handloom. The Valley maintained a monopoly of handloom industry, and the surplus was exported to hill areas and Tibet. Brassware, bronze statues of deities and worship paraphernalia, silver and gold ornaments of Patan were another high class products, and these also found their way to regions outside Nepal specially to Tibet. Till the eighteenth century

Nepal was the link between China and India. The imports to Nepal from Tibet consisted mainly of medicinal herbs, salts, Yaktail, silver, gold and from India spices, salt and embroidery and silk cloth; India obtained herbs, hides, wooden frame, hides and bones and certain metal goods from Nepal at that time. Nepal also supplied to Tibet a fair quantity of chillies, onions and beans. As legends speak Nepalese chillies were exported even to far off China.

It appears from the account of a Capuchin Missionary that those dealings in medicinal herbs made much money out of the trade.¹⁰⁶ Nepalese dealers in herbs and other goods came from noble families. They had their sale depots in Patna and Banaras.

The Nepalese had their own trading agencies in almost all the important towns of south Tibet. In Lhasa each of the Governments of the three kingdoms maintained its own representative called *vakil*. In Gyantse and Digarche they had trade agents to look after the interests of the Nepalese merchants who also carried a portion of Tibet's internal merchandise.

It may be noted here that the bulk of external trade of Tibet was handled by the Nepalese traders who moved about between Lhasa and Kathmandu enjoying special treatment under a political treaty.

A very important variety of products, which was exported to India was woollen cloth. There were several places in the high altitudes of the sub-Himalayan ranges, where long haired goats were bred. From these and from Tibetan sources Nepal obtained raw wool and woollen blankets and garments. Cattle breeding and weaving also gave employment to many. But this was not the calling which the people of the Valley had followed.

We have already spoken of the highly advanced art and architecture of Nepal. This was an all embracing activity.

106 *Italiani Missionari*, etc, II, Pt. IV, p. 13.

Carving in wood, sculpture in metal and stones, painting both mural and scroll and temple architecture—all flourished to the highest degree. Jewellery and the art of ornamentation had seen the finest hour in this age. Father Desideri reported in 1716 A.D. that he saw a good number of artisans from Nepal working in Lhasa, and they earned a substantial income out of their professions. Similarly musical instruments were as much developed. Nepal made all its iron tools for agricultural purposes. The *Ko*, a kind of spade, was specially devised to suit the soil which did not use ploughing. Pottery was no less advanced. Nepal's potter, the *Kumhar*, was an expert whose skill and fame travelled far and wide all over that region. His services were in demand in the territories of Baisis and Chaubisis, and also in Lhasa. Besides these, Nepalese taste in flowers and gardening found concrete expression in the gardens, the cities and villages, maintained. The gardens attached to palaces of the rulers stand witness to this taste. But essentially the people lived in congested localities, whether it was a developed town like Patan or a village like Suntagaon.

In the beginning of this chapter while we described the three capitals, we referred also to the trade routes through which merchandise passed. Nepal's commercial contacts with the outside world were intimate and extensive. A list of chief articles of exports and imports has been provided in the next section dealing with the Tibet-Nepal-India trade position for the end of the 18th century.

There are also accounts of the Christian Missionaries who travelled to Tibet through Nepal in the 16th and 17th centuries, which give ideas of the extent of trade contacts. These descriptions are as much true of the whole of the medieval period so far as they applied to movements of trade between these countries.

Inland trade in the Himalayas was not of a magnitude to draw our serious attention. The Chaubisis were in a much

undeveloped state. But internecine contacts within the three kingdoms of the Valley both in cultural and trade spheres were regular as happened to peoples of common habits and ways of life and situated close to each other.

Let us now conclude this account with an observation on Indo-Nepalese contacts subsisting in this age. While narrating the political history of the period in its chronology, it was told that these constituted regularly directed cultural exchange of ideas and students, of books and learning and of art and trade emporia as well as of pilgrims and tourists. Nepal's students attended Buddhist seats of learning as long as they were not destroyed by Muslim invasion, and later when they could no longer be availed of went to Banaras. All centres of Saiva and Buddhist pilgrimage were visited by the Nepalese. So did the Indian pilgrims in regard to sacred places inside Nepal, like Paśupatinātha, Muktinātha, etc. Important personages undertook the journey to these centres. We have several inscriptions to support our contention. King Siddhinarasiṃhamalla was a regular visitor to Kasi. King Bhūpālendramalla died near about Ayodhya whither he had gone to pay homage to the birth place of Rāma. Others, pilgrims for Bodh Gaya, are also copiously noted. One Buddhist priest who had the architectural plan of the temple got to heart while on pilgrimage there, built a temple in Patan on that model. (See Inscriptions of the reigns of Siddhinarasiṃha, Bhūpālendramalla, etc above).

Coinage: Until the time of Mahendramalla no coins of the reigning monarchs have been traced for the medieval age. This led many scholars to believe that coins struck by the central power in India were current in Nepal which had lost its independence during the period of eight hundred years from the tenth to 17th century A. D. But the fact of absence of coinage cannot be a basis of arguments and to attribute to Nepal of those days a dependent status on that account would be going too far. We are too short of factual data and

materials much as they still lie hidden, and require thorough search and exploration, and our efforts in that direction have been so far tardy. It is true that off and on during this long span of time Nepal was subjected to invasions from the south, and any strong power organised for the whole of India or anywhere in Nepal's vicinity did not leave this country quite untouched in one or other ways. But no one with a knowledge of Indian and Nepalese history would with authority speak of continued status of dependence for Nepal for the same period. It is true that no coins have been discovered but it could not be denied that invasions from outside had also been repelled more than once, which certainly testifies to Nepal's capacity to resist encroachments on its sovereignty. Also, it is impossible to imagine that Nepal continued to enjoy a status of dependence even at the time when India lay disintegrated and dismembered. If a contrary opinion is to prevail, Nepal has to be given a subordinate place in the absence of its coins even in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries when there was neither a consolidated power in Bengal, nor anywhere in North India. We have also no evidence to suggest that Moghul suzerainty over Nepal had ever been exercised. Another fact to be borne in mind is that even where Nepal seemed to accept a dependent role, it was only in a nominal sense and external suzerainty obtained but in name, for it so happened that its mountain fastness and inaccessible situation always protected the country from active external interference.

Currency and Exchange: For the first time in Nepal's history we have silver coins in circulation. The existence of silver coins in this period is a proof of a high level of prosperity in industry and trade. Not only this, the fact of Nepal sending its coins to circulate in Tibet as legal tender shows the predominant position of this country in the internal and external economy of such contiguous areas outside its jurisdiction that extended beyond the high altitude of the Himalayas. Nepal's prosperous economy was unassailable.

It continued to be in that state for several centuries. Its hegemony over economic affairs of the outlying areas was not disputed. Even when base coins were exported to Tibet this did not come as a reflection of Nepal's internal economic crisis. If it reflected anything, it did reflect a change of policy and a desire to earn more from this source. It is possible that Nepal's solid economy was founded on advanced industrial development and the entrepot trade this country commanded as a buffer between the Indian plains and Tibetan highland.

Let it be remembered here that this was a monopolised affair so far as Nepal was concerned because the route passing through the Valley was the only opening for the whole of the eastern region.

Each of the three kings of the Valley issued coins in his name and this was uninterrupted till the very end of the period in review. When a new ruler ascended the throne his coronation was celebrated with a new coin called after him.

The coinage was confined to the Government of these rulers. No ruler in the whole of the Himalayas in that period struck coins whether of silver or copper until Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa started it a little before he conquered Nepal.

The lump of copper Dhebua appears to have been in circulation since the beginning of the 18th century. But it never went to take the place of silver coins. For transactions not requiring media of higher denominations, the Dhebua was used. The use of this type of medium show that unlike the areas occupied by the hill chiefs, the Nepal Valley enjoyed a flourishing economy which dispensed with the system of barter. For yet smaller transactions, barter was the inevitable choice but we have no idea of *cowries* or like mediums to have been in use for that time.

One of the Capuchin visitors who came to Nepal in 1706 A.D says that a *dam* was changed into ten *cowries* in transactions.¹⁰⁷

107 *Italiani Missionari*, etc, Vol. II, IV. P. 69.

Silver came from Tibet or India, while copper was locally mined. Silver seems to be much in abundance for even a unit of $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a *mohar* (half rupee) passed ordinarily in the form of a coin in silver. Since as early Lakṣminarasimha's time when the state needed more currencies than usually required, this went down further to cover as low a value as that of a *dam*, of a rupee for the purpose. All told, in spite of instability and dismemberment and consequent mishaps the Valley of Nepal faced, its commercial importance had not lessened and its earning power remained intact.

Every king when he minted coins gave them his own name for popular use and while he inscribed his name in the pieces, he made them current under his own name. Thus each coin was known after the name of the ruler. Pratāpamalla called his coins as *Kavīndramalli*. But all coins in general passed as *Mahendramalli* to be hereafter abbreviated into *MM*.

The coin was also known as *tāṅkā*. The basic unit of the *tāṅkā* coinage was a *mohar*. It weighed 6 *māsās*, half of the silver content of the Moghul coin. A *māsā* is a broad bean weighing about 14·6 grains on the average.¹⁰⁸ According to Cunningham the *mohar* carried a weight of 87·6 grains of silver. But the weight of different *mohars* varied between 80 and 90 grains.¹⁰⁹ It appears that coins of lower denomination were rare. The Capuchin Padres talk of silver *dams* in circulation. They also talk of *jow* (barley corn) being the lowest unit, 4 of which passed for a *dam*. But the latter part of the story that the *jows* were used as currency cannot be correct. The report must have been based on hearsay.

The *Mahendramalli* was a common name for all the silver *mohars* of Nepal. It was so called because the founder of the coin was Mahendramalla (c. 1561-1574 A. D). Since his days, the *MM* also circulated in Tibet. But at a later

108 Coins of Ancient India by Cunningham, p. 2.

109 Walsh, p. 683.

stage the Nepalese rulers issued a separate variety of coins for Tibet. At first this privilege was enjoyed only by Kathmandu but from Bhupatindramalla's time, Bhatgaon also came to have its share. Ultimately, Kathmandu stopped minting coins for Tibet and Bhatgaon alone was left to continue the job.

Ultimately, however, Bhatgaon ousted Kathmandu from this lucrative trade position. It so happened that in course of time Bhatgaon monopolised the right to send currencies to Tibet and Kathmandu lost the ground altogether. The practice of Nepalese coins circulating in Tibet continued till the end of the 18th century in spite of progressive depreciation of the money value of the currency. The Nepalese rulers earned a profit of half a million rupees out of the mint on this account.

From the account of a Capuchin Padre who had travelled in cognito through the Nepal Valley in March 1706 A. D. it appears that Moghul coins were also current in this country. The Moghul coin was also of silver and weighed twice the quantity of metal contained in the Mahendramalli. The ratio between the two coins was 1:2.¹¹⁰ The conversion in the unit of lowest denomination was 256 *dams* for the former and 128 for the latter. According to Father Del P. Giuseppe Da Ascoli 'When the weight of the Moghul coins is absolutely correct, then it fetches some extra *dams*'.¹¹¹ This observation might be true for the duration of the exigencies the Mallas faced towards the end of the period, while they had issued debased coins. But it goes to the credit of the Malla rulers that the depreciation was effected only within limits.

The silver *mohar* was reckoned a sixteen-anna rupee system. As is attested by the Capuchin Fathers, so Walsh¹¹²

110 *Italiani Missionari*, etc, Vol. II, Pt. I. p. 19.

111 Desideri's report supports this ratio, C. Wassels, Op. Cit, p. 232.

112 *JRAS*. July, 1908, p. 694.

also has given the following table to explain 16-anna system.

1 *mohar* = 2 *suka* or *suki*

1 *suka* ($\frac{1}{2}$ *mohar*) = 2 *do-ani*

1 *do-ani* ($\frac{1}{4}$ *mohar*) = 2 *ek-ani*

1 *ek-ani* ($\frac{1}{8}$ *mohar*) = 2 *adha-ani*

1 *adha-ani* ($\frac{1}{16}$ *mohar*) = 2 *paisa mohar*

1 *paisa mohar* ($\frac{1}{32}$ *mohar*) = 2 *do-dām*, called *adhā paisa*.

The *dām* ($\frac{1}{128}$ *mohar*) silver leaf was minted under several reigns which include Lakṣmīnarasiṃhamalla, Pratāpamalla, Bhāskaramalla, Jagajjayamalla, Jyotiprakāśamalla, Jayaparakāśamalla—all of Kathmandu, Siddhinarasiṃhamalla, Viṣṇumalla, Dalamardana Shāh—all of Patan and Raṇajitamalla of Bhatgaon.

The mint: It appears that the coins were cast from a mould out of molten metal. The mould made of baked clay was designed by an artist who made it of a size and shape as authorised by the authorities. The emblems were designed according to the desires of the ruler, and they conformed to the traditions and usages of the time.

Trade Marts: There were trade marts and depots in Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon run by local merchants as well as by the Muslim and Kashmiri merchants.¹¹³ The latter resided here permanently, and looked after their factories and shops. Even in Kuṭi and Kerrong the Kashmiris maintained agencies to facilities movements of their articles. Rich Nepalese lived in Kuṭi, and they were fairly strong in number according to Father Desideri.¹¹⁴

There were central customs offices in each of the capital city of the three kingdoms. The Bhansaris were the officers on duty in charge of customs houses established in each

113 Vol. II, Part VII, p. 13. *Italiani Missionari*, etc.

114 C. Wassels, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 232 ff.

important city. These officers checked all goods and luggages imported into and exported from Nepal. The Bhansari was appointed by the king to do work for six months. At one station, there were four such officers; the appointment went to the highest bidders. So the Bhansari was a sort of Thekedar (Contractor). When a trader intended to send his goods to Tibet, he had to send a notice to the Bhansari and at least two of the Bhansaris visited the store-house of the trader and checked the articles concerned after which the packing was done. The bundle was then tied with a rope and over this the Bhansari put the official seal; later the whole consignment was put inside a cover made of buffalo or goat skin. The trader was advised to handle the bags carefully and keep the seal intact. The next day again the same Bhansaris visited the store-house to see if the seal had been interfered with. If something was found wrong, then the whole package was opened. In case of no interference, a second seal was put upon the skin over. This was examined in Nesti, a Nepalese outpost on the northern border¹¹⁵ and after being checked carefully was permitted to cross the border.

We do not know anything about commercial concerns and their organisations. Probably, the *Baniksaṅgha*, the type of an association of traders, had disappeared in this period. We know that internal trade was not controlled. Even if trade associations existed, it is not certain if their influence was felt. For external trade the state issued a permit called *dastok*. The possession of *dastok* enabled the merchant to send his goods across the border, as well as across the *chowkies* inside Nepal. As follows from the preceding few passages, the goods were opened only in two places, once while the permit was to be secured and for the second time while the consignment reached the border station. The *chowkies* in between these satisfied themselves with the

115 *Italiani Missionari*, etc. Vol. II, Part IV, p. 51; p. 57.

assurance if necessary by proper checking that the seal was preserved intact.

For the carriage of articles, there were *Bharias* (Bharias-carriers). They were hired on contract. The deal was made with the leader of a group of (Bharia Naike), who received in advance half of the total pay of all those employed for the purpose in addition to his own capitation fee for every one of them; the other half was to be paid to the Bharias on reaching the destination. The leader was to provide men and to stand guarantee for their conduct. Each Bharia carried 93 pounds and 40 ounces of weight.¹¹⁶ Father Desideri reports that while he travelled from Lhasa he found that in Tibet area the goods were carried on the back of ponies and mules but as soon as he entered the Nepalese territory he had a different experience, because here all the merchandise was carried by the porters on their back.¹¹⁷

Each article of export had to pay its duty to the government. There was a tax on loads of animal or man fixed at the rate of Rs. 9 Mahendramalli per load, which the customs house at the frontier realised. The Government in the capital charged a levy to the valuation of a load for every ten loads. Each porter was also liable to pay Re 1/- to the governor of Kuṭi if he did not purchase salt of the same value. Metal ores exported to Tibet and India were taxed per load at the rate of Rs. 9/- MM., if it was done by the Nepalese and Rs. 15/- MM., if business was done by outsiders,¹¹⁸ So was the case in regard to the export of cloth to Tibet. In Nesti (Listi) every passenger had to pay Rs. 2½/- MM as a passport levy. The Europeans, however, had to pay Rs. 50/- MM.

116 *Italiani Missionari, etc. Op. Cit, II, IV, p. 57*

117 *Wassels, Op. Cit, pp. 232, 260-70.*

118 *Italiani Missionari, etc. Vol. II, Part IV, p. 69; Levi, I, footnote to p. 128.*

III

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL

Having described the economic life of the people let us now proceed to present a picture of their religious beliefs and cultural progress in the following pages.

Here we shall bring into consideration all aspects of life, which we have not dealt with in the foregone passages.

Cities, Civic Life: The people of the Nepal Valley dwelt in compact areas which were densely populated, and the village or town looked like a cluster of houses. Lands around the towns or villages were farmed by peasants who belonged to one or the other of such urban or rural sites.

Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon were the capitals, and they were the models for urbanity. We propose to present here their lay out, other structural designs demography, amenities and popular entertainments.

Three cities: Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon, each seat of the government of the same name, though not equally important, were the three most important urban and trade centres in Nepal.

“Bhatgaon and Kathmandu have 18,000 houses each. Patan has 24,000 houses. Although in respect of the volume of business, Kathmandu stands first, Patan is the most beautiful of the three in point of structure. In these cities, every house has a family of five persons. They are spacious, well built and of more than one storey. Streets are well-planned and paved with stones. The people are good-looking, of fair complexion and very gentle. They hate Muslims, they worship gods like Rāma, Viṣṇu, Bhairava, Bhavānī and Mahādeva. Cow killing is punished with death. Cows and bulls walk fearless in the fields and on the roads. Nobody can beat and drive them. Every house has a cow as a mark of

devotion. Kīrtipur has 6,000 houses. This town looks almost Europeanised. Houses are made of baked bricks.”¹¹⁹

Father Cassino in his journal wrote about the inhabitants of the Valley in the following terms :¹²⁰

“The Newars are superstitious and their society is caste ridden. They are all Hindus. They have got a script much akin to Bengali. They write on paper with an iron pen. Their language is much like Tibetan. Their dress consists of a piece of wool clad to the knees and of trousers and they wear on the head a little red bonnet. In rains every person walks barefooted. Even the king does not use saddle while riding a horse.

“They are all excellent craftsmen but treacherous and you cannot trust them. They are of medium size, olive colour and well-cut in look. When they eat, they have only a few varieties. They lead a dirty living. They use a kind of drink made of black wheat (Kodo, millet).

“Kathmandu has 18,000 families; Patan: 24,000 and Bhatgaon: 12,000.” Probably a family means a household.

Patan’s rulers, all without exception, called themselves, ‘Lord of Māniggal’. According to some people Māniggal is a distorted version of Mānagṛha, the ancient palace of the Nepalese kings. This epithet ‘Lord of Māniggal’ came to be used by rulers of Patan only since feudatory Viṣṇusiṃha’s time. But what led him to adopt this title at this stage cannot be ordinarily explained.¹²¹

119 Letter dated Bhatgaon 12-15. May, 1740 A. D; Patan 10 October, 1744 A.D.

120 *Italiani Missionari*, etc. Vol. II, Part VII; p. 10; p. 26. Read Desideri, ‘Kingdom of Nepal’ in his Account of Tibet, Op. Cit., Also Father Joseph’s *Account in Asiatic Researches*, II (1700) pp. 308-22. Kathmandu: 18,000 houses, Patan: 24,000 houses and Bhatgaon: 12,000 families.

121 Meghapālavarmā’s inscription (NS 477) has *Śrī Śrī Lalitabrumāyām Śrī Mānigala Vajra Mahāpiṅtha Vihāre*. But the name is still older as would appear from a description in Part I.

Before Kathmandu reached a high stage of progress, Patan was the centre of political activities being the capital for the whole of the undivided Nepal Valley.

Father Giuseppe alias Joseph who resided in the Valley for four years between 1763-67 A. D. wrote about the structure and construction of these cities; "all these towns both great and small are well built; the houses are constructed of brick and are three or four storeys high; their apartments are not lofty; they have doors and windows of wood well worked and arranged with great regularity. The streets of all their towns are paved with brick or stone, with a regular declivity to carry off the water. In almost every street of the capital towns there are also good wells made of stone, from which the water passes through several stone canals for the public benefit. In every town there are large square varandahs well built for the accommodation of travellers and the public: these varandahs (porticos) are called *pāṭi* and there are also many of them as well as wells in different parts of the country for public use. There are also, on the outside of the great towns, small square reservoirs of water faced with brick, with a good road to walk upon and a large flight of steps for the convenience of those who choose to bathe. A place of water of this kind on the outside of the city of Cot'hmandu was at least 200 feet long on each side of the square and every part of its workmanship had a good appearance."¹²²

Another Italian priest, Father Constantine Da Lero wrote to give further information about the same subject, which is in no way different from the above, and may not be reproduced here.

A consideration of the architecture of the town is out of place at this stage. But just for the purpose of introductory knowledge of the subject let me state that our towns and villages or townlets whatever we call them conformed to the

old architectural pattern advocated in treatises like *Mānasāra* which has produced a model for our habitational sites.

As if to follow this pattern, our towns and villages had a wall and ditch around. They were also separated into blocks called *ṭol*. There were two main roads running straight east to west or north to south. The Royal Palace occupied the heart of the city as already suggested and nearby the two main roads crossed. There were streets and lands, a dozen and quarter or more depending on the size of the city, which intersected at points providing open space for temple buildings, public platforms and one room inn. The greater the space at the cross road the larger was the courtyard, and with this grew the size of the temples to their structures. As usual, the residential houses were constructed on the side of the road or street. Their ground floor rooms were used as shops. Drains were dug through the eaves of houses on both sides of the road or street. This is a general plan applicable in every urban centre.

The many villages within the Valley inhabited by the Newari speaking people have their living quarters clustered together unlike such villages inhabited by others, where each living quarter is a unit by itself with its *pākho* land yielding vegetables and corns except paddy. The latter look like an European village, but we have such villages also in other parts of the Himalayan region falling with India. Compared to these villages, the Newari villages are urban in their general appearance, and as both types of villages existed in the late middle ages, we are to distinguish one from the other by a degree of urbanity. We call the latter urban by the same standard.

We have no intention to bring here into consideration all aspects of civil life in their details, nor do we think it necessary to give the reader a complete idea of the many roads and streets and *ṭols* (blocks) in which the capital cities have been divided. But we may attempt here to present an

outline of the picture in regard to the lay out of the towns and also of their civic amenities. In that course we shall also mention the names of the localities of the towns, which comes to us unchanged from the past.

Kathmandu seems to have spread along the bank of the river Viṣṇumati over a small area forming an oblong shape with two main roads at the upper part one running from the south to the north and another passing towards the north from the south but taking a north easterly direction. Both converge at a site known as *Maru* in the heart of the city. The area of the town might measure nearly half a mile south to north as its length and half a furlong east to west as its breadth. The Royal palace is situated in the heart of the city on the right side of the main road as we go along from the north Lagan, Chekana Mugala, Maru, Pyāfal, Yatkhā, Makhanatola, Wongal, Oṭu, Assan are the localities within the city known from documents of the middle ages. These names are still preserved and provide a clue to understanding the map of the city as it then existed. The many *Vihāra* settlements occupied by lay citizens since 14th century A.D. are also identified by references of the names in the inscriptions.

The *Thyāsapu A* mentions Lagan in connection with the report of death, due to some epidemics in 798 (F. 14). Chekanamuga is mentioned in the colophon of the manuscript copy of *Pañcharakṣā* written in the time of Sadāśivamalla (Darb. Lib. Cat. I. 1114). The *Thyāsapu A* by calling Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Jośī the Bhāro of Maru testifies to a reference to this part of the city, which has a big square and lanes and bye lanes going towards the river Viṣṇumati. Maru is the name of the locality where stands the famous temple building known as *Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa*. The Maruṭol is quite adjacent to the precincts of the Royal Palace. Next to Maruṭol is Pyāfal where lived Pratāpamalla's daughter as mentioned by the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 13). We are now going along the main road but as we leave Pyāfal and reach Yatkhā,

the road bifurcates one bending to reach a point at the end of the palace ground and passing through Wongal and Assan, and another extending to another 300 yards of space but ending there. From that extremity there emerges another road which also goes to Asanṭol and joins the main road at the square. Asanṭol is mentioned in an inscription of Sadāśivamalla's reign (d. 696, copper plate of a Vihāra in Ṭhimi).¹²³ Makhanṭol which lies between the Royal Palace and Wongal (now called Indrachok) is mentioned in a colophon of the 12th century (Br. Museum Or. 2279).¹²⁴ Wongal with its inner courtyard of Brahmapurī finds mention in a stone inscription of Lakṣmīnarasiṁhamalla's time.¹²⁵ Wongal has a square and from there a street leads us to Oṭuṭol which was the locality where a minister of Jayaprakāśamalla, by name Jorābarasiṁha, lived (Bhadrakālī temple inscription, dated 867).¹²⁶ Oṭu and Asan constituted what in the inscription of our period was called *Jamaleśvara Kṣatra*. A smaller block known as Guchāṭol which is situated near Oṭu is mentioned as the home of the donor¹²⁷. The present day Jamal area adjacent to Asan was another corner of the town as it then extended. At one time we reached here the limit of the city in that direction. But in the late middle ages the town extended a little further towards the north about a furlong or little more. The new wing had its own name, *Suvarṇapatālinagara*. *Suvarṇapatālinagara* appears in several inscriptions of the area.

(1) An inscription of Bauddhavihāra at Naghaṭol with the date 767 *Chaitra śukla 15 svāti nakṣatre* etc. belonging to the reign of Pratāpa refers to *Suvarṇapatālinagara*. The

123 Inscription no. 21 in our Appendix.

124 MS. *Piṅgalamata* of NS 313.

125 Inscription no. 38 in our Appendix. Also the Paśupati Copper-plate inscription of 843 *Chaitra Śudī*.

126 Also see n. 3 document in *Purātatvapratasaṅgraha*, I.

127 On a stone inscription of 835 *Kārtikaśukla 15 kṛttikānakṣatra somavāra* etc.

record talks of repairing a *vajradhātu* in Śāntipur (*Svayambhu* area) by Śākyabhikṣu Jayatasīmha and others.

(2) A stone inscription of the reign of Pratāpamalla in Chhusyabahāl in the northern part of Kathmandu with date 788 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa navamī uttarabhadra nakṣatre ādityavāre* gives a record of the setting up of an image of Harahara Lokeśvara in the *Vihāra* in *Suvarṇapatālinagara*.

(3) Ratnamaṇḍala monastery (Thahiti) inscription of the reign of Pārthivendramalla, 805 *Vaiśākha śukla saptamī* mentions the place as occurring in *Suvarṇapatālinagara*.

(4) We have further an inscription on a stone at Dhokābahāl, dated 812 *Phālguṇa śukla 8 somavāra* where the donor says that he repaired a *Chaitya* in *Suvarṇapatālinagara*.

In the inscription belonging to the 16th century A.D traced in the northern part of the town, the name of the area spoken is *Suvarṇapatālimahānagara* (great city). Obviously, the two parts of the town were known under different names. But the nerve centre was what had come to be noted as *Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa* or *Kāntipur* or *Yambukrama* or *Yaṅgala*. Kathmandu's Newari name is *Yeñdeśa* according to Georgi, the Tibetans called it Jang-bu or Jambe, probably an altered transcription of Yamphu. Levi (I, p. 55) says that Kathmandu was known also as Kho-born to Tibetans. Probably as the present name of a part of the town goes, Kathmandu was also known as Yangal.

It came to be called a great city (inscription at *Vijeśvarī*, *Oṭu*, etc. (*Mahānagarī*)).

But the mere fact of being called a city does not mean that it had the population and size of the places acknowledged as such. *Suvarṇapatāli* was just a suburb and extension of Kathmandu, yet by itself it is called a great city (*mahānagara*). This shows that the title of *mahānagara* does not express its true character as a city or just a group of houses for a trade mart.

As suggested earlier, Kathmandu stood as the *primus inter pares* of three cities in the late medieval period. Occupying the centre of the valley it enjoyed a commanding position if only from a geographical standpoint. We have already referred to the trade links Kathmandu maintained with its neighbours. It was probably the most important trade centre of the region. What with political importance and what with economic position of vantage Kathmandu was known as the great city (*Mahānagara*), the expression of its greatness which was its own. We have already noted how Kathmandu controlled areas right up to the Tibetan frontier through its entire north-eastern stretches of hills and valleys. From Noakoṭ the highway to the Tigripass through Kuṭi, Kathmandu's line of communication was smooth.

Bhatgaon, situated at a higher altitude than both Patan and Kathmandu, had also the same area. It extended from the west towards northeast making an egg like shape. The Taumadhi square divided the town into two parts as it still does. Some of the names of the localities like Thalachhe, Taumadhi, Golmadhi appear to be as old as our period, because these appear in our documents.

Bhatgaon was called Bhaktagrāma (Yakṣamalla's inscription) or Bhaktapur (Pratāpa's inscription). In ancient chronicles of the 14th century it was known as Khopo or Khopva. Earlier than that it was called Khuprimbruma.¹²⁸ According to modern chronicles the city was founded by Abhayamalla or Ānandamalla. Patan either known as Lalitapaṭṭana 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 of Nepal.

Patan was the seat of Buddhist learning and arts. Its art creations of bronze and brass wares received wide recognition all over Nepal.

128 *Ms. Hamsayāmala* of 159 *Vaiśākha* (Darb. Lib. Cat. I, 1076, 23).

The city had a planned appearance with broad openings and stone pavements. As Gorkha power got consolidated in course of time Patan came in direct contact with the territories of Tanhou through Kirtipur-Dahachok-Lāmidāndā. At Lāmidāndā met the three principalities of Tanhou, Mackwānpur and Lalitapaṭṭan. 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 Gorkha 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 regions, a proof of the dominant economic positions gained by Patan in those areas.

Kānu Śarmā in his *Kīrtipatākā* writing in NS 772 gives an exact location of different sites of the city of Patan. He surveys the area in all directions. Entering the city from the south he comes along the road culminating in the Darbar square known as Maṅgala Bazāra. Nigalaṭol, then a little farther Khimṭol and Thatti are the names of the localities about the road. Let us follow Kānu Śarmā with his description. In the Khimṭol there is a Vihāra which has the temple of Mīnanātha. Khimṭol has also another important site. This is the Tava Vihāra where the temple of Red Machhendranātha is situated. The spot actually called Thattiṭol. From a crossing of streets near the temple of Machhendranātha poet Kānu Śarmā turns to the left towards the west. He goes to Ekhālakhu and Bahālalukhā along the lane. Before the entrance to the Ekhālakhu square is Tariniglaṭol. Bahālalukhā stands on the periphery on that side. There is Thambubol as the houses extend to the south from the Ekhālakhu square.

Kānu Śarmā's itinerary brings him now straight to the north from Ekhālakhu, where he finds Gādvahāra. There is a road coming from the west, through which in the summer the car of Machhendranātha passes. Nandabahil is a

monastic area with a big courtyard north of Gādbahāl into which we penetrate by a lane. Then further north we reach Dadhalayu. Turning to the east along a bye lane we arrive at an open space with temples interspersing. This is Ekhāchhe. Here is a cross road, from where at a small distance we can see the temple of Bhimasena of the main road in the south. Both are negotiated through bye lanes. Kānu Śarmā's route is now a little descent along a street towards the north. He reaches the Komati square facing towards the east the temple of Kumbheśvara. He talks of a pond inside the temple compound. This is called Gaurikuṇḍa. We are again on the extremity of the town area in the north. We take a turn towards the east and are brought to Ko-bahāl along a street reaching Bhailāchhe, then to Yampivihāra, and then to a large open space in the courtyards of two water conduits, called Chyasal. Further south-east lies Khapinchhe where we have a temple of Nāṭeśvara. Neot is the last locality in the north-eastern part of the town. We now pass along a route to the west to reach the Royal palace. We come along Yanamugal, Yanchhu, Chapol and Dopāt. A big road appears at sight but here is another cross street which creates an open space. There is a temple of Siddhilakṣmī on this open ground. The image is also called Bhṛṅgeśvarī. The temple is commonly called Bhaṅgirā. The road now passes through Dadhalachhe and Nogal. Nogal boasts of a water conduit made of gold. From a square ground there, the car of Machhendranātha takes a turn towards the south along a wide street. A little further the car again makes a turning at Tharipā or Thapā and enters another road running parallel to the main road from east to west and then passes through Okubahāl, Chākbahāl and Lhugalṭol. We are now close to the cluster of temples in front of the Royal palace. If we had come to the palace area straight from Nogal we had to pass through Satigal (present Saugal). Tyāgal is a crossing on the other route. The palace area is full of temples has a building for the king's personal use, and also a garden.

This is in detail Kānu Śarmā's outline map of the city of Patan. From this it appears that the present day structure of the town has come to us since quite a long time. While Kānu Śarmā found it in 773, they must have surely existed much earlier. This would belie any assumption that the towns were modern in their present size. As the new extension is noticeably modern having been raised within our memory, it should not be a whit difficult for us to distinguish it from the old sites.

Nhugalṭol is mentioned as the place where the Ms. *Pañcharakṣā* was copied in 275 in the reign of Ānandadeva (Camb. Or. 130). We have a palm leaf record of land sale of NS 403. (n. 1. in our Appendix), which shows the deed to have been executed in Nhogal. We can produce earlier records for other localities as well. But this will not be necessary in view of the antiquity of the writing of Kānu Śarmā.

In all the cities the main road was paved with stones the stone pavement appeared along the thoroughfare and at the crossing where it wore the shape of a courtyard. Important portions of the lanes were paved with stones. In Patan all the main roads and streets appear to have been paved with stones. In Bhatgaon the same condition prevailed more or less. The streets appear today in the same condition as they had been two centuries earlier. They are well paved. Even those that lead down to the bank of the Hanumante Kholā (rivulet) from the higher altitude of the city are finely paved with stone pieces. Courtyards in as many instances have brick pavement. There are inscriptions to tell us of the work of pavement done by the ruler, his minister or some of his dignitaries in a particular area. Even in townlets the practice of paving the path was common. Śrīnivāsamalla constructed the pavement along the main road in Pharping (Inscription in Kochhuṭol, date 796.)

Water conduits in the city were numerous. No locality went without its water conduit. The sources of water must

have been either a long channel or a well nearby dug at a higher altitude. Kānu Śarmā talks of wells, from where the citizens drew their drinking water. There are many inscriptions which tell us of the work done by pious people to provide drinking water to their brethren.

The town was well drained. The drains pass through the edge of the rows of houses on both sides. They are diverted to fall into the river, Viṣṇumati in the case of Kathmandu, Bāgmati in the case of Patan and Hanumante in the case of Bhatgaon. The refuge was carried by a watery channel from a higher level of the city to the lower level of the river bed.

The cities had their own garden where they produced vegetables and flowers. We shall have occasion to treat them in the section dealing with agriculture; so we leave the reference here to be taken up for a later occasion.

The many large courtyards and the squares show a sort of planning. But unplanned sites also had grown up haphazardly. Together with these the many gardens in the interior of the city helped to sustain fresh air even for a dense population. Thus for hygienic consideration also the towns seem to fare no worse than such habitations elsewhere in our subcontinent.

The description of the town with the architectural beauty and of the comforts and amenities enjoyed by the people together with temples, monuments and art objects as portrayed by the Capuchin fathers make the three cities really enviable. They were the pride of the day for the people who were lucky enough to be its citizens. They can compare with any other town in a civilized society. We have read similar accounts of the cities in India of the contemporary period and when a comparison is made, there is nothing which would present our town as inferior to them in respect of any matter which a city needs to deserve the name. The description as drawn by the Italian missionaries is there to speak for their magnificence. Many other matters treated in

the book might be taken to give supplementary information on the civic life. This again adds to the richness and grandeur of the urban life. They were fairly large towns and even in respect of size they could vie with the best elsewhere.

One more feature of the urban area as depicted by the Padres deserves special attention. This is the layout of the city vis-a-vis its defensive strategy. By and large cities in India in the middle ages were protected against external attacks or intrusion. I think that the pattern was followed in our country quite faithfully. The three towns appear in the description as fortified areas. They were surrounded by walls which again were encircled by ditches full of water crossed at points linked to massive gates which were maintained under strict and close military watch. According to Yakṣamalla's inscription and Kānu Upādhyā's account¹²⁹ the gates served very well as fortifications. They were called *Kvāṭha* which means either a military outpost or a fort. It does also appear that not only the capital but every townlet was protected by constructing walls and fortified gateways.

From one of the inscriptions of Yakṣamalla we come to know that he constructed a fortlike structure (*Garh*) in Bhatgaon with walls and ditches around it. The *garh* which also included the palace and the main part of the city had gates well guarded. According to the record the preservation and maintenance of the construction were the responsibility of the people of the citadel. This was divided into blocks and each section was looked after by those living in the vicinity. They were responsible for guarding the different routes within the city either ascending or descending as these lay within the locality. The responsibility was shared areawise collectively by the king, his officials and ministers as well as by peoples; for any case of the nonfulfilment of such obligation each inhabitant great or small had to pay a fine in kinds at the rate of a *kuḍuwā* measurement of rice per

129. To which a reference will be made a little later.

head. The gate was kept in the state of a fort under the overall charge of an officer called *Kvāṭhanāyaka*. He had to get materials for repair work, etc., if any needed, for rebuilding the wall or the roof as it happened. The repair had to be done before the *Siṭhi* festival. If the concerned officer failed to do it he was fined 12 *dams* or *dramma* for dereliction of duty. Every year on the day of *Mahālakṣmī dharma visarjana* (*Āśvina kṛṣṇa* 8 according to modern calendar) the walls were to be carefully examined. If anywhere the ditch was broken and filled with earth this was to be set right and patches closed by *pathigāma*. It was strictly prohibited to allow horses, buffaloes, cows and pigs to trespass the ditches and cause damage to the embankment. The king would realise a sum of 1 *dramma* for each act of damage from the person responsible for it. In the case of the ditch being broken and damaged it was the duty of the *pathigāma* to repair it. If any portion of the walls and gates were damaged, then it fell within the responsibility of those in the locality where the damage had occurred to make good the repair. In general one would incur fruits of five sins if he caused damage to the wall and gates and also would be punished by the king with a fine of 9 *dramma*. Where somebody tried to take away a piece of stone or brick or wood, he shall be fined 1 *dramma* each per piece.

A poetic composition called *Kīrtipatākā* by a court poet of Śrīnivāsamalla describes the city of Patan, its location, formation, its palace as well as its *stūpas*, temples and icons. The date of composition of the work is NS 772 (=1652 A. D). Kānu, the author, talks of the city's surrounding walls, deep moats and massive gates. Although the description is much exaggerated, we nevertheless obtain an impression that the capital city was maintained as a fort to which access from outside was difficult. I am sure that the city of Kathmandu had also preserved its defence structure in the same way as Patan and Bhatgaon did. We shall have occasion to talk of other towns in the context of defence as we deal with the subject matter.

Topographically the three capital cities do not occupy strategic advantages common to surrounding where nature so sternly provides. They were all situated in low lands and did not enjoy nature's protection as it is the case with areas occupying the site of an upland. Because they were situated in a vulnerable area, they required to be defended otherwise through artificial means by providing walls, moats and military outposts at strategic points which were heavily guarded by the military.

A few words more about the gates of the cities. Kānu Śarmā's description is too fantastic to be taken seriously. But we know from the *Thyāsapus* that the gates had their own strategic importance. They could not be exposed to attack on account of the loose measures of defence. Hence Yakṣamalla's insistence on their proper care in regard to repair and maintenance. The gates seem to be heavily guarded, and there was a watch and ward staff to check unauthorised entry into the city. The gates supported a balcony and a chamber to house the guards.

All the thoroughfares leading to the capital cities were similarly guarded, the account of which is given in the pages dealing with the defence matters of the day.

Similarly, the civic life in the cities is a subject of description in the next few pages. It will appear that the cities were quite advanced as far as their civic amenities were concerned. They were not only well guarded against the enemies, but were at the same time enjoyed a position of invulnerability in respect of supplies, such as food, water, cloth, etc, although the roads which connected them to the many centres of commerce within the Valley were just life lines and much depended on their preservation. Yet the capital cities like strongly defended forts stood bravely in times of stress drawing on their potential resources which were immense.

All the three cities as might have appeared to the readers

from the accounts given were very important as commercial and industrial centres. Their strength in basic factors, the commerce and industries, provided blood to their arteries and what is more, the Valley of Nepal was also economically self-sufficient in so many things in the period under study, which again added to its over all strength.

With the little Nepals beyond the Valley all around, the Banepā Valley adjoining the eastern periphery, the Chitlāng valley immediately on the other side of the mountain Chaṇḍā-giri, the Tādi valley below the Manichur-Śivapuri ridge on the northern side, and the valley of Indrāvati on the north east the three kingdoms of the Nepal Valley obtained their supplies of grains, in addition to those of fruits, and fishes. All these contributed to the economic strength of the Valley.

Civic life, homes, roads, water conduits: The Newars were in the main an urban community. They lived in a compact area. Houses touched houses and stood in a row with a breach only when it had to give passage to cross. There were roads, streets, lanes and bye lanes in the city. These crossed. The roads were paved with stones. In the interior negotiated by streets and lanes there were *vihāras* around which stood also the rows of houses, where there was no *vihāra*, there was a courtyard. Both were quadrangular in their layout. It was said that the size of the house varied between situations. The one on the road was of the largest size. In the interior the size diminished from street to the lane. The roads were spacious as some of these preserved up till now go to show. The streets and lanes were narrow. Bye lanes could accommodate two men coming from opposite quarters. The byelanes at many points crossed the courtyards of houses. The passage being allowed whenever crossing took place to allign two compounds. Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon were densely populated cities. But unlike the towns in India, the old sites of the *vihāras* within the city provided

open space in the locality where it was situated. This tended to contribute to the healthy atmosphere of the area.

Further here and there, there were fields producing vegetables, which had acquired quite a substantial area in the urban surrounding. These they called *keva*. In a grant to the Capuchin missions such *Kevas* are mentioned in a large number, and both in Patan and Kathmandu they lay in the heart of the town.

The cities divided into quarters called *ṭola*. The *ṭola* was a compact area. Many *ṭols* derived their name after the monastery. Many had indifferent manners. The Royal palace was the central site separating Kathmandu into the upper and lower parts called *deśas*. In Patan the Royal palace was also the centre of the town. But the Bhatgaon Royal palace was situated at the western extremity of the town and the centre dividing the city was the courtyard surrounded by the Nyatpola and Bhairava temples. Judging from the general appearance of the townlets, the two divisions were normal and obtained in every case whether it was a town or townlet. Names of the *ṭolas* which have been existing since the middle ages are preserved in the manuscripts or stones. But it does not seem that the area of the town existing at the moment was the same earlier. We shall have to form an idea of the extent of the town by names of the *ṭols* which have come to us since the ages. The monastic names are there but the number of such settlements are not as many as are listed by the priests. We discover that there has been some diminution of the inhabited localities due to their having been deserted in course of time. Such monastic areas as were on the outskirts of the town were probably those that were deserted. Probably these were isolated pockets a little far removed from the town proper, though within its periphery. Other areas, however, seem to have kept intact and in the case of Kathmandu the town area was extended to the north by a considerable stretch. However, such was

not the case in the other two towns which have shrunk in size as their importance as the capital city had gone.

Pastime and Entertainments: They celebrated festivals, and visited temples in large numbers. We shall deal with the subject of festivals a little later and also the rites performed in the temples. Let us now look into their pastimes and entertainments.

The people were treated to witnessing stage plays and masked dances in their own locality. An inscription of the time of the year 793 *Māgha śukla 5* tells us that a raised platform for the performance of the dance of Goddess Hari-siddhidevī was constructed and completed on 793 *Māgha śukla 5 uttarabhādra nakṣatra siddhi yoge somavāra*. The platform was usually constructed at a point where different lanes met, such as a platform was available in every important quarter of the city, and every townlet boasted of one or several platforms of the type. An inscription on the wall of the Thatipati in Patan records the making of a *dabali* (platform) in honour of Karuṇāmaya (Lokēśvara) on 824 *Māgha śukla 2 kṛttikā nakṣatre śobhanayoge somavāsare*. We get information from an inscription of Tokhā (*NS 841 Phālguna śuddhi*) that the *dabali* in Rachcheṭol was repaired and a play named *Jñānavatī* was staged for the first time with the help of the 'Pañchas.' An inscription of Bode mentions the construction of a *dabali* on 756 *Phālguna kṛṣṇa 4 revati nakṣatre kumbha yoge guruvāsare* (a stone on the *dabali* at Viṣṇughāṭ). In each locality of the towns or townlets there was a *bhajana khalaka* or *saṅgīti khalaka*. We know from an inscription on the *torāṇa* of the temple Trailokya vijaya at Gujibahāl in the city of Patan that the said *torāṇa* was offered by the *saṅgīti khalaka* of the area. These were groups singing prayers in honour of the deities.

A Ṭhimi inscription of 822 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 2 hasta nakṣatra śivayoge śanivāre* states that *Daśapati chaturdaśīsevā* helped to construct the temple of Indrāyanī, and the ceremony

of completion was performed at the date mentioned. In an inscription of Cha-bel which has a date 840 *Vaiśākha śukla 10* (already referred to as one of the documents of Mahīndra-sirīha) it is said that *Chaturdaśī khalaka* and *Paurṇamāsi Seva khalaka* helped to repair the temple of Lohonsala Gaṇeśa. The Nāṭyeśvara temple of inscription of Ṭhimi (NS 873 *Vaiśākha śukla 15*) states that the temple of the god of dance was built by a *Bhajana maṇḍali* who sang prayer songs with the accompaniment of *Khim* (a kind of drum).

The *Bhajana* or *Saṅgīti* formed regular features. They were held daily or on special occasions.

The plays were staged during festivals or when some inaugural ceremonies of the completion of pious deeds were performed or in times of marriage or births. From VIII we learn many instances of plays being staged while the *Chudā-karma* or *Vivāha* ceremony was performed. An inscription of the temple of Maheśvarī tells us that on the day of setting up a finial on the roof of the said temple the drama *Rukmiṇī haraṇa* was staged in the presence of Raṇajitamalla (866 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 2 mṛgaśirā etc*).

In the same way every major locality in the three cities and every townlet, had a temple of Nṛṭyanātha or Nāṭyeśvara. We have several temples of Nāṭyeśvara in Kathmandu situated in different localities, the most important of which is the one constructed by Pratāpamalla (Inscription on stone, 793 *Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa 8 śukravāra*). In Bhatgaon the following Nāṭyeśvara temples are in evidence. (1) At Kvathamūṭol from the inscription of 887 *Bhādra śudī 1* (Rāmeśvara Suvara built a *pharechā*); (2) in Bhulankhelṭol of Ṭhimi from the inscription of the temple with date 873 *Vaiśākha sukla 15 bṛhaspativāsare etc*; (3) a temple of Nāṭyeśvara was erected by Jagatprakāśamalla to the south of his palace. Bhūpatīndramalla had offered a bell to the Nāṭyeśvara of Nāsamunāṭol.

Religion and Piety: Religion and piety were the two principal aspects of the life of the people in the middle

ages. These constituted the foundation of ethical standards and source of their values. They affected the entire social structure, and without them society could not function.

Religion: The late medieval period carried the religious tradition of the previous centuries unhampered. Undoubtedly what we have described as a general feature of religious worship as it obtained in medieval Nepal held good in general also for the period under review. But our period was also one of novel trends in rituals and local gods associated with these, who had come to dominate the scene. We also notice that one of the results of the introduction of new trends had been to send some of the existing powerful deities to comparatively less important area.

We do not intend to deal in detail with this subject. We shall, therefore, just make a passing reference to the main deities and places of worship belonging to both the Buddhist and Śaivite-Viṣṇuite sects. But as we have observed, we shall also find that in this period new deities and new cults associated with them appear, not, of course, as introducing new creed but as additional elements in the same tradition. This phase we shall touch in its details in the present narrative.

Principal Deities of the Age: Paśupatinātha used to be the only deity invoked as divine witness to royal agreements in the records of NS 573, 614, 688 (Inscription in the Appendix to Part I).

In view of the absence of similar records up till 741 we do not know which deities held the place of honour as witness in the royal agreements. But the agreement of 741 between the rulers of Kathmandu and Patan is executed with Taleju-devi as witness.¹³⁰ So it appears that by this time Taleju was equally being awed and respected as was Paśupatinātha

Whatever might be the feeling with the common people

130 Inscription No. 34 in our Appendix.

about the degree of respectability of different deities, the fact of being recognised as divine witness who was omnipotent placed any deity in the front line as to the reverence they commanded in the eyes of the people.

Royal charters, decrees and agreements were invested with sanctity by mentioning deities at the outset, whose very names inspired fear to the wrong-doer and who protected those with good conduct.

Verily these were the most important divinities of the time, and ranked highest in the order.

As we come to the mid 17th century A. D., more deities appears in relevant documents. The copper plate agreements of 778,¹³¹ in which Pratāpamalla and Śrīnivāsamalla pledge eternal friendship invokes Taleju, Guhyeśvarī, Paśupatinātha, Machhendranātha, and Harasiddhi. Guhyeśvarī, Machhendranātha and Harasiddhi are invoked for the first time in a new capacity. Machhendranātha is a deity of hoary antiquity as we have seen from our account of early Medieval Nepal. So his appearance in the present record does not surprise us. Guhyeśvarī and Harasiddhi, however, had become popular in this century. Their appearance in the record shows that they had acquired predominance in a comparatively short time.

In the Bhatgaon copper plate of 816 NS, which contains an agreement between Yoganarendramalla and Jitāmitramalla, the deities invoked as witnesses are Taleju, Karuṇāmaya (Machhendranātha), Paśupatinātha, Garuḍa Nārāyaṇa (of Chāṅgu), Guhyeśvarī, Vajrayoginī and Harasiddhi.¹³² Another Bhatgaon copper plate, the one recording an agreement between Bhūpatīndramalla and Bhāskaramalla in 822¹³³ invokes the blessing of Karuṇāmaya, Paśupatinātha, Taleju, Garuḍa Nārāyaṇa, Harasiddhi and Guhyeśvarī. Karuṇāmaya

131 Inscription No. 59 in our Appendix.

132 " " 102 " "

133 " " 110 " "

and Lokanātha are the other two names of Machhendranātha.

Some of these deities also figure in coins; such a practice of adopting the names of principal deities as legends in coins was started by Yoganarendramalla of Patan. Later this was copied by the king of Kathmandu.

Lokanātha appears as legend in the coins of Yoganarendramalla (Walsh, V. 5, 6, 7, 8, 10), Indramalla (Walsh, V. 11), Viranarasimha (Walsh, V. 12), Viṣṇumalla (Walsh, VI. 6, 8, 9), Viśvajitamalla (Walsh, VI. 13) and Tejanarasimhamalla (n. 26 in our Appendix). Karuṇāmaya which is another name of Lokanātha is also inscribed as legend of few coins of some of these rulers (ns. 15, 20 in our Appendix; Walsh, VI. 1, 2, 3, 5, 13). Yoganarendramalla inscribed *Taleju sahāya* along with Lokanātha in one of his coins (Walsh, V. 10). Harasiddhī and Lokanātha appear in the obverse and reverse respectively of a coin of Rājyaprakāśa and Viśvajitamalla (Walsh, VI. 9, 10).

In a coin of Jayaprakāśamalla both Paśupatinātha, (obverse) and Guhyeśvarī (reverse) are inscribed as legend (Walsh, VI. 10). Taleju Māju and Kumārī are shown in another coin (Walsh, IV. 6). It appears that Jayaprakāśa issued a quarter *mohar* in the name of Guhyeśvarī and Paśupati, which does not however have his name (Walsh, IV. 9).

From a study of the treaty documents and coins it becomes evident that the following were the principal deities in Nepal in the later middle ages. Paśupatinātha, Garuḍa Nārāyaṇa, Taleju Māju, Machhendranātha (Lokanātha or Karuṇāmaya), Harasiddhī, Vajrayoginī and Guhyeśvarī. Of these Lokanātha and Vajrayoginī belonged primarily to Buddhist pantheon but received also deep homage from the Śaivite laity.

The *stūpa* of Svayambhu should have been placed in the category of principal deities. But the *stūpa* does not appear anywhere in the records of the nature we have quoted above.

The Svayambhu *stūpa* can claim antiquity as well as popularity as was suggested in the earlier account. But Svayambhunātha did not command the same universal respect as did others we noted. Svayambhunātha was no doubt widely respected, but the deity was more revered by those who obeyed Guvas as priests than by others; whereas Taleju, Harasiddhī and Vajrayoginī commanded as deep and wide popularity amongst all sections of the people irrespective of their priesthood. There is one thing more which we have to take note of in this connection. Some of the principal deities we have mentioned had become popular quite late. More others had entered the field, and these were regarded in the past as obscure deities or they were not rarely heard of. It should be borne in mind, however, that the influence they made felt today was possible only in the general atmosphere of religious amalgamation as it prevailed in Nepal in the middle ages due to the active forces of the cult of *Vajrayāna*, which synthesised Śaivite and Buddhist deities. In our period again this synthesis had produced a new category of deities whose importance grew in the new environment. As we shall mark later, the process of synthesis brought in its wake the predominance of Śaiva-Śākta cult, to which many of our deities of local importance were linked. Yet one more thing; shorn of their philosophical basis both Śaivo-Vaiṣṇavism and *Vajrayāna* Buddhism had been reduced to the formalities of ritualism and worship of images of divine beings who were popularly believed to play their parts in shaping the destiny of human beings.

Deities in general: We have seen that a part of the ground was covered by a section of the narrative which describes the manifold deeds of piety performed by individual monarchs and influential benefactors. The scope of the subject is even otherwise much curtailed in view of the chapter on religion incorporated in the preceding volume, which covers the main points needed to elucidate the general features of religious systems in Nepal in the late medieval period.

It shall appear that the Buddhist pantheon was much more largely affected by the new forces than the Śaivite group of deities. Besides, the new entrants sprang out of Śaivite inspiration and influence.

However, images of the powerful deities as described in the relevant chapter of the preceding volume could be seen in various centres of monasteries and many of these had not ceased to have influence in our period. But some of them appear to have only existed as part of the congregation lining the Vihāras. Separately they are not even known to the mass of the devotees. Of course, individuals paid homage to them. But the usual halo had waned. But we should not think that their number was in anyway large. As a matter of fact those who were being ignored at this stage were numerically few compared to those who had retained their popularity. It appears that the principal deities had held ground, while only some of their forms and emanations had lost it. The latter belonged to the category of emanations of Pañcha Buddha group as well as many forms of Lokeśvara. The iconographic representation of the Pañcharakṣā divinities also grows scarce as we come to the late medieval period. But the Pañcha Buddhas and Lokeśvara by themselves were not affected. They were as popular as they had been in the ages earlier. In the Śaivite pantheon, the one deity to lose eminence is Sūrya. Indeed, for the period under review here there is not a single record which talks of Sun God. But the images already in existence were certainly being worshipped. In the beginning of the sixteenth century had emerged from comparative obscurity after a struggle of another nearly three hundred years a set of divinities derived from both faiths such as Gaṇeśa, Durgā or Kālī, and Bhairava. We shall see that others of local origin and description had also appeared. These completely overshadowed the more complex of the *Vajrayāna* pantheon, and with obscure origin they had developed to grow as classical deities associated with the scriptures. Coincidentally all of them were female deities

and were looked upon as manifestation of either Navadurgā or Dasamātrikā. Emanations which were common to Śaiva and Bauddha Tantras also enjoyed much respect and devotion and these are mostly the Śakti deities like Vajravārābhī, Vajrayoginī or Ugratārā, Vijeśvarī or Vidyādharī, Dakṣiṇa Kālī, Chhinnamastikā, Chaṇḍeśvarī, Guhyeśvarī, Sobhabhagavatī, Annapūrnā, Mahālakṣmī and Mahāsarasvatī. The Navadurgā, Aṣṭamātrkā and Daśamahāvidyā groups had also emerged quite popular in the later medieval period. They formed important deities of the Śakti cult. For the whole of the Valley the Bodhisatva Lokeśvara under the name of Matsyendranātha and Taleju as a manifestation of Śaiva Durgā and Bauddha Tārā combined are the popular deities. So is Kumārī whose *jātrā* is celebrated annually with universal eclat in Kathmandu. Another deity who commanded universal respect from all quarters at all times is Lord Paśupati-nātha and similar is the case of Lord Viṣṇu who is popularly worshipped in the form of Nārāyaṇa or Kṛṣṇa. Of Viṣṇu the image known as Budhānilakanṭha, and the four Nārāyaṇas (Chāṅgu, Ichaṅgu, Śikhara and Viṣaṅku) are important. But the worship of Lord Kṛṣṇa is a new phenomenon not to be witnessed in the last period. The Svayambhu *stūpa* continued to be the major deity for the Buddhist. So did Hāritī within the same precincts who was called *Ajimā* (meaning grandmother). Similarly the *stūpas* in general did not lose their popularity. The Mahābauddha *stūpas* in Kathmandu, and Patan, the four Aśokān *stūpas* and Pimbahil *chaitya* in Patan and the large *chaitya* known as Aśokān in Kīrtipur continued to receive homage as usual. Mahākāla, an emanation of Akṣobha whose image the deity bears on its forehead had his own temple in Kathmandu, which is quite popular. Besides this, Mahākāla is worshipped as guardian deity at the doorway of every *vihāra* along with Gaṇeśa. Hanumāna also entered the pantheon at this stage and is worshipped as another door-keeper.

The subject of deities in popular worship might not require

elaborate description, but in view of a new arrangement of the grouping of deities as well as many new faces appearing in the picture, it becomes necessary not only to explain fully the new forces working with all the attendant divinities but also to say even though briefly how far and how many of those who had held the ground in the earlier age could maintain continuity through both the earlier and later phase of their existence in the medieval age.

First to take account of the divinities already existing we start with those of the Śaivite pantheon.

Śaivite Divinities: Paśupatinātha is the most important deity of the group. He was invariably the patron deity of all the Nepalese kings who addressed themselves in their *prasasti* as one who was covered with the dust of Paśupatinātha's lotus feet (*Paśupaticaraṇa kamala dhūli dhuṣarita*). This epithet is used without exception by all kings since the time of Jaya Sthitimalla.

We have already described in detail the performance of pious deeds by Jyotirmalla and Yakṣamalla and by the latter's sons and grandsons. We have several copper plates to prove the fact of the Lord's universal popularity also in the later period. One of Mahendramalla's records (the Svayambhu stele) speaks of him as a follower of Paśupatinātha. We have seen how Pratāpamalla and his sons paid homage to the Lord on various occasions offering *Koṭyāhuti* and other ritualistic performances.¹³⁴ The *Thyāsapu A* is full of accounts of the many rituals performed at the temple in honour of Paśupatinātha.

The many copper plates in the temple which show many dates in the 17th and 18th centuries indicate the extent of influence the deity carried, which was tremendous.

From several inscriptions we learn that the people set up *Śiva liṅgas* to honour the memories of their parents. The

134 Inscription n. 29 in our Appendix.

usual place for the image of this type was area round the temple of Paśupatinātha. Devotees also made gifts of land and sacramental articles to Lord Paśupatinātha, and these are mentioned in the documents deposited in the collection. In our appendix we have added texts of some records for a fair idea of the nature of gifts made. These are partly from inscriptions on stones and partly from those on copper plates. The rest of the important documents are dealt with in the body of the narrative as we related the stories of acts of piety performed by our kings and noblemen.

In course of our narrative we have found that in addition to Paśupatinātha, there were a large number of deities who received worship and gifts of land from the devotees. We need not mention here all these deities as an elaborate description occurs in the preceding volume. But a description of the few of them who are outstanding might not be irrelevant. Our account, however, will touch only the aspect of their development which obtained in the later medieval period.

Besides Paśupatinātha, the next Śaivite deity of importance in the group is Garuḍa-Nārāyaṇa of Chāṅgu. The site attracts also a large number of Buddhist deities who worship the image as Hari-hari-vāhana Lokeśvara or as one of the *Tathāgatas*.

We have seen that Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa existed since the 4th century A. D. There are several inscriptions in the area, the date extending from the very early time to the late medieval period. A chronicle states that king Viśvamalla of Bhatgaon raised a new structure of temple over the ruins of the older one which had fallen to the ground. According to another source Viśvamalla's structure was also damaged as it had caught fire. The *Thyāsapu A* reported that the king of Kathmandu had set up a new finial on the temple in the month of Pauṣa of 818 taking out the old one (f. 83). He also did some repair work. Obviously the present temple must belong to the late medieval period.

The Bhuyusideo (Nārāyaṇa) known as Budhānilakaṇṭha occupied an important place in the order of the Śaiva-Viṣṇuite cult. As our inscriptions of the ancient period show this deity was popular since quite a long time in the past. The Nārāyaṇa is respected as Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara by those who are guided in their rituals by Guvāju priests. Informations about the deity from medieval records are however much limited, but we can take it that Bhu-yu-si-deo held the field through the ages as even today the Lord is universally worshipped.

Gosāīnthān known as the abode of Nīlakaṇṭha-Śiva was also a popular site visited by the pilgrims but with difficulty once in a year in the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādra (August-September). The site is a large tank said to have been formed as Lord Śiva struck his trident to get a spring of water to quench his thirst which seized him when he had drunk the poison coming out of the churning of the ocean. Gosāīnthān otherwise known as Silu first comes to our notice from colophon of the time of Yakṣamalla (see the account in Part I).

In the *Thyāsapu A* there is an account of King Pārthivendra and his brother undertaking a trip to Gosāīnthān (f. 32). The king's widow Riddhilakṣmī had also performed rites at the site (f. 84).

Other deities of the earlier period who had received homage from the peoples in the later days were: (1) the Bhagavati at Palāñchok (Jayaparakāśamalla's copper plate, 867 NS.)

(2) Kumbheśvara of Patan (refer to the reigns of Śrī-nivāsamalla and Yoganarendramalla).

(3) I-chaṅgu Nārāyaṇa, the site must be as old as the reign of Vijayakāmadeva (NS 313-320), and we have inscriptions of the reign of Nṛpendramalla to prove its popularity in our period.

(4) Tilamādhava in Taumadhiṭol, Bhatgaon. The anti-

quity of the deity is pushed back to the years prior to NS 288 (XII in the preceding part).

(5) Bhṛṅgeśvara in Sonagoṭhi. As the Gopāla Vaṁśāvalī mentions the deity in its very beginning (f. 17) we might accept Bhṛṅgeśvara to have been existing since the early medieval period. Bhṛṅgeśvara is one of the forms of Śiva, and seems to have received homage from the feudatories of Patan, who ruled in the 7th and early 8th century Nepal era (our inscription nos. 3, 6, 12, 19, 25).

It appears that the temple enshrining the images of the Sun God, Moon God, the Śiva family and Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa respectively had lost in this age their usual influence which had tended to be extensive and deep in the past. These were now visited only by those in the vicinity, and they carried only a little importance within a small area.

The temples of Gorakhanātha in Kathmandu and Pharping came in for mention in the description of Śaivite deities as we discussed the subject in the last chapter of the work preceding the present one. As we come to the late medieval period, we find not only these temples preserved, but there are also similar temples in other parts of Nepal. In Dathuḷol of Banepā a temple of Gorakhanātha was constructed by *Darśanadhāri Hākunātha on 769 Phālguna kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī mūlā nakṣatra śuddhiyoga śaniścharavāra* (Inscription of the date). We learn from an inscription of the temple of Gorakhanātha of Kumalḷol, Bhaktapur, that the old building having been destroyed another was raised by the Pañchas of the locality on 873 *Pauṣa śudi 15*. In Dhulikhel there is also a sanctuary of Gorakhanātha, which belongs to the same age but is left without attention at the moment.

Although Gorakhanātha is worshipped mainly in his footprints, he is associated with the many festivities thus ensuring the wide prevalence of the cult in this country. Gorakhanātha appears as the disciple of Machhendranātha in the latter's life story (Bugadeoyā Vaṁśāvalī) who had come

to Nepal to discover the whereabouts of his master. The Buga Varṁśāvalī says that Gorakhanātha had sat in *Padmāsana* pose crushing under his weight the serpent kings of the Valley, whose disappearance in that situation had caused drought for several years. Bandhudatta Ācharya had prevailed on king Narendradeva undertake a journey to Assam to fetch Machhendranātha who alone of all the divinities could end by his presence the dry season bringing back a heavy downpour of rains. The two succeeded in catching hold of the great *Guru* who was forced by means of most effective charms to enter a finial in the shape of a black bee, and the *Kalaśa* was now covered with a lid on his entry. Bandhudatta and Narendradeva now left Assam with the finial and reached Nepal. Gorakhanātha in his *Samādhi* could sense the coming of his master, and rose to welcome him, which tended to release the *Nāgarājas* who flying into the sky caused heavy rains all over the Valley. I do not know how far Gorakhanātha could be associated with Bodhisatva Lokeśvara on the basis of this story. But as we have suggested earlier that the local legend supports the association rather illogically. The association is not historical. However, rightly or wrongly Gorakhanātha is also associated with the *Rathajātrā* of Machhendranātha Lokeśvara in Patan. Inscriptions in the possession of the temples of Gorakhanātha tell us that during the festive days the monks had to be fed sumptuously and for this the Nepalese kings had donated land. There is also a practice to call for the presence of the monks of *Gorakha sampradāya* (order) while the chariot is being drawn. Besides participating in Machhendranātha's car festival the *Kanphaṭṭas* (such as the monk followers of Gorakhanātha are called) take part in the Biskeṭ festival of Bhatgaon, Bālāchaturdaśī festival in the temple of Paśupati-nātha and during the Vajrayoginī *jātrā* in Sānkhū. On these occasions the monks are offered jars of wine and white lambs. The organisers of the *Jātrās* must take provision for these, the expenses being met out of the *Guṭhi* lands. To them

flesh and wine are not taboo. They can even keep women outside the monastery. It seems that the cult of Gorakhanātha was associated with the festive occasions in different ways. It is strange again that another Buddhist deity (i. e. Vajrayoginī) also has come to be linked to Gorakhanātha's cult.

There might be more deities we could enumerate for the discourse but on the whole whatever transition was in process, the two heads of the Śiva-Viṣṇuite pantheon had retained intact their popularity. In fact Viṣṇu and Śiva were the two powerful gods at any time and at any age. We shall have occasion to know that the Nepalese had expressed their devotion to these deities by dedicating temples or constructing images, also in the later medieval period. The deities above described also might show their undiminished influence, for all these constituted one or another form of Viṣṇu or Śiva.

Let us now come to see which of the Buddhist deities had continued to maintain their popularity through both the phases of medieval period.

Buddhist Deities: We have already observed that the *stūpa* of Svayambhunātha and Lokeśvara were the outstanding deities of the Buddhist Group.

Svayambhunātha: In the last volume a good deal has been already written about the *stūpa* of Svayambhu. We may add a few words here to continue the description of the *stūpa* for the later medieval period. According to an inscription of NS 725, the central portion of the *stūpa* was damaged and repaired with the orders of king Śivasimha (n. 29 in our Appendix). Pratāpamalla had offered a gold *vajra* to the *stūpa* in 778 NS. There are other inscriptions of various dates recording the rituals performed or offering made at one or another instance. The *Thyāsapus* also refer to such rituals in several folios. In NS 873 Jayaprakāśa helped to repair the *garbha* again with the woods supplied by the king of Gorkha (Inscription n. 150 in our Appendix). Thus it appears

that all along throughout the middle ages the *stūpa* was receiving homage.

King Pratāpamalla has raised a stele on the western side of the *stūpa*, and here he has inscribed a hymn in honour of the Svayambhubhaṭṭāraka with a dedicatory line also to the five Buddhas (Inscription n. 57 in our Appendix). Pratāpamalla addresses the *stūpa* as *Maheśvara* in the form of Svayambhu. The Svayambhu was Viśvarupa, a light as brilliant as thousand Suns put together, was saluted by all creatures of the earth and heaven. He was bodyless yet lived in each body. He was the cause of the universe, but was unattached to it. He was away from the bondage of action. He was devoid of form, line, shape, desires, emancipation, name and belonging. He was *Sachchidātmamaya*, i.e. embraced truth, enlightenment and soul. He was the cause of the understanding of Śaiva, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava, Saura and Bauddha religions. Lastly he was Sambhudhāmamaya i.e. enveloped in the house of Śambhu.

All these attributes are also applied to Lord Śiva in Pratāpa's inscription of Paśupatinātha area.

The Lord Svayambhunātha was the same as Lord Śiva in the devotional eyes of Pratāpa.

Both Paśupatinātha and Svayambhunātha arose as light (*Jyotirupa*), and hence their being one and the same god.

The lay devotees in the middle ages took both as two manifestations of Śiva.

Lokeśvara Machhendranātha: Machhendranātha enjoyed the same popularity in this age as in the past. In this respect he equals Paśupatinātha whose popularity had remained high throughout the ages. The Lord of Bugā is mentioned at several dates by the *Gopāla Vaṁsāvalī*, which fell variously in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. Records are not available for the following two centuries, but there are numerous inscriptional data concerning Machhendranātha, which belong

to the 17th century A.D. During the time of Siddhinarasimha and his son, the deity received highest obedience from the royal family. We have a stone inscription of NS 795 set up by Śrīnivāsamalla in the temple at Bugā. Since about this time we also find a temple in existence in the city of Patan in a monastic area called Tarabahāl. In a large stone Śrīnivāsamalla inscribed a charter he issued to his people laying down the deities assigned to different individual officers and inhabitants of the locality concerning the chariot drawing festival (Inscription n. 72 in our Appendix) in May-June of the year. It is reported in the *Thyāsapus A, C and E* that king Śrīnivāsamalla and his successors accompanied the car in its journey round the city during the yearly festival. They walked on foot along with the car also when it was drawn from Bugā to the city and back to the original home once in twelve years. Mīnanātha in Patan, Ādinātha in Cho-ba and Śveta Machhendranātha in Kathmandu (the Machhendra of Patan is called the red one because the face is painted in that colour, whereas the face of the Kathmandu deity is painted white and the name *śveta* is for that reason) are known as the manifestations of the same deity. All these appear in the later medieval age. There are inscriptions and similar other documents showing that these were established at this time. The Śveta Machhendranātha has also a car festival coinciding with the spring festival falling from the 8th to the 13th of the bright fortnight of Chaitra. This must have been introduced in imitation of the practice as it was in Patan. Mīnanātha is regarded as a junior partner to Red Machhendranātha in the car festival of Patan and the idol is carried in a separate chariot which in the procession immediately follows the main one.

Vihāras: All the *vihāras* existing since the earlier period were also considered as much sacred, as they used to be and devotees visited them to offer rituals, gifts and worship to the *chaityas* and other deities therein and we shall have occasion to say something about the *vihāras* a little later.

Chaityas: There are five principal *chaityas*, of which one is Svayambhu. The rest four are Namobuddha, Khāsā *chaitya*, Baṇḍegramā and Dhanju. Namobuddha lies about 16 miles due west of Kathmandu on the lap of a hill near Dāpchā. The Khāsā *chaitya* otherwise known as Baudha is in a locality to the north east of Kathmandu not far from Paśupatinātha. Baṇḍegrāma is a village situated in the south-east of the Valley about 6 miles from the city of Patan. Dhanju is a large *chaitya* in a locality known as Chabel which lies about half a mile to the north of the temple of Paśupatinātha close to the Khāsā *chaitya*.

We have already described the Khāsā *chaitya* in the last volume. Namurā is associated with the life of Bodhisatva who had fed a dying lioness with his blood and flesh. Dhanju is to some devotees one of the *chaityas* which Aśoka had built in Nepal. But there is no trace of antiquity about the structure to establish its connection with the Mauryan age. There are several stone inscriptions on the platform of the *chaitya*, the oldest of which is dated 660 NS. (Inscription in our Appendix). The origin of Namurā also does not seem to go back to a very hoary antiquity. Inscriptions belong to the late medieval periods. Images, all without dates, stylistically seem to date in the 16th and 17th centuries.

In the second category come to the four Aśokān *chaityas* of Patan, the Cnilamchi deo *chaitya* of Kīrtipur, the Siṅga and Mahābauddha *chaityas* of Kathmandu. All these are large structures. But it is difficult to say anything about their antiquity in view of the total absence of source materials throwing light on their history. In any case they do not appear to be older than the 13th or 14th century A.D. We have a stone inscription of NS 666 on the platform of Siṅga *chaitya* but no older document than that. We may not, however, interpret the fact to ascertain the age of the *chaitya*.

New deities inspired by Buddhist *tantras* had become extremely popular in the later medieval ages. We shall write

of them a little later. Meanwhile let us proceed to examine position of deities who had held their ground since the early medieval period.

We learn from inscriptions that *stūpas* and *chaityas* were held in high esteem. Similarly many of the Buddhist deities of the earlier age received wide homage. The inscriptions and monuments of the age are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the three kingdoms, and they tell us also the fact about the identity of their divinities who were esteemed by the people at the time.

Numerous inscriptions of the 7th century NE testify to the many pious deeds performed in connection with the repair work of the *chaityas*, installation of the images of deities and building of the temples and monasteries to house them.

Deities: Inscriptions n. lxxx, lxxxiv, lxxxv, lxxxvi, and lxxxix, in the Part I of the volume speak of the events of the performance of pious deeds in one way or another. The divinities figuring in the records are Akṣobhya Buddha, Dīpaṅkara, and Śākyamuni. The inscription of Mimnamibahāl with date 629 *Mārga śukla 15* records the grant of land for annual worship of Śākyamuni and Heruka. The Nakabahi copper plate of 629 Nepāla Samvat mentions different dates for the enshrining of the stone images of Śrī Gaudhuli, Śrī Dīpaṅkara and Śrī Sambara within the monastery. Another copper plate in the same shrine, this of Sūryamall's time (649 *Śrāvaṇa vadhi 1 budhavāra*) records the construction of *Vajrāsana*. A *chaitya* had been repaired on 644 *naṣṭa Bhādra śukla pratipadā maghā nakṣatra* in Thaiba in the reign of Jitamalla and Prāṇamalla. The Subaha (Patan) stone inscription of 856 shows that the main *chaitya* of the monastery was repaired on *Vaiśakha śukla 15*. The Dhanju *chaitya* slab of stone with date 660 also speaks of the repair of the *garbha*. There are other records of the time with more or less similar contents. During Śivasimha's reign in Kathmandu as well as in Patan there were performances

of the type described in the above lines. The Tarabbahāl stone record of 699 *Phālguna śuddhi 1* notes the repair done to the main shrine. In the large stele of Oṭubahāl (711 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 1* and 713 *Vaiśākha 15*) the inscribed lines state that certain devotees had set up in the *vihāra*. Stone images of Akṣobha and *Vajrāsana*, and they had also painted the image of Dīpaṅkara with gold dust and then finally had installed the wooden images of Siddhimañjuśrī and Halāhala Lokeśvara. A copper plate of 631 *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 10* records the story of a ritual of worship at the shrine of Akṣobha in the Viśvakarmā *Vihāra*. According to an inscription of Chāpāgaon (at Durukhobā), devotees had installed the image of Śākyamuni, Dharmadhātu Vāgeśvara and Chakrasamvara supporting by those of Gaṇeśa, Mahākāla and Hanumāna.

The time of Pratāpamalla in Kathmandu and of Siddhinarasimha, and Śrīnivāsamalla in Patan carried the tradition of the past age also in respect of the Buddhist deities. The Bhagavatībahāl (Kathmandu) inscription of 764 *Māgha śukla 2 śravaṇa nakṣatra* records the completion of the construction of *Vajradhātu* on the completion of *homa* (ritual performance over fire). There are several inscriptions of 773 and later dates to show that in Kathmandu a good many of the *chaityas* lying in condition of dilapidation were repaired. On 785 *Phālguna śukla 2* the completion of a new *chaitya* was celebrated at Maruṭol. The image of Halāhala Lokeśvara was set up on 788 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 9* in a monastery in the northern part of the town.

From the stone inscription of Wa-baha in Chāpāgaon it appears that a devotee had installed the images of Śākyamuni, Buddha-Dharmasaṅgha, Mahākāla, Mahājakaṣaṇī, Chakrasambara and Vajravārāhī on 774 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 4*. In 792, a descendant of Brahmabhikṣu Sunayaśrī Miśra had set up images of Śrī 3 Buddha Dharma and Saṅgha in the monastery founded by his ancestor. In Bugamibahil the images of Prajñapāramitā and Sarasvatī were ceremonially installed on

809 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa pratipadā visakha pra anurādhā nakṣatra varyāna yoga yathākaraṇa bṛhaspativāra* (Inscription of the date). We have it from the stone inscription of Tananani *Chaitya* (within the city of Patan) that the structure of the holy shrine was repaired on 808 *Māgha śukla 10 pra 11 mṛgaśira nakṣatra budhavāra*. In Kīrtipur the image of Śrī 3 Buddha Dharma Saṅgha was installed in front of Chilamcha Bhagavan. In apart of Kathmandu in a *vihāra* (Dhokabahāl) an image in stone of Prajñāpāramitā and Vajrāsana Akṣobha was set up on 812 *Phālguna śukla 8 somavāra* (Inscription of the date). Bricks were laid on the courtyard of Saubahāl in Patan by certain devotees on 815 *Vaiśākha śukla 4* (Inscription of the bahāl). There are inscriptions of the later dates, which also present the records of deeds, pious deeds performed by devotees to erect *chaityas*, or repair them or instal images.

In the niches of many monasteries we have images of deities which are either form of Lokeśvara such as Halāhala, Siṃhanāda, Amoghapāsa and Khasarpaṇa or Tārā or some such of them as Pañcha Buddhas, Prajñāpāramitā, the trinity gods, and a few of their emanations of Śākyamuni were also worshipped. All these belong to the 16th and 17th centuries A.D. It appears that throughout the eighteenth century A.D. all these gods and goddesses held the field, and obtained homage from the lay public.

The Pulchokbahil stone record makes a note of the celebration of the occasion of installing a gold image of Śākyamuni in the main shrine on 828 *Phālguni śukla 4 śravaṇa nakṣatra somavāra*. In Kuṭulachhi one Śivarāma set up a *chaitya* in the name of his parents on 832 *Aṣāḍha śukla 7 hastā nakṣatra ādityavāra*. A Saṅghabhojya was offered to the deities including Śākyamuni of Kva-bahāl on 839 *Māgha kṛṣṇa amāvaṣyā śatabhisā nakṣatra śivayoga ād itya*, day of solar eclipse (*rāhugrasta divākara*). Vairochana is invoked during a ceremonial occasion of repairing Dharmadhātu

Vagīśvara in Pimbahāl on 842 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 2 mṛgaśirā nakṣatra ādityavāra etc.*

The above is an account of the deities respected by Buddhist devotees in Kathmandu and Patan. It appears that Bhatgaon was less influenced by Buddhism but here also we find a number of records showing the same deities worshipped by devotees on a large scale.

According to an inscription of Gachhetol, Bhaktapur a structure of Dharmadhātu was erected on 696 *Vaiśākha śukla 3 mṛgaśirā nakṣatra etc.* In the inscription of Nakadesa (on a pati in Bakabazar) we are told that one Rupasiṃha had installed an image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara on 722 *Mārga kṛṣṇa 7 ādityavāra.* According to the inscription of the *chaitya* in Golmadhiṭol in Bhatgaon, the structure was completed on 789 *Chaitra śukla 7 mṛgaśirā nakṣatra ayuṣmānyoga somavāra.* We are told by an inscription of Khadpu that two stone lions were placed on the door of the temple of Dīpaṅkara on 793 *Māgha śukla 10 rohiṇī nakṣatra eindra yoge śaniścharavāsara etc.* A bahāl was constructed and a deity installed on 832 *Māgha vaddhi ekādaśi* by Vajrāchārya Kalyāṇasiṃha and others. Vajrāchārya Kalyāṇa calls himself *Śrī Śrī Sri Bālakumārī charaṇasevikā* (Inscription of Dathubahāl, Kuyumaṭol, Ṭhimi). A *Dharmadhātu* was repaired by one Buddhāchārya on 855 *Āśvina kṛṣṇa amāvasyā Sunday* (A stone inscription on the *chaitya*). In the years following the tradition of respecting the Buddhist pantheon had not diminished. To please Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara and Nairatmā the main shrine of Tavachhebahāl in Bhatgaon was repaired on 873 *Phālguna śukla 2 revati nakṣatra budhavāra etc.*

This is all we have here to say about the traditionally existing deities of Buddhist faith. But we should know that we have just cited specimen instances. Otherwise there is a vast field of activity coming to view just too numerous to mention them all here. However, our account might give

us an insight into the nature and scope of the subject under discussion, thus we may come to know which deities in particular had remained in the field in the changing circumstances.

B

New Entrants in popularity: A large number of deities whose origin was associated with the Tantras leapt into prominence in the later middle ages.

In Nepal the Tantric mode of worship was introduced as early as the 10th or 11th century A.D. and this developed in the subsequent centuries to a massive religious cult. But as is evident from several inscriptions attached to temples many of the popular deities, male and female, saw their birth during the 16th century. Kathmandu's eight Kālikās, Bhatgaon's eight Māṭṛkās and Patan's eight Kumārīs came to be worshipped since then. All of the shrines in the respective places harbouring these deities do not seem to belong to an earlier age.

It appears that the esoteric aspect of the religious life of the Nepal Valley led to temples of a great many of the above mentioned deities more particularly those of the Śakti cult being erected and constructed on the outskirts of the cities at a site very close to the banks of the rivers adjacent to the cremation ground. One does not know how the practice of the Poda, the untouchable, supervising and guarding the cremation and as well performing the role of the priest of the temple began in the Nepal Valley. But it is much in vogue at the moment and possibly the custom originated in the days when temples were constructed in the areas meant for cremation sites.

This was the time of *Sahajayāna* practices and of *Manasā* worship in Bengal and of *Mandajātīya* devotees in Mithila. The very lowly and down-trodden had been given a sphere of influence in some fields of their choice while though they

were being consistently kept aloof from the main stream of higher social life of the upper privileged. But they had obtained for themselves their objects of devotion so long denied to, and kept away from them. There is no doubt that the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Nepal have presented a new phenomenon in this respect for the succeeding centuries to adapt and follow in that the erstwhile pariahs had sought and were provided for their own devotion and salvation in that course.

Some of these deities belonged to Śaivite Tantras and others to Buddhist Tantras. But all of them were treated with devotion and respect by Śaivites and Buddhists alike.

Certain deities who held no major place in the past were also now become prominent in popular estimation.

The Tantric deities were mostly female Śaktis. They had also been identified with those of local origin who still bear their original non-Sanskritic names.

The advent of these commonly worshipped deities had tended to bring the Buddhist and Śaivite caste groups still closer, and the community as a whole had enjoyed a uniform system of rituals and festivals which touched every fringe of society cutting across the barrier of sects and castes.

Thus the fact of their rise into prominence has a special cultural impact of the introduction of Tantric elements had now attained its fruition.

In the last volume much has been said about the cultural influence of Vajrayāna on the life of the people. For this reason as well as because a fuller study of the rituals and deities mentioned is outside the scope of the present work, we intend to avoid mentioning them in their details and be satisfied with a very brief treatment of the subject enumerating these in our catalogue. But we shall not fail to give a short history of some of these whom we regard as important.

In this connection, it should be, however, considered that we shall not discuss at this stage the theoretical side of the origin of the deities whose names figure in our description. We start with the goddesses of the Śakti cult belonging to the Purāṇas and Tantras.

Two groups of female deities are in evidence, (1) the Aṣṭamātrikā: Brahmāyaṇī, Rudrāyaṇī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāyaṇī, Chāmuṇḍā, Mahālakṣmī. (2) the Daśamahāvīdyā: Kālī, Tārā, Tripurāsundarī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Chhinnamastā, Tripurabhairavī, Dhumāvātī, Bagalāmukhī, Mātangi and Kamalātmikā. There is yet one more list of Aṣṭamātrikā group of divinities. This includes Durgā, Brahmāṇī, Kumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Indrānī, Maheśvarī, Vārāhī and Nārasimhī.

Some count only seven Mātrikās omitting Mahālakṣmī. Perhaps these think Mahālakṣmī and Vaiṣṇavī as the same deity. But according to this view Yogeśvarī heads the Saptamātrikās.

Whatever their number, the cult of these deities is very ancient. The Goddesses were being worshipped as divine-mothers. Still in Nepal each is known as Azimā literally meaning the grandmother. They were supposed to be protecting children in particular. It was said that originally the mother goddesses represented the seven or eight evil aspects of the mind, e. g. (1) Māheśvarī (anger), (2) Vaiṣṇavī (greed), (3) Vārāhī (envy), (4) Brahmāyaṇī (arrogance), (5) Chāmuṇḍā (eaves dropping), (6) Kaumārī (Chimera), (7) Indrāyaṇī (a fault finder with an evil design).

Yogeśvarī who personifies the mental quality of *Kāma* or desire is the motive force manifesting through the evil sides of mind and hence she acts in the capacity of the leader. Thus considered the mother goddesses might be regarded to bear malignant influence. But as the legend goes, the goddess when propitiated ceases to be malignant and become benevolent.

Medieval Nepal was living in an atmosphere of superstition and demons and malignant deities were at large to plague and harass mankind. But the divine mothers were there to protect him from any kind of evil influence including their own.

In the Nepal Museum there are terracotta images, all eight of them representing the eight deities of the group respectively. These belong to the early 17th century A. D. we have also temples of Brahmāyaṇī, Kaumārī, Indrāyaṇī, Rudrāyaṇī and Mahālakṣmī in different localities. In the city of Bhatgaon the temple of Brahmāyaṇī has a copper plate inscription of 767 NS (n. 48 in our Appendix), which is probably oldest record of the site. The ceremony of the completion of the structure was performed on *NS 767 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 4*, which was attended among others by king Jagatprakāśamalla. According to a stone inscription Bhupatīndramalla's wife donated lands for the worship of the goddess Brahmāyaṇī dwelling on the bank of the Trivenī in Pannauti. The record bears the date *836 Āṣāḍha śukla 9 chitrā nakṣatra śivayoga ādityavāsara etc.* The temples in Bhatgaon and Pannauti are the two most important sanctuaries, and they attracted a good many visitors from all parts of the Nepal kingdoms. On certain days of the year within the old kingdom of Bhatgaon are also situated temples of other deities of the group. There is a shrine of Indrāyaṇī in the city of Bhatgaon, which bears an inscription of *NS 771 Mārgaśira śudī 4*.

The townlet of Ṭhimi also can boast of a shrine of Indrāyaṇī probably constructed on *822 Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 2 hastā nakṣatra śiva yoga śaniścharavāra etc.* In Bode a temple was constructed to house the image of Vārāhī, the ceremony of installation having been observed on *NS 805 Āśvina śukla 2 ādityavāra*. There are more records of later dates in the temple. A temple in a locality known as Mahākālivana near the town of Bhaktapur has an image of Chāmuṇḍā, to whom

a *pāṭi* was dedicated by some devotees on 805 *Vaiśākha śukla 7 puṣyā nakṣatra vṛddhiyoga bṛhaspativāra*.

Kumārī was worshipped in a temple in Gachhetol, Bhatgaon, according to an inscription of 868 *Bhādra śudi 12*. The temple existed since some years earlier. Kumārī was worshipped as Bālakumārī in Ṭhimi. She was as today the principal divinity of the area. We have several inscriptions of the time of Raṇajitamalla, the earlier ones also can be traced if proper search is made.

Although Patan was much dominated by Buddhist Guvājus, the divinities of the Aṣṭamātrkā group were no less popular in the area. Kathmandu where Guvājus and Brāhmaṇas carried their authority in balance enjoyed no different conditions in respect of the deities.

A stone in the temple of Mahālakṣmī in Balambu commemorates the occasion of setting up a lion image on the door in NS 787. The temple was already existing at the date of the inscription and must be older than the latter. In Thasikhel quarter of Patan there stands a temple of Mahālakṣmī, which was built by one Vaiśya Vīranārāyaṇa on 821 *Māgha śukla 5 aśvini nakṣatra śukrayoga ādityavāra*. Some time later king Viṣṇumalla had offered *pūjā* to the goddess on 850 *Bhādra pūrṇimā uttarabhādra nakṣatra aṅgāravāra*. One Bhavānī Śaṅkara Bhāro had built a temple, where he had also placed a *siṃhāsana* of gold with a serpenhood over head, the structure having been completed on 816 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 6 śukravāra*.

At the moment Vaiṣṇavī or Viṣṇudevī is the presiding deity of the townlets, Khoknā Pāṅga and Kīrtipur, and we might understand that the deity came to occupy her present position in the middle ages. In Kvachhe, Patan, the image Bālakumārī was being worshipped since before NS 742, for an inscription of the area states that the temple was repaired on *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 2 anurādhā nakṣatra budhavāra* of that year.

Kathmandu has a host of female deities of local origin, some of which are immensely popular and are identified with one or the other Śakti of the group. Indrāyaṇī and Kaumārī are the two prominent goddesses known in the local language as Azimās in that order. At one instance the latter has been regarded as an incarnation deity in human form and here she is worshipped with much ceremony on a particular occasion, which coincides with the festival of Indra held in the month of Bhādra. We shall have further occasion to talk of the human incarnation of Kumārī a little later.

The Daśamahāvidyā group has some obscure deities who are invoked by initiates on particular ceremonial occasions, and their existence is acknowledged just to that extent. The obscure deities are all those except Kālī, Tārā, Tripurābhāravī or Bhairavī and Chhinnamastā. The former, however, were invoked on occasions of domestic rituals through the chanting of mantras as prescribed in relevant texts.

We have evidence of inscriptions for the shrines of Kālī, Tārā, Bhairavī and Chhinnamastā, which exist even today, and the deities have still retained their popularity despite the changing circumstances through which they passed. In Kathmandu Kālī appears as the same deity as Lu-marī Azimā, and some so do other mother goddesses. From an inscription of 793 NS, (on a rectangular stone forming the back-wall of the courtyard of the temple structure), it appears that the shrine of Lu-marī was already existent before this date. Kālī predominates over many deities in the region of Kathmandu, which is said to be protected by eight Kālikās. Therefore we have here more shrines of Kālī other than that of Lu-marī. We shall, however, write about these as we come to the description of the deities of local origin.

In the region of Bhatgaon we have a temple of Kālī in Bode, and an inscription on stone within its precincts tells us that the structure was raised on NS 763 *Vaiśākha śukla ekādaśī pra dvādaśī bṛhaspativāra*. Taleju also is called

Kālikā in several inscriptions set up by the royal personages. There are some shrines of Kālī also in the city proper, which go back in their antiquity in our age.

In the kingdom of Patan also Goddess Kālī was worshipped in a few shrines, but there was no site regarded as important if Taleju was not taken into account; one of the Daśamahāvidyās, known as Chhinnamastā, was however widely respected. She had a temple quite close to the royal palace. According to an inscription king Viṣṇumalla and his wife (*Bhogiṇī*) Viṣṇumatī donated land in honour of Chhinnamastikā on 853 *Mārga śukla 15 somavāsare kṛttikā nakṣatra*. Bagalāmukhī has a temple in Patan in a site close to Kumbheśvara. Tārā in the form of Nīlasarasvatī has a beautiful image on a slab of black stone enshrined in a temple on the outskirts of Kathmandu about a mile from the city; Ugratārā known as Vajrayoginī is another famous deity, about whom we shall have occasion to say separately.

It appears that the Daśamahāvidyā divinities except Kālī did not enjoy much popular appeal. But these deities were worshipped as *Āgamadevatās* in household who then appeared to correspond to the deities displayed in Tantric texts. Of course, the rites were performed only by the few initiates in a closed surrounding without being marked by non-initiates.

The Tantras are the sources for the origin of all of the Daśamahāvidyā deities, while the deities of the Mātṛkā group seem to be in existence before the Tantric divinities appeared in the scene. But we should not be very categorical in making such statements. Perhaps some of the Tantric deities were as old as the Mātṛkās. Two earlier works which are said to have mentioned the Daśamahāvidyās are cited by the author of the *Tantrasāra*. These are *Mālinīvijaya* and *Muṇḍamālā*, though they show difference in regard to few names. There are more works, which individually deal with one or the other deity of the group. The author of *Muṇḍamālā* gives the following names for the Vidyā deities: Kālī, Tārā,

Mahāvīdyā, Soḍasī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bhairavī, Chhinnamastā, Vidyā, Dhumāvatī, Bagalā, Siddhividyā, Mātaṅgī and Kamalātmikā. Annapūrṇā is one of the ten goddesses in the lists of *Tantrakaumudī* and *Viśvasāra*. The latter also gives the names of Mahiṣamardinī and Durgā as two of the ten Vidyās.

Several copies of the Tantric works, such as *Jayadrathayāmala*,¹³⁵ dealing with the worship of Kālī are available, and all these belong to our period NS 751, 762, 842.¹³⁶ *Tvaritāstotra*,¹³⁷ of the same period is another work, which shows Kālī to have been worshipped in a variety of forms. Tvaritā has three eyes, and with many other features she represents a form of Kālī. Among the various forms of Kālī, the two Siddhakālī and Guhyakālī are quite prominent, and are known from the Tantric texts as well as from the temple sites still preserved. We shall have occasion to speak of Guhyakālī as she is one of the popular *Pīṭha devatās* of the day. Siddhakālī has also a temple in Ṭhimi (within the jurisdiction of Bhatgaon) with an inscription dated NS 796 *Vaiśākha śukla 13 ādityavāsare hastā nakṣatra etc.*

Nilasarasvatī is the principal deity and is represented as Tārā in a work called *Tārābhaktisudhārṇava*,¹³⁸ of which many copies belonging to early 9th century Nepal era are available. There are also works like Nilasarasvatīpūjā. Two copies of the work are said to have been written by king Jitāmitramalla. For the worship of goddess Tripurāsundarī we have numerous works including *Tripurāsundarīpaddhati* and *Jñānārṇava tantra*,¹³⁹ the last copied also by king Jitāmitramalla in NS 795. Bhairavī as one of the *vidyās* figures in many works of Tantras and she is also worshipped in a temple in Noakoṭ, the structure having been erected during the 17th century.

135 CPMDN, I. p. 175.

136 DLC, I. 1497, 1468, III. 348.

137 CPMDN, I, p. 8.

138 DLC, I. 91, 54, 437. Also *Tārārahasyapravṛtti*. DLC, I. 1674.

139 DLC, I. 263.

Of the eight Mātṛkās two Kaumārī and Mahālakṣmī are mentioned in liturgical works of the earlier period. We have a palm leaf copy of *Kaumārī Pūjā* dealing with the worship of Kaumārī which was written in NS 400 (=1280 A.D.) (DLC, I. 1231).

There are several copies of a work known as *Mahālakṣmī-vrata* dealing with the worship of Mahālakṣmī, and some of these were copied in the 13th century A.D. (DLC, I. 1320, I. 1231). Purāṇic works, *Devīmahātmya* or *Saptaśatī* within the *Markaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, giving account of the greatness of the goddess Durgā known also under different names such as those borne by the eight mother goddesses is found to be copied in Nepal as early as the 12th century A.D. The Vol. 14-20 of chapter 88 of *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* gives the names and iconographic traits of the Mātṛkās. The *Saptaśatī* has its earliest copy written in the time of Indradeva (NS 246).¹⁴⁰ Then follow others of date NS 301, 316, 358, 365 and of the later period.¹⁴¹ All this means that although temples connected with the above mentioned deities are not easily traced for that period the fact of their being known to the Nepalese society at the time is easily established because of the treatises just mentioned.

The cult of the mother goddess was not new for our age. It was not only popular in the preceding age, but it seems to have been popular also as early as the 5th century A.D., which is testified by an inscription of a temple at Palāñchok enshrining the image of Bhagavatī. Although inscriptions are lacking, there are three more sites which have images in the likeness of the Palāñchok Bhagavatī, and as the style suggests these might belong to the same time. The images are in Nālā, Naksāl (in the north eastern suburb of Kathmandu), confluence of Bhāchā Kusī and Viṣṇumati and Pharping. The third is known as Sobhā Bhagavatī and the fourth as Dakṣiṇa-

140 A copy in the possession of Nepal Museum.

141 DLC. I. 1606, III. 96, 1,1559, 1534.

kālī. The sixteen handed images holding different emblems are all carved on black sand stones. We have some inscriptions associated with the goddesses of Palāñchok and Nālā and these show the popularity of the deities in the later middle age. But they seem to have been neglected in the earlier age, while Sobhā Bhagavatī and Dakṣiṇakālī remained unknown to all the phases of the medieval period.

Two mother divinities, Jhankeśvarī, Rājarājesvarī and Kubjikā had lost their hold in the period we deal with. Jhankeśvarī who in the 14th and 15th centuries enjoyed the august position of becoming the tutelary deity of the High Feudatories of Pharping¹⁴² who felt honoured in addressing themselves as 'one favoured by Jhankeśvarī' (*Jhankeśvarī varalabdha prasāda*). A liturgical work, *Jhankarakaraveltantra*, prescribes the worship of a fierce form of goddess called Chaṇḍakapālīnī,¹⁴³ The image of Jhankeśvarī now lies in a dilapidated temple in the Kochhutol quarter of Pharping. The deity finds no reference in any document of the late medieval period. In the inscription she is called Ugrachaṇḍā. Her image is the same as that of Mahiṣamardinī.

Kubjikā is not identified with an image. But treatise dealing with the rituals connected with the goddess and known after name is available in Nepal since the 12th century A.D. (*NS 315 Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 11 ekādaśyām ravidine revati nakṣatre*, I. 378). From the colophons of the first part of this volume it will appear that the work *Kubjikāmaya* was copied by scribes right up to the 15th century. We have a copy of smaller recension of the work, called *Nityanhiatikalaka* (DLC, I. 239) copied on 742 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 5 brhaspativāsare etc.* Another copy of the work dated 693 *Āśvina śukla 8* has a line *Śrī Śrī Śrī Guhyeśvarī mati rikubjikesvari agama navara prasāda siddhirastu.* But we do not see if the practice

142 Inscription of Kochhutol (Pharping) NS. 527., ms. *Rāmāyaṇa-nāṭakam* DLC, I. 1418.

143 *CPMDN*, I. Intro. p. xii.

of worshipping or propitiating Kubjikā was in vogue in our period. The deity, however, continued to receive homage by initiates, though their number might have been not large.

Yoginīs: The *Kubjikāpūjā paddhati* gives a list of 64 yoginīs, which includes most if not all the Mātṛkā and Vidyā deities. The names of the 64 Yoginīs are as follows: (1) Sri-jayadevī, (2) Vijayā, (3) Jayantī, (4) Aparājitā, (5) Nandā, (6) Bhadrā, (7) Bhīmā, (8) Divyāyogī, (9) Mahāsiddhayogī, (10) Gaṇeśvarī, (11) Sākinī, (12) Kālarātrī, (13) Urdhakeśī, (14) Nisākari, (15) Gambhirā, (16) Bhuṣaṇā, (17) Sthulāṅgī, (18) Pāvagī, (19) Kallolā, (20) Vimalā, (21) Mahanandī, (22) Jvālāmukhī, (23) Vidyā, (24) Pakṣanī, (25) Viṣabhakṣaṇī, (26) Mahāsiddhipradā, (27) Bustidā, (28) Ichchhāsiddhī, (29) Kuvarṇikā, (30) Bhāsurā, (31) Bhīmākṣī, (32) Dirghāṅgā, (33) Kalabāpriyā, (34) Tripurāntakī, (35) Rākṣasī, (36) Ghorā, (37) Raktākṣī, (38) Viśvarupā, (39) Bhayaṅkarī, (40) Pherakarī, (41) Raudrī, (42) Vetālī, (43) Suskāṅgā, (44) Nārabhojinī, (45) Virābhadrā, (46) Mahākālī, (47) Karālī, (48) Vikṛtanatā, (49) Koṭa-rākṣī, (50) Bhīmā, (51) Bhīmabhadrā, (52) Subhadrā, (53) Vāyuvegā, (54) Hayanānā, (55) Brahmānī, (56) Vaiṣṇavī (57) Raudrī, (58) Mātāṅgī, (59) Chachchikeśvarī, (60) Iśvarī, (61) Vārāhī, (62) Suvadi, (63) Ambā, (64) Daśamahāvidyā.

Then follow the names of the—Kaṅkālīnī, Mahākusna, Huṅkārāṇī, Phaṭakāriṇī, Vasaṭkarā, Svābhā, Svadhā, Amṛtanandā, Mohinī, Stambhanī, Indirā, Kādambarī, Viśalā, Kālarātrī, Mahabālā, Amṛtanandī.

This suggests that the deities popular in Nepal were also regarded as Yoginīs or in another parlance Dākinīs. The Yoginīs other than the Mātṛkās are not important for our consideration, and therefore we drop them from our context.

The iconographic representation of the divine mothers wherever available corresponded to the traits as adopted in North India. According to *Saptaśati* the mothers were emanations from the eight or seven principal gods who each had created a Śakti to fight the demons. According to *Pradhā-*

nikarahasya (Chaṇḍī Saptasatī) Mahālakṣmī the great and primary goddess, in whom the three *guṇas* are manifest, has a four armed concrete form, in whose hands are placed a citrus, a mace, a shield and a skull cup, and who has a snake, *liṅga* and *yoni* on her head. Mahālakṣmī assumed in the time of dissolution the form of Mahākālī, in whom the *tamo-guṇa* predominated, it is her four-armed secondary form in blue colour, ornamented with a skull-cup, a severed head and a shield in her four hands. This secondary goddess came also to be known by such names as *Mahāmāyā*. *Mahāmārī*, *Kṣudhā* (the great hunger), *Trṣā* (thirst), *Nidrā* or *yoganidrā*, *Kālarātrī* and others. Out of the great Mahālakṣmī again emanated the white-coloured tertiary goddess Mahāsarasvatī in whom Sattvaguṇa prevailed, and who held in her four hands a rosary of beads, an elephant goad, a lyre and a manuscript. The emanation came also to be known by such names as Mahāvidyā, Mahāvāṇī, Bhāratī, Vāk, Argā, Brāhmī, Vedagarbhā etc. From these three forms of Śakti one primary and the others emanatory, were evolved in turn Brahmā and Śrī, Rudra and Trayī or Vedavidyā, and Viṣṇu and Gaurī.¹⁴⁴ Although Mahālakṣmī and Vaiṣṇavī appear to be the same deity, the former is the most supreme one in the pantheon looked different ; she was not emanatory while the latter was. So that her place as that of the main deity is assured. But all the eight female deities are portrayed in similar view if they have to appear together wherever they have thus to be presented Vaiṣṇavī is distinguished by certain emblems from Mahālakṣmī. Following Mahālakṣmī all the other divine mothers are four-armed and each carried the emblems of the god from whom she was emanated. Mahālakṣmī is seated in *padmāsana* on a human corpse. She has six hands, the two uppermost holding a piece of elephant skin to cover her back. The upper two hold a sword on the right and a noose on the left respectively. While the normal left has a bowl and the right holds a leaf.

144 *Development of Hindu Iconography* by J. N. Banerjee, p. 496.

The classical conception of the Mātrkās as inspiring the composition of the images is as follows :

Brahmāyaṇī seated on a swan, with four hands holding different emblems; such as a rosary, waterpot, a manuscript and a ladle to be used for the offering, in a few images she has four heads, one of which (back) is not visible.

Kaumārī is mounted on a peacock and has also four hands; she holds emblem of Skanda, the son of Śiva, who commanded the armies of the Gods.

Vaiṣṇavī with four hands holding conch, chakra (discus) mace and lotus respectively is seated on Garuḍa.

Vārāhī with a boar's head and four hands holding emblems of the male god rides on a buffalo.

Indrāyaṇī emanating from Indra is seated on an elephant, her right hand holds a *vajra* (bolt) the other three hands holding other emblems of Indra.

Māheśvarī rides on an ox and appears with a trident in one of her hands; she also wears crescent moon on the *jaṭāmukuṭa* of her head.

Nārasimbī with the likeness of the lion and man god and holding Vaiṣṇavite emblems has a fearful look.

Lastly Chāmuṇḍā with an emaciated body, all skin and bone, and fierce look is seated on human corpse. She holds a chopper, a human skull cup, a human head and a *sūla* in her four hands.

J. N. Banerji reproduces separate reliefs five from Puri and two from other places showing the Mātrkās each clasping a baby by the left normal hand. He thinks that this fact suggests the motherly aspect of the cult.¹⁴⁵ But none of this feature is in evidence in Nepalese images. The Mātrkā images in the struttings of the temple or in the relief panels have nowhere a child associated with the icons. Separate relief

145 *Hindu Iconography*, pp. 504-509.

images of the mother deities are rarely found in the sanctuaries of the temples as all these are *pīṭhas* which do not show carved images. But the many temples have struttings of wood, on which the images are carved in high reliefs. The main courtyards of the palaces in the three cities of the Valley, which were built in the mid 17th century have such carved struttings showing the Mātṛkās and the guardian deities. In some case the images have six or eight hands, although the main features are similar to what has been described. Two relief images, one on the base of the large stone of the image of Kālabhairava in Kathmandu and another inside the Tuṇḍāldevī shrine just above the *pīṭha devatā*. Group images are limited to these, but even here the individual images can be seen apart. The first divided in two groups on either side of the main image has a panel of four handed deities with their usual emblems and mounts. Here we have eight Mātṛkās. The second is a panel of Mātṛkā divinities plus Gaṇeśa and Bhairava and more others. In both the cases the images are in sitting postures. The Tuṇḍāldevī panel might be compared with the Mandora (Rajasthan) relief on which an article by R. C. Agrawala appears with a photograph in the journal of the Bihar Research Society.¹⁴⁶ But the Tuṇḍāldevī relief panel goes further in showing more deities of the Śakti cult along with Gaṇeśa and Bhairava. Also, these images are all standing unlike these dealt with in the article of the *JBRS*. The additional deities are Vyāghriṇī and Simhīnī, both females and Mahākāla, a male deity common to both the Śaivite and Buddhist pantheon.

Besides the Mātṛkā deities we come across more images who represent divinities of the Śakti cult but not falling in the classification of the Mātṛkās, although their place as mother goddess is pronounced. Names coming as nine Durgās have their representation, and is widely worshipped. The

146 *JBRS*, XLIII, Pts. 1 to 2, pp. 111-14.

Nava Durgā shrine of Bhatgaon built by one of the later Malla rulers is still popular. The two goddess Vyāghriṇī and Siṁhini with the face of the tigress and lioness respectively, who have four hands bearing different emblems (damaru, Kartṛ, Khaṭvāṅga and pātra) come also to view in this period. What is of interest these deities are also placed in the Svayambhu and Vijeśvarī areas, in the latter as door-keepers, which definitely proves their popularity in the Buddhist fold. Chaṇḍeśvarī or Pūrnachaṇḍī is as well widely worshipped. Her temples are found in the three cities of the Valley and also in Tokbā and Banepā. These date back to the 17th century A. D.

According to the Svayambhu Purāṇa (Ch. V) the Mātṛkā deities occupy an important place in the Buddhist pantheon. It seems that the cult of the mother goddesses was universally accepted, and the *Azimās* as these were called were worshipped as premier divinities in every household irrespective of the character of the priests ministering the rituals.

Not only the Mātṛkās but also other female deities had been so incorporated into the Buddhist fold. This applied to both the important and unimportant deities.

What we have said above about the Mātṛkā divinities is enough for an understanding of the cult. But there are more goddesses other than the seven or eight mothers, who are equally popular. Let us now proceed to give a short description of these divine mothers.

Durgāmahiṣamardinī: We have already mentioned Chaṇḍeśvarī, Siṁhini and Vyāghriṇī. The former is a powerful patron deity of Banepā and Tokbā. *Durgāmahiṣamardinī*, however, does not enjoy such a status. But her images are found here and there all over the Valley and also outside of it.

Durgāmahiṣamardinī is the principal deity of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. She is the slayer of the Buffalo demon (*Mahiṣāsura*) who had harassed the gods on numerous occasions. The iconographic representation of the goddess is depicted with

the scene in the act of killing the demon. The character of the slain is shown with the severed head of the buffalo, which lies in the iconography just adjacent to the right foot placed on the lion. The image is standing, and the left leg touched the tail of the trunk of the demon who appears in the person of human being as far as the head jutling out of the neck shows. The severed head is that of buffalo, while on the trunk there is a human head. The deity is generally ten handed holding various symbols. But there are images also with eight, twelve, sixteen, eighteen and twenty hands. The goddess is shown piercing the trunk of the demon with the trident and the latter is engaging her in full combat.

A lively image of Mahiṣāsūramardī lies in the precinct of the temple of Kaṅkeśvarī on the bank of the river Viṣṇumati. Another finely executed stone image of Mahiṣāsūramardī is available in the heart of the city of Kathmandu at a site known as Kilāgal. In Patan on the lower main road in front of a Buddhist monastery there is a twenty handed image of the goddess in the pose of killing the demon. There are also more images elsewhere.

Durgāmahīṣāmardī is the main deity of the Pūjā festival to be observed during the month of *Āśvina*, and the practice was popular in the medieval ages according to the various *Thyāsapus*.

There is one thing more which we should not miss to observe in connection with the subject of the cult of Mātṛkās and Mahāvidyās in Nepal. This is the fact of the shrines of the Mātṛkā divinities being all situated in lonely spots near the cremation sites outside the confines of the city either on the river bank or on the outskirts of the forest, and all these being looked after by persons of the untouchable caste of the Podes. These guarding the shrines are known as Deopas literally meaning 'charged with the protection of the image' and they perform in other capacities the functions of the immediate worshipper also physically touching the deities.

We should not fall into the error of accepting a current story in this regard that all temples are thrown open to all high and low. As we notice there are many sanctuaries where only castemen have access. But all the temples situated near the cremation ground which enshrine one or the other of the Mātrkā deities do not discriminate against the lowly. Presumably beside the Śakti goddesses, other divinities if housed in sanctuaries under similar surroundings show a tendency to follow the same tradition. However, the temples of Gaṇeśa are particularly marked for this. These are looked after by the Jyāpu castemen.

Legendary Mother Goddesses: Durgā Mahiṣamardini has no temple of her own, but there are other legendary deities who represent her and play exactly the same role often appearing in the same form also in the illustration. Such Goddess in particular is Taleju whose temple is found in the three capital cities of Nepal. Besides, Taleju we can also count Harasiddhi, Vajrayoginī or Ugratārā, Vajravārāhī, Nīlasarasvatī, Ekajaṭā. In this inscription (n. 53 in our Appendix) King Pratāpamalla prays to Vajrayoginī calling her Ambikā. Taleju is also addressed as Ambikā; Mahiṣamardini is Ambikā when she suppresses the buffalo demon. In another inscription Pratāpamalla addressed the same prayer to the 3 mother divinities, Ugratārā, Nīlasarasvatī and Ekajaṭā. These appear to be one deity in different manifestations. Here again Buddhism and Hinduism are blended, for Ugratārā and Ekajaṭā belong to Vajrayāna pantheon. To present these deities individually is a fascinating affair. We now proceed to delineate their important features one by one.

Legend of Taleju: The fact that Taleju (Tulajā), a female deity, was worshipped as the family deity by the three royal houses of Nepal has led to a legendary belief that these rulers belonged to the family of Harasiṃha of Tirhut, who according to the chronicle brought along with him the image of

the goddess while he fled to Nepal on being attacked by Gias Ud-dīn Mohammad Bin Tughlak in Simraongarh. Tulajā is a deity of Tantric origin, who is even today widely worshipped in Nepal as another manifestation of Pārvatī or Bhavānī, the wife of Śiva by Śaivites and as Tārā by Buddhists. Tulajā is also widely worshipped in Mithila (U. N. Thakur, *History of Mithila*, pp. 372-73). In Hyderabad (Deccan) also the worship of this goddess was in vogue as appears from an old temple of Ambā Bhavānī in Tulajāpura within a distance of 28 miles from Sholapur. The idol is carved on a black polished stone, has eight hands and legs erect between which lies the severed head of a buffalo.¹⁴⁸ The Nepalese images differ in detail, and we shall describe them a little later. Bhāskaramalla's Bell Inscription (Kathmandu) refers to this deity as the beloved of Śaṅkara and the gold plated brass image at the Mulchok (these two built by his mother Bhuvana-lakṣmī), the one having a mirror and toilet casket one in each hand, gives an impression of the Buddhist Tārā. There is no image of Taleju at the main shrine, only a finial (*Kalasa*) with certain symbolic marks engraved in a plate of bronze stands in its place as is the case with similar patterns in other temples of the type in Nepal.

It is generally believed that the temple of Tulajā was first constructed in Bhatgaon by Harasiṃhadeva and from thence the cult of Tulajā worship spread to the two other cities. But a full size Pagodalike temple structure stands only in Kathmandu in the precincts of the palace of the ruler. In Bhatgaon and Patan the deity is housed in a spacious apartment of the Mulchok of the palace, though this Mulchok is invariably a part of the palace of the Malla rulers of the three cities and in one case, i. e. in Kathmandu when this is utilised during the Daśaharā festival it becomes the temporary residence of the deity brought for worship as the supreme manifestation of

148 Tulajāpura Bhavānī, Monograph n. 2, *Mahārāṣṭra Historical Records*, 1961.

the Goddess of power. A glimpse of the Mulchok shall reveal to us facts on the indentivity of the Tulajā. Here she is in the midst of the goddesses described in *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna* as manifestations of the Durgā. She is in the midst of the Mātṛkā and other female deities who are devoutly worshipped during the Daśaharā festival. Individually she might have in certain respects Buddhist colouring, but it is so submerged behind the galaxy of stars of Śaiva female deities that it is almost impossible even to differentiate those features of the image that we would like to associate with Buddhism.

In Bhatgaon, Viśvamalla's is the first reference to this goddess, while in Kathmandu and Patan it is Pratāpa and Siddhinarasiṁhamalla respectively, who invoke Taleju's blessing for the first time for their pious deeds. Probably the cult of Tulajā spread widely in their time originating about half a century earlier. Also they might have a common source for inspiration while this pushed the same to universal acceptance.

Guhyeśvarī: Guhyeśvarī is worshipped as the goddess of Guhya (anus), the site being popular on account of a popular legend which associates it with the memory of Satī, wife of Lord Śiva, whose rectum from a decomposed body had fallen there while grief stricken Śiva was wandering bearing her corpse over his shoulders. But Guhyeśvarī is unknown to records prior to the 14th century. The Gopāla Vamsāvalī which talks quite often of propitiatory rites performed at the temple of Paśupatinātha does not for once mention Guhyeśvarī. According to a manuscript Pratāpamalla erected the enclosure with the shade over the head of the sanctuary in the mid 17th century. He also set up stone images of lions all around the shrine at the same time. This is mentioned in his inscription of 774 on a large stone lying in the temple area. Guhyeśvarī is a *Pīṭhadevatā* and has no image; a small dome like structure of bronze rises from the ground which is worshipped as the main site of the sanctuary. There is also a pothole said to represent the anus of the goddess, and this is full of water.

Guhyakālī or Guhyeśvarī is mentioned in many Tantric texts as the main divinity and object of invocation. A palm leaf copy of the *Guhyakālitantram* dealing with the worship of the deity is dated 525 *durāṣāḍha śukla 15* etc. (DLC, III. 377). This positively establishes the fact of the existence of the goddess in the 14th century.

I do not know if what A. Getty (agreeing with Bosch) says about Guhyeśvarī being at one time worshipped in Java is correct. Describing a triad image and identifying the central image with Guhyeśvarī Getty observes "She is imaged eight Grins and among her various symbols she carries a sword, trident, pātra and bow and arrow which are apparent in spite of damaged state of the triad".¹⁴⁹ The image is also flanked on one side by a dancing image of Gaṇeśa. But this picture is absent in Nepal. Guhyeśvarī goes without any iconographic representation in Nepal.

Harasiddhi: Goddess Harasiddhi has a temple in Ujjain in India. We have also a temple enshrining her image in a locality called after her name situated some 3 miles south east of the city of Patan. Śrīnivāsamalla offered gold door frames to the temple on 783 *Bhādra śukla pratipadā pūrvaphālguṇī nakṣatre sādhyeyoge ādityavāsare sirīharāśī gata savitari* etc. In an inscription of the above mentioned date Śrīnivāsa refers to this temple (prāsāda) then existing. Surely the worship of the goddess was begun earlier but there is no record to show how far back it started. A copper plate of NS 847 states that the temple was built by Pratāpamalla. In the initial few lines of the inscription, the deity is described as 'red coloured, yellow coloured, holding a *Khadga* and respected by the gods'. Harasiddhi is one of the *Āgama devatās* who could not have been seen except by those initiated. The devotees worship the deity either at the main doorway of the inner shrine or a *yāntric* symbol placed in front, there was a legend that up till fifty years back the

149 A. Getty: *Gaṇeśa*, Oxford, 1936, pp. 59-60.

deity was offered human sacrifice. But she was not the only one to obtain human sacrifice. It is said that Naradevī and the Rudrāyaṇī of Khoknā were also receiving human sacrifice. Harasiddhi is one of the goddesses belonging to the Tantric female divinities, according to a well known text.

Vajrayoginī: Although Vajrayoginī is one of the mother goddesses of the Buddhist pantheon, she is worshipped as Ugratārā by the Śaivites; thus like the Mātrkā group of divinities she is also universally respected. The earliest records of the existence of the site of the goddess are available in Pratāpamalla's inscriptions. The Malla ruler addresses her as the beloved of Hara, who sat on his right lap. In the benedictory verses he composed the goddess is represented also as Sarasvatī obviously the goddess is worshipped in different capacities by the devotees. The Buddhist looked on her as one of their Yoginīs who had to be propitiated to ward off natural calamities and other evils. Jagajjayamalla in the verses he composed associates the goddess with the manifestation of the consort of Śiva.

Vajrayoginī's iconographic representation is an image of a female deity holding in one of the four hands a *vajra*. But the deity whom we are used to call Vajrayoginī has a Khaḍga in the hand. The priest on duty belongs to Guvā caste. She is therefore primarily a Buddhist deity. From one of Pratāpamalla's inscriptions we learn that he built the temple of the goddess in NS 775 (Inscription n. 53 in our Appendix).

The temple of the goddess is situated about eight miles to the northeast of the Valley on a hill overlooking. The surrounding is picturesque.

Vajravarāhi: Vajravarāhi is one of the Dakinīs, the same as the mother goddess who emanated from God Varāha. But Vajravarāhi is in the care of the Buddhist Guvajus, and she passes as a Buddhist Śakti deity.

But Vajravarāhi is described in Yoganarendramalla's inscription as '*jagadambikā*', and her rituals were conducted

by the king in accordance with Vedic rules (821 *Phālguna śukla 10 Sunday*). The offering of a bronze buffalo as *vāhana* to the goddess by King Viṣṇumalla does also speak of her belonging to the Śaivo-Viṣṇuite pantheon. But the word *Vajra* added to the name must be a differentiating factor. However, whatever be the origin Vajravarāhī today is commonly regarded as Varāhī of the Mātrkā group.

Sarasvatī: Although not a mother goddess and not reckoned as such Sarasvatī came to acquire much influence with all the sects in our period. The earliest dated images of Sarasvatī are available in the Sasukhel area of Patan. The two images were set up in 434(?) and 567 respectively. But we can take it that Sarasvatī was already a popular deity much earlier than these two dates. She was regarded as the goddess of learning by the Śaivites. The Buddhists also did pay regards to her in that capacity, although the Bodhisatva Mañjuśrī is their chief patron of learning. Sarasvatī again is sometimes worshipped as the consort of the Bodhisatva.¹⁵⁰

Mañjuśrī: A wrong notion is that one of the two wives of the Bodhisatva is Sarasvatī. But iconographically none of them can be identified with the Śaivite goddess of learning. Nor it is true that the Nepalese Buddhists ever offered any suggestion to that effect.

There are several images of Sarasvatī both in the Śaivite temples and Buddhist sanctuaries. Nilasarasvatī in Lazimpat has an image of the usual pattern, which has on the pedestal to the left a miniature image of Gaṇeśa in the traditional pose. As we have already suggested the site of Nilasarasvatī must belong to our age.

Sarasvatī's iconographic representation has four hands, 2 of which hold the Indian flute (*Vīṇā*), the third a book, and the fourth a rosary; she is mounting on a peacock or a swan as the case may be. In pictures she is shown in white colour

also with the emblems as in sculptured images. She has a different posture in Buddhist iconography; while appearing as strictly a Buddhist deity Sarasvatī is said to have two hands, although we do not notice such images in Nepal.

Goddesses of small-pox: Besides the above mentioned female divinities Nepal had also in this period a number of other female deities whose blessing was sought to protect children under attack of particular epidemic diseases. One such deity is that of small-pox who is known as Sitalā. She is primarily a goddess of small-pox. We have a life size standing image of Sitalā in the courtyard of the temple of Kumbheśvara in Patan. Elsewhere as in the Paśupati-nātha area, the deity is represented in a stone at a particular site.

Sitalā must be quite a historical deity. She is associated with folk cults. She is shown as a deity who 'rides on a donkey, has such emblems as a sweeping broom and a pitcher, and is adorned with a winnowing fan on her head'.¹⁵¹ She is considered to be inauspicious. She is therefore propitiated to avoid her visits.

Sitalā must have been worshipped by all sects. But her Buddhist counterpart was Hāritī who performed the same job as the goddess of small-pox in the Buddhist pantheon.

Hāritī: An ogress turned into deity Hāritī is popular in Nepal as a goddess of children's diseases. If she visits any home, she causes some or other kind of diseases to children and she has to be propitiated. She is also a goddess of small-pox in the local Buddhist pantheon. She is called the grandmother (*Azimā*). She is feared and pleased with sacred offering.

So far we have seen two images of Hāritī, but there is only one shrine where one of the two images is housed. The shrine is situated quite close to the *stūpa* of Svayambhunātha within a distance of 15 yards of the dome to the west. The

151 J. N. Banerji, *Hindu Iconography*, p. 382.

image in black sand stone is placed on a pedestal occupying the centre of the sanctuary. The image without its shrine is lying in a neglected condition in the courtyard of a house in the interior of the city of Patan. The image is carved on an ordinary stone. The existence of the image is known only to the people of the locality, who pay her their homage in times of their children falling ill. In comparison the Svayambhu shrine of Hāritī is known all over the Valley, and she gets wide attention all the year round.

The two images are almost similar. Hāritī is seated with the right leg slightly raised but the portion below the ankle resting half way on the wall of the pedestal; the other leg is in a squatting posture, over which is placed a child whom she fondly catches by her left hand. Two babies one on each side stand on the pedestal pressing their body against the mother, the one on the right places its hand on her raised leg whereas the left side baby presses its cheek on her arm. There are two more babies. But their place differs in the two images. In the Svayambhu shrine image these are placed on the right side one above the other, both standing, the uppermost presses its body against the mother's shoulder, while the one immediately below rests its hand on her arm. The Patan image has the two babies carved on the pedestal one on each side separated by a circular object. The baby on the right side is sitting on his hip with the legs slightly raised and touching the feet of the mother, on the left side the baby is kneeling and seems to be playing with a dog. The sandstone image of Hāritī reveals a beautiful face, but the Patan image is disfigured. Both are naked wearing however a crownlike hair, a necklace and bracelets, but otherwise without any ornament. The right palm holds a ball-like object probably a pomegranate. The images are cut against the background of a stone.

Huien Tsang and I-ching found an alter dedicated to her in every monastery they visited in North India but her image

either in statuary form or painted on the wall was always near the door or in the porch leading to the refectory.¹⁵²

But we do not know if the cult of Hāritī was even known during the early middle ages. In India Hāritī was worshipped to 'obtain children.'¹⁵³ But in Nepal she remains up till now a deity to be propitiated in times of children falling sick specially during an attack of pox. She is also called *Azimā* (grand-mother) like the Mātrkā goddesses.

Originally Hāritī was an ogress Yakṣiṇī of Rājagṛha who took delight in eating human flesh and killed children. According to a story told in *Samyuktavastu* the Yakṣiṇī Hāritī was married to the son of Yakṣa protector of Gāndhāra to whom she bore 500 sons and these used to be fed with human flesh, which was secured by the Yakṣiṇī by killing children of Rājagṛha. Hāritī's marauding activities brought misery to the people of the area, who beseeched the Lord Buddha to relieve them of the troubles. The Lord Buddha miraculously stole the youngest of Hāritī's sons and caused her immense grief in the same way as fallen to the lot of the bereaved parents whose issues she had devoured.

In distress the Yakṣiṇī went from one place to another in search of the child. But she was not able to trace its whereabouts. Then she went to the king of Yakṣas, who directed her to see Lord Buddha in Rājagṛha. But the Lord would not give her back the child unless she abjured evil actions and was prepared to accept his teaching. Hāritī swore never to eat human flesh, and follow the Lord's precepts, upon which the child was restored to her. The Lord also felt pity on her and the five hundred sons who had now to go hungry, and decreed that the monks make up her ration by parting with a portion of their food at each meal. The Lord also gave her a pomegranate which she holds in her hand. Hāritī does not accept animal or bird sacrifice. But she is offered eggs and meat in Nepal. There is a legend that Lord Buddha had

152 A. Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 85

153 *Ibid.*, p. 86.

advised her to live always near her sanctuary, and he hoped that by this he would be able to keep strict watch on her movements. The shrine near the Svayambhu *stūpa* was so situated in conformity to the Lord's desire.

Monasteries in general do not have the image of Hāritī in Nepal. But there are two monasteries in Patan, which show Hāritī. But we gather from an inscription¹⁵⁴ of NS 713 that precinct of the *Vihāra* was supposed to have Hāritī in the same way as Mahākāla. The inscription is a record of founding a *Vihāra* in Kathmandu. The founder invokes the blessing of Mahākāla, and also Hāritī the latter with her five hundred sons for the protection of the site. Hāritī is called Mahāyakṣiṇī. This shows that this deity was associated with the monasteries in the middle ages.

(C)

Deities of Local Origin: Besides the deities which have either the Tantric or Puranic background, we have another set of divinities of purely local origin. The most important of these are Lumadi (Bhadrakālī), Mhaipi (Māheśvarī), Maitī (Devī), Kaṅga ajimā (Kaṅkeśvarī), Lutumarī (Indrāyaṇī) all in Kathmandu. One more deity Manthalīdevī (Martyeśvarī) is on the outskirts of Kathmandu not far from the confluence of the Bagmatī and Viṣṇumatī. Naradevī (Śvetakālī) and Raktakālī in Kathmandu, Tundāldevī, 2 miles to the northeast in the same city and Mana Maiju 2 miles just due north and Chaṇḍeśvarī in Ṭokhā and Banepā, Rudrāyaṇī in Khokhā and others. Some of them have also lost their local names as Sanskritisation affected them progressively during the last hundred years. At the moment all these female deities bear Sanskrit names of one or the other variety of Durgā as are mentioned in the *Saptaśatī* of *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. These deities are worshipped without images; in the shrines only pieces of stones are visible, which are supposed to represent the deities. The

154 Inscription n. 27.

earliest record in the shrines of Lumadi and Mhaipi are of the time of Pratāpamalla. These are inscriptions on the stone *torana* (gateway) of the open shrine dated NS 792 *Vaiśākha tṛtiyā pra chaturthī mūla nakṣatre* and 785 *chāndramāse kṛṣṇa pakṣe deśamyām śatabṛkha nakṣatre vajrayoge budhavāsare*. The Manthali shrine has two inscriptions of Pratāpamalla's reign (775 and 776 respectively).

We have already referred to the popular deity, Taleju, in previous pages. Let us here mention the Kumārī introduced by Jayaprakāśamalla in the mid 18th century. The Kumārī has her abode in Kathmandu in a temple overlooking the main gallery of the old palace of the kings of Nepal. Unlike other deities whose images are worshipped, the Kumārī is respected in a human medium, impersonating her. The medium is a girl of a Buddhist priest family below the age of puberty, but the most devout and orthodox Śaivite does not fail to pay homage to her. Two Śaivite divinities, Gaṇeśa and Bhairava, are her attendants. These are also presented through human mediums, boys between 6-12 years of age belonging also to the Buddhist priest family. The Kumārī like Taleju harmonises Vajrayāna and Tantric Śaivism by presenting herself both as Tārā and Pārvatī.

The origin of incarnate Kumārī according to the chronicle is due to Jayaprakāśamalla who felt his conscience pricking after raping a girl of pre-puberty age and then dreamt that the goddess Kumārī had appeared to advise to him to do vigorous penance after which he was to permanently create a *guthi* for her *jātrā* to be celebrated during the last two days of the bright fortnight of the month of *Bhādra*.

The Kumārī is an incarnate human goddess. Her annual *jātrā* falls in the last three days of *Bhādra śukla* coinciding with the festival of Indra. For three days the goddess kept in a four wheeled chariot is carried in procession through the main thoroughfares of the city of Kathmandu. Her chariot is preceded by those of Gaṇeśa and Bhairava in the procession. The goddess is widely respected.

Vidyādhari or *Vidyēśvarī*: One Vajrapāda from Pañchāla claiming to be an Āchārya but who had not been able to produce a single pupil came to Nepal and meditated for Siddhi at a site on the tri-junction of the rivers in the vicinity of Karavira cremation ground. The Āchārya was rewarded with Siddhi after sometime and there sprang a shrine of Vidyādhari at the place. Vidyādhari thus by tradition is a goddess of learning, but she has no characteristics of Sarasvatī. The image is placed hanging in flying pose. It has two hands, one holding a *vajra* which is raised and another a human skull. The ritual is performed as in the shrine of Vajrayoginī, and it is said that Vidyādhari is the same deity under a different name.

The shrine occupies one side of a *vihāra* where the image of Śākyamuni is the principal attraction. The antiquity of the *Vihāra* is not known, but Vidyādhari is mentioned in several inscriptions of the later medieval period, which lie standing here and there in the foreground.

At the present time the precinct of the temple wears a strange mien. There is a standing image of Viṣṇu in the courtyard. In the outer room of the Vidyādhari's shrine the northern wall has a large stone, which shows Lord Kṛṣṇa dancing and playing on his flute. It is difficult to understand how these Viṣṇuite influences had penetrated into the inside of the temple obtrusively. But all this may suggest the harmony and tolerance subsisting between the followers of different sects in Nepal of the day.

Mopatadeo: A small temple in the Viśālanagara quarter of Kathmandu houses the deities who are otherwise known as Bhātḥaṭeni. Two flying figures extending their hands to catch a child are the objects of worship. It is said that the two deities were trying to snatch their child who had been carried away by a kite personifying God Viṣṇu's carrier Garuḍa. A legend says that the female deity was an ogress who devoured children in the neighbourhood and all this she

would do without the knowledge of her husband. She herself had a host of children to whom she was deeply attached. But she would not realise the immense harm done to other mothers whose issues she would prey upon. One day, however, Lord Viṣṇu caused the youngest of the Mopatadeo children to be carried away by Garuḍa. The ogress was in distress and followed the bird-God to the sky. Her husband also came to know of this and joined her in the flight. The race continued for some time. But Viṣṇu appeared in the scene and rebuked the couple and promised to restore the child provided she undertook to protect the children anywhere instead of feeding on them. Viṣṇu also deified them and since the ogress and her husband with their child came to be looked upon as deities and have been worshipped. As ordained by Viṣṇu they are now become protectors of children and they obtain worship in times of children falling ill from one disease or another.

Although the Mopatadeo are popular and are propitiated by all castes, they are primarily worshipped by the Duins and Balhamis and Tamangs.

Mopatadeo are not identified with any classical deities. They are surely of local origin. But the legend has a wonderful resemblance with the story of Hāritī. I do not know how the two had come to tally on the principal theme.

As we notice there were not only deities of local origin becoming prominent in this age but many obscure divinities also reappeared in the scene with much glamour. These are Gaṇesa, Bhairava, Mahākāla, Kālabhairava, Bhīmasena and Hanumāna, all male deities, two of which Bhīmasena and Hanumāna who are heroes of *Mahābhārata* being promoted to divinity.

It appears that since the 16th century all these deities became extremely popular at the cost of the many Mahāyāna deities. Bhairava is worshipped as another form of Śiva in his fearful manifestation and Gaṇeśa, the son of Śiva, is the

gate-keeper. But both these have been indiscriminately admitted into the fold of Buddhist deities for the same qualities worshipped as emanations of and allied to one of the other of the Pañcha Buddha or Bodhisatva.

In most cases the Durgā or Kālī or at one or two instances even Bhairava have no images of their own. They are symbolically represented with geometrical designs or by mere stones.

Gaṇeśa: Gaṇeśa is represented with the head of an elephant on a human body of great bulk and weight, and of short stature. In most cases the leg is squatting but the right leg is raised to the knee. Bhairava's iconographic representation resembled something of a countenance inspiring awe and terror. It is always an astounding image. Both these deities receive customary *valī* with the sacrifice of animals over the images.

Of the shrines of Gaṇeśa, the following are considered prominent, (1) Aśoka Vināyaka in Kathmandu, (2) Sūryavināyaka in Bhatgaon, (3) Jala Vināyaka in Chobar on the bank of river Bāgmatī and (4) Kārya Vināyaka in Chabel, close to Paśupatinātha's townlet of Deopatan. For the Gaṇeśa of Chobar we have inscriptions belonging to the period since the reign of Pratāpamalla (stele of 775 *Vaiśākha śukla* 5).

The iconographic representations of Gaṇeśa in general is either a cone-shaped piece of stone, the upper portion of which looked like the face of an elephant with a trunk or an image with the head of an elephant on a human body with four or six or eight or sixteen hands holding different emblems, the right leg slightly raised while the left one remains squatting. The pose is called Mahārājalīlā. Some images have their left leg raised, while the right leg is a squatting posture. The entire stone or image is coloured with red pigment. There are also standing images or with the right leg pendant. We shall describe these varieties a little later.

The worship of Gaṇeśa became popular definitely since the 15th century A.D. The first inscription to invoke the blessing of Gaṇeśa and recording the installation of his image is the one dated 536 and issued in the reign of Jyotirmalla. But in the statuary representation accompanying the inscription no. IV of our Appendix.¹⁵⁵ Gaṇapati figures as one of the attendants of Śiva. Since then we have numerous images of Gaṇeśa enshrined in temples, which bear authentic records. In the later medieval period Gaṇeśa received a very wide popular worship. He is enshrined at every quarter of the town or townlets. Judging from the widely spread Gaṇeśa temples in the Nepal Valley it can be said that Gaṇeśa had become quite a powerful deity in the later middle ages,

It is said that not until the 5th or 6th century A.D. Gaṇeśa was worshipped in India¹⁵⁶ or in the Hindu colonies of S.E. Asia and Far East. Not until the advent of Vajrayāna in the 11th or 12th centuries Gaṇeśa was known in Tibet. In our country certain Śiva family images carry on the pedestal sculptured relief showing the *gaṇas* where Gaṇeśa with his elephant head looks prominent. The Ganchanani group with date NS 132 (=1012 A.D) is the earliest. This is followed by several other images of later dates until the first image showing Gaṇeśa by himself appeared in 535. Perhaps in the miniatures borne by the illustrate manuscripts, the painted image of Gaṇeśa appears at an earlier date.

Gaṇeśa is installed as a guardian deity at the gate of a monastery. But Gaṇeśa is also worshipped as an independent deity by the Buddhists as the destroyer of all evils. There is also a legend which regards him as the source of all evils. It was said that in this capacity he receives worship from the devotees on every occasion of rituals and at every place. The belief ran that if he was not propitiated, he would create many obstacles and prevent one's wishes from being fulfilled.

155 Inscription n. IV in the Appendix to Part I.

156 Getty: *Gaṇeśa*, 1369, p. 10.

The legend says that once upon a time one Āchārya who had migrated from Oḍḍiyāna performed a large *pūjā* on the bank of the Bāgmatī at the foot of what is now called Chobar hill. He invoked the presence of all deities except Gaṇeśa who got angry at being thus ignored and in retaliation let loose a host of demons to disturb the occasion. As the latter attacked the Pūjā site, the divinities and men assembled there fled in terror. The situation, however, was saved by the intervention of Vighnāntaka who put to rout Gaṇeśa and his comrades, and cleared the infested ground. Gaṇeśa himself found subdued and trampled upon by Vighnāntaka and his *gaṇas* turned into sparrows and pigeons concealed themselves in the nearby caves pursued by the victors. But all this had not meant removal of Gaṇeśa from the rituals. Vighnāntaka aware of the potentials of Gaṇeśa decreed that the elephant headed God was to be propitiated whenever an occasion for a ritual arose. Since that time Gaṇeśa received universal homage, his shrine was to be seen at every quarter of the town and he was known as 'Thanedeo' or the presiding god for the locality around the temple.

The iconography of Gaṇeśa in Nepal reveals many features. Ordinarily Gaṇeśa has four hands, is pot-bellied, has the trunk placed in the left hand holding a *laddoo*, the left leg is squatting while the right one is slightly raised and he wears an ornamented headdress. But there are many varieties to this pattern. Sometimes the right leg is pendant, sometimes it is in this squatting posture while the left leg is raised or pendant. Many images in the city of Patan have their right leg raised. In Banepā we have an image of the time of Yakṣamalla which is in a sitting posture both legs squatting, the palms, however, just cross at the ankles and do not touch as in the case of Cham and Javanese Gaṇeśa. The four handed image is common, but there are images with six (Siddhi Vināyaka), eight, sixteen (in Rānīpokharī temple) and twenty hands (Mahabauddha, Kathmandu). The Rānīpokharī image is standing and has sixteen hands. It is

also flanked on the left side by another image which represents Gaṇeśa's wife Siddhi. The right foot rests on a rat, which is regarded as the deity's carrier. A wooden strutting of Viṣṇuite temple at the quarter of the city of Patan shows a six headed image of Gaṇeśa who also wears *jāmā* (frock) and has his Śakti. In all the images, the right normal hand carries a radish while the left hand has always a *laddoo*. (a ball to eat as sweet).

There are some special features of the cult of Gaṇeśa as it obtains in Nepal. Although Gaṇeśa is a Brāhmaṇical deity, he is also associated with Buddhism. He is one of the door-keepers in monasteries and also is presented as a guard of the Bodhisatva Mañjuśrī along with Kumāra. Gaṇeśa's temple in many cases of course with some exceptions faces to the south. The *Jyāpu* and not the Brāhmaṇa performs the functions of the priest at the temple. And lastly, Gaṇeśa is offered animal sacrifice like the Śakti deities. This is the most unusual feature as nowhere else the practice prevails.

Mahākāla: We had referred to Mahākāla in the preceding volume. Coming to the later period, we find that the deity was getting more popular. In our time the Buddhist monastery enjoyed his presence at the entrance as he was looked upon as the guardian deity. Apart from this fact the temples were also dedicated to him in several places.

The Nepalese looked upon Mahākāla as a Tibetan God. The legend says that while he was flying to India, and passing over Nepal a Tantric Guvāju stopped him by his *mantra*, and forced him to descend to the earth where the deity was kept under iron chains. The principal image of Mahākāla in Kathmandu has still an iron chain round the waist symbolic of the pull and control which the Nepalese Tantrist exercised.

Mahākāla is a tutelary deity of the Mongols. In Tibet he is regarded as a protector of monasteries. But it is difficult to admit that the idea of his worship in Nepal was borrowed

from Tibet.^{156a} Mahākāla is a god of the Śaivite pantheon. Mahākāla appears in India in quite an early period as a form of Śiva. The Nepalese Śaivites also worship the image as that of Śiva in his Mahākāla form.

The *Mahākālatantra*, a Buddhist text describes the many forms of Mahākāla. The first is the three faced with eight hands holding different emblems. The second is one headed and has four hands. The third is four headed with 12 hands. Six handed and sixteen handed Mahākālas also are found being mentioned in the text. But the most common form is the one with one head and two arms, the right holding a Kartri and the left a cup of human skull, and wearing either a garland of human skull or a girded serpent, and seated on a human corpse. If Mahākāla is holding a bolt in the hand then the deity is called Vajra Mahākāla. We have such images of the early 17th century in the Svayambhu area. On the pedestal the image bears the date 788.

I have seen only the two handed and four handed images of Mahākāla in Nepal. The latter are rare; two such images are found in the Svayambhu area. Of the two handed images there is one which differs from the rest. In this the right hand holding a bolt is raised upwards.

The Mahākāla images are all standing.

Hanumāna: We have already referred to the deity being accepted in the fold of Vajrayāna worship. This is evident from an inscription of the reign of Śivasimha in the late 16th century. His image was set up in the *vihāra* along with those of Buddhist deities. Hanumāna's image also appeared by the side of the gates of the royal palace in the three cities at about the sametime thus testifying to the high respect he obtained at the hands of the royal family. The later Malla rulers addressed themselves as Hanumaddhvaja, they were rulers who adopted Hanumāna in their banners. The prac-

156a. Getty: *op. cit.*, p. 161.

tice, however, was in evidence since the mid 17th century. Pratāpamalla was probably the first king to start it (Inscription ns. 55, 68).

Hanumāna's influence was sought by his devotees in times of crisis. He helped them to tide over many dangerous situations. Hanumāna is known as one who relieved the people of their distress (*saṅkaṭamochana*).

Bhairava: As we have suggested earlier, Bhairava occupies also a very important place in our pantheon. One of the records dated NS 635 in a temple of Kīrtipur enshrining the image of Bhairava calls the deity Vyāghreśvara, the lord of the tigers (Inscription in our Appendix, Part I). Ākāśa Bhairava is the name of the deity worshipped in a temple in Bhatgaon, which was built by Bhūpatīndramalla in 837 (Inscription on a stone standing to the right side). The same name applies to the Bhairava of Indrachok in Kathmandu. The Unmatta Bhairava within the precincts of the shrine of Paśupati-nātha is another important image. The large image of Kālabhairava (black) of the Kathmandu palace area was set up by Pratāpamalla. The image is standing on the body of the demon *vetāla*. Nearby within a trellis window is kept Śveta (white) Bhairava. The image is known as Hātapādeo. It shows a fierce looking face. Except the Kālabhairava the iconographic representation of Bhairava is just a large sized head with a fierce look. Bhairava literally means awe-inspiring and the image is built with a likeness to inspire fear on the onlooker. Wherever this kind of image exists, the name given to it is Hātapādeo, which means a fearful deity.

Ordinarily there are eight Bhairavas which are conceived in traditional manner. These are: Asitāṅga Bhairava, Ruru Bhairava, Chaṇḍa Bhairava, Krodha Bhairava, Unmatta Bhairava, Kapāla Bhairava, Bhīṣaṇa Bhairava and Saṁhāra Bhairava. There are four more Bhairavas each acting as the driving force in one or another wheel of Red Machhendra-

nātha. These are named: Lhonde Konde (of Rudra Kunda), Hayasiddhi, Hayagriva (of Buṅmati) and Lutabaha (of Lubhu).

Baṭuka Bhairava is one more form of Bhairava whose shrine still exists in Nepal. This is on the outskirts of the city of Patan at a corner of Lagan Khel. The Ākāśa Bhairava of Halchok is associated with the Indra *jātrā* festival, and for the duration of the *jātrā* the deity Bhairava and his two minions are played by men of the Duin castes, who kill a he-buffalo in a combat every night. The enactment represents Bhairava's fight and victory over the buffalo demon. The Duins are masked, Bhairava dressed in blue colour and minions in red, the mask following the same pattern.

Generally Bhairava in icons is presented only through the head exhibited during the festivals. The head wears ornaments and it is also awe-inspiring. But there are a few life-size images of the deity. The Kālabhairava in Kathmandu is one such figure. It must be about 12 ft. high. The stone is all painted black except in the face where it has to show eyes, nose and lips. The image has six hands. One of the normal two hands, the right one holds a cup of human skull while the left one is just kept in *Vitarkamudrā*. The two other right hands hold a sword (upper) and trident (lower) respectively. The upper left hand has a *chakra* (discus), and the lower holds the topknots of three human heads. The head wears a crown with 3 inset front pieces of human skulls. The image has around its neck, a snake, so is the arm band, and the Kuntala. A large garland of human skulls adorns his body. Bhairava is standing on a prostrate body of *Vetāla* turned upwards. In NS 829 Bhupatīndramalla set up a ten handed image in stone in his palace in Bhatgaon. The feet of the God are resting on two childlike figures. More emblems appear in hands such as a double drum, an umbrella etc. The size of the image must be about 3 ft. in height. The dancing image in the museum has a double drum (right) and

trident (left) in the upper two hands, while the normal hands are engaged in playing on another instrument, of the drum variety. Generally Bhairava has four hands and carries invariably the double drum and trident in hands. Perhaps this is due to his being emanated from the God Śiva.

Bhīmasena: Bhīmasena, one of the five Pāṇḍava brothers is worshipped in Nepal as another form of Bhairava. The deity is universally worshipped by the Newar traders, to whichever faith he may belong to. We cannot say, however, how the worship of Bhīmasena came to be associated with one's prosperity in commercial profession.

In temples and private sanctuaries Bhīmasena is represented along with Draupadī. But sometimes the five brothers also might find place in the iconographic representation.

The earliest reference to Bhīmasena is gleaned from a copper plate inscription of Kathmandu of Mahendramalla's reign, which sows some lands to have been granted by Narendramalla on 660 *Akṣaya tṛtīyā* day to meet the expense of daily worship of the deity. The same inscription states that in Māgha of 684 Mahendramalla himself attended a ceremony performed in honour of Bhīmasena. It appears from a stone inscription of 775 *Aṣāḍha śukla 8 hastā nakṣatre pariḡha yoge śukravāra* that Pratāpamalla set up an image of Draupadī in the temple of Bhīmasena. Pratāpamalla inscribes 14 verses on the stone with laudable description of Bhīmasena's achievements and calling him *Śivarupa*. At present there is also an image of one of Bhīmasena's brothers installed at the shrine. We do not know if this also was originally set up.

In Patan Śrīnivāsamalla constructed a 3 storey temple of Bhīmasena on a foundation where only one storey structure stood. This he did on 801 *Māgha śukla 6*. The group of images set up show Mahākāla and Bhairava besides Bhīmasena and Draupadī.

Bhīmasena is famous as a warrior. He helped his brothers through so many crisis. His image is always presented in the

pose of a warrior standing on firm legs and holding a club or sword by his right hand. He wears *jāmā* (long frock) to cover the lower part of the body, while there is a half sleeved shirt for the upper part which extends only upto the waist. An ornamented *mukuṭa* adorns the head. The face is also remarkable for its big moustache. However the bronze images in the temples of Patan and Kathmandu do not show Bhīmasena holding a club.

It appears that Java also had seen the prevalence of the cult of Bhīmasena during the late Majapahit period.¹⁵⁷ As in Nepal he was worshipped in the likeness of Śiva and Bhairava. But the attributing of the Bhairava images traced in the Indonesian icons are not to be found in the Nepalese counterparts. For example, the Javanese image has a snake *yajñopavita* round its neck, which is absent in ours. The Javanese legend that Bhīma was born in a lake which remained impervious for seven years and he had to be extricated with difficulty by Gaṇeśa through Śiva's blessing¹⁵⁸ is quite unknown in Nepal. But it might be true that the cult was associated with the Tantric concept of Bhairava as in Java. However in Nepal the story of Bhīmasena shows a mortal hero instead of a supernatural being. The various scenes carved on the lintel and *torāṇa* of the door in the temple in Kathmandu follow the theme of the *Mahābhārata*, in which the killing of Kichaka is prominent. No action requiring the intervention of supernatural being is depicted in the scene. There is also a special feature. The picture of Viṣṇu is invariably present in the series. He is there as Lord Kṛṣṇa protecting the five brothers.

Thus although the laudatory verse speaks of Bhīma as Śiva, his association with Lord Kṛṣṇa is not given up.

Indra: Although not so popular, but yet widely worship-

157 W. F. Stutterheim: *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, Hague, 1956, pp. 107-143.

158 Ibid, P. 123.

ped on a certain occasion is Indra, the god of thunder and lord of heaven. We have a festival associated with his name known as *Indrajātrā* celebrated for 8 days, the last 4 days of the Bhādra bright fortnight and the first four days of the following dark fortnight. This is an autumn festival, and the earliest fog of the winter makes its appearance generally in the early morning of the festive week. There is a legend around the festival. It is said that once upon a time when the autumn season was advancing Indra descended to the earth in Nepal to steal at dawn the beautiful flower *Pārijāta* which was in its full bloom throwing its sweet odour all around. But some people who had got up quite early saw the pilferer and not knowing that he was a divine being arrested him. Then his hands were stretched sideways and tied to a pole. Fortunately Indra's mother had sighted all this from above and sent a thick fog to envelop her son to screen him from being seen by others. Meanwhile the devotees amongst Indra's captors recognised his identity and persuaded the trappers to untie his body and let him off. Indra blessed his hosts who now worshipped him and begged him to take them to heaven.

In Bhatgaon during the festival falling in bright fortnight of the month of Bhādra the entire scene of Indra's descent, imprisonment and release is enacted as part of the ceremonial observation through the streets and the people watch it with religious feeling and reverence.

Indra was worshipped as the Sun God in Nepal (Gnoli, Inscription n. VII) in the 6th century A.D. But the earliest reference to the festival of Indra is available from one of Yakṣamalla's inscriptions (A stele in Taumadhiṭol, Bhatgaon, 561 *Jyeṣṭha śudi 11 budhavāra* = May, 1441 A.D.). Father D'andrade in 1628 wrote that he heard in Tsaparang from Nepalese craftsmen about the deity Indra whose image represented in a cross was worshipped in Nepal. According to his informants Indra was a popular deity. A pole with the gold image of Indra within a cage-like structure at the

bottom is set up at a fixed site in the Darbar Square area in front of the image of the Kālabhairava during the Indra *jātrā* days. But in other areas the image with stretched hands is set up on a raised platform.

There is no temple devoted to Indra. Although the cult is ancient, the worship of Indra takes place only once a year during the seasonal festival, which is again so mixed up with the *jātrās* of Kumārī and Bhairava that even though the festival is celebrated in the name of Indra, the latter has to share the devotion offered while others tend to dominate. But in the middle ages Indra was receiving universal devotion irrespective of castes and creed.

Vāsuki or Snake worship: Snake worship seems also to have become popular in our age. An inscription of Pratāpamalla belonging to *Samvat 770 Māgha śukla 15* tells us that the king built the temple to house the image of Vāsuki whom the laudatory verses call Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu. The fifth day of *Śravaṇa śukla* is specially meant for the worship of the serpents. Pictures of snakes under various names are pasted on the lintel above the doorways and worshipped. This is done in every household. Legends commit the serpent king of Taudaha with various religious rites still observed by the Newar community. The advent of Avalokiteśvara known as Machhendranātha is also ascribed to the fact that Gorakhanātha was doing penance seated on the Karkaṭanāga, which had caused drought. There are many more references to snake worship, and there is reason to believe that the cult would have been popular.

The cult of Kṛṣṇa: Although the worship of Viṣṇu in other forms was known to Nepal quite early, we have no instance of the Kṛṣṇa cult to have been popular in the period up till the 15th century A.D. In the time of Siddhinarasiṃha and Pratāpamalla, temples appear to have been built enshrining the image of Lord Kṛṣṇa in his human shape. Surely the cult might have attained its height of popularity by this time. We have already

written about the two shrines erected by Siddhinarasimha and Pratāpa. A Brāhmaṇa family in Mahadeonanhi in Patan erected a temple of Gopāla, and set up a beautiful image there. (Inscription of 763 *Āṣāḍha śukla 3 puṣyā nakṣatre vyāghatayoge śukravāre etc*). We have other temples dedicated to Lord Kṛṣṇa. There is one which is attributed to the munificence of Śrīnivāsa's daughter. The king's minister Bhagiratha Bhaiyā demonstrated his regard for Kṛṣṇa by raising a temple in honour of the Lord. The temple known as Chyāsing devaḷ enshrining the image of Rādhākṛṣṇa was built by Yogamatī in 843. The structure bears close resemblance to the Kṛṣṇa temple of Siddhinarasimha. Thus Kṛṣṇa was worshipped in several forms, as a child as a cowherd (Gopāla), youth in the company of Rādhā and as Lord with his two consorts, Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā. Images of Kṛṣṇa playing flute in a dancing pose are seen in many places.

Not only the images, the cult of Lord Kṛṣṇa has also pervaded literary themes in the many works of the time. These embraced songs and plays, among the plays we may cite.

(1) *Uṣāharāṇa*, (2) *Kāliyamathopākhyānām*, (3) *Rukmiṇī-pariṇaya*, (4) *Kaṁsabadha*, (5) *Kolāsurabadhopākhyānām*, (6) *Kṛṣṇacharitropākhyāna*.

We shall have occasion to say more about these plays later.

Influence of Bengal Vaiṣṇava Cult: From the theme of the above mentioned plays it appears that the rulers were passing under the influence of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism which flourished following the preaching of Chaitanya and his devotees. At about the time when Jiva Svāmī, Rūpa Svāmī and others were preaching the cult of *Bhakti*, a large number of Bengali scholars had gone to Nepal. Obviously the message of *Bhakti* was carried by them. The voluminous literature which Bengal produced on *Bhakti-mārga* surely reached Nepal. This literature appears to be

also the source of inspiration dominant in the Valley of Nepal for our period.

But Nepal's tradition of piety and devotion had been the most important factor all the same in this as many other spheres of activities.

(E)

The Tirthas (Sacred places): In his inscription commemorating the occasion of completing the new tank known today as Rāṇipokharī which king Pratāpamalla constructed in the memory of his son on 790 *Āśvina śukla 15 uttarabhadra nakṣatre dhruva yoge somavāra* he mentions several places of sanctity both within and outside Nepal from where water had been brought and deposited. These are variously, (1) Gaṅgā in Banaras (U.P), (2) Vaidyanāthadhāma (Deoghar, Bihar), (3) R. Bagmati, (4) Saṅkhamūla, (5) R. Gaṇḍakī, (6) R. Kosikī, (7) Sundarijala, (8) Nīlakaṇṭha, (9) R. Viṣṇumatī. (10) Viśvanātha in Kaśi, (11) Naikāpa, (12) Vāgśvara, (13) R. Manamatī, (14) Saṅkhadaha (near Chāṅgu, a lake), (15) Kāgeśvara, (16) Bāgmatitāla, (17) Sapanatīrtha, (18) Kaumatī, (19) Ngasutu, (20) Bālanīlakaṇṭha, (21) Tyāṅgā, (22) Mashira, (23) Thapapi, (24) Saptakosiki, (25) Taudaha, (26) Kvatuvāra, (27) Mātātīrtha, (28) Indradaha, (29) Gokarṇa, (30) Jñānavāpi, (31) Pasukuṇḍa(?), (32) Sitākuṇḍa, (33) Tekhudovan, confluence of the rivers Bagmatī and Viṣṇumatī, (34) Hanumanta ghat in Bhatgaon, (35) Golahitidaha, (36) Jvālāmukhi, (37) Muktiṣetra, (38) R. Kālīgaṇḍakī, (39) R. Seti Gaṇḍakī, (40) R. Sarayu (U.P. India), (41) Malikā, (42) Pātāla Gaṅgā, (43) Prayāga, where 3 rivers meet in U.P. India, (44) Kamaleśvarī, (45) Sapta Gaṇḍakī, (46) Varāhakṣetra, (47) Gaṅgā Sāgara in the Bay of Bengal, (48) The Sea probably the Bay of Bengal, (49) Anantaliṅga, (50) Sipādol, (51) Pannauti, (52) Techapa. Of these *Tirthas* (1), (2), (10), (30), (32), (42), (43) (47), (48) are situated in different parts of India. The rest are all in the region between R. Gaṇḍakī and R.

Kośī and though some of these lie outside the political frontiers of the three kingdoms of the Nepal Valley, these must have been regarded as *tīrthas* in the vicinity easily approachable.

All of the sacred sites situated within modern Nepal can be located, for these do yet retain their importance as centres of pilgrimage, Rivers Bagmati, (3) Viṣṇumati, (9) Manimati, (13) Saptakośī, (24) Sapta Gaṇḍakī, (45) Kāli Gaṇḍakī, (38) Seti Gaṇḍakī, (39) are too well known, and distinctly marked in the map so as not to require further notice at this stage but other places mentioned (in the inscription) might require identification. This is, however, an easy task because the old names of the spots concerned are as yet retained. For example (4), (7), (8), (11), (12), (14), (15), (17), (20), (21), (25), (26), (27) (29), (33), (34), (37), (49), (51) and (52) have the same name as these bore before. Nīlakaṇṭha is a lake which is known as Gosaiñthān these days. It lies about fifty miles north of the Valley, situated at the foot of the 26 thousand ft. high mountain of that name. It is the source of the river Triśulī Gaṇḍak. Śaṅkhamūla is on the bank of the river Bagmati, a mile north of the city of Patan, which again occupies a site facing the confluence of the rivers Bagmati and Manohara (Manamati). Pannauti outside the Valley lying to its south east about 10 miles from Kathmandu is a trademart on the confluence of two rivers. It is known as Prayag of Nepal. Sundarijal is a tributary of Bagmati at a site on the 7000 ft. high mountain as the latter takes the southerly course over the slope of the hills. Vāgeśvara is the name applying to the source of the Bagmati. Techapa is a small pond on the southern slope of the Svayambhu hill. Śaṅkhadaha is also a pond on the hill just a few feet below the sanctuary of Chaṅgu Nārāyaṇa. Sapana *tīrtha* is a small pond to the west of Tokhā. Komati is the site known as Kumbheśvara in the city of Patan. Bālānīlakaṇṭha is the sanctuary known as Bālāju at the foot of the Nagarjong hill about 2 miles north of Kathmandu. Budhānīlakaṇṭha is the

image of Viṣṇu lying on a reclining pose in the midst of a pond at a site about 7 miles north of Kathmandu. Tyanga has a pond considered sacred and this lies about 6 miles south of Patan further below Chapagaon. Taudaha was a small lake but is now getting dry. Its situation is just to the south of the famous gorge of Chobar through which the Bagmati passes. Anantaliṅgeśvara is a phallus image overlooking a small pond, which lies about 4 miles southeast of Patan on the hill site at the outskirts of the Valley. Sipādol lies at the foot of the hill in between Patan and Anantaliṅgeśvara. We have a small pond there where pilgrims take bath on a particular day. Kvatuval lies to the south of Pharping on the hill. It is a pond which is connected by the legend with the coming of Machhendranātha to Nepal. Mātātīrtha lies about eight miles due west of Kathmandu which is quite close to Thankoṭ. Tekhudovan is the name given to the site occupied by the rivers Bagmati and Viṣṇumati. Gokaṛṇa on the river Bagmati lies about 2 miles north of the sanctuary of Paśupatiṅgātha. Hanumanta Ghat is a stony platform on a rivulet at the outskirts of Bhatgaon. Indradaha is a pond on the hill called Dahachok situated due west of Kathmandu. Indradaha is visited during the *Indrajātrā* festival.

Twelve sacred sites are mentioned in the *Svayambhu Purāṇa*. These are Puṇyatīrtha (Gokaṛṇeśvara), Śāntatīrtha (Guhyeśvarī), Śaṅkaratīrtha (Saṅkhamūla), Rājatīrtha (Dhantila, at Kuriyāgāon, bank of the Bagmati), Manorathatīrtha (near Tokha on the river Viṣṇumati), Nirmalatīrtha on a site at the confluence of the river Viṣṇumati and another rivulet called Bhāchākhusi, to the northwest of the city of Kathmandu, Nidhānatīrtha called also Lakhutīrtha on the other side of the river Viṣṇumati near the temple of Kaṅkeśvarī in Kathmandu.

Jñānatīrtha, the same as Tekhudovan, Chintāmaṇītīrtha on Bagmati near Pachali Bhairava, Pramodatīrtha at a site

called Daniga on the bank of the river Bagmati about half a mile south of Tekhudovan. Nakhukholā about a mile south of the city of Patan is the 11th of the sacred centres. Cho-bar known as Sulakṣaṇatīrtha is the site over a gorge cut by the river Bagmati about 3 miles south of Kathmandu.

According to *Nepālamāhātmya* the following sites should be treated as sacred. Altogether 166 *tīrthas* are mentioned. Some of these belong to sites on the bank of the river Bagmati right from its source down to its lower reaches in the Valley. Gokarṇa, Uttara Gaṅgā and Vāsuki *tīrthas* are around the site what is known as Gokarṇeśvara today. Others such as Jñānavāpi, Rudrasahasradhārā, Chandrabhāgā and Āryatīrtha and Vāṇagaṅgā are on the bank below the temple of Paśupatinātha. The last is the place where a rivulet joins the Bagmati. More others are situated near the shrine of Guhyeśvarī. Hanumattīrtha, Śaṅkhamūl, Kumbheśvara, Chāṅgu and Śāṅkhu (temple of Vajrayoginī) are some of the *tīrthas* a little farther away from the Bagmati.

Most of the *tīrthas* mentioned in Pratāpamalla's inscription or in *Skandapurāṇa* have their own presiding deities. We must not forget that the importance of the *tīrthas* is there because of their presence.

The *tīrthas* of *Svayambhupurāṇa* might not have deities, but the *stūpa* of Svayambhu and other *chaityas* as well as those Viṣṇu images and Śaivaliṅgas regarded as *Vitarāgas* and *tathāgatas* were the objects of veneration and pilgrims visited the sites on many occasions. We may repeat the names of the so named Viṣṇu images and Phallus, (1) Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa, (2) Kumbheśvara, (3) Paśupatinātha, (4) Bhasmeśvara, (5) Budhānilakaṅṭha, (6) Anantaliṅgeśvara and a few more. All these are well known deities receiving wide devotion from the populace.

The 64 *liṅgas* given in the annexe of the *Himavatkhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa* are objects of worship for the Śaivite

laity. These are scattered at many points in the Valley and on the outskirts.

Acts of Piety: We have seen in the course of our narrative that the people were devoted to religion and spent their earnings on building temples, performing *pūjās* and *yajñas* and making donations to deities and creating endowments for their worship. They also built rest-houses for the pilgrims, such as *Dharmaśālās* or *Satal* and one room is known as *Paṭṭikā* or *Pāṭi*. As resting place for the weary travellers a benchlike structure called *pharecha* with shelter was also provided by the pious ones. A construction of water conduits to provide drinking water to thirsty pedestrians formed another part of the religious and pious deeds. All these pious deeds were also performed to perpetuate the memory of their departed relations. These were performed under a notion that the departed would be benefited if acts of piety stood in their name.

We have from an inscription that one Viśvanātha repaired a *Pāṭi* with the image of Gaṇeśa in it and this was completed on 777 in the month of Marga and dedicated to his late son. A donor set up images of Uma-Maheśvara on the wall at Sunṭol of the city of Patan on 790 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 2 jyeṣṭhā nakṣatre budhavāra*, the object being to secure a place in heaven for his departed father.

The outer wall of the precincts of Jala Vināyaka at Chobar has a stone inscription. The inscription records the building of *Viśrāmaśālā* (rest-house) for those who came to pay homage to Koina Gaṇeśa. The building was the gift of Śrīnivāsa-malla's daughter Kīrtimaṅgalā and her husband Amarasiṃha. It was formally opened on NS 808 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa ekādaśī revati nakṣatre āyuṣmāna yoga kujavāra* (Tuesday).

Bhavānīśaṅkara Bhāro built a temple and set up the images of Bhavānī Śaṅkara and Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa in the name of his departed parents. The ceremony was held with 24 hour *yajña* on 797 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 12 svāti nakṣatra śobhana*

yoga budhavāra and was attended by Jaya Śrinivāsamalla and Yoganarendramalla. The donor in an inscription of a *Pāṭī* near the temple of Nārāyaṇa in Sumadhiṭol (Bhatgaon) states that on 751 *Āṣaḍha vadi 7* he set up certain images in a temple, among them was that of Mahābhairava in the name of his father, of Mahālakṣmī in the name of his son and Siddhi Vināyaka in his own name. One Harirāma built a *pharechā* with the image of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa in the memory of his parents on 797 *Vaiśākha śukla 4* (Inscription on a *pāṭī* in front of the *Chaitya* in Inaichiṭol, Ṭhimi). A *pharechā* was constructed by Kāśirāma Bhāro and his wife in Jyanaṭol Bhatgaon on 802 *Bhādra kṛṣṇa 1* to please his *iṣṭadevatā*, tutelary deity, desiring their own happiness and emancipation (Inscription of the date on the said *pāṭī*).

Rāmachandra Upādhyā, a priest of Nṛpendramalla, built a temple and set up there a phallus known after his own name on 796 *Āṣaḍha śukla 8*. He commemorated the occasion by setting up a stone inscription.

As it appears sometimes pious deeds were performed for one's own happiness in this world and for a place in heaven after death.

According to an inscription a *dharmasālā* was built to please God Hari Śaṅkara on 878 *Pauṣa śukla ṣaṣṭī ādityavāsare* (Inscription on a stone of a *pāṭī* in Kijaṭol, Bhaktapur) with the object of securing happiness in this world and a place in heaven in the next world.

The following stone inscriptions give us information about the construction of a *pharechā* in the Bhatgaon area: (1) on the wall of a *Pāṭī* in Deguṭol, Ṭhimi, dated 776 *Mārga śukla 15 somadine*; (2) on the *pāṭī* of Themilṭol, Bode dated 777 *Śrāvaṇa vadi 13*; (3) in the same townlet on the wall of a *pāṭī* of Yasimkhel, dated 798 *Vaiśākha śukla 3*; on the *pāṭī* of Jyanaṭol dated 802 *Bhādra kṛṣṇa 1*; (4) on a *pāṭī* at Svadhāṭol in Banepā with date 811 *Vaiśākha śukla 15 Somavāra*; (5) on the wall of a *pāṭī* in Jyanaṭol, Bhaktapur with date 820

Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 13 aṣvini nakṣatra ādityavāra; (6) on the wall of a *pāṭī* in the small forest of Gokhurgrama in Dhulikhel, this is dated 854 *Kārtika śukla 5 Saturday* and was constructed to propitiate the God Sphaṭikeśvara. In Ṭhimi in Inayaṭol a *pāṭī* (*maṇḍapa*) was built by the wife of Mānasingh Prajāpati to honour Goddess Inayakva (*Siddhikālī*) on 831 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 9 uttarabhadra nakṣatra ayuṣmān yoge aṅgāra-vāsare* (A stone inscription on the *pāṭī*).

The practice was also followed under the influence of Guvāju priests. We have already described how temples and images of Buddhist deities were set up at different centres by devotees. According to an inscription of Kīrtipur a temple enshrining the image of Lokeśvara with his Tārā was erected by a donor in the name of his wife (804 *Śrāvaṇa śukla 8 śukravāra* etc). In Siga sanctuary in Kathmandu a devotee donated some land in 666 for the worship of the *Chaitya* in order to ensure his happiness in this world and also in the next. Instances can be multiplied and there are numerous records which show pious acts done with the objective.

Christianity: Our account of religion and piety in Medieval Nepal will not be complete if we miss to include in it references to the many Christian missions which visited Nepal in this period, and which it must be said in fairness to the rulers of the country, enjoyed under sacred charters the right to preach their religion except on occasions while popular feeling had run too high against them to compel the authorities to withdraw the injunctions earlier sanctioned. By and large the official attitude towards Christianity was tolerant, and Christian missionaries were allowed to go freely, preach their religion and even convert people into their fold if they used no coercion for the purpose.

Christian Missions: We reproduce a set of three paragraphs to give an account of the first Jesuit travellers who earlier passed through Nepal. Although it is not as relevant but it may serve to give idea of the fact that three were

missionaries travelling through our country, who had left an account of contemporary state of affairs.

“As far as can be determined by historians, Father John Cabral of the Society of Jesus was the first European to visit Nepal. In 1628, in the bitter cold of a Himalayan January, he was the first ever to see and report on this mountain kingdom. And it is remarkable that Father Cabral entered Nepal from the north, returning to India from Lhasa as he had heard of the kingdoms and peacefulness of the land of Nepal. This was in great contrast to the shorter route through Bhutan where disorder, robbers and troubles were in abundance.

“John Cabral was born in 1599 at Celorica in Portugal and joined the Society of Jesus in 1615, arriving in India in 1624 A.D. With Father Stephen Cacella he was in Lhasa in January 1628, an extraordinary journey into undiscovered and unknown regions. After a few days in the main city of Tibet, he started back to India with a guide from the king of Tibet to pass into Nepal. He had letters and presents for the king of Nepal with a request that every help be given to Father Cabral on his way to Patan.

“We are left to guess the hardship of this dauntless Jesuit Cabral on his winter journey. The facts of climate and mountains make it most certain that trip over tiny paths and obscure passes buried under deep snow at high altitudes, required great zeal and exceptional grit. Close to Mount Everest he passed through Nilam and Kuṭi Pass, China and Tibet have many gates. Thus was made known for the first time the city of Kathmandu, and Nepal”.

However, the first reference by a Jesuit Missionary about Nepal was by Father D'andrada in 1622 about Nepal's goldsmiths and artisans working in Champarang¹⁵⁹ in west Tibet.

159 On the other side of the Himalayas beyond the present Jumla. Read C. Wassels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603-1721*,

Rev. H. Hosten reproduces a letter of the Portuguese Viceroy in Goa to the King of Nepal recommending certain unnamed fathers to the care of the latter. This letter is dated Goa, the 23rd of February 1667. But we do not know if any Jesuit had visited Nepal about that year. It is possible that the proposed visit never took place. But this shows that the Jesuits were also mindful about opening a sanctuary in Nepal to preach Christianity,¹⁶⁰ though it seems that their desire did not materialise.

*Capuchin Padris in Nepal:*¹⁶¹ At this stage we intend to introduce a brief narrative of the Capuchin Mission's activities in the three kingdoms of the Nepal Valley. Somewhere in the preceding section, we referred to one Joao Cabral visiting Nepal through Bhutan in the first month of 1628, who was a Portuguese by nationality. In the same place we also said that Father Grueber was the second visitor. Both these were Jesuit missionaries. It appears that since 1662 the date of the visit of Grueber to 1715, there were several European monks coming to Nepal, but no missionary activity was visible during all these years, as no Jesuit or Capuchin had come to establish a permanent mission in Nepal.¹⁶² In January 1715, the first Capuchin mission had been established in Kathmandu. This mission consisted of Father Della Penna, Giuseppe Feliceda Morre and Giovanni Franciscoda Fossombrono.

Published at Hague, 1924, pp. 154, 157, for Grueber and pp. 43-68 for Father Antonio Andrade; *Account of Tibet by Desideri*, Chapter XV.

160 *JASB*, 1938 (Third Series), IV, p. 167.

161 Cabral wrote that Father Diaz died on November 3, 1631 in the kingdom of Morang. In 1707 two Capuchins passed through Nepal to go to Lhasa. They were followed by one Father Dominic de Fano in 1709 (Wessels, op. cit., p. 223). But they could not stay for a long time in Tibet for want of necessities and left the country in despair.

162 Letter by da Morro, dated Kathmandu, 10th Nov. 1716. At about the sametime Father Freyre who had left the company of Desideri to go back to his country had passed through Nepal on his way to Agra and he had also reported about the epidemic of plague raging in the Valley.

These men distributed medicines and in that course they befriended many people in Nepal and were able to establish intimate contacts with influential men of the place. They also obtained a house to reside from the then reigning King. In March 1716 the fourth missionary to come, Father Domenico, reported that the situation was apparently favourable for his stay. The Kathmandu mission had by that time set up a contact also with King Bhūpatīndramalla of Bhatgaon. But the next year, the mission faced a severe crisis, as a result of which they had to slow down their pace in regard to the work of conversion. This crisis arose because the Brāhmaṇas of Kathmandu had revolted on the 18th of July, 1716 and rose to attack the missionaries. Although the rulers pacified them on the assurance that the Christian missionaries were not being helped financially or otherwise, this incident put the missionaries on the alert about the recurrence of such troubles in future. The year 1716 was even otherwise a year of crisis. There was an epidemic of small-pox spread throughout the length and breadth of the valley of Nepal as a whole, which took a toll of 20,000 lives. There was food scarcity and the cost of living was too high.¹⁶³ Eventually, the Capuchin mission was compelled to cut short their personnel. The Prefect Father Penna left Kathmandu, retaining Fathers Morre and Fossombrono to look after the job, one of these being assigned the duty of keeping in touch with Bhatgaon.

It appears that Nepal now had come to be the exclusive field of action for the Capuchin missionaries. The Jesuits had not tried to maintain more than a lingering interest in this country, which allowed them a convenient passage to

¹⁶³ Letter by da Morrow, dated Kathmandu, 10th November, 1716. At about the sametime Father Freyre who had left the company of Desideri to go back his country had passed through Nepal on his way to Agra and he had also reported about the epidemic of plague raging in the Valley.

Tibet. Up till then the Jesuits had been active only in Tibet. But since 1716 A.D. there were political disturbances in Tibet. The Dalai Lama had sought Chinese help as against the Mongols who had killed both the temporal and spiritual rulers of the country (December, 1717). By taking advantage of the situation the Chinese wanted to impose their suzerainty over this area, which they succeeded by supporting the new Dalai Lama. Father Desideri who was living in Lhasa in those days wrote that the people had risen in revolt against the Mongols, and the Dalai Lama was being backed by the Chinese who had sent their army to fight the Lama's adversaries. He reported a state of mass uprising all over Tibet, which was calmed only when the Dalai Lama was restored. But all this had made his stay in Tibet impossible. The Chinese suspected his movement. He was ordered to confine his movement within limits of a particular village called Takpo'-Khier adjacent to the capital. Later after nearly three years in the summer of 1721 he was asked to leave the country. At about this time Desideri was also asked by the Holy Congregation of Propaganda to leave Tibet, as the Capuchin mission had obtained exclusive right of preaching in Tibet. While Desideri was about to leave, some Capuchin Padris had reached Tibet. Earlier in October 1716 three Capuchin Fathers, Dominico da Fano, Draziodella Penna, and Francesco Fossombrono reached Lhasa, and met Desideri at his lodge to say that they had demanded from Rome to be left with the sole charge of the mission. Father Desideri had lived six years in Tibet all alone to learn hungrily about its language and religion.¹⁶⁴ With his departure the last Jesuit was removed from Tibet.

Father Desideri on his way back passed through Nepal (while going he had taken the more circuitous route, via Ladakh and West Tibet). He reached the border about the

164 *Account of Tibet* by Desideri Ippolito, London 1931, Introduction, pp 28-30, BK III (the whole of it).

end of May but did not proceed further to avoid malarial fever which people contracted in the rainy season, while passing through the beds of the rivers. Of his two companions both of the Capuchin mission, one Father Da Morro left Listi on May 30, to reach Kathmandu earlier. The other fellow by name Felice da Montechhio, accompanied Desideri. This father had just reached Kuti being expelled from Lhasa as soon as he had reached there. Both the Fathers left Listi on December 14 and reached Kathmandu on the 27 of the same month. They were received at the Capuchin sanctuary of Kathmandu. After living there for a few days (upto the 20th January) Father Desideri resumed his journey to Rome accompanied by a Capuchin Padre.¹⁶⁵

Father Desideri has left an account of his experience of his travels and there are important references to Nepal also in the account which we propose to touch wherever according to the subject they deal with as they have to be referred in the treatment.

In 1722 the missionaries in Kathmandu were expelled suddenly and they went to Bhatgaon, where they got a house for temporary residence. Giovanni Francisco left for Europe in 1723 and was replaced by Francisco Antonio da Cingoli. Another father Francisco da Cagli joined the latter. Now the work was being pursued in Bhatgaon, but lack of money and fresh padris went to discourage the mission. By 1731, the mission's activity had come to a standstill. One father died, another being left alone looked helpless. The third man, Serafino da Cibitanova, had gone to Chandranagar. As soon as the news of this sad state of affairs reached Lhasa, the Capuchin mission in Tibet sent the Prefect Della Penna to revive the mission in Nepal. He arrived in Kathmandu with some Newar converts. The reason for preferring hostile Kathmandu to friendly Bhatgaon is not explicit in the circumstances. But if this was a mistake, the father had to

¹⁶⁵ Wessels, op. cit. pp. 270 ff.

pay for it by imprisonment for five months. Father Penna was released only after a good deal of persuasion. In 1734, he and others left for Patan abruptly closing the mission.

The next attempt for rehabilitation was made in 1737, when in October of that year Father Gioachino da S. Anatolia secured a residential quarter in Bhatgaon from its king who also gave them a large bell for the sanctuary weighing 30 seers.¹⁶⁶ King Jayaprakāśmalla of Kathmandu also promised a favour of that type, but this was not fulfilled till 1741.

We have a document signed by Jayaprakāśamalla granting privilege of religious liberty to Capuchin Fathers. We produce a Translation of this document immediately hereafter. This will show that although the premises as originally intended were not sanctioned, yet the missionaries had been able to obtain a charter of liberty. This document¹⁶⁷ is dated 14 October, 1737 (857 *Asvin vadi 15*).

“Salutations to him whose hairs have turned grey with the dust of the venerated Paśupati; who is elevated with honour because he shines in favour obtained as a gift of the venerated, who is his protecting divinity; who has Hanuman as his emblem, who is the ruler of Nepal, regal among king and king of kings, who is accompanied by the constant blessings of the queen of the Gods who is his divine protectress, who is the master of elephants coming from the home of elephants having been captured by him by his own valour; the most noble victorious Jayaprakāśamalla.”

Deva, lord and master of the Supreme emperors who always wins in battles, he has kindly condescended to grant a passport. Though the others were whispering that the previous activities of the fathers were bad, we have not listened to this. The Father Francisco Orozio and Father Gioacchino of the order of Cappuccini have submitted a petition; as we had designed to glance through their sacred

166 The donation is mentioned in a copper plate with date 858 *Kārtika Sudi 7*.

167 Inscription in our Appendix.

books, they venerate this God who is the lord of creation and destruction and these sacred books are good; this I declare—I have called for both these Fathers Gioacchino and Vito who were at Patan. No one may harm anyone who may follow their way of life. In case any French or English or Dutch missionary should come no other duty more than the customary applicable to all should be levied. No one may harm them, as they are respectable people. The witnesses of this document are the noble Rajya Prakāśamalla Deva and Thākur Sri Devanarendra, the honourable teacher of the king. Given on the 15th day of the dark half of the month of Aśvina of the year 857”.

Father Anatolla wrote in a letter from Bhatgaon on 20 October, 1737 that he had established himself in Bhatgaon in February on repeated requests from the king who had sent his relatives to fetch him. He wrote “Bhavāni Datta Bhaju with a letter from the king of Bhatgaon came to Patan requesting the Fathers to go back there. The order to the bearer was that even if he were to stay one or two years he should not come back without the missionaries. A few days later I also received from the king of Kathmandu and from the Rājguru a similar letter. Yet one more letter from Krisnasimha Pradhan and Darshansimha Pradhan added to the persuasion. These two persons dealt in herbs and medicines and because of their contact with us had made fortune on that account. Although I was unwilling and there were difficulties of the road I thought I should go. I felt my knowledge of Newari will go in vain if I do not pursue my activity in Nepal”,¹⁶⁸

In 1740 (May 12-15) another Padri Father, Costantino Da Loro writes to say “King Raṇajitamalla gave us an interview. He was seated on a pedestal. We sat on the ground. He was dressed in white and there was a scarlet cap on his head. He wore embroidered slippers (chappals).

168 *Italiani Missionari, etc, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 13.*

The king gave us permission to put a cross on the roof of our house. This was the first occasion that such a permission was obtained. Up to this time there was no resident Father in Bhatgaon".¹⁶⁹ In this year, Raṇajitamalla granted them a charter with a royal decree for the occupation of the house and for the full enjoyment of freedom of conscience, religion, worship, preaching and conversion. The charter was issued in the name of Father Vito of Recananti and is dated 11 *Mārga śudi* 861 (=28 November, 1740).¹⁷⁰ At the time the third Capuchin Mission led by Father Horace de Penna arrived in Bhatgaon on 6, February 1740, the parish was being looked after by Father Joachim and Father Vito de Recananti. On Father Joachim accompanying the Prefect to Lhasa, his place was taken by Father Innocent and Father Liborius.

It seems that the branch stationed in Bhatgaon had a smooth sailing. It had a record of unhampered work. But the one in Kathmandu had a chequered career. Although it was enabled to obtain a charter, it often was subjected to ill-treatment. In 1753 its leader was thrown into prison. But the Kathmandu branch had its own importance. It was treated at par with that of Bhatgaon. So the ill-treatment had been compensated. But Patan always remained a secondary seat of the mission.

When the third mission sailed for Rome, Father Vito da Recanato was one of the three Fathers including Father Edward ultimately taking charge of the mission. Father Joseph Mary of Rovata alias Giuseppe (see also Levi, I, p. 115) was one of the missionaries of the third Capuchin Mission. In the account of the mission given by Father Cassian on Capuchin Fathers rediscovered 25 years ago and published in an Italian Journal we know that a Newar convert Turibhaju and three other Nepalese had also accom-

169 Ibid, p. 15; Levi, I, p. 103; also see the Patna Mission Letter.

170 *Italiani Missionari*. Ibid. p. 222. See for the original.

panied them to Rome (Catholicus, Allahabad February, 1941, Reprint from the Patna Mission Letter).

Above we gave a reprint of Jayaprakāśamalla's first charter. Let us now reproduce Raṇajitamalla's charter.

Raṇajitamalla's charter is thus drafted: "Grant by virtue of the following to all European Fathers to enable them to preach, teach and convert to their religion the people subject to us, men and women equally. We allow our subjects permission to embrace the law of the European Fathers without fear of their being molested by us or by those who have some authority in our kingdom. Nor the Fathers will receive any annoyance from us and will not be prevented in their ministry. However, all this must be done without violence and of pure and free will. Thus it is, Casinat (Kasinatha), the doctor was the writer. Grisman Frough, Governor General confirms it. Bisorage, (Visvaraja) great priest, confirms and approves it....."¹⁷¹

To continue the story of the mission we gather that in 1745 A.D the Capuchin missionaries were expelled from Lhasa. Father Horace de Penna who was sick with dropsy and his party were the last to leave Lhasa and passed through Kuti. They reached Patan on the 4th of June 1725 and 40 days after on the 20th of July (7 P.M) he died and was buried in the cemetery on the side of the wall in the north of the area (his burial is not traced) allotted to the Christian Missionary.

Three members in the third mission with Father Cassian had left Tibet on the 13th August in 1742 (for his account of the arrival and dates of Horace's death see *Ralation in edita et Memorie Istoriche*).¹⁷² His account tallies with that of

171 Also read for such Charters in Newari character Rev. Fr. Felix's article on the Newari (etc) Firmans granted to the Capuchin Missionaries in Nepal (and Tibet). In *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Volume VIII, 1912, pp. 325-32.

172 Catholicus, September 1941, p. 40. Father Hilarion says 'it ordinarily took a fortnight to reach Bhatgaon from the frontier outpost of Kuti. There was only a footpath and no bridges over rivers.'

Father Hilarion Michael; a Newar convert residing at Lhasa accompanied Father Horace to Nepal. By that time, however, the Nepal Mission was firmly established also in Kathmandu with another royal charter of Jayaprakāśa, which allowed them to occupy a sanctuary with a spacious building and land (NS 862=17th December, 1741). They occupied a building with a beautiful garden and a central courtyard (See Levi's reproduction of a Charter (I, p. 110). The priest was Father Innocent de Ascoti. The Charter is as follows:—

“Hail the king Jayaprakāśamalla—his head is dusty from the pollen of lotus feet of divine Pashupati; the saintly Manesvari, his favourite divinity, has conceded him the favour of his graces which raises his dignity to the highest point of splendour, he is the descendant to the highest race, he is the grain of beauty of the solar dynasty, he bears Hanumat as his standard; he is sovereign of Nepal, king sovereign of the great kings, emperor and conqueror—consents to assign as an establishment to padris Kapuchinis (Capuchins) a beautiful garden located in the Cromtu¹⁷³ Tole, at Sithali, in an unoccupied spot and further more a quadrangular mansion with two storeys (floors also). The boundaries of the spot are, to the west of the house of Jaya Dharmasimha, to the south of the house of Dhumju and of Curyadhana and of Purenovara, to the east and north of the great highway. And here is the extent of the land assigned; for the house itself, the measurement usually fixed for four houses, plus 16 cubits (arm's length), 7 fingers in width and for the yard in the interior of the house, three fourths of the ordinary space of a house plus 12 cubits and half, excluding a path of access, private, which measures the three-fourths of the superficial area of the plot of a house, plus 22 cubits. For the garden, the area allotted is equivalent to that of 13 houses and three-fourths plus 3 cubits and four fingers in width. These are the limits. Was witness Rājyaprakāśamalla Deva, year 862, month Margacira, fortnight clear, 10th day”.¹⁷⁴

Ten years after in 1754 (=874 *Chaitra vadi 6*) Rājyaprakāśa gave them a beautiful garden and a quadrangular house of four storeys in Patan above the fountain of Tan'ngra Tole

173 Otutol.

174 Hodgson's Collection in the *JBAS*, XVII, 1848, p. 228; Levi, I, p. 110. The Charter was traced by Hodgson in Patan.

with the boundaries: 'to the west of the route of Char (of Matsyendranātha), to the north of the path Tva Bahal, to the east of the plot of Kayaethakacim gla, south of the house and grounds of Amvarasin Babu. In all for the house, the area of six ordinary houses plus 38 cubits and for the garden, the area of 14 houses plus 21 cubits.'¹⁷⁵

About Father Horace's epitaph in Father Hilarion's account the reproduction given in *Catholicus*, (September, 1941) brings clear the date of his death XX Julii, MD CCXLV, which could mean 20th July, 1745 A.D.

Let us now come to the actual line "The Rev. Father born in 1680 A. D. having spent thirty-three years he died aged 65 years" in the epitaph. From the wording of the inscription it appears that he died in 1745 A. D. Georgi's reproduction of the Latin inscription, however, gives XX Julii MDCCXLVII (Georgi of Rome compiled).

But the Newari inscription shows *Samvat* 865 and *vadi* 6 of *Āṣāḍha*. The date may fall in July. Therefore, *Samvat* 865 would show without doubt the year 1745 A. D.¹⁷⁶

When Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shāh invaded the Nepal Valley there were Father Seraphin de Come, Father Michael Ange of Tabiago, Father Jean-Albert de Massa and Father Joseph de Rovato in Kathmaṇḍu. The Patan establishment was wound up. In the beginning of the seige the Gorkhā ruler had not interfered in their activities, but after Kinloch's expedition suspicions grew of their intentions and activities and then there was regular interception and interference leading ultimately to their expulsion on the 4th of February 1769 A. D. after the occupation.¹⁷⁷ It is said that one of the

175 See for the original, *Italiani Missionari*, etc. Vol. II, Pt. IV, p. 229.

176 Levi, I, fn. to p. 108.

177 One Father wrote in this connection, "This move by the English towards Nepal greatly increased our tribulations with the king of Gorkhā, for he falsely suspected that the English had been

Fathers, Michael Angelo was friendly with the Gorkhālis and at one time treated Pṛthvinārāyaṇa's brother Surapratāpa, who was wounded in the battle.¹⁷⁸ But this did not help him to continue his stay in Nepal.

It appears that in the Nepal Valley the work of the Capuchin Mission came to an abrupt end in 1767 A. D. and there was little influence of Christianity left there when they left the country. The mission had a chequered career. Even when they obtained royal patronage for preaching and conversion late in the forties of the 18th century, they could make little progress in respect of attracting the people through their message. The tradition and genius of the people proved formidable against their accepting Christian religion as such. Hardly a dozen persons had been brought to the fold of Christianity in course of a period of a quarter century, which indirectly reflex the failure of the mission.¹⁷⁹ As in Tibet, so in Nepal the Capuchin Fathers had failed to gain ground and achieve the objectives.

The last few pages of the present Volume contain excerpts on Nepal from the account of some of the visiting missionaries who had at the time trekked the Nepal road to reach the Tibetan border through Kathmandu or back to the Nepalese capital from Lhasa. Apart from the merits or demerits of the Capuchin case, the fact of their leaving an account which threw light on the itinerary and social and

called by us; though all his experience was to the contrary, he thought that all Europeans were of the same kind and that with them the authority of the Fathers extended over military undertakings; taking the measure, I believe, in these ideas of his, from what his Brahmins were doing for him." (Letter, December, 1769 A. D).

178 The Charters and related documents appear in the Second Volume of Nuovo Rumusio's I, *Missionari Italiani Nel Tibet e nel Nepal* edited by L. Petech, pp. 217-31.

179 The missionaries claimed that they converted more than 300 souls but all these were decrepit children and dying babies and uncared for old agers.

economic condition of the territories concerned is of much importance to a historian.

From these we learn many things of historical value. A few of them had also tried to learn Sanskrit and Newari languages and through their efforts certain mythological treatises were made available to Europeans. Thus Father da Ganguano translated *Adi adma Ramaon (Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa) Viṣṇu Puraṇa* and *Ghiana Sagar (Gyāna Sāgar)*. From Father Marc's description we learn that *Buddha Purāṇa* was also translated. But this is missing.¹⁸⁰

All these, however, must be contrasted with the narrow outlook exhibited by certain others, which made them all confined to the work they had in hand even to the extent of being blind to their surroundings and to what occurred in the immediate vicinity in their presence. If some of the Fathers had left accounts of their travels, some of which have historical importance, not all of these could be taken without a grain of salt. They are not only characterised by paucity of details and ignore facts of social and economic problems, sometimes they become too stereotyped to give only a limited description of the track concerned and nothing else. From the following account it will also appear that the most bigot of the Fathers took delight in destroying valuable texts of religious and cultural value, which they wrongly took to have been essential for the propagation of Christianity. In that course a good number of ms. works were mercilessly torn to pieces and burnt. We have certainly felt very much impoverished in our knowledge of the Nepalese history for want of data that were very probably existing in the extinguished materials.

An Englishman Captain Rose had drawn up a vivid description about Father Joseph's activity in this direction.

"I met by chance the few Italian Missionaries who were recently expelled from Nepal. I feathered myself in being

180 *Missionari Italiani*, Vol II, Part I. Introduction.

able to obtain useful information from them; I was badly deceived, their prefect, who seemed to be the cleverest, was not able to give me the slightest information on a locality or an object situated outside the town wherein he lived. And yet he had lived in the country for twelve years. But, to show me his missionary zeal he told me that he had burnt 3,000 manuscripts during his sojourn there. It is a lucky fortune that the poor Capuchin has not had the occasion to exercise any longer on the Nepalese collections his pious ravages." Sylvain Levi has his own comment on this sorrowful tale. "The meeting of Father Joseph and of Captain Rose on this corner of foreign earth, contrasted in a sharp episode to two tendencies of the XVIIIth century. Rose represented the encyclopaedia and preceded the generation (in the near future) of the first "Indianists." Busy with a topographical chart of the Terrai, he had immediately attempted to snatch from the still mysterious past of India a part of her secret." I found among the mountaineers, "he wrote to a friend, "several manuscripts among others, a history 3,000 years old, I am convinced that in order to find out their real ancient history of the country. I am with confident attempting at present to translate several "Father Joseph would have condemned these words, but William Jones would have willingly countersigned them."¹⁸¹

Strictly speaking the history of the Capuchin mission as far as Nepal was concerned was literally closed in 1789 A. D. The missionaries tried up till then to snatch an opportunity to re-enter Nepal. In 1786 they could actually depute one padri to the court of Kathmandu. Next year he was joined by another. But on account of the hostile atmosphere obtaining then in Nepal they had to be called back. These were the last missionaries from overseas to enter Nepal in that period. With these persons recalled, the chapter of Christian work in Nepal is finally closed.

181 Levi, I, pp. 120-21.

Besides the stage plays there were mask dances presented as dramas with classical themes, in which certain divinities of the country were supposed to play the main role. The dance as well as the drama bore a common name. They called both by the name *pyākhañ*. The dance of Harisiddhi was the most notable of the other variety of plays. This was played on a platform either in the palace or on the platforms of some *ṭols* in the cities. These places were traditionally fixed. From the *Thyāsapu A* we learn that the *Trisuladabali*, the cobbled platform at the entrance of the royal palace in Kathmandu provided one such fixed site for the performance of the dance drama. Nṛpendramalla had received the Harisiddhi dance party on *Samvat 800 Māgha śukla 12 ādityavāra* (f. 21). Earlier the dance was played on the *Mūladabali* near the temple of Jayavāgeśvarī in Deopāṭan (f. 21). This was the usual time when the Harisiddhi party visited the capital. We have an information from the *Thyāsapu F* about dance play called '*Gatha pyākhañ*'. The name applies to the dance of Indrayaṇī and other female deities whose temple is situated in localities within the three towns. The dance was so named because the players in it were of a particular caste known as Gaṭhu '*Gatha pyākhañ*' was usually presented to public show during the *Mahani* celebration beginning since Indra Jātrā.

The *Thyāsapu G* has a passage about another dance of divinities, in which Indrayaṇī and Bhairava play the main role. The dance is called *Ikhuna pyākhañ*. The dance according to the *Thyāsapu* was performed during *Phālguna kṛṣṇa*. The deities had received *pūjā* while they were going back home. The *Ikhuna pyākhañ* probably belonged to Bhatgaon.

The *Jatala*, the *Gaṭhu*, the *Ikhuna* dances are such which have divine characters. As such they were treated as a separate category. The actors personified the divinities as long as they acted for them, so they received homage from the audience. The *Thyāsapu F* informs us that at the time of

staging the dance of Harasiddhi, the king of Kathmandu offered to the deity a sacrifice of sheep and buffaloes. This had to be done because a divine character was performing the dance before an audience of mortals.

There were probably other mask dances, the various female deities of the Valley figuring prominently in these. But there is no need to write here more about such dance performances. We shall have occasion to talk more on the subject while we come to deal in general with medieval fine arts of Nepal. We are sure that the account of public entertainments as given in the preceding paragraphs is sufficient for the limited purpose we have in view.

The monarchs freely participated in the social entertainments whether it was a festival or staging of a dance or a drama. We have a passage in the *Thyāsapu F* under date line NS 858 to say that Jayaprakāśamalla had attended a theatrical performance which was shown by his people. The play was *Daiya Kumhara*. We have already said in an earlier passage that the entry of the people into the courtyard designed for that purpose was unrestricted on occasions of festivities. We may not like to add more instances as this is sufficient to stress the point of the king's participation in the many social activities of his people including dramatic performance.

Principal Festivals: Nepal in the middle ages revelled in festivals. Not a day passed when there was not one or the other kind of festivity either in a locality or on a country-wide level all lavishly celebrated in an atmosphere of universal rejoicing. The festivals were seasonal but were dominated by religious considerations, and as such the deities played important roles in them. They offered entertainment as well as an opportunity for the expression of devotional attitude and religious feeling.

Ideas of festivals are obtained from the inscriptions and *Thyāsapus*. But there are positive informations only in

regard to some important festivals and not about all which we were used to hear from the later chronicles. The latter describe in detail the origin and observances of the many festivals that exist today in one form or another, but the story cannot be taken seriously, for quite a few of these do not seem to go back on all obvious accounts to periods mentioned in the chronicles. Doubtlessly some originated quite late, not earlier than the early 19th century A.D., for which we have ample proofs, so that the treatment of these at this stage might be ruled out. We shall confine ourselves to a description of festivals, the existence of which could be established with reference to reliable documents.

A collection of old statement made in the *Pūraṇas*, *Tantras* and *Pārājikās* (Buddhist) on the classical background of the many yearly rituals comprising the festivals of the year is available from a text which the author one Kaṅṭhānanda Upādhyāya calls *Varṣakriyā*. These sources are of Śaivite as well as of Buddhist inspiration. The compiler says 'I salute the goddess Sarasvatī who grants wisdom, and I proceed to write the *Varṣakriyā* after studying the many texts of *Tantras*, *Śrutis*, *Purāṇas* and *Baudhagrantha*'. The author does not say anything about himself nor there is anywhere the date of the compilation of the work. If the date of the work was known the quotations from relevant texts cited in recommendation of the various rites we have to deal with here might have been used as historical materials and it would have been quite easy for us to determine whether the festivals connected with these had existed in our period. However, we have a ground to believe that Upādhyāya's treatise was written while the Malla rulers were still in power. This would establish the date of the composition of the *Varṣakriyā* somewhere in the 17th century. On this reasoning we might suggest that the festivals in question dealt with in our narrative had existed in the 17th century if not earlier. Their importance for us lies in the fact that they all came within the scope of the period, the social history of which is being written in this chapter,

We shall take up important festivals for consideration. At the same time while describing their features we shall start presenting them as they stand at present. This we do believing that the main features of the festivals of the middle ages have not changed. But any festival, the existence of which in our period is doubtful is dropped. In similar vein, we have made every attempt to collect historical evidence for festivals wherever available so that these could be taken on the whole as those of Medieval Nepal of later Malla period.

Although the New Year's day occurred sometime in October-November, the festivals started since March coinciding with the spring seasonal celebrations which in effect herald the new year. The spring festival is celebrated in the three cities but the occasions differ, and there are different dates for these. It so appears that each falls on the New Year's day though apparently the Calendar followed is of diverse character, and therefore the dates of observance differ. So also is the case with the deities associated with the festivals, although in the main the entire pattern of the rituals is linked to the cult of the mother goddess. But in Patan the festival deity is Machhendranātha who is otherwise known as Lokanātha, and is of the Buddhist pantheon.

Pāchare : The Kathmandu festival is known as *Pāchare* or *Pāsāchare*. The word is derived from *pāsāchava*, a corrupt form of *Piśācha Chaturdaśī*. The festival was so named because it was celebrated on the day of *Piśācha Chaturdaśī*, the 14th day of the dark fortnight of *Phālguna* (*Chaitra* in the present Calendar). In Jitāmitramalla's inscription of NS 808 the festival is named *pāsāchava*. *Chare* is the corrupt form of the word *Chaturdaśī*.

The festival lasts for 3 days. The nature of celebration as it might have begun then is not known. At present it starts with the worship of *Luku Mahādeva* in the evening. *Luku Mahādeva* (concealed Lord Śiva) figures in the legend

as to have advised Virupākṣa to swallow hot fluid of the metal lead in order to do penance for the sin he committed in cohabiting with his own mother though it was done in ignorance. Virupākṣa had not seen his mother since his birth. As he grew young he came to be associated with an unknown middle aged lady with whom he had developed sexual relation. He recognised his own mother in the lady after some time but then he had already entered into incestuous relationship with her. The realisation made him to seek penance, and he approached Lord Śiva for advice. However, the penance prescribed by Śiva was so tortuous that it would have killed Virupākṣa. On being told of this Virupākṣa thought that Śiva wanted to kill him and he grew angry and vowed to take Śiva's life, whereupon the latter fled in terror. Being pursued again and again by Virupākṣa, the Lord went in hiding into a hole in a corner at a courtyard in the thickly populated part of the city; the hole was covered under a debris of refuge, therefore Śiva had disappeared and it defied Virupākṣa's wit to trace him out. So he roamed in vain to carry his search in other parts of the locality. When the hot chase of Virupākṣa was over, to people's curiosity a phallus image had appeared peeping from the hole in the courtyard where Śiva lay in hiding. Accidentally the time for the appearance of the image happened to be the evening of the 14th day of the dark fortnight of *Phālguṇa*. People thought that this was an auspicious occasion when the Lord had come of his own accord to visit them. They worshipped the Lord, and as he was the guest of the night he was offered all that the people partook of at the dinner, viz meat, wine, cooked vegetables of onion, garlic, radishes, flowers of radish and mustard. The rite is performed after sunset, and is attended with illumination caused by the burning of numerous oil lamps round the site of *Luku Mahādeva*. The smoke sent by the wicker of the lamps deposited on a lid overhead is used by children as application for the eyes as the same is

considered to cure eye diseases because of its supernatural healing essence.

It is said that Mahādeva was Lord Buddha himself and as Virupākṣa in his long fruitless wandering stricken by fatigue had lost the struggle, he found himself before the Śākyamuni who advised him to adopt Buddhism and live upto his ideals, which he did by becoming his disciple.

This is the Buddhist version of the story. The Śaivite legend has a little different story. It was Mahādeva who had offered to appear as an evil spirit eating and drinking everything meat, garlic, radish, wine etc not hitherto used by him as *devatā*, and this he did at the request of Pārvatī, the Goddess, who herself ate what were not acceptable to her husband and resented his austerity.

The Phallus of *Luku Mahādeva* lies at every courtyard hidden in a hole at one of the corners totally submerged under refuge thrown by the inhabitants and is taken notice of only on the occasion of *Pāchare*. The rest of the time he is forgotten.

Along with the *Pūjā* of *Luku Mahādeva* all the 8 mother goddesses receive oblation from the people. Two of them who are considered important for Kathmandu are singled out for special attention. These are *Lumari* (Vaiṣṇāvī) and *Kaṅga* (Chāmuṇḍā), of whom we have said enough in our discourse of the pantheon.¹⁸² The goddesses are regarded to be sisters, of whom Kaṅga was the youngest. For three days the mother goddesses receive worship on a mass scale both in their original shrines and also while being in their chariots over men's shoulder through the streets and lanes of the city. The three chariots are ever in motion for three successive days, taking rest for a short time after midnight, the evening being their busiest time. On three occasions they

182 A Tantric text, *Aṣṭamātrkāpūjāvidhi*. (DLC, IV, 1034), gives the Sanskritic names of the local deities who are identified with the eight mothers.

come together, once at midnight of the second day and then in the afternoon of the third and last day. *Kaṅga's* chariot when it comes to the meeting place has to be carried over men's shoulders and not placed on the floor until it reaches back to the shrine. The images placed on the chariots belong to the so-called 'houses' of the same deities within the city. These have to be distinguished sharply from the shrines from that are situated on the outskirt. The chariots over their shoulders by men are called *Khaṭs*. This is a temple like structure with sloping roofs on all four sides and a finial on the top. As the three chariots meet, the two of the *Lumari* are placed on the ground facing each other, while the one of *Kaṅga* moves round them three times. Both the meets attract a large crowd of devotees and sight-seers.

The *Pāsāchare* is observed as an occasion of universal rejoicing just on the line of the Daśaharā festival. Animals and birds are sacrificed in the altars of the mother goddesses the flesh serving as food for the sumptuous meals shared in common by relatives and friends assembled on the occasion. There is a festive appearance throughout the town, and men and women of the Newāri community are dressed elegantly visiting temples or places of entertainment.

The antiquity of the *Pāsāchare* festival is obscure. We do not know in what form this was observed while it came to start. It is quite evident that as time passed there were new features added to the original. For examples, the horse race organised on the day at the parade-ground was started by His Highness Mahārāja Jang Bahadur Rana in about 1852 or so, although the running of one horse seems to have in vogue even earlier. The worship of God Śiva in his corrupt form and also the horse race whenever started are said to own their origin to the saying of Lord Śiva cited in the *Mahākāla-tantra*.¹⁸³ But we have no knowledge of the time when rites

183 फाल्गुण कृष्णभूताहे नाम्नाभूतचतुर्दशी । तद्दिने शिवपूजां च
सुरामांसोपचारतः ॥

presented by this variety of the *tantra* was introduced in Nepal. The festival, however, is widely observed by the Newars, universally in Kathmandu and with a simple ceremony elsewhere. The last day of the festival is also the first day of the bright fortnight of Lunar *Chaitra*, which must be the New Year's day while a new *Samvatsara* begins.¹⁸⁴ The day coincided with the advent of the New Year also according to *Śaka amānta* Calendar. People celebrate the occasion with a simple observance taking *nim* (Margosa tree) leaves in the midst of a sumptuous lunch. But this practice is not observed by the Newar community. The practice of celebrating the year must have begun sometime in the 15th century, when for the first time records show dates in terms of the *Śaka* and *Vikrama* eras.

Pasāchavadasa figures as a day of festival in the Bhatgaon copper plate inscriptions¹⁸⁵ of NS 808 and 818. Beyond this, there is no further information about the festival. It may be that the festival came to be celebrated in the 17th century or a little earlier.

The lunar month of *Phālguna* is full of festivals. The *Pāsāchare* was the last of these. But this was preceded by two more festivals, *the Holi* and *Māgha Jātrā*, which however do not seem to have been as much popular in the time under review. We shall have just a passing reference to these two festivals before we deal with the next important festival.

It might be that historically speaking these festivals carry no importance for us as we are yet to establish the fact of their being run in our period. However, as we are also not definite about the exact position, it is proper to describe these festivals as we find them today. May be some

फाल्गुणस्य अमावास्यां महापूजां समाचरेत् अश्वधावनकं कुर्यात् यात्रां
करोतिमानवः

184 But this kind of *Samvatsara* is missing in the calendar of the age.

185 n.98,103 in our Appendix.

documents in future might throw light on the historical importance of these festivals.

The full moon day of the *Māgha* coming 10 days after the *Sarasvatī pūjā* is another festival. The two fortnights, *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa* and *Māgha śukla* together go as a month devoted to Lord Hari. In the morning people of each locality in towns visit their nearest *tīrtha* on the bank of one of the rivers and return home in a procession singing in a chorus songs of prayers in honour of Viṣṇu. At every house women assemble in the evening to hear the story of *Svasthānivrata*. It is a story of demon Jālandhara and his faithful wife Vṛndā whose loss of chastity at the hands of Viṣṇu led to the annihilation of the Asuras in the battle field. The *pūrṇimā* is the beginning of the *Dvāparayuga*. According to *Padmapurāṇa* this day people earn merit by bathing themselves with water from a jug with a thousand sprouts. The practice is still maintained. Men wear just a loin cloth and otherwise go naked carrying over their head a large earthen jar with many small holes in it slowly letting out water pass. They parade through the main thoroughfare of the city. The trickling water drenches the body, and the practice is considered rigorous in view of the cold season. This day we have also the end of Hari's month and this is celebrated with much splendour, each locality taking out a procession carrying an image of the Lord, which is accompanied by a party of musicians, and moves round the town along the main roads. All quarters of the town look gay. Boys and girls put on artificial flowers of wax in all colours and brilliance. At the present time the *pūrṇimā* festival as described above is no more celebrated with the usual enthusiasm, but up till 30 years ago it was regarded as a very important festival.

The *Holi*, a festival occurring some 15 days earlier could claim also to have introduced the New Year. With the burning of the *Chir*, people indeed burn out the old year, and step into the new one. The *Holi* is said to be a festival

of Spring, which is the first season of the year. There are numerous legends connected with the festival. According to one such the *Holidāha* represents the burning of Prahlāda's sister *Holikā* who as one enjoying immunity from the burning effects of the fire had thrown herself into a boiling cauldron with Prahlāda on the instigation of her father. She, however, lost her immunity with the touch of Prahlāda, to whom the particular quality had now transferred with the result that it was *Holikā* who lost her life.

In the many *Thyāsapus* I have seen I do not find mention of the *Holi* festival. Similarly our inscriptional records also do not refer to the *Holi*. For the first time the *Holi* comes to our notice through *Padmapurāṇa*. But we are not in a position to say when the festival was introduced into our country,

At midnight of the *Holi Pūrṇimā*, the ferocious demon *Gurumāpā*, who is said to be lying underneath Kathmandu's parade ground is offered a huge quantity of boiled rice and buffalo-meat. The ceremony is held before a large gathering with the heap of rice laid just at the heart of the spacious lawn. It is said that *Gurumāpā* is lying asleep beneath the lawn in the underground, and he is awake that day and needs to be fed.

The *Pāsāchare* festival is over, we have Sveta Machhendranātha's car festival for 4 days since the 8th of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra*. The car festival is mentioned by the *Svayambhu Purāṇa*. So this might have been running before the text was composed in early 15th century. More reference to the festival follow in documents of the 17th century A.D. e.g, the *Thyāsapu D* reported that on the day of *dvādaśī* in 787 Pratāpamalla received the chariot inside the royal palace. The image was then on its return journey, and was being carried over men's shoulders in a *Khaṭ*.

The *Chaitra śukla 8* is also a day of *Durgāpūjā*. It appears from the *Thyāsapu G* that like the 8th day of the

great *Daśaharā* this day, too, was devoted to the worship of goddess Durgā. The *Varṣakriyā* does not have anything to say about this festival. But it was surely observed in the later middle ages. The *Thyāsapu* states that a particular king performed *syākkotyākko* in the temple of Taleju. During the October *Daśaharā*, this is done on the 9th, but as the 9th of *Chaitra śukla* is the birth anniversary of Rāma, the sacrifice of animals is done on the 8th itself.

From the Bhatgaon Darbar copper plate inscriptions of NS 808 and 818 we know that the birth anniversary of Rāma was a sacred day.¹⁸⁶ So the antiquity of the festival is not uncertain. It must have been also definitely popular in the 17th century A.D. and even earlier.

Car Festival of White Machhendra: Let us now proceed to describe the car-ṛulling ceremony (*rathajātrā*) of the White Machhendra, which takes place in Kathmandu as suggested earlier.

The White Machhendranātha is one of the four principal images of Lokeśvara. He is also called *Jamārdeo*, so-called because the image was originally discovered in a locality now known as Jamal where we have a dilapidated *vihāra* of the same name. The deity in the *vihāra* is known as Yamaleśvara and the part of the city in the vicinity of this *vihāra* is said to be falling within the sanctity of Jamaleśvara as testified by several inscriptions of the 17th-18th centuries. The two-half feet bronze image of Machhendranātha is now housed in a big temple in the heart of the city. The site was also a *vihāra* called *Kanaka Chaitya Vihāra*. During the festival the image is placed in the car which is carried in a ceremonial procession through the main road of the city. The four-wheeled car is a huge structure, very tall indeed 32 cubits in height, the upper portion above the platform standing like a spiral. The entire structure is modelled on a temple architecture but without roofs. The chariot is called *Ratha*

in contrast to the *Khaṭ* which is carried by men over their shoulders. The *Ratha* starts from Jamal and passing through the main market centres of the city reaches its extreme southern end at Laganṭol on the 12th day of the fortnight taking 4 days en route. The morning hours are crowded with devotees; burning oil and butter lamps and chanting prayer songs to obtain the Lord's blessing. As the chariot is drawn through the main street of the city sometimes its bulk at the top pushes against the roofs of the rows of houses on two sides and causes damage. On the day of *dvādaśī*, the image is placed on a *Khaṭ* and carried back to the temple over men's shoulders. The return journey is quiet. The image, however, had to be in the palace for some time to enable the king to enjoy the sacred sight. The *Vaiśākhī* is the day when the *Vāgdvāra* (the source of the river Bāgmatī) is visited by a large number of pilgrims. Because of the statement of the *Svayambhu Purāṇa* (IV. Chapter) this place has special sanctity for the Buddhists. The Śaivite follow the *Skandapurāṇa Himavatkhanda* in accepting the sanctity of the river as well as its source and many *tīrthas* situated on its bank.

According to the *Svayambhu Purāṇa* (IV Ch.) a bath in the source of the river Bāgmatī on this day enables a person to acquire fruits of meritorious deeds.

The Newars celebrate the *Vikrama* New Year by taking a medicinal broth called *Khāyu Sānhu*. The *Khāyu Sānhu* is a broth or a thick soup of bitter taste, consisting of a preparation of radish, peas and *nīm* (Margosa tree) leaves and rice-flour and *mugi* pulse. This practice is said to follow the recipe of the *Yogatantra*.

The Visket: People in Bhatgaon celebrate their New Year's day according to Solar Calendar. It occurs on the day the Sun steps into *Meṣarāśi* (Aries). In the Christian Calendar the date must occur some day in between the 13th and 15th of April both days inclusive. The festival is celebrated with the erection of two flag poles on the last

evening of the outgoing year. At about the same time the 3 cars of Bhairava, Brahmāyaṇi and Gaṇeśa meet together on the open ground nearby watched by a large crowd of devotees and sight-seers.

The festival is called *Visket*, a corrupt form of the word *Viśvaketu* meaning literally the banner of the world. The practice celebrating the New Year's day by hoisting *Viśvaketu* goes back to the middle ages. A statement attributed to Manu in the *Gautamitantra* supports this view. The celebration is ended with the pulling down of the flag poles.¹⁸⁷ Since the 16th century most of the inscriptions in Bhatgaon use the *Vikrama* era along with the *Śaka* and *Nepāl* eras while enumerating the dates. This is invariably so as we come to the reign of Jagajjyotirmalla. The Sanskrit chronicle in my possession states that the practice of observing *Visket* festival started since the time of Viśvamalla. A legend ascribes to him the founding of the temple site of Bhairava. It was said that one of the witnesses to the ceremony of the flag poles was Lord Viśvanātha from Kāśī. He was extraordinarily tall to be recognised as some one not in the likeness of a native. A *tāntric* magician easily recognised in him the Lord of Kāśī in human form, and wanted to catch hold of him, while the Lord sensing the design attempted to escape. On being chased the Lord appeared as Bhairava, and plunged deep into a pit to reach his abode through the subterranean way. But the magician cut off his head and held it on while the trunk disappeared and reached Kāśī. The head is now known as *Ākāśabhairava* enshrined in the famous temple facing the Taumadhi courtyard from the east. There are

187 *Gautami Purāna*.

चैत्रे च विश्वयातां ध्वजस्योत्थानकं चरेत्
सर्वे दुःखा विनश्यन्ति सर्वे शलुक्षयाय च
ध्वजभजनकं पश्चात् क्रियते संक्रमे दिने ॥

more legends about the origin of the *Vīśkeṭ Jātrā*, one such attributes the origin of the festival to a king's reign in ancient Nepal. One chronicle says that the flag pole was meant to display a dead snake killed by a king of Bhatgaon, who had found a poisonous reptile crawling from his wife's nose out to take his life. Up till then no king was destined to rule for more than a day. As soon as he was asleep in the royal apartment, the snoring by the queen would send a serpent wriggling, which would bite the new ruler to death. According to another chronicle the two poles are also said to represent the spiritual tutor and his wife of a king named Śivadeva in ancient history of Nepal. The spiritual guide knew the art of transformation through spells. He, by name Śekhara Āchārya, had saved his kingdom on many occasions by these stratagems. These had helped even to defeat alien invasions. One day his wife asked him just for fun to show herself like a python, which he did telling her she should not get panicky at the sight and after some time while her curiosity was satisfied throw a grain of rice on him to bring him back to human form. However, just in the nick of time she got so panicky that she began to run away, and instead of throwing the rice upon the husband herself took it, which at once transformed her into a she python. This was a great tragedy befalling the couple. There was still a ray of hope, the king knew the charms, and if the pythons were recognised he would surely restore them to their original form. The two pythons therefore waited before the Royal gate, every morning and evening while the king was to come out. They went there daily. As they would not harm any one they attracted popular curiosity but nobody recognised them. Then out of desperation they committed suicide. It came to the king's knowledge that they were his tutor and his wife only when some one in the neighbourhood conveyed the story of the couple's transformation. The king felt sad, and commemorated the event by erecting two poles on the last day of the year.

The *Rathayātrā* is said to have been started by Jagajjyotirmalla in the 17th century.

The *Viskeṭ* festival, however, lacks authenticity to take it back to a very old past. But the Bhatgaon inscription of NS 808 mentions this festival (n. 98 in our Appendix). The later chronicles which mention incidents of conflicts on the occasion of *Viskeṭ Jātrā* between the residents of the Bhatgaon city and visitors from other parts of the Valley during the time of Bhūpatīndramalla and his son might have also given correct accounts. It is not unlikely that as the Sanskrit chronicle puts it the customary practice of New Year's day celebration had started since the reign of Viśvamalla in the 16th century.

Patan Festival of Red Machhendra: The *Viskeṭ* festival is followed by the car drawing festival of *Red Machhendra* in Patan. There is however a festival of comparatively less importance intervening before Machhendranātha's ceremonial car drawing.

By the time the *Red Machhendra* car festival is to begin, we have the *amāvasyā* called mother worship day. A sacred spot at the foot of one of the hills round the Valley to the east of Kathmandu is known as *Mātātīrtha* literally meaning sacred mother place. Here we have a small pond where people take holy bath to pay respects to their departed mothers. The bath is prescribed by a Buddhist text, the *Manjuśrī Pārājikā*; of course the *tīrtha* is not mentioned by name but the day for such a bath is named. Usually those who have their mothers alive do not visit the *tīrtha* but people honour their living mothers with presents of sweets and delicacies.

We do not know since which time the *Mātātīrtha* festival began. At least we do not hear of this festival from records belonging to the middle ages. It is possible that the *amāvasyā* day might have been treated as a mother's day since a long time, and the *tīrtha* was associated with the day later on.

The name '*Mātātirtha*' literally means 'mother sacred place'. We may think that the '*tirtha*' (sacred place) was so named because it was associated with rites performed to honour the mother. Add to this the fact that the site was mentioned by name in the list of sacred places given by the Rānipokhari stele of Pratāpamalla. Thus the antiquity of the occasion might be traced. It is possible that the mother day as well as the site were popular at the time the *Svayambhu Purāṇa* was composed.

At about the same time the *Red Machhendra's* festival in Patan had in a way begun. The image receives the great bath on the first day of the following fortnight. It is then painted in red on the eighth. Since the image is removed from the usual pedestal, it is supposed that the deity resides inside a *Kalaśa* placed there. The transference is done through some incantation and the deity is supposed to stay there until the time while the image is brought out on a *Khaṭ* to be put on the big car waiting at Pulchok. The image while in the course of preparation for the *Jātrā*, has to undergo all the *kriyās* performed on occasions in the initiation of a mendicant from life to *chudākarma*. The same is true also of *White Machhendra* but his bath and painting takes place as early as the month of *Pauṣa* (December) while the real festival follows three months later. The *Red Machhendra* is known as *Bugadeo*, and his main shrine lies about 2 miles to the south-west of the city of Patan. The image is brought to the shrine in Patan on an auspicious day sometime in January or February and is kept there until it leaves for the car festival. Machhendranāth's car is followed by another car carrying the idol of Mīnanātha whose temple is situated in the heart of the town near the palace.

We have already written about the antiquity of the image which is mentioned as early as the 13th century by the *Gopāla Vamśāvali* and also by a Tibetan monk (Dharmasvāmin). Coming to the late medieval period, we have

marked in course of our narrative that this deity was very popular, and he received mass devotion and was also equally respected by kings and the nobility. The *Thyāsapus* already cited give us accounts of the *rathayātrā*, of which the supervision was done mainly by the Patan king who accompanied on foot the chariot in the procession.

As it is told, the chariot built in the same fashion as in the case of Kathmandu's Machhendra was drawn by men appointed for that purpose. The chariot or car passed through the main road of the city from west to east and then taking a turn to the south makes a detour towards the west. A part of the journey on the first leg falls on the highway touching the precincts of the royal palace. From the point it enters the road linking the Jya-baha, the chariot might begin its return journey back towards the west.

The chariot makes its first move on the fourth day of the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākha*. The day previous was observed as a special day heralding the advent of warm summer. This day is generally known as *Akṣaya tritīyā*, and is the day when the *Tretāyuga* had begun. Several of our *Purāṇic* and *Smṛti* works have spoken of virtues acquired by devotees who have worshipped Lord Viṣṇu on the day. The same time the practice of drinking sweet syrup mixed with the powders of black pepper, cardamom and one spices sugared barley flour making a gift of the same to others on the day of *Akṣaya tritīyā*. Because it is Summer, so one can earn religious virtues by offering a jar or jug of syrup to travellers and Brāhmaṇas. According to a Buddhist text the *Dvāvimśatika-vadana*, this is even the way to attain *Nirvāṇa*. The *Svayambhu Purāṇa* also refers to this day. The Śaivite are inspired to observe this festival by their own *Smṛtis*. The author of the *Varṣakriyā* cites *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and *Brahmapurāṇa* for the observance. We know from the *Thyāsapus A, D* and *F* that the day was observed as a special occasion in the manner the texts prescribed.

Although it is a little diversion let me add a few facts about the festival of *Akṣaya tritīyā*. The Newars begin their annual *pūjā* of their family deity since this day.¹⁸⁸ The annual *pūjā* is called *Devālī* or *Degulī* or just *Deopūjā* perhaps to convey the idea of annual *pūjā* ceremony of one's deity, and the deity for each family passes as *Dugudeo*. The *Dugudeo* has no image. It is just a shapeless bronze plate kept in an open or under cover box-like small structure. Casually let me mention that each family has two deities of their own, one called *Kuladevatā*, and another *Iṣṭadevatā*. During the *Devālī*, the worship is done at a site where *Iṣṭadevatā* is supposed to reside. There is also the *Āgamadeo*, the deity to be seen by members who are specially initiated for this job. He is the *Kuladevatā*. *Dugudeo* is also *kuladevatā* but one such as can be seen and touched by all members of the kin.

It appears that the annual *pūjā* of one's *Iṣṭadevatā* is prescribed by the *Vārāhitantra*. Following the precept of the *tantra* it has been a longstanding practice in the community to sacrifice a goat in honour of the family deity¹⁸⁸ on some or other occasion during the month. The day is conventional for each family, and they take out their *Dugudeo* to a site which is supposed to be the shrine of the *Iṣṭadevatā*.

Now to resume our narrative of the *Rathayātrā* of *Red Machhendra*; as the chariot reaches to the end of the street, then it turns towards the south proceeding along the main road until it reaches Lagankhel. This is the last point on the southern outskirts of the town just straight south from the royal palace. Here in Lagan there is a small open shrine

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वैशाखे स्वेष्ट देव्यायत पूजनमुत्तमं फलम् ।

एवं च वार्षिकि पूजा क्रियते प्रति वत्सरम् ॥

नभवेद्ग्रहजं दुःखं साम्वत्सरं शुभं भवेत् ।

पञ्चोपचार पूजां च छागस्य वलिमाचरेत् ॥ (वाराहीतन्त्र)-

said to have been harbouring the mother of *Red Machhendra*. The deity is called *Dolañ maju*. There is a special worship for a day, and the deity has rest extending sometimes 2 or 3 nights as occasioned also by the condition of the chariot. If the chariot is broken at more than one place the repair would take more time, and would cause delay in the movement for the next march. The chariot is now outside the city proper and from here it is drawn taking a westerly direction through the open thoroughfare, upon which it reaches Javalakhel where again there is a *yātrā* called *Jāvarajātrā*. This is the last occasion of the festival, and peoples from all quarters of the Valley congregate to express their devotion to Lord Machhendra. This day is also a day of feast and rejoicing on the spot where the chariot lies. The *Jyāvar yātrā* has to be performed on an auspicious occasion in accordance with the advice of the astrologer. Even if it means some delay, they have to wait for that sacred hour. Today the *yātrā* at Javalakhel ends with a display of Machhendra's shirt. The shirt is supposed to have belonged at one time to a *Nāga* who had presented the same to a peasant on the latter's curing his son's blindness. Originally the shirt was laced with gems.

The following were the places where normally the chariot halted for the night. The chariot starts its journey from Pulchok on the 4th day of *Vaiśākha śukla*. The chariot is drawn always in the afternoon. The first night halt is at Gadvahal, then at Nhugal, Lagankhel (2 nights), Poḍetol, and lastly at Jāwarkhyā. There is an auspicious day for drawing the chariot from Poḍetol. The halt might be longer if the auspicious occasion is not available soon.

The *Thyāsapu E* has a very elaborate description of the *rathayātrā*, which we have reproduced in our narrative of the reigns of Śrīnivāsamalla and his son. During the 12 yearly *yātrā* the chariot is drawn from Buga to Patan, and back. All the rituals such as great bath and related ceremonies are

performed in Buga. And again the details of the march of the procession with the chariot connected with the 12 yearly *Jātrā* are provided in the *Thyāsapu E* (f. 3, 8, 11). As the road is rough outside the city, the drawing of the chariot involves much difficulty and strain to those engaged in the task. The chariot makes several stops on the way, and at times the wheel or axle or buffer either one or the other is broken. The chariot has to stay even for days together until the broken part is repaired.

A word about Mīnanātha before we complete this description of the festival is necessary. Mīnanātha's car follows the main car in the *Jātrā*. The *Vihāra* around the temple of Mīnanātha is known as *Chākvahāra* or *Taṅgabāhā* or *Jyeṣṭhavarṇavihāra*. It is one of the principal *Vihāras* of Patan. Because Mīnanātha resides in the temple situated in this *Vihāra*. He is sometimes called the deity of *Chākvahāra*. The shrine of Mīnanātha attracts quite a big crowd of devotees on days of festival. But we cannot say definitely how long since Mīnanātha was placed as a companion of Machhendranātha in the *Jātrā*. As there is no reference to Machhendranātha in the *Thyāsapu A* and *E* we find it difficult also to determine the antiquity of the shrine. Mīnanātha's car comes in for reference for the first time in the Newāri chronicle (f. 45b). The chronicle narrates an incident in which the car of the deity of *Chākvahāra* was wholly burnt while in procession during the *jātrā* of the year NS 837. We have yet to trace the materials which would tell us about the car of Mīnanātha prior to this date. As no deity other than the one of Buga is mentioned by earlier records in connection with the car festival it seems unlikely that Mīnanātha was associated with Machhendranātha any time ever before.

The car festival of Machhendranātha is in a way a summer festival, and immediately precedes the rainy season. In another way it is a pre-monsoon festival. To the devotees Lokeśvara is all merciful patron deity of Nepal, who ensures

peace and prosperity of the land. Without rain no prosperity can be heard of. Therefore Lord Machhendra helps to bring in rainfall to ensure also a rich crop. According to the legend he came to Nepal at the time while it was experiencing a hardship due to a drought for 12 years, and his appearance had brought relief to the people causing heavy downpour of rain. It is now early monsoon as we complete his *Jātrā*. We are also now at the end of the period of *devālī*. The rains have started coming and people heretofore tend to be looking to their works in the field. The season of hard work has begun, off with festivities. If anybody has not fulfilled his duty of *devālī*, let him do it, before it is time for him to go to his farm with a cythe and spade. The last day of such *devālī* is the 6th day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Jyeṣṭha*, which is called *Sithinakha*.

Sithinakha: The *Sithinakha* falling on the 6th day of the bright fortnight of *Jyeṣṭha* (sometime in June) is the last festival of the period before the rains. Ordinarily in Hindu society, the day is known as *Kumāraṣaṣṭhi* suggesting that on this day Śiva's son Kārtikeya was born. There is a *Kumāra Jātrā* on this day in Kathmandu, although the celebration is simple enough not to attract wide attention. An image housed in a small temple in the southern quarter of the town is placed in a chariot carried by men over their shoulders, and this is taken through certain parts of the city. Then at a place in the heart of the city the chariot reaches its destination where the deity is offered worship with presents of cakes of six different kinds of pulses and cereals. The image made of bronze but hollow is beautiful to look at and its face is well chiselled, but its antiquity is uncertain.

But the *Sithi* is more important as a *devālī* day than as the celebration of the birth anniversary of Kumāra. This is also the day when people may worship besides Kumāra, the Goddess of Vindhya mountains, Jimutavāhana and the

mother earth (*dharatimātā*). In effect except the mother goddess none is worshipped. The *Kumārapūjā* is subsidiary. Although it is mentioned in a classical text, we do not hear of the worship of Jimutavāhana or the God of wealth, nor of Vindhyavāsini.

The *Sithinakha* is by far the only festival of *Jyeṣṭha* meant to enable the community to know that the rainy season was coming and they should keep their household clean. But the worship of Goddess Earth is performed by many Buddhist and Śaivites alike, in Patan and Bhatgaon but it seems this was not so in Kathmandu. The *pūjā* is done either at a corner on the ground floor (*Chhiñdi*) or in the kitchen garden inside the compound of the building. Primarily the occasion is used to cleanse the rooms and balconies of the houses and eat things which keep the body immune from an attack of epidemics. By implication this seems to be intended to propitiate goddess earth who was to bless the agriculturists with their food. It is also a common practice to clean wells, water conduits, and bye lanes of the locality.

We have yet to find out the exact antiquity of the festival. There is no doubt that the *Sithinakha* is a very old festival, one of Yakṣamalla's inscriptions (Inscription n. LXIV in our Appendix to Part I) mentions the day of *Sithinakha*, on which the people were advised to cleanse the moat in their respective locality. The *Thyāsapus* also refer to the festival. Later records inform us about rituals conducted on the day of *Sithinakha*.

For more than a month after *Sithinakha*, there is no festival of any kind until the bright fortnight of *Śrāvaṇa* appears. Most of the musical instruments cease to play from this day. The *dhimyā* and other instruments which are played by the peasants completely disappear during this interval. This is the busiest time of the year for the farmers. Perhaps he is allowed to enjoy complete freedom from any

obligations of religious character. From the point of view of social entertainments, however, we face a dull period in the absence of festivals.

Gaṭhemuga: The *Gaṭhemuga* marks the end of the sowing and planting time. We have just passed half the way through the rainy season. The summer is over. But the warmth alternating with cold generated by rainy hours is the result of humidity rising to its climax, which caused unrest physically and at times might give rise to epidemics of small-pox, typhoid and cholera. The *Gaṭhemuga*, the occasion for cleaning early in the morning every nook and corner of one's habitation. All parts of the house are carefully scavenged, washed and broomed. Also in the evening scavenging is repeated to get rid of any particle of dust or earth remaining. Holes resulting out of the operation are filled with rye-grains and some herbs, while the earth particles collected are put in a jar which is placed on the *vedikā* prepared for a special rite of worship. The whole house is perfumed with incense (*dhūpa*) of sandal wood pieces and agar-agar powder burnt on an earthen pot as the smoke rises during the rites of the evening hours.

The *pīṭha devatās* are specially worshipped on this day. At home while the sun sets there is before the family deity a sacrificial offering of food stuffs, including raw garlic onion, flat rice, soyabean, ginger and meat. The rituals over, the members partake of a part of the special assortment. The remaining portion of the same along with the dust and earth earlier extracted out of the dirty corners of the house is thrown out at a cross-road site. We are told that as late as the end of the 19th century, the practice of closing the doors and windows after sunset was observed quite strictly. The person who went out to throw out the *valī* would put nails on the door step, as he returned and the outlets remained close till the next morning. It was thought that the day was an occasion for the devils to roam about. So the

streets were almost deserted, everybody being confined to his house.

The *Gathemuga* is actually the name of the bundle of reeds straightened in a cross-like fashion, which is set up at points where two streets meet. This is said to represent the demon of that name, who once tried to molest the people of the Nepal Valley but was thwarted in his attempt by the timely stratagem displayed by a frog. According to a legend the demon was going to attack the Valley in the early hours of the morning. The people were fast asleep, but the frog on the outskirts of the town as if keeping watch at the moment would not be caught unawares. Before the demon reached the town, the frog had already alerted the people who were now prepared to meet the giant and with weapons in hand were out on the open street. The frog, however, pretended to play guide to the demon and took him on the precipice of a deep chasm into which he stepped to find it impossible to climb his steps above. Meanwhile the citizens had gathered round the corner and finding the demon sinking into the pit they pelted stones at him and killed him down-right. It was a moment of triumph and joy, which was celebrated by erecting the demon's effigy at every cross-road, and keeping the same for public show till the evening and burning it onto the river bank to the accompaniment of comedious scenes. The practice as it goes today is: since early morning the effigy is brought to the scene. Boys of the locality demand toll from the passers-by. Towards the evening a man of the untouchable *Halāhulu* caste representing a particular effigy goes abegging with a lighted straw torch, which is drawn by enthusiastic merrymakers to the bank of the river where it is burnt. The performance is similar in all localities.

People wear iron and copper rings on this occasion and it is said that this increases their welfare by warding off the evils.

Gaṭhemuga was definitely known to Medieval Nepal, and a Sanskritic text of the *tāntric* school the *Rudrayāmala*¹⁸⁹ talks of the practice of erecting the effigies of Ghaṇṭākarna at the cross roads and then burning it. Surely the practice must have been current on the inspiration of this text. As it will follow people observed the festival in the late middle ages but we do not know how it was introduced. The Palace Stone Inscriptions of NS 808 and 818 mention this festival. According to a *Tāmrapatra* of the time of Jayaprakāśamalla a grant of land is made for the worship and offering of sacrifice of a goat to the goddess Kaṅkeśvarī (*Purātatvapatra-saṅgraha*, I, pp. 1-8) on the occasion of *Gaṭhemuga charhe*. The practice is recommended for removal of all kinds of distress. There is a legend about one Ghaṇṭākarna who was an atheist, and preached atheism to create faith in human might. He detested the rich and loved the poor whom he exhorted to persevere to rise and defend their rights against the rich. He strongly condemned fatalist ideas, and would not like to hear the name of God pronounced, within his hearing and carried a ringing bell on his ears to avoid hearing prayers and even God's various names, while dying he had become almost insane eating everything whatever came to him. To the highups he was then become a *chaṇḍāla*, and on his death he was cremated by members of that class. But he lived in public memory as a social benefactor, and this was the reason that his effigies are on display at every quarter of the town.

I do not know how to put credence to such stories. But the story of the benefactor ironsmith Ghaṇṭākarna is not credible for the main reason that our Ghaṇṭākarna is a demon while he was a human being pure and simple.

Festivals of Śrāvaṇa: The month of *Śrāvaṇa* is considered sacred, and it is full of festivals, minor and major.

189 श्रावणे कृष्ण भूतायां घण्टाकर्णक्षनामकम् यमनस्य मूर्तिञ्च
स्थापयेत् तु चतुष्पथे तदङ्ग दह्यते तत्र सर्वदुःख निवारणम् ॥

Two fertility rites are observed up till now. These are the snake worships of *Srāvaṇa śukla* 5 and frog worship of *Srāvaṇa śukla* 15. The first is called *Nāgapañchamī* festival. The worship of snake is considered in general as a rite to ensure the fertility of the soil. Snakes are essential for maintaining soil fertility. This might be the reason that we find the cult of snakes popular even in the ages in the remote past. The snake worship is sanctified by scriptures and *Purāṇas* whose statements are cited in support of the cult of these two festivals while the *Nāgapañchamī* is absent in our records, the fact of the frog-feeding ceremony is available from a few inscriptions.

The *Garuḍapurāṇa* enjoins on the devotees to stick with cowdung on the wall on both sides of the main door paper pieces containing pictures of the serpents. The serpents do not harm any one performing this rite. In the late medieval period, we find many references to facts of snake worship. Every pond dug had at the centre a pole which supported the hood of a serpent. We have Jagajjyotirmalla's inscription¹⁹⁰ starting the erection of such a serpent hood over a wooden pole in a tank he dug in NS 740. Pratāpamalla's hymns in honour of serpent Vāsuki is an eloquent testimony to the prevalence of snake worship.¹⁹¹

The *Nāgapañchamī* day, however, might not have been observed as widely as could be imagined as it appears on the basis of the above given information. There is no reference to such rites in the *Thyāsapus*. Inscriptions also ignore the day. In spite of the prevalence of the cult of *Nāga* the day passed without being taken notice of by a large section of the people. Perhaps the celebration was confined to the peasants.

The Jyāpu peasants in the Nepal Valley make a worshipful offering to the frogs in their fields on the full-moon day

190 Inscription n. 38 in our Appendix.

191 Inscription n. 51 in our Appendix.

of *Śrāvaṇa*. They offer flowers, sandal-wood paste and dry rice over a particular site in the green field, where also is placed a dish of boiled rice for consumption. The occasion is known as *Vyāñjānakigu*.¹⁹² I can imagine that the worship of the frog in the field is also a fertility rite, for frogs like snakes play their own part. We have a legend that the frog had obtained his worth of worship as a reward in expression of people's thankfulness to him for the timely warning he gave when the demoniac *Gaṭhemuga* was to kill them.

King Bhūpālendramall's inscription¹⁹³ of NS 818 mentions the rite of feeding frogs on rice on the day of *Śrāvaṇa śukla pūrṇimā*. So it is now established that the ceremonial frog feeding on *Śrāvaṇa pūrṇimā* day had become popular in or about the 17th century A.D. We do not know how it was in the years preceding this century. The *Varṣakriyā* does not mention this rite. So there does not appear a sanction of the *Śāstras* for this rite. Nevertheless it was a popular rite, and widely observed by the peasantry, though as we have seen the kings also performed the rite in their own way.

The *Purṇimā* is further known as *Kvāntipunhi*. The same inscription of Bhūpatīndramalla calls the festival *Kvāntipunhi*. It also mentions the preparation *Kvākati* as a food item to relish on this day. *Kvākati* is called *Kvānti* at the moment. It is a thick soup of seed as of beans and peas of all varieties grown on earthen pots and mixed with spices as prescribed by Buddhist texts such as *Śākyasiṃha*¹⁹⁴ and *Mañjuśrīpārājikā*. But the antiquity of the *Kvāntipunhi* is proved by the inscription cited above.

According to *Skandapurāṇa* the day is also known as *Rṣitarpaṇī*. The Brāhmanas perform a ceremony undergoing

192 Waddell 'Frog Worship in Nepal' in *The Indian Antiquary*, 22, pp 292-94 October, 1893

193 n. 103 in our Appendix.

194 श्रावणौ पौर्णमास्यां च बहु वारांगि भक्षणं कालमाषं च गृजं च
कार्थयित्वा पिवेत्ततः उदरस्य रोगं च नात्र संशयः

purification of their body with a new sacred thread. Persons of other castes in the community obtain their blessing with a yellow thread band tied round their wrist. The legend goes that Vāmana, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, had appeared before Bali, the king of Asuras, and tied the sacred band round his wrist to secure promises of a gift of 3 paces of land. Although Bali is mentioned in connection with the thread, I do not know how far the day has to do with the king of the Asuras. This is mainly a festival of the Brāhmaṇas, and the *Śāstras* enjoin on them to undergo a purification ceremony afresh wearing a new sacred thread. This story, however, is not given by *Skandapurāṇa* which recommends the worship of Brāhmaṇas and tying round the right wrist a *kaṅkaṇa* (bangle), the use of which helps one to remove the sins committed during the year¹⁹⁵ as well as to protect himself from the designs of the evil spirits. It is yet difficult to say since how long the *Rṣitarpaṇī* is being celebrated. References to this celebration is not available from our records.

The first day of the following fortnight is the day of the cow festival. Its name is *Sāpāḍu*. The festival is called *Sāyā*. The *Thyāsapu F* under date line NS 858 states 'Śrāvāṇa śukla pūrṇimā ghaṭi 1, there was no *pādu* (*pratipadā*), and the day had dawned with *dvitīyā*, the parading of cow done as usual and worship was performed, the devotees of Asanṭol performed *pūjā* on the first day, but some did not.' From this passage it appears that the festival was popular in mid 18th century. This must have been so even earlier.

With its historic background let us see how the occasion was celebrated in our time.

For the Newars of the Nepal Valley the day following the

195 पूर्णमासि श्रावणस्य स्नान कर्म समाचरेत् ऋषि तर्पणकं कुर्यात् ब्राह्मणस्य प्रपूजनं । पौर्णमास्यां दक्षहस्तं कंकनं धारयेत्तु वै साक्षतं रायिकं पुष्पं पट्टं पट्टेन वेष्टयत् ।

pūrṇimā is a great day of rejoicing as well as a day of remembrance to honour their newly departed near ones. As the practice goes, a cow or a man representing a cow is sent to walk through a fixed route in the city as a mark of respect to the memory of the dead. It is said that the dead is also helped to climb his way to heaven by catching hold of the cow's tail, if the ceremony is performed in right earnest. This trek is called *deśachāyigu* literally meaning going round the city. The cow is decently decorated, and if there is a man acting as cow he puts on his head a basket-like thing in the shape of a forage cap with a piece of paper pasted on each side, which in the front carried the picture of a cow and in the back that of the elephant-headed God Gaṇeśa. The man also wears a long robe, tying his waist with a piece of cloth, the two endings of which touch the ground. Sometimes instead of a bovine representation, it is the form of a mendicant adopted to highlight the solemnity of the occasion. The Sāpāru observed as an occasion to honour the dead is celebrated by the Buddhist priests and Udai classes in a different manner. They go round the towns visiting prominent *Chaityas*. On the second day the city of Patan observes what they call *matchyā* ceremony. Devotees walk round the town paying respects to *Chaityas* by presenting lighted earthen lamps. By noon, the cow procession is over and we find the town witnessing comic scenes and acting presented by interested parties in different roles.

Strangely enough the only text mentioning the *Gauyātrā* is Buddhist in inspiration (*Kālavayūha*) and the same also does make no mention of its association with the departed. The text, however, states that a man earns emancipation by parading round the main thoroughfares of the town a well decorated calf with a bell on the neck. The text further recommends witnessing performances of music and dance or playing of musical instruments or even singing songs. A man would get by blowing a horn trumpet (*Śṛṅgabherī*) virtues three times more than what he would by feeding thousand mendi-

cants. *Sāyā*, the name of the festival, literally means cattle festival. So primarily this is a cattle festival. Secondly as the text recommends, this is also a festival of music and dance and drama. Actually for seven days various types of entertainments are on display during the occasion. Thus it seems that the festival was originally inspired by the above mentioned Buddhist texts.

For a month since the morrow of the *Gaṭhemuga* day, people refrain from animal sacrifices in temples. This is also a period of visiting centres of Buddhist sanctity. The month is *Guñlā* and the religious rites performed are called *Guñlādharma*. For those who do not perform these rites the month is equally sacred. For the peasant Jyāpus the time is one of rest or light work in the field. For the entire society it was a time of leisure, which was used for merry-making and aesthetic entertainments. The musical instruments whose playing was prohibited during the period since *Sithinakha* are now back again. The *Guñlādharma* lasts a month. It is a period of religious devotion and piety for the Buddhists. The *Sāyā* festival is not actually observed by the castes who are dominated by the Guvā priests unless their association with the other kind of castes is much intimate. Thus the *Guñlā* period goes without other kinds of festive occasions.

The *Sāyā* is followed by the anniversary of Lord Kṛṣṇa's birth. The *Gopāla Vaiṣṇavalī* does not mention the *Kṛṣṇa jayanti* celebration, which means that the festival was not as much popular in the country. But while we come to the later medieval period, there are many reliable documents to establish the evidence of the celebration of the festival of Kṛṣṇa's birth. The fact of *Janmāṣṭamīpūjā* is mentioned in Siddhinarasiṃhamalla's inscription of NS 767.¹⁹⁶ The *Thyāsapu F* has many passages to tell us of the *Kṛṣṇa jayanti* celebration under different dates. But the *Jayanti* was

probably observed by a section of the people in the middle ages. The cult of Kṛṣṇa though popular enough in the royal family and the upper castes does not seem to have reached the masses as to touch them deeply. The *Thyāsapu* talk of the *Jayanti* being celebrated in the Royal Palace.

The thirteenth day of the same fortnight is the occasion of the anniversary of the day when Dīpaṅkara Buddha in *Dvāparayuga* had to beg alms in Banaras on the intercession of a Brāhmaṇa. There is a ceremonial alms begging by the Guvājus and Bādes who go to their laity, singing hymns in honour of Buddha. The alms-giving is called *Panjrāñ* which is a corruption of the word *Pañchadāna*. Paddy, rice, wheat, barley, sesamum, salt, sweet cakes, sweetmeats, cloth, wooden shoes, umbrella are freely distributed to the Bādes and Guvājus. In Patan the day is observed a fortnight earlier on the 8th of *Śrāvāṇa śukla*. This date is recommended by *Kapiśāvadāna* as well as *Piṇḍapātrāvudāna*. The latter also commends the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight. The *Jātrā* of Dīpaṅkara is mentioned in the two texts already cited and in *Mahāvastu Avadāna*. According to the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 14) the *Jātrā* called *Pañchadāna* was observed in Kathmandu in NS 799. This means that the festival was celebrated in the 17th century A. D.

Two days later, the *amāvasyā* is observed as an occasion to honour one's father. This is called the father day. Those without their father alive visit Gokarṇa, a centre of pilgrimage on the bank of Bāgmatī 4 miles to the north-east of Kathmandu. If the father is living, one has to honour him with presents of sweets and other delicacies and savouries. The *Svayambhu Purāṇa* in the 4th chapter states that one earns meritorious deeds by offering *śrāddha* to his departed ancestors and worshipping Gokarṇeśvara on *Śrāvāṇa* 30 (old calendar).

We learn from *Himavatkhaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* that the day's association with the site of Gokarṇa *śirtha* is quite

old. The Gokarna is called in the *Himavatkhanda* a *Paitā-maha tīrtha*. According to the Purāna on the day of *Bhādra kṛṣṇa amāvasyā* one has to perform *Śrāddha* and offer rice balls (*Piṇḍa*) to his departed ancestors up to the 7th generation (Ch. 161. 63). Nearby is the site called Uttaragaya and its sacredness is ten times more than that of Gaya itself. As a sacred site associated with the ancestors Gokarna was definitely known in the 16th century as date of the oldest copy of the *Nepalamāhātmya* shows (early 17th century). There is no doubt that the festival of the *Bhādra kṛṣṇa amāvasyā* came to be observed as early as the 16th century or even earlier.

The *Chathā* literally meaning the 4th lunar day is the name of the festival which occurs on the 4th day of the bright fortnight of *Bhādra*. This is celebrated in honour of the Moon God, and is a night festival. The exact night depends on whether the *nakṣatra svāti* has begun since the third day's night. If *svāti* has touched the night of the *tṛtīyā*, then the festival is said to occur a day previous.¹⁹⁷ The worship of the Moon takes place in the first quarter of the night, when the Moon is already gone out of view. As the Moon appears on the western horizon all windows are closed and it is said that any one seeing the moon that night would invite trouble on himself by way of being accused of theft. The legend is linked to the mishap befallen to Lord Kṛṣṇa who was falsely accused of a theft of a valuable jewel (*Syamantakamaṇī*) because he had inadvertently seen the moon that night. Since the early afternoon people keep hanging on their breast a green orange with leaves to avoid the likelihood of a trouble falling upon the unwary and unconscious looking at the sky. The ceremony is performed within closed doors accompanied with rites performed to

197 भाद्रेमासि सिते पक्षे चतुर्थ्यां स्वाति योगतः
करोति क्लिवषं घोरं दृष्टचन्द्रो न संशयः (राजमार्तण्डतन्त्र.)

please the Moon God. In the assemblage of articles used on the ritual is the seedling of the peach fruit. People eat also an assortment of grams, beans, black beans, peas, maize puffs, all fried and also cucumber.

We are not aware of the *Chathā* festival from medieval sources. But the Bhatgaon palace inscriptions of Jitāmitra-malla's son Bhūpatīndra refers to the day, on which was to be performed the worship of the deities set up on the outer platform of the gate of the palace. The worship of the Moon God is not mentioned in the record. But as the day is mentioned in particular, it must be surely one of festivity, and as older texts have it its association with the Moon God is pronounced.

Yañyā: The *Jātrā* of Indra dominates the last four days of the fortnight. The festival is called *yañyā* in Newari. As we have already written, Indra's festival is mentioned in documents of the early 15th century. The *Thyāsapus* mention the facts of the festival being observed in the 17th century. The celebration is recommended by passages in some Purāṇic texts (e. g. *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, and *Agnipurāṇa*). It starts with the erection of the flag pole at a site just in front of the old Palace, where at its base a gold image of Indra is kept in a cage-like small structure.¹⁹⁸ There are other sites where cross like images of Indra on wood are on display above a raised platform.

Irrespective of the ages of the texts, the festival seems to be quite ancient and the tradition is Indian. But the legend of Indra coming to steal *pārijāta* flowers (of the coral tree) in the Valley is purely Nepalese in origin. The *Indrajātrā*

198 द्वादश्यां तु सिते पक्षे मासि भाद्रपदे तथा ।

शक्रमुत्थापयेत् राजा विश्व श्रवण वासवैः ॥ (भविष्यपुराण)

शक्रध्वजं दारुकं च खड्ग पुष्पेन वेष्टयेत् ।

हस्तौ मुखं च संयोज्य जिष्णोर्ध्वजस्य लक्षणं ॥

(राजमार्तण्डतन्त्र)

is also the occasion for the dance festival where the principal three mother goddesses figure, viz, Mahākālī, Mahālakṣmī and Mahāsarasvatī. As prescribed by the classical texts, the worship of Indra has to be performed for four days beginning since the 12th on which the flag pole is raised. But the *Jātrā* extends to another period of 4 days up till the 4th of the dark fortnight, when the pole is removed, and with it also Indra's image and this brings to an end all the associated *jātrās* as well.

The association of the divine mothers with the eight day *Indrajātrā* celebration is a prelude to the festival of the Goddess Durgā due in the bright fortnight of *Āśvina*. It is said that the prayer songs tuned to *Mālaśrīrāga* sung since the eighth of *Bhādra śukla* constitutes by itself an invitation to the goddess to honour the man with her presence at his abode. Actual ceremony is, however, interrupted because of the dark fortnight coming just after the four days of *Indrajātrā*. This fortnight is said to belong to the dead who are honoured with an offer of *Piṇḍa* (a ball of smashed boiled-rice). The fortnight is called *pitṛpakṣa*.

The *Indrajātrā* began definitely on the 12th day of the bright fortnight of *Bhādra*. The *Thyasapu G* informs under date line NS 790 that on this day the image of Indra was put on a *Vimāna* for display so that the people might offer worship.

The 14th day of the fortnight is called *Ananta Chaturdaśī*. The *Agni Purāṇa* speaks of the worship of Lord Viṣṇu in the incarnation of the Snake King Ananta on this day. The *vrata* helps one to fulfil his desires. People also worship on this day Lord Indra and visit a sacred site of a tank situated over the western hill of the Nepal Valley by name Indradaha where they take bath. The next day is full moon day. We learn from *Devī Purāṇa* that the occasion was devoted for the worship of heavenly *Lokapālas* whose blessing is sought to protect the earth. It further says that on this day a

mahāvalī should be offered to the Goddess for one's happiness in this world and beyond, the *mahāvalī* consisting of boiled rice in a heap of 108 *prasthas*, eggs, meat, fish, and 84 vegetables and curd. The merit attained by the devotee through this offering is so large that one grain of rice brings to him greater fruits than what comes by sacrificing one human being. The *pūrṇimā* is Yañlāpunhi in the Newari language.

During the *Indrajātrā* festival, the images of Hathadeo Bhairava are on display all over the towns and villages of the Valley. A great many varieties of dances, plays, pantomimes and shows appear at centres where people gather to witness. One of the dance parties is from the western suburb of Kathmandu, by name Halchok, and this party consists of Ākāśa Bhairava and his two mates (Bhakkus). In the evening they move about the town in Kathmandu, dancing and frolicking and receive fowls in ceremonial sacrifice from houses. At midnight the palace offers them a male buffalo for a fight, which eventually they kill and enjoy its flesh. The killing attracts a big crowd, and comes by way of sadistic entertainment. All this time again the people have other media of entertainment on display in many parts of the Valley mostly in Bhatgaon and Kathmandu. Pantomium scenes of the incarnation of Viṣṇu are also enacted on an open air stage on a temple platform in front of the Kumārī temple in Kathmandu. For the duration of the *jātrā* oil lamps on earthen pot fixed on long poles on a raised wooden platform illumining the many streets.

On the first two days consecutively the Buddhamārgī Newars, men and women, walk on foot taking a round of the city through its marginal thoroughfare. They carry in their hands articles of ceremonial worship as well as small earthen plates with oil and wicker, which serves the purpose of lamp when lit. At every cross road or wherever, a *vihāra* or temple appears they light the wicker and leave

the pot full of oil with the wicker burning. They also throw flowers, rice and barley grains over these sites. All this is done for the sake of the departed. The performance is also repeated on the 3rd and 4th day along the course of the Kumārī's chariot.

On the day of *Yānlāpunhi* people offer to their household deities a special variety of food preparation which they called *Samebaji*, an assortment of *Chyuḍā*¹⁹⁹ and parched beans, ginger and boiled meat mixed with oil, salt and spices.

We have already described in detail the *Kumārīpūjā* and *rathajātrā* of the occasion in a different context. We have also discussed the historical aspect of the *Indrajātrā* at the same place. It appears from a noting in the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 53) that the festival came to an end on the 3rd of *Bhādra kṛṣṇa* in a particular year. Thus the fact of the festival extending for 8 days is established. But most of the accompanying ceremonies are missing in our source materials. The Palace copper plates of Bhatgaon refer to *Yānlāpunhi* and recommends the offer of a variety of food preparation such as *Samayabaji* to the Goddess Taleju. But beyond this no other rite appears in vogue. As for *Anantachaturdaśī* the *Thyāsapus B* and *F* mention it under different date lines. The former referring to the *vrata* of 818 and 820 (f. 9) and the latter to that of 827. Therefore we cannot doubt the fact of the day being popular in the early 18th century A.D. But the antiquity might be pushed back to an earlier period.

Immediately after the *Piṇḍadāna* fortnight comes the *Durgāpūjā* festival. The first day of the bright fortnight ushers in the festival. There are various legends about the festival, one such legend tells us that the festival is an occasion of rejoicing over the killing of Rāvaṇa by Rāma. But in no ancient treatises there is a reference to the festival, least about the occasion it commemorates. Even *Durgāsap-*

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taśatī has not to say a word about this festival. Obviously the festival must have had a late start. But it was there since the early 17th century as our *Thyāsaspus* and inscriptions mention them. We shall have occasion to say about the historic aspect of the festival a little later.

The first day was treated as equally an important day as the 9th or 10th. The *Thyāsapu A* provides information at various stages how the first day of the *Mahani* had been celebrated.

Mahani: The *Durgāpūjā* festival is known as *Mahani*. It lasts for 9 days, the tenth day being an occasion for family reunion and greeting. It is the most important festival of all sections of the people in the Newār community irrespective of their sectarian and regional affiliation; also with others it holds equal sanctity.

On the first day of the fortnight barley corns are sown in an earthen pot, and when these sprout after some time, they are used to worship the deity as flower. The Newars perform animal sacrifice on the 9th day, which ceremony they call *Syākkotyākko*. The sacrifice of a he-goat and in its absence even of a fowl or duck has to be made with a sense of compulsion. Those who are habitual vegetarians and abstain from violence offer a pumpkin as *vali*, to the Goddess. But animals are preferred to every other thing.

If it lies within the means of a devotee, he may offer one animal for each of the 9 days, because it is said that the goddess resides in the house in different forms known under different names for all of these days. The fifth day is that of Bhairava, and an elaborate ceremonial *pūjā* is performed in Kathmandu on a sacred site called Pachali where a *jātrā* is held with the image of the deity represented by a copper jar of a large size, the jar is carried in a *khaṭ* over men's shoulders.

The *jātrā* of Pachali Bhairava is mentioned by the *Thyāsapu G* under date line NS 857. *Āśvina śukla 4*. It

observes the jar personifying the God Bhairava was taken back to the original house 'after the *jātrā* on this day. As the *Pañchamī* was *O ghaṭi* and 45 *vighaṭi*, the *ṣaṣṭī* had been expunged, therefore this day there was no *jātrā*. So the *jātrā* was held on the 4th. At *ghaṭi* 8 of the 3rd *tithī* the God was on display in Pachali'.

Following the observation of the *Thyāsapu F* it appears that the *jātrā* of Pachali was celebrated in the 17th century A. D. or even earlier.

The 12-yearly *jātrā* is celebrated with great enthusiasm the king also participating. The actual ceremony is performed at mid-night when the jar is taken to the Maru quarter of the town. The divine jar is said to exchange a sword with the reigning monarch on that occasion. For the 9 days of *Mahani*, there is a Buddhist practice of visiting nine centres of local sanctity, the pilgrims visiting fixed sites each at the appointed day one after the other in succession within nine days. The names of these sacred sites are given in the section dealing with such sites. The most important occasion of the nine days is the ninth day observed as *Syākkotyākko*, the day on which animals are sacrificed to the deity. The sacrifice is performed inside the room where the deity is said to reside during the nine days of the festival.

The tenth day is known as *Chālañ* meaning opening. The inner apartment preserved as the deity's abode is now open because she has then left. The room used for worship is opened and the deity leaves the house of her devotee. Members and relations of the household greet one another on the day in the morning or evening after a short ceremony. *Chālañ* is literally displayed while in the afternoon teams of persons each holding a sword in hand dressed to show themselves off as divine being in a long cloak like robe as the upper garment and then heads covered with a large piece of cloth keeping only eyes and nostrils open walk through a

fixed route²⁰⁰ in a procession in their respective localities. According to the *Varṣakriyā* the observance of *Khaḍgajātrā* is recommended by *Vārāhītantra*. This *tantra* also recommends riding of horse and other outdoor display of fun and dexterous exercises. The *Khaḍgajātrā* is also known as *Pāyā*.

The *Mahani* is an autumn festival. The occasion precedes immediately the harvesting season. The prospect of a bumper crop is before the people who celebrate in the most lavish manner a ceremony of thanksgiving to the supreme creative Energy regarded as female that is manifest in the fertile soil bearing the rich crop of paddy, the principal food-crop of the Nepalese.

Referring to the antiquity of the *Mahani* festival we may suggest that this obtained definitely in the late middle ages as the different *Thyāsapu* notings go to show. The *Thyāsapus A* and *F* provide information about the observances of the *Mahani festival*. It reported that in some years the three kingdoms observed on different days the *Syākkotyākko* and *Chālañ* ceremonies. There was a difference of opinion as to the timing of the *tithī* (a day of the lunar fortnight) which had caused its observance on different occasions according as an observing party interpreted its advent. Let us recapitulate some of the relevant information. The *Thyāsapu H* ; 798 *Bhādra pada kṛṣṇa amāvāsyā pra pratipadā śukravāra*, this day while 19 *ghaṭi* passed then up to 22 *ghaṭi navarātra* (nine-day festival) started (f. 6) ; 799 *Āśvina śukla pratipadā bṛhaspativāra*, this day after 13 *ghaṭis* had passed then up to 18 *ghaṭi navarātra* started in *dhanulagna*, Patan alone celebrated the occasion in *Bichhalagna* thinking that it was *śukralagna*. The sacrifice was given on *aṣṭamī pra navamī day*, a day earlier was Thursday *saptamī pra aṣṭamī*, the *chārana*

200 खड्गयात्रां ततः कुर्याच्छस्त्रास्त्रयोश्च चालनम् ।
देशभ्रमणकर्तव्यं रात्रौ कुर्याद्विचक्षणः ॥
दशमीदिवसे तत्र खड्गनालोकनं चरेत् ।

was observed on Saturday, the calendar was without *navamī* therefore on Saturday, 13 *ghaṭi* passed up to 16 *ghaṭi* it was so observed, the *chaturthī* day was doubled. The *Thyāsapu A* gives similar information in folios 28, 35, 48, 50, 54, 93. We have an information about the *navarātra* festival in the *Thyāsapu F* under date 857. The *Mahani* of 788 is mentioned in the *Thyāsapu G*. The Palace Inscription of Bhatgaon of the year NS 808 and 818 (n. 98, 103) refer to the *mahānavamī* festival in connection with some *pūjā* rituals.

About the *Mahani* festival again we have another piece of a very important information in the *Thyāsapu A*. This is relating to the year which had two lunar months as intercalary. The *Thyāsapu A* (f. 40) observes: This year the months of *Chaitra* and *Āśvina* were intercalary, but *Āśvina* was not regarded as missing. *Chaitra* alone was put in the calendar as intercalary. In accordance with the opinion expressed by Śiva Joṣī of Thachbe, a locality of Bhatgaon, the festival of *Mahani* was celebrated in *Kārtika*. In Banaras, Tirhut, Rajpur and hill states they observed *Mahani* in *Āśvina*. Bhatgaon, Kathmandu, Patan and Gorkhā celebrated the occasion in the month of *Kārtika*. Further (f. 35) 'NS 802, because this year *Āśvina* was intercalary, the *navarātra* started on the 1st of bright fortnight of *Kārtika*. But except the *Mahani*, other rites such as anniversaries and other *pūjās* were performed in ordinary *Chaitra*.'

Four ceremonies in the *Mahani* festival are specially marked in our documents. These are *Ghaṭasthāpanā*, *Khadgasthāpanā*, *Syākkotyākko* and *Chālañ*. I think that all these have been described fully in the preceding paragraphs.

We have quoted extracts from the *Thyāsapus A* and *F* about the observances of *Ghaṭasthāpanā*, *Syākkotyākko* and *Chālañ*. The *Khadgasthāpanā* literally meaning ceremonial setting up a sword in the *pūjā* room of the festival is mentioned by the *Thyāsapu F* under date lines 788 and 789. The

ceremony was observed in 788 on the *Saptamī* as *Aṣṭamī* was missing. The *Thyāsapu A* refers to this ceremony in its noting of the *Mahani* festival (f. 28, 36, 40). The *Thyāsapu F* gives us more information. In 789 the 10th *tithī* was missing therefore both *patrikāsthāpanā* and *khadga* were done on the 7th *tithī*. The *patrikāsthāpanā* which means taking leave to the goddess was and is generally done on this day even at present. It appears that as of today the *Chālañ* ceremony was observed on the day of *Ekādaśī* in Asanṭol area of Kathmandu as testified by the *Thyāsapu A*. We also get the information regarding *Pāyā* from the same source.

The *Pāyā* ceremony marked the end of the festival. The many female divinities who had visited the homes of their devotees during the festival have now left. All of them have come out on the street with swords in their hands. The masked faces on the procession represent various deities. They are on their way to their permanent abode.

We have an account of the *Mahani* festival under dates NS 788 and 789 in the *Thyāsapu F*. The *Thyāsapu* also mentions about the actual date of the festival under date NS 764 (f. 93).

Now in view of these information we have no doubt that what we now call the *Dasai* festival was popular in the late middle ages.

The *Mahani* undoubtedly was the biggest ceremony of the people of Nepal in the middle ages. It was celebrated with enthusiasm without exception by all in the three kingdoms. Its observance crossed caste, creed and territorial barrier. It was not confined to one place as is the case with some festivals.

The *Mahani* ceremonies come to an end on the full moon day. The nine divine mothers depart on this day. The day is called *Katipuni* from the day the month old *Kārtika* bath and lamp burning to honour the Moon deity

starts.²⁰¹ Again, on the day of *Katipuni* was also held a special *pūjā* ceremony in the shrine of Svayambhu. The *Thyāsapu A* tells us that in NS 817 king Bhūpālendramalla had attended this ceremony. The ceremony involves elaborate worship of the *Chaitya*, and a month long 12 hours fast might start since this day.

Svañtichare: The *Yamapañchaka*, five days devoted to the worship of the God of death, begins from the 13th of the following fortnight. The Newars call it *Svanlichare*. It ends on the second day of the bright fortnight of *Kārtika*. The third day which ushers in the no-moon night is the gala day when thousands of lamps are lighted to welcome the arrival of the mythological goddess of wealth. Every household celebrates the occasion eating sumptuous dinner and keeping the flame of the lamps unextinguished. The night is known as *sukharātra*. The lighted lamp is being hung on a long pole on the roof of one's house. According to *Skanda Purāṇa*, the lamp on the pole is also meant to honour Śiva, Gaurī and Viṣṇu.

There is rich information in the *Thyāsapus* about the *Yamapañchaka* festivals including the *Lakṣmī Pūjā* and *Yama dviṭīyā* (when a sister worships and feeds her brothers). According to the *Thyāsapu A*, f. 16-17 *Sukharātrī*, the night of happiness, adorned with illumination, was observed with rejoicing accompanied with feasting. The two Palace Inscriptions of Bhatgaon (nos. 98, 103 in our Appendix) have also references to the worship of the goddess of wealth and *dīpāvali*. But the *Mhapūjā* does not find mention anywhere.

Whatever be the date of the particular *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* we have no doubt that both the *Divāli* and brother worship festivals were current in Nepal at the end of the 17th century.

201 तुलायां तिलतैलेन सायं सन्ध्या समागमे
आकाशदीपो यो दद्यान्मासमेकं निरन्तरम् ॥
विशेषेण महागौर्यै शिवाय विष्णवे तथा ।

I think they must go back quite earlier, even to the 15th-16th century as is the case of the *Mahani* festival.

The *Varṣakriyā* quotes from *Padmapurāṇa*, *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* and *Lakṣmīkulārṇavatāntra* passages recommending the celebration of the occasion of the worship of the goddess of wealth.

The fourth as the first day of the bright fortnight of *Kārtika* is said to have been the epoch day of the *Nepāla Samvat*. Some people observe the day by worshipping the hill shaped cowdung heap as *Mt. Govardhana*. Others, the Newars, have a ceremony called *Mhapūjā* which literally means worshipping the human body. In the evening the rite is held, and the eldest member of the family plays the role of the worshipper, extending at the last the worship also to himself or herself. The last day of the *Pañchaka* (five days) is *Yama dvitīyā* called *Kijāpūjā* when sisters worship their brothers offering them oranges, walnut, fruits and sweets in particular. It is said that the ceremony was popular since the God of death and his sister Yami started it. Both the practices of *Mhapūjā* and *Kijāpūjā* are mentioned in *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* according to the author of the *Varṣakriya*.²⁰²

No doubt the *Yamapañchaka* was one of the principal festivals in Nepal. It has an appeal which goes across caste or territorial barrier. It is celebrated by each house in the community all over the three kingdoms with the same joy and devotion.

The 11th day of the bright fortnight brings to an end the four months of austerity and piety for the laity and immobility for the monks of both the orders. Hari who had gone to sleep four months ago is now all awake. This is a special occasion for fast, and visiting temples of Lords Viṣṇu and Śiva. From this day begins the *Bhiṣmapañchaka*, another

202 पूजयेद् यमभागिनीं यमं च चित्रगुप्तकम् ।

मण्डलं क्रियते तत्र स्त्रां पूजा क्रियते महान् ॥

जलकुंभं च दीपं च मार्जनीं च प्रपूजयेत् ।

sacred period of five days, when the Pāṇḍavas were said to have gambled their kingdom to go subsequently on exile. The object of universal worship on these days is the image of the Jalāsayana Viṣṇu known locally as *Bhuyujasi* lying recumbent on the body of the 11-hooded serpent. The last day is called *Sakamalapuni* when the people take boiled sweet potatoes, maize puffs, fried beans and bread of wheat flour. The *Sakamalapuni* is mentioned as a festival day in Jitāmitramalla's inscription of 808. We have also a reference to *Sakamalapuni* in the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 39) under date NS 802. The festival was celebrated in the same manner as it is done today. The month old partial fast or other vows are broken on this day. The antiquity of the festival going as far back as the late 17th century is thus established. The festival might have been observed since even earlier, say 15-16th century.

Other Festivals: The 14th day of the dark fortnight which follows *Sakamālapunhi* is called *Bālāchaturdaśī*. On this day in the morning sacred sites including Mṛgasthali around the shrine of Paśupatinātha are visited by pilgrims who offer the seed grains of various cereals including paddy, barley and wheat to earn virtues for their newly departed. The rite is commended by *Kulāgamatantra* and *Vārāhitatantra*. And also by *Matsyapurāṇa* and *Skandapurāṇa (Himavat-khaṇḍa)*. The custom is referred to by the chronicles, and it is said there that the occasion was used by the authorities in Kathmandu to molest visitors from Bhatgaon if the two states had been on unfriendly terms for the time. The *Thyāsapu D* also in a passage refers to the *Bālāchaturdaśī* under date.

Jayaprakāśamalla is often mentioned to have used the occasion to harass the citizens of Bhatgaon when it suited his purpose. *Bālāchaturdaśī* is particularly mentioned in the Bhatgaon palace inscriptions of 808 and 818. So there is no doubt that the festival was being observed in the 17th century A.D.

The *Yomaripunhi* otherwise known as *dhānyapūrṇimā* signifies the successful end of the threshing period. The paddy is now kept inside the house in large earthen pots, where actually the worship is performed with rice, flour and sandalwood and colour paste offered to the deity supposed to be residing in the store room. The fruition of hard labour is now evident, and men and women can look to future with confidence with plenty reigning at home. The occasion is that of joy over the possession of their hard earned resources. The *pūjā* is recommended by *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. It instructs the farmers to distribute alms to the needy on the day of *dhānyapūrṇimā*. A specially prepared cake of rice flour mixed with raw sugar and *tīl* grains within the fold is eaten on this occasion. The cake is known as *Yomarī*. The Buddhist text of *Ratnāvadāna* tells us a story about the *Yomarī* turning into a bouquet of gems as a result of a pious deed performed on that day. The wife of a merchant had mercifully fed a poor on this day, who later turned out to be the god of wealth in disguise and blessed her. She had been asked to prepare a piece of *Yomarī* and put it inside the granary and worship the same as the lord of wealth. This she did, and to her extreme satisfaction she found that the cake had turned into gold and with it also all the grain particles.

We do not know how the practice of eating *Yomarī* on this day began. The *Dhānyapūrṇimā*, the full moon day of paddy, must have been celebrated to mark the occasion of the end of the threshing period, when paddy in plenty was said to enter the storage of the farmer. Verses occurring in *Kulakalpatantra* and *Tantrāntara* are cited to suggest sources for the observation of the festival.²⁰³ But their ages cannot

203 मार्गशीर्षे सिते पक्षे पिण्डकेलिविधौ गृहो ।
 पौर्णमास्यां प्रदोषे तु धान्यक्षेत्रं समर्चयेत् ॥
 कुवेरं च सुभद्रां च गणेशं पूजयेत् तथा ।
 इदं प्रद्वौक्ये दादौ विधिवत् पूजनं चरेत् ॥

be determined and again we know much less how the celebration came to be adopted in Nepal. However, the *pūrṇimā* is noted in Jitāmitramalla's palace inscription of NS 808, and among the varieties of eatable articles offered to the deity is *Yomarī*.

Four festivals coming in between the *Svāntichare* and *Holi* prominently figure in the *Thyāsapus*. There are the *Tīlasaṁkrānti*, *Sarasvatī pañchamī* and *Śivarātri*. The lunar month of *Pauṣa* goes without a festival as it considered inauspicious for the performance of religious rites. It is the coldest month. The sowing of wheat is over before the month begins. The working hours are limited because the day is very short. One has got to keep within doors before 4 o'clock, while the sun goes down the western hills. The *Makara Saṁkrānti* is the turning point for the Sun according to Hindu astronomical thought. He moves up towards the north since this day, and ushers in a new phase in the cyclical fluctuation of the season. Now the day begins to grow longer, and the night shorter. The advent of the new season has had to be celebrated, and more so when the season coming is to here relieve the mankind of the rigours of extreme cold and give him the joys of a temperate climate with its bright sunshine and warmth.

The *Makara Saṁkrānti* falls just in mid-January in terms of the Christian calendar. It is celebrated by visiting centres of pilgrimage situated on the confluence of two rivers, viz. Tekudovan (rivers *Bāgmati* and *Viṣṇumati*), Pannauti (*Līlavatī* and *Nīlavatī*). At home the people eat a sumptuous feast, the menu consisting in particular of raw sugar (*chāku*), ghee, ball of sesamum seeds and many other delicacies. The Newars add one more variety, that of small fish dried and salted called *Sidrā*. They also make gifts of these particulars as well as of an earthen pot used to put charcoal for heating purposes called *makala*.

There is no doubt that the *Saṁkrānti* was observed with enthusiasm in the late middle ages. We have the maxims of

the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* and *Tatrāntara*²⁰⁴ recommending this observance. This does not seem, however, to have been a very old celebration. The *Gopālarāja Varṁśāvalī* does not mention it. Perhaps the Nepalese came to practise it later.

But the *Thyāsapu D* under date line of the year 808 refers to *Tīlasamkrānti*. The *Tīlasamkrānti* comes for mention also in the palace inscriptions of Jitāmitramalla and Bhūpatīndramalla. These two records talk of special worship of deities and of making gifts of eatables, ghee, *chaku* and *tīla* to Brāhmaṇas. Thus it appears that the festival was being observed towards the end of the 17th century. We can state that *Tīlasamkrānti* as a festival was surely observed not only in the 17th century, but even earlier.

The Newars have an additional customary practice for this day. In every household the mother puts warm mustard oil and a grain of black bean on the heads of her sons and daughters, and it is said that this is done for their long life and health. The newly married wife avoids taking meal at her husband's house on *Tīlasamkrānti*, she goes instead to her parents' home.

The *Vasanta Pañchamī* or *Sarasvatī Jayanti* occurs on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of *Māgha*. The *Svayambhupurāṇa* in the 6th chapter talks of the worship of Mañjuśrī on the day for the attainment of knowledge. It appears that Mañjuśrī was worshipped during the time the treatise was composed as at the present time. Perhaps the site which has a shrine of Mañjuśrī at the back of the Svayambhu hill in the west was existing in those days. It shows only footprints of Mañjuśrī but not his image. The same day being also a day of Sarasvatī according to the Śaivite texts, both sects pay homage to the two deities. But as we have already said the oldest image of Mañjuśrī belongs to the 9th or 10th

204 रवौ मकरसंस्थे तु तिलमिश्रिततण्डुलम् ।

दानं द्विजेभ्यो दत्त्वा च स्वयं च भोजनं चरेत् ॥ (तन्त्वान्तर)

century A.D. Mañjuśrī is often confused with goddess Sarasvatī of the Śaivite sect, later introduced also into the *Vajrayāna* pentheon. According to one school Sarasvatī is the wife of Mañjuśrī. Both have the same attributes, and are prtron deities of learning except that one is a male and another a female.

The *Varṣakriyā* quotes *Gandharvatantra* for the worship of Sarasvatī on this day. As Sarasvatī's images are widely scattered, it is generally the day of Sarasvatī, though Mañjuśrī as Sarasvatī also receives worship at one site.

It is difficult to say which was the time since when the *Sarasvatī* or *Mañjuśrī Jayanti* began in Nepal. There are inscriptions attached to the temples of Sarasvatī, but nowhere the observance of the day is referred to. However, the Bhatgaon palace inscriptions of 808 and 818 mention *Śrīpañchamī* thereby suggesting that the day was observed as a special occasion.

The *Vasanta Pañchamī* is said to be the harbinger of spring. It is here to introduce the spring season, the king of flowers. The season gives by its warmth new life to trees gasping for breath due to the winter frost. Trees begin to assume new leaves and then flower right away. Similarly flowers appear in the trees if they had resisted the onslaught of the icy cool of the winter. I do not know how spring came to be associated with the deity of learning. But the *Svayambhu Purāṇa* tells us about the day's association with Mañjuśrī. It is not wide of the mark to associate Goddess Sarasvatī with the festival, but the festival must have begun not earlier than 14th century.

We now come to the last of the festival of the year in our enumeration. *Śivarātrī* occurs in the last of the six seasons of the year, this is the season which is the coldest of all. The saying goes that with *Śivarātrī* over we see the end of the winter season. As an extremely cold night, there are scenes of public fire places at cross roads, where heaps

of wood are burnt, and it is said that even by stealing operations one should acquire faggots and burn them, as everything of the type burnt goes to warm Lord Śiva thereby enabling the operators to earn his blessing. Thus is the *Śivarātrī* festival celebrated in honour of Lord Śiva who by his name Paśupatinātha is the patron deity of the Nepalese. *Śivarātrī* is one of the four *Mahārātris* falling on the 14th day of the dark fortnight of *Māgha kṛṣṇa* reckoned according to the Nepal era which has an *āmanta* year. The main feature of the celebration is the worship of Śiva, and visiting of temples where Śiva phallus are enshrined. The shrine of Paśupatinātha attracts the biggest crowd ever assembled in any temple in Nepal in the year. Hindu pilgrims from all parts of India also come in large numbers.

Śivarātrī is lauded as a very important festival in *Liṅgapurāṇa*. In the *Himavatkhanda* of *Skandapurāṇa* the day of *Śivarātrī* is regarded as the day of worship of Śiva and his many manifestations. The *Śaivāgamatantra* recommends worship of Śiva on the day of *Śivarātrī* thus testifying to the support the *tantras* gave to the festival.

Śivarātrī was definitely a popular festival in the late middle ages as our inscriptions and *Thyāsapus* mention them. The palace inscriptions of Jitāmitramalla and Bhūpatīndramalla (nos. 98, 103) mention the *Śivarātrī* festival, and rituals relating the same. In the *Thyāsapus* we have copious references to the day, on which the worship of Śiva was to be performed. The *Thyāsapu A* mentions the observance of the festival under date 802 (f. 41). It gives additional information on the festival of the year.

'Samvat 892 *Māgha kṛṣṇa* 13, *ghaṭi* 26, *trayodaśī ghaṭi* 27 *vighaṭi* 14, next day *chaturdaśī* was *ghaṭi* 31, 34 *vighaṭi*, such was the position of the *tithīs* (days of the fortnight), some celebrated the *Śivarātrī* on the first day (*trayodaśī pra chaturdaśī*), while others did on the second day. Those who celebrated on the first day were Patan, Tirhut and hill states.

It was said that there was *chaturdaśī* up to $4\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭi* past at night on the second day. So Śiva Jośi advised the observance on the second day. Kathmandu and Bhatgaon followed him.

Sacred days of the Month: Besides the special days enumerated above which were observed as days of festivity, there were days in a lunar month considered sacred, on which people made special offering to their deities, tendered gifts to Brāhmaṇas or *Guyā* priests and undertook fast and similarly rigorous physical suffering in that course as penance. Among the days of the fortnight the *Aṣṭamī*, *ekādaśī*, *dvādaśī*, *chaturdaśī*, *pūrṇimā* and *amāvāsyā*—the last two added more importance to them under lunar and solar eclipse, are supposed to be sacred from one point of view or another. The *aṣṭamī* was the *pātimokṣa* day for the Buddhist monks in olden times. Today it is the day of fast and prayer for all who follow the creed. Leaving aside these days which are considered too general, these were regarded ceremonial. Some of our inscriptions provide information about these occasions. These do not enjoy so much importance as the days of festivals. The festival required all those connected with it to stop working for things other than what the occasion demanded. But these only partially kept them away from their usual occupation and feast and revelry were present to a certain extent, and that also timed to suit the retired hours of the evening and night. We shall take here note of all the sacred days mentioned in the inscription of which as we know many are celebrated as special festivals of the year.

Akṣaya-tritīyā

Mārgaśira pūrṇimā or *Yomaripunhi*

Pauṣa punhi (*pūrṇimā*)

Tīlasaṅkrānti

Śrīpañchamī

Śivarātrī

Phālguna Pūrṇimā

Pāsāchavadasa
Biskeṭ Saṁkrānti or *Vaiśākhī*
Katichavadasa
Rāmanavamī (birth anniversary of Rāma)
Vaiśākha punhi
Sithi
Daśaharā
Jyeṣṭha pūrṇimā
Gathamugala 14
Śrāvaṇa pūrṇimā
Yugādi
Yarambothaka
Yaluchothaka
Yañlāpunhi
Āśvina śudi 9
Lakṣmīpūjā
Sukharātrī
Kārtika śukla 9
Sakamalapunhi
Bālāchaturdaśī

These festival days were to be observed for worshipping the goddess Taleju as well as others then newly erected by the father and son. The offering to the deity on each occasion were arranged to omit the requirements of the festival concerned.

Bhūpatīndramalla adds two more days, *Phālgūṇa śukla 9* and *Āsāḍha śukla 9*, but these were the days on which oiling of the images of Narasiṁha and Hanumāna fixed on the doors of the palace was to be done. The deities were there to protect the newly built palace.

We must have marked that most of the days mentioned are celebrated as special festivals. But of these a few are ceremonial occasions which were observed only in the royal palace. Those which have not been put under the category of the principal festival days are (1) *Pauṣa Punhi*, (2) *Phālgūṇa*

punhi, (3) *Katichavadasa*, (4) *Daśaharā*, (5) *Jyeṣṭha punhi*, (6) *Srāvaṇa punhi*, (7) *Yugādi*, (8) *Kārtika śukla navamī*. Besides these there are some other days shown by the calendar as some or other kind of festivals. These are very few, and we shall not take much space to describe the main features of such festivals, but we shall just touch them. On the day of *Jyeṣṭha punhi* wheat cakes are offered to the deities and also to Brāhmaṇas and Guvās. The *Yugādi* which was the first day of *Kaliyuga* was celebrated by worshipping the deities in the neighbourhood. This coincides with the *Panḥradān* day. *Kārtika śukla navamī* is celebrated as *Kuṣmāṇḍa* day. Brāhmaṇas on this day are offered a *Kuṣmāṇḍa* fruit (a kind of pumpkin) with a gold piece inside. On this day there is a ceremonial parading of the deity Nārāyaṇa of Chāṅgu carried over a *khaṭa* within the site at the hill top. In the past also this *Jātrā* was there. As it appears from the Palace inscriptions of Bhatgaon the Brāhmaṇas on this day were fed with rice and milk to earn meritorious deeds. The *Daśaharā* day coming four days after the *Sithinakha* is celebrated to mark the beginning of the rainy season. It is regarded to herald the rise of the water in the rivers and rivulets. It is also the day bringing in new seasonal vegetables to the consumers. This day the devotee is to taste them for the first time in the year. The *Daśaharā* otherwise introduces the new rainy season.

Every 14th day of the dark fortnight is regarded as a special day. They call it *charhe*. Most of the festivals of the month fall on the *charhe*, and hence the importance of the *charhe* in general. The *Thyāsapus* mention the *charhe* days in regard to certain special occasions of religious significance. Even today the *charhe* days are picked up for ceremonies. Two lunar months, the *Srāvaṇa* and *Kārtika* are regarded as sacred months by the Buddhists in particular. Some may undertake a fast (*upavāsa*) in this period with just sips of water taken to quench thirst intermittently, otherwise this is a total fast. Those who fast find place in the *Vihāras*.

The last day of such a fast is a ceremonial occasion, and as soon as the fast is broken there is a feast shared by the relations and family. The fast seems to be an old practice. One of the inscriptions of Śrīnivāsamalla (n. 28 in our Appendix) lays down rules to be observed by those who undergo the fast (also see n. 3 in our Appendix). The *Thyāsapu A* also mentions the *Kārtika* ritual performed in Syengu.

The social life of the people in the middle ages was much mixed with religious festivals of one kind or the other. Mostly these festivals coincided with seasonal changes, but sometimes they were celebrated during the leisurely hours after the plantation and harvest periods. They involved community feast, and merrymaking. It was a gay life the people seem to have led. The festivals served two ends. They were to propitiate the deities, and at the same time provide occasion for sumptuous meals and entertainment. Religion was the dominant factor, but they served also the social end of bringing people of the same clan together in an atmosphere of joy and mirth. In a wider background the festivals were to serve the entire area of a village or part of a town or sometimes a town itself. In these localities whenever there was a festive appearance of a deity in a car (*ratha*) or a miniature temple like *khaṭa*, the people watched the procession with enthusiasm and feeling of rejoicing. Dramatic performance was a part of the festival and men, women and children enjoyed the various scenes as they were presented. Free from the daily toil and labour the peasantry was the most enthusiastic participant in these festivals.

To them the festivals gave entertainment as well as diversion from a life of toil and labour. Festivals were well timed, they coincided with the period of leisure of the toiling community. They gave occasions when the broad mass of people on subsistence level could forget their day to day problems, and transform themselves to a gay world of plenitude and no care. In the festive sites also met high and

low without distinction. Festivals had the same importance for all peoples irrespective of their private resources. They all came to the sites, high and low, rich and poor with the same sense of devotion and amusement. The poor again were to feel that they had advanced far from the wretched drab environment of poverty. They were in this company of gods where rich and poor were equally welcome. Alcoholic drinks did in no small measure contribute to the general atmosphere of rejoicing. These were accepted by God, and men and women had only to help themselves to their *prasāda*. The festivals transformed their mood which could be called simply hilarious.

We gather little knowledge from our sources in regard to the various social customs and practices. In the first part we dealt with the origin, formation and organisation of the castes. It appears that the society was much orthodox and its medieval practices were regulated by tenets of scriptures in forms as ordained to each caste. Elaborate rituals had been prescribed for special occasions. One's way of life had to be accommodated in accordance with the strictures provided to be observed for the duration of such times. Each time while a birth or death occurred in a family, the members were required to undergo certain purification ceremony, the type of it varying in rigour according to caste. The highest caste was subjected to the most rigorous process. The royal family was no exception. It was subjected to disciplinary rules as much as these had to be obeyed by a warrior caste.

IV. DOMESTIC RITES FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

Living in a society dominated by ritualistic religion the Newars have to perform rites at every phase of life from birth to death. These rites were, however, special each occurring once in a lifetime of an individual as he survived. These should be distinguished from rites that are performed in ordinary course as a routine affair in a year or at the option

of an individual as he felt its need and also from those which fall outside the category of annual (*vārṣiki*) ceremonies and on special occasions to the liking and material resources of the individual concerned.

There are numerous occasions in one's lifetime, when one or the other kind of rituals has to be performed, some optional and some compulsory, but most of these are not mentioned in records. Our knowledge of such rites, therefore except in cases which are noted in reliable documents is derived from an understanding that the festivals which are observed today might have come to us in succession from generation to generation since times immemorial. At least this could be said that they were prevalent during the period under study, and we have got them as a legacy of that past.

The birth to death rites fall into several categories :

- (1) the name giving ceremony, which might be called *Jātakarma*;
- (2) the feeding of cereal ceremony, the *annaprāśana*;
- (3) the shaving of head and loin cloth-wearing ceremonies in case of males, *chuḍākarma* and *upanayana* or *vratabandha*;
- (4) the *yihī* (first marriage) and *Bārātayagu* (menstrual or near menstrual rite) in the case of girls;
- (5) the nuptial rites i. e. *vivāha* which is called second marriage;
- (6) the mortuary rites, *antyeṣṭi*.

The birth of a child is always welcome in the household. If the child born happens to be a son, the pleasure is all the greater. There is merriment and feast in the family, to which relatives join. No elaborate ritual takes place on the birth of a child. But as soon as the baby is born a small offering consisting of a piece of arecanut, small quantity of rice, flowers and a silver or copper coin all assembled in an earthen pot is made to the Sun God, Gaṇeśa and Kumāra. The

offering is called *Kisali*. The midwife attending on the mother is entitled to the benefit of the offering as soon as it is set aside.

The actual ritual for the purpose of name giving follows 3 or 4 or 5 or even 10 days later as is the customary practice observed by the household concerned. This is actually the birth ceremony. The astrologer has had to be present on the occasion besides the priest, the name conforming to the alphabet symbolised by the astral conjunction of the moment the baby was born. The ceremony also is meant to purify the household including the mother who till now was confined to a room in a condition of sequestration. The child is indoors for 3 months and is taken out of the residence for sometime at the beginning of the 4th month, and there is a ceremony performed.

When the child passes the fifth month a ceremony is held to add to its milk food also a little quantity of rice, pulse and vegetables. The baby starts teething at this time and the ceremony synchronises with this stage in its physical development. Sucking of the mother's breasts continues along with chewing and masticating process exercised by the emerging teeth. The ceremony is known as *annaprāsana* or *Janko*.

The *Thyāsapu G* mentions among other rites that of *Jata-karmma* and *Ṣaṣṭi*. The *Ṣaṣṭi* is the simple ceremony of worshipping the Goddess of the day and seeking her blessing. The worship is performed at night, and is attended by the family astrologer who sits down to prepare the baby's horoscope. The information about the rite is noted under date line NS 786.

Inspite of this information it is, however, difficult to say if the rite extended to those who were guided in their rituals by the Guvā priests. This rite was however performed wherever the Brāhmaṇa was the priest of the family.

We have numerous instances of the *Janko* ceremonies noted in the *Thyāsapus*.

If a person lived upto a ripe old age, he enjoyed his own *janko*. The feeding ceremony is performed as his 77 years, 7 months and 7 days pass. The Buddhists celebrate *Janko* ceremonies at the 77th, 80th and 99th year according to the number of full moon the person has seen. In the calculation of the number some add the intercalary month's full moon also to the total. The *Janko* ceremony is connected with the Moon God whose worship is performed by the person concerned, The *Grahamatrikā* deities are worshipped in the day time. The son has to play a very important part in the ceremony. Earlier in the day he is placed on a chariot and taken out in a procession round the city. At night when the Moon is in sight in the sky he performs the rite of worship. Different deities figure as objects on the three occasions of the *Janko*. Of course, the moon is the important deity, but *Vasundharā* is worshipped for the eight kinds of success, during the second *Janko*, and *Uṣṇiṣavijaya* during the third. Then the feeding ceremony is performed, the old man enjoying the best of dishes. The celebration is ended with community feast.

In a text known as *Buddhoktasamśārṇavamaya* the rite of *Janko* of the late years in life is mentioned. It gives 3 stages, the first is called *Bhīmaratha*, the second *Devaratha* and the third *Mahāratha*. It also gives an account of rituals. There is yet another text, the *Nemasūtra*, which has the same account of the *Janko*, and its rituals.

It is said that the ceremony of *Bhīmaratha* is connected with the attainment of the particular age, and has not to do so much with the moon, but the *Devaratha* and *Mahāratha* ceremonies are performed when the person concerned has seen 1000 and 1200 full moon respectively.

The Śaivites have the same name as the Buddhist call them for the three stages. But following *Vṛddhagargasamhitā* they think the ceremony is not concerned with the full moon. It is the age which counts. There is a separate ceremony for the event when the person comes to reach the age

emerging to have seen 1000 full moon. The three deities worshipped on the three occasions are the eight immortal sages, the eight Vasus, and eleven Rudras respectively.

The *Janko* ceremony of the old man is universally practised today in the Newar community. But although such ceremonies are recommended by ancient texts, they are today rarely performed by persons belonging to other communities. We also search in vain for sources to establish the performance of such rites in the middle ages. No documents of the period ever speak of this ceremony. The *Janko* ceremony of one's infancy comes in for occasional reference in these. Should we take it that *Janko* of the old age came to be celebrated in comparatively recent times ?

The male child has to keep his hairs unshaved until he passes his 3rd or 4th year. Then his head is shaved. There is a ceremony called *chuḍākarma* or *Bosakhā* to mark this occasion. Sometimes if the child has reached the age of 8 or so *chuḍākarma* is alongside performed with *vratibandha* ceremony which follows. With the *vratibandha* the boy is enabled to wear a loin cloth. He is aged enough to experience the feeling of shame at his sex-organ keeping open to view. So he needs a covering and gets it. The covering just a loin cloth is called *kaiṭā* in Newārī and the ceremony is known as *kaiṭāpūjā*. Sometimes there is a gap of 2 to 3 years between *chuḍākarma* and *vratibandha* ceremonies. *Vratibandha* is an initiation ceremony ; of which *upanayana* is the main rite but the sacred thread is denied to the community.

The Guvās and Bāres stop at *chuḍākarma*. They do not have the *kaiṭāpūjā* ceremony. With the shaving of his head the boy enters upon a career of a monk. He vows celibacy and takes oath to renounce the world. He wears *chibara*, a saffron robe, abstains from eating meat and drinking wine and stays in the *vihāra* where he enters to undergo the process of the main ceremony of initiation. Altogether for four days he has to pass in that condition becoming a monk and then

preparing himself to come back to the household. Each morning he has to go a begging like a monk with a *pātra* in his hand. He has to visit daily at least 7 houses. Each morning wandering with a beggar's bowl in hand he is introduced to enact the part of a monk. The *chuḍākarma* ceremony has to be performed in childhood. Sometimes a baby of a year or two is also made to undergo the rigorous penance in the cold weather of the month of January. The ceremony is performed generally of boys numbering upto 20 in a group to share the expenses required collectively,

According to *Kriyāsaṅgraha* the disciple who was to be ordained has to take a solemn vow before his spiritual guide to renounce the world. He says with folded hands "I such and such a person, take shelter with *Dharma*, take shelter with *Buddha*, take shelter with the *Saṅgha* for ever" The text further says, the spiritual guide should then communicate to him the five *Śikṣāpadas* or Primary Lessons. The disciple should promise to take nothing which is not given to him, to renounce double-dealing, falsehood, and the use of wine, during the course of his whole life, and solicit his spiritual guide to grant him the light of the Five Lessons in the following words:— "Grant me, O Lord, the protection of the three, grant all that an *Upāsaka* wants, such as the Five Lessons & ; my name is such and such, I solicit the favour of my *Āchārya* in investing me as a *Bhikṣu*". After this, his head should be shaved, leaving only the coronal hair. Then the Guru should try the firmness of his disciple's determination by questions, and, having satisfied himself of his sincerity, should anoint him with waters brought from the four oceans, and make him put on a piece of ochre-colored cloth. The Neophyte should announce his entrance into the order by repeating the following words three times: "I, of such and such a name, throw away the signs of a householder's state for ever, and receive those of a hermit". Then he should place himself entirely under the protection of the 'three jewels' by reciting the formula—"I take refuge with *Dharma*, I take refuge with

Buddha, I take refuge with Saṅgha". After having received the ten commandments from the Guru, he should have recourse to the following formula—"As my Lord never neglects the duties of life, so I too promise never to deviate from the path of duty in my life". Then he should request his Guru to favour him with an alms-bowl and a piece of ochre-colored cloth. He should call the whole congregation around him, place his right knee on the ground, and with folded hands, says, "I am named such and such, bring that piece of cloth to me, and delight to see me. Bring that piece of cloth, Upādhyāya, I request you, let it remain here for the satisfaction of the congregation. Bring that piece of cloth, O Lord, that I may inspire confidence". On the Āchārya's handing him over the consecrated cloth, he should wear it, and thenceforth be one of the Bhikṣus.²⁰⁵

The process laid down by *Kriyāsaṅgraha* for ordination is the same today, but after this had been done the ordained renounces his monkhood as he did the world four days ago and goes back home to live with his parents and become a *gṛhastha*.

Although only the upper castes figure in the *Thyāsapu*, their account mentions in brief the ceremonies *Jātakarma* (birth), *Nāmakaraṇa* (name giving), *Janko* or *Annaprāsana* (feeding) and *Bosakhā* or *Chuḍākarma* (shaving one's head to cut off hairs grown since one's birth).

The *Thyāsapu G* under the date line 786 *Śrāvaṇa śukla* makes a reference to the ceremonies of *Jātakarma* and *Nāmakaraṇa* while it narrates the account of one Motirāja having begotten a son. Motirāja must have been an important person because his name is repeatedly mentioned in the *Thyāsapu G*. From the same source we learn that during the period of 11 days since the child was born the family and kins could not perform religious rites. The *Thyāsapu A* speaks of the feeding ceremony (*Janko*) of Pārthivendramalla's son (f. 27).

According to the *Thyāsapu F* the *Janko* ceremony of King Raṇajita's son had been held in Ṭhimi on 858 *Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa 2*. The *Bosakhā* is mentioned by the *Thyāsapus D* and *F*. The former states under date line 786 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī* that there was a *Bosakhā* ceremony of the second son of the king of Bhatgaon, which was attended by King Śrīnivāsamalla of Patan.

The *Upanayana* ceremony was known in the middle ages also as *Budāna*. The Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas were entitled to undergo this ceremony but not others. We know from the *Thyāsapus* about the many ceremonies of the boy of eminent individuals. The *Vratibandha* itself was a protracted affair. For days together the boy was required to undergo some rigours and perform rituals such as *homa*. From the *Thyāsapu G* we learn that the child prince Ugramalla, Bhatgaon king's younger son, whose *Budāna* was performed on 790 *Āṣadha śukla pañchamī* was put under a rigorous discipline for days together to perform such rites.

The *Thyāsapu A* (f. 71) reports the celebration of King Bhūpālendra's *Budāna* on NS 809 *Chaitra kṛṣṇa 9*.

The *Thyāsapu D* under date line 799 *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 14* mentions the *Budāna* of one Ramrājaju. His caste is not mentioned. But he might be either a Kṣatriya or a Brāhmaṇa. We learn from the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 43) that the *Budāna* of a Brāhmaṇa took place in Sānkhu in NS 802, the ceremony extending for 3 months since *Jyeṣṭha śukla 10*. In both cases it can be said that the ceremony of *Budāna* was performed when the boy attained a certain age. In all certainty the same can be said of Āchājū and Jośī castes. All these castes wore sacred thread, But we doubt if '*Budāna*' was allowed to the castes other than those mentioned. However, the *Kaiṭapūjā* might have been called otherwise *Budāna* without the use of sacred thread and *Gāyatrī* spell in the ritual.

In the case of girls there is a near nuptial rite called *yihī*. It is performed at about the same age of the boy while his

chudākarma and *vratabandha* ceremonies take place. *Yihi* literally means marriage. In *Thyāsapus* the expression is used to carry this sense. (See Supra Part I, Ch. on Yakṣamalla's sons), The *Thyāsapu A* (f. 61) talks of Pārthivendramalla's *yihī* with the princess of Vasantapur. Here too the obvious meaning of *yihī* is that of marriage in the ordinary course. But *yihī* is generally used today for the ceremony which is performed at the pre-puberty age of the girl but which in all features is little differentiated from nuptial rites.

There is a treatise giving a systematic description of the rituals of *yihī*. The *yihī* is called *Śriphala-vivāha* and *prathamavivāha*, i. e. the first marriage. It has to be performed when the girl is below 8 years of age. It is just a ritual marriage. No idea of conjugal union in the rites of *yihī* is obtained. The *yihī* is a kind of group ritual. Many girls are brought to one place for the rite. The well-to-do family in the locality, whose daughter was to participate in the rite plays the host to all other participants. But no invitations are sent to the parties concerned. They, however, flock to the residence of the host on their own knowledge that the *yihī* celebration is to take place there. The most auspicious⁴ hour for *yihī* is the occasion of the *Janko* ceremony of an old person who attains 77 years and 7 months of age. But other occasions are also chosen. For the Guvājus anything of a big ceremony in *Vihāra* provides the occasion for bringing their girls for the rite of *yihī*. The host party has to make a presentation of some cloth pieces to each girl coming in for the *yihī* and feed them sumptuously. The host is always of a higher caste, the practice being to take the girls to the place of ceremonial performance in the locality. So is done if a Udai is performing *yihī* at his residence. But a Sesyo would not go to a Udai's residence. The Guvā performs the *yihī* only with his castemen. But all other castes except the untouchables assemble together without any distinction. The untouchable castes do not perform the *yihī* ceremony. For all pledged to the ceremony the rules of

performance contained in a treatise are common, so that it would seem that their cultural inspiration is the same irrespective of castes and creed.

By looking between the lines of the text and the rules it lays down for practice it appears that the *yihī* is a Brāhmaṇical ceremony. All the Brāhmaṇical gods, Brahmā, Sūrya and Agni are invoked for blessing the occasion. The ritual is called Vedic, and hymns of Vedas are chanted to purify the ritual. The rite also has a similar pattern. After some *pūjā* such as placing eight finials etc, the *Bel* fruit (wood apple) is worshipped. Then the lump of gold which is placed inside the sacrificial area is worshipped as bridegroom. The incantation calls the worshipped as *Suvarṇa Kumāra* who is to receive the hand of the virgin now being offered to him by the father. The giving of the bride is known as *Kanyādāna*. The father says "Oh! Suvarṇa Kumār, I give you my daughter who is full of merits. You Lord Prajāpati, I offer my virgin daughter with all her dress and ornaments. Oh Kumāra! you are the destroyer of all sins, you are shaped in gold, and the bridegroom. Let her be yours, and this I say with the words of the Vedas. Let my sins be destroyed and the attainment of heaven be easier." After *Kanyādāna* the eldest female member of the family places *sindura* (vermilion) on the girl's forehead. This is followed by a ceremony called *huiṅkigu*, and ten pieces of arecanut are offered as is done in actual marriage. Later at the end of the ceremony the bride is taken to the nearest temple preferably that of *Kumārī*.

It is suggested that the idea of a *yihī* is to enable a girl to escape from becoming a widow and to guarantee her eternal virginity, the theory being as the immortal *Suvarṇa Kumāra* never dies the girl with *yihī* cannot become a widow. The husband in later life is a mortal being subject to the influence of *Kāla* (death). In the circumstances the girl's marriage with a man is as temporary as it could be. If he lives long it is all right. But there could be a divorce or the husband might die; this would not affect her career if she

chose to remarry. We might note here that today the Newar girl who invariably has to go through the ritual of *yihī* enjoys the right of divorce and second marriage by tradition. She does not lose her status or caste by remarriage.

The *yihī* can be a very old institution. In view of the fact that the women enjoy freedom in the society in respect of second marriage. We envisage an institutional background for this practice through the *yihī*. The *yihī* endows a woman with a prospect of perennial virginity. But this contradicts the reports of *Sati* (accompanying the dead husband on the funeral pyre) as given in the accounts of the *Thyāsapus*, and Italian Missionaries. The *Sati* practice reflects the absolute subservience of a woman to a man to the extent of compelling her to follow him after his death. The Italian fathers say that a widow could not marry second time (see below Appendix). Should we think that *yihī* was common only among the castes other than the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and upper class Vaiśyas ?

In fact as the rite is Brāhmaṇical, there seems no reason that the upper castes should be excluded from its purview. Or the very conception of a girl retaining her virginity on being married to a god is recently created in a different situation. But at any rate the *yihī* must be a custom of hoary antiquity, although references to this so-called 'first marriage of a girl' is wholly absent from our sources. As it is a custom universally followed by the Newar community, I do not think that its origin so simple enough to lead us to think that it was imposed by somebody in the last century or so. The *yihī* must be there in the middle ages at any rate.

If the *yihī* was introduced in the later middle ages, say in the 15th century or so, then it was possible that by devising an early marriage they were meeting the challenge of a possible Muslim invasion on Nepal, which, however, came just once. It was a belief commonly shared in North-India that the Turks who had seized practically the whole of North India upto Bengal would not lay hands on married women.

The North Indians were already marrying their girls before they reached puberty. This was the advice tendered by law givers whose words were strictly followed in the time as the Hindus faced a threat to their religion due to Muslim expansion. It is possible that the *yihī* was a reflection of similar attitude on the part of the Nepalese. The prospect of Muslim invasion was, however, very distant, and as customs hardened the belief could not sustain. But the *yihī* served one great purpose. It very cleverly bypassed the general rule that a woman should be given to a man before she attains the age of puberty. Child marriage amongst the lower divisions of society was probably not encouraged. Such was the case also with the Buddhist Guvā priests and the trader class of the Udais.

As we consider the custom of *yihī*, we must bear in mind that the Brahmanas and Kṣatriyas had not adopted it. The *yihī* did in all surety obtain in the Vaiśya and Śūdra families. The Buddhist Guvā and their laity Udai similarly adopted the practice. The untouchables again did not observe the custom. It is not unlikely that originally this was a custom confined to the peasant and other professional castes of Nepal.

The Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas suffered from the evils of child marriage. We know from the history of the period that princes were married at a very early age. The latest example is that of king Jayaparakāśa's son Jyotiprakāśa who was married in NS 873 at the age of 10 or so.

The information about the practice of *yihī* is almost absent in the accounts of our source materials. There is only one reference to the *yihī* rite available so far; this is made by the *Thyāsapu F* under date line 859 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 4* when the *yihī* of one Dhañju's daughter was performed. But this may enable us to determine the historical aspect of the rite. Because the *Thyāsapu F* mentions the *yihī* of a daughter, it is surely the very rite we know as *yihī* today which has been mentioned. If it is so, then there cannot be

any doubt of the rite having been in vogue in the 18th century A. D.

It might be of interest to note that a similar rite is in vogue in Malabar (South India) among the Nayar community. The rite called *tāli* is observed as the primary marital rite. It is different from *Sarṁbandhanam* which is another name for the stage of a conjugal union. In the Nayar community a Nambudri Brāhmaṇa accepts the hands of the girl in *tāli* but he is not the one with whom she lives in conjugal union later. With this difference the *yihī* and *tāli* appear as kindred rituals.

Bārātayegu: Near puberty and menstruation the girl has to undergo an ordeal of isolation from menfolk including her father and brothers. She is confined to a room within closed doors and windows in the house away from the gaze of a man whoever he may be and also from the rays of the Sun. There is no restriction about other matters, and she continues to be in that state for full eleven days. On the 12th day she prays to the rising Sun in full view before seeing any male member of her family. It is a general practice with the Hindus to isolate a girl in her first menstruation for 11 days so that no male members could see her for that duration. But the practice of keeping her in isolation before menstruation is singular to the Newar community.

The practice of confinement of a girl in the condition as described above is called '*bādhātayegu*' and the same is '*bārātayegu*' in a changed form. The *Thyāsapu F* is the only authority to talk of the practice. It gives the information under date line NS 858 when in the month of *Aśvina śukla* on the 8th day King Jayaprakāśa's queen had to be removed to a dark room where she was kept in isolation for 10 days more. She was taken out of the room on the 11th day after some rites were performed.

From the account of the *Thyāsapu F* it is clear that the custom of '*bārātayegu*' obtained in the 18th century.

Although the same kind of references as in the case of *yihī* is noticed so far as our sources are concerned, the '*bārātayegu*' must have obtained in the middle ages in view of the injunctions of the ancient law givers in this matter.

The actual marriage might take place when the girl is quite grown up or even earlier. The bridegroom plays a very insignificant role in it. He is nowhere in the picture until he has to join his bride to perform a rite in his house called '*Huiñkigu*.' He does not have to go to the bride's place in the company of the marriage party. Until then the bridegroom is in charge of the middleman called *Lami*. The bridegroom's father also plays some part. He accompanies a group of people to the bride's home to fetch her. The group in a substantial number forms into a procession and follows a musical band. The party should reach the bride's house at midnight or earlier. In the early hours of the morning she is made over to the *Lami* who takes charge. The *Lami* is a very important participant in the ritual. He has a sacramental role. If the bride dies, the *Lami* has to cremate her body on his own and perform the funerary rites (*dukhañ chonegu*). The bride belongs to his fold until she is made over to the husband the next morning as she is taken to the latter's house. The transfer of her custody to the *Lami* takes place when the father gives him 10 pieces of arecanuts. This is the only rite performed in the bride's home. Then she prepares to go to her husband's home. She is well adorned and clothed. She wears traditional ornaments of the marital rites such as *tik*, *tayo*, *tuki*, *svan* etc, about which we shall have occasion to make our observation later. She is placed in a hammock, which is carried over the shoulders of two men. She is accompanied by a maid-in-waiting. When the bride reaches the bridegroom's home she is received by her mother-in-law at the gate. She is given a key, and she follows the mother-in-law upstairs to look round the treasury and store room. Then there is a short rest for the parties, after

which comes the ceremonial meeting of the husband and wife, called 'huiñkigu'. The 'huiñkigu' is performed at an auspicious moment commended by the astrologer. During 'huiñkigu' the husband receives the 10 pieces of arecanuts from his wife which the Lami passes onto her in a profusely ritualised surrounding with a finial and oil lamp placed in front of him. The finial and oil lamp are worshipped. So are Gaṇeśa and the tutelary deity. The ritual starts with this worship. Then the bride puts a garland round her husband's neck and herself falls upon his feet. On the third or fourth day as the astrologer commends, the bride and bridegroom visit a nearby temple of Gaṇeśa or Durgā, where the bridegroom puts vermilion powder on her forehead (*Sinachhāyagu*). The ceremony is over with this function and next day the bride's relations come to see her (*khvāsvay*). The couple get an invitation to visit the bride's parents at home (*duchāyakegu*), and with the visit the entire rites of the girl's marriage with a man ends.

From the noting of the *ms. Jaganmohan* we notice that in respect of the marriage in the royal family Vedic rites of *Madhuparka* and *Saptapadī* were held as part of the marital rituals. The *Madhuparka* rite is performed when the bridegroom enters the bride's house. He is welcomed ceremonially as the respected guest and prospective husband of the daughter. The *Saptapadī* rite is performed in the *maṇḍapa* next morning, and the husband here acknowledges the bride as his wife with promises to treat her as her equal. With the *Madhuparka* the marital rite ends. Before *Saptapadī* there is a ceremonial offering of the girl to the bridegroom by her father. This is done at a special auspicious moment.

The ceremony is called *kanyādāna*. From the *Thyāsapu A* we learn that this was a part of the marital ritual. The reporting of the *Thyāsapu* gives several instances of such a rite having taken place on different occasions. When Pārthivendramalla married the princes of Vasantapur the *kanyādāna* was performed by the bride's brother (f. 61).

These rites do not exist today except amongst the Brāhmaṇa families. But in view of the above information they were surely current in our period. That these rites were performed by the Brāhmaṇas goes without saying because they still do it. It is clear that the Kṣatriyas did also observe all the rites as enumerated. Perhaps the modern practice of marriage prevailed with the castes below them. But many Vaiśyas also followed the Brāhmaṇical rites of *Madhuparka* etc.

I think that these special rites were performed only by people whose marriage ceremony took place in the way as it is directed today. In all certainty this was followed by the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas and also by a few families of Vaiśyas and not by others.

After marriage there is no rite in a man's life time. After death his last rite is performed, but there although he is the main figure, he is no more in the living world to share the joy or sorrow of the occasion. The last rite is known as the 10th rite. When a person dies, the dead body is treated for sometime as a dwelling house of his spirit. Its departure to the cremation ground has to be carefully managed. Before it leaves the residence the corpse receives bath, and it is wrapped in a cloth called *Pongā*. The body is tightly wrapped, and also sewn at seven places. A funeral cot or coffin is prepared out of bamboo poles to contain the body. It is framed like a four legged cot, on four sides four small sticks are placed to support a canopy of the muslin cloth. A *Śrāddha* is performed at the place where the person had died. Another *Śrāddha* but not as elaborate is performed when the body is out of the house. While dying a *Śivamārgi* Newar is brought down either to die at the cowshed or if that is not as close he is kept at the ground floor. The Buddhist Newar however has to die at the uppermost floor of the house. Outside the house the dead is worshipped and flowers and red powder of vermilion are strewn over the coffin. There is a funeral procession following the coffin which is carried by

four men. In the coffin is placed a small iron weapon, a needle or knife. It is said that with the iron weapon the spirit inside the body does not have the tendency to look back at his home surrounding, and thus the inmates are saved from the visitation of evil spirits. The funeral procession headed by a musical band playing a drum, a pipe-like *kahābujā* and large metal cymbals. The carrying of the body in procession is called 'Śabayātrā'.

The eldest living son is the chief mourner, who has to weep and cry while other male members of the family follow in order according to relationship in the same manner. In the case of Jyāpu castes the female members of the family, in particular the wife and daughter, accompany the funeral procession. Dead bodies are burnt at sites on the bank of the rivers, big or small and each family has its own burning site. So the funeral procession directs its movement to the burning site where the dead man's ancestors were burnt. Accompanying the mourners are those who carry a torch, two-basketful of paraphernalia for mortuary rituals and faggot of wood. At every cross road it is the practice to scatter raw rice, paddy, pulses and red powder along with some currency pieces, and all this is done in place of *Śrāddha*. When the procession reaches the cremation ground, a bier is prepared out of wood pieces, and over it is laid the dead body. The eldest son lits the fire, in the absence of any son the unmarried daughter does it. The last unburnt earthly remains are thrown into the river. This done, the mourning party returns home.

For the Sesyo caste the rules are that the sons or whoever is the chief mourner performing *kriyā* (mourning rites) have to undergo certain discipline for 12 days. He shaves his head before the dead body is removed from the house. The chief mourners are generally sons or in their absence a daughter or in her absence a brother or any one assigned to that task. The mourner does not touch others, does not wear tailored cloths, does eat only boiled

vegetables and rice cooked either by himself or another mourner. People of other castes have to abstain from meat and drink but they can touch others, while however not leaving their residence, and avoiding footwear. Every male mourner has to shave his head on the 10th day. For 10 days consecutively he has to offer *piṇḍa* (a small ball of boiled rice) to the departed. On the 7th day the mourner's house offers *nyānumā* to a member of Jugi caste. The *nyānumā* literally meaning the offering of the 7th day consists of cereals and other requisites of day-to-day consumption with which the person had had to be fed. For the Guvā caste the seventh day brings to an end the mourning period. They uphold their tradition of monkhood, and do not observe the *kriyā* for 12 days required of other castes. The last day whether it is the 7th or 12th is the occasion for a purification ceremony, the house is purified of the touch of the departed spirit, now that it is in the world of ancestors (*pitṛ*). The *Śrāddha* performed on this day is in memory of the departed person who comes to accept the offer of *piṇḍa* in the company of those relatives who had preceded him in the *pitṛloka*. With the *piṇḍa* is also offered meat, the buffalo meat most of all. For all castes other than the Guvājus there is a *śrāddha* ceremony on the 13th day and the rigours of the mourning are over. The chief mourner comes to the usual way of life, although for another period he has to abstain from wearing coloured dress, and avoid pomp and splendour in anything. The 45th day is the end of the mourning and whatever remained of it. The ceremony is called *laṭyā*. At the present time the practice of wearing a white dress and shoes of fibre materials for a year is universally followed, but as it appears from the Patan Mulchok inscription of 795 the *laṭyā* was the end of the mourning period in the middle ages. If there was a year-old mourning the records should have mentioned such custom. Instead, they refer to the more important of the mourning period, the 12th day *kriyā* and then to *laṭyā* (Inscription n. 77). The record

is inscribed to regulate the behaviour of the Royal family in relation to mourning but it may provide us a clue to the duration of the mourning. The record is dated NS 795. According to the inscription the Royal house gets purified on the 12th day. On the 13th day the Brāhmaṇas are fed. The inmates can leave the palace, and this may apply to the princes as well as the queens. All other religious rites can also be performed. But those wishing to enter the palace should do so after the *laṭyā*. The *bandhej* i.e. the customary regulation was binding on the three kingdoms. In the *Thyāsapu D* there are occasional references to the dying person being 'placed half underwater of the river' (*ardhajala*). There is still a practice of taking a dying person to the bank of the river. As soon as signs of last breathing appear the body is placed with the bed on a stone and the fingers of the feet allowed to touch the flowing waters. It appears that this practice was prevailing also in the late middle ages. The *Thyāsapu D* notes that under date NS 798 *trayodaśi āṣādha kṛṣṇa 13 śanivāra* one Rāmeśvara died in Saṅkhamūl 'half submerged under water'. It does not seem, however, that the practice was widely followed. Perhaps this was confined to the upper castes of the community led by the Brāhmaṇa priests. The *Thyāsapu* gives us numerous instances of people dying on the bank of the river Bāgmati. It is to be noted here that the lower castes of the Śaivites take the dying to the ground floor while all castes within the Guvā's spiritual fold take them to the uppermost. This must have been the general custom also in the middle ages.

The burning of the dead body over the bier was a universal practice. Father Desideri makes a passing reference to the universal practice of burning. The cremation site was chosen according to family tradition. The members of the Royal family in Kathmandu were either taken to the Ārya-ghāṭ on the bank of the river Bāgmati where it flows touching the outer walls of the temple precincts of Paśupati-nātha or

were cremated within the confines of the Royal Palace on a select site. There was a specially raised stone platform reserved for royal cremation, which was called *rājadīpa* both inside the Royal palace and in Deopatan. The latter *Rājadīpa* was situated at Āryaghāṭ. The cremation of Patan's princes was done in Saṅkhamūl, which is also situated on the bank of the river Bāgmāti. There was a specially raised stone platform, over which the royal corpse was laid to rest for cremation. According to the *Thyāsapu A* Nṛpendramalla's body was burnt on *Rājadīpa* on *Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 11 pra 12* of 800 (f. 13). Eight years later king Pārthivendra's body was cremated on the same platform on *Āṣāḍha śukla 3 śanai-ścharavāra*. The *Thyāsapu D* reports that Nṛpendramalla was cremated on *Rājadīpa* at Gvala (Deopatan).

We learn from the *Thyāsapu D* that Śtīnivāsamalla's last rite (*agnisaṁskāra*) was performed in Saṅkhamūl. It is reported in the Newari chronicle (f. 44b) that the cremation of Hṛddhinarasiṁhamalla's dead body took place in Saṅkhamūl. A special platform was reserved for the members of the royal family for the purpose. Any king of Patan who died in his kingdom was cremated there. The Bhatgaon kings were cremated at the main *ghāṭ* on the bank of the Hanumanta river. We do not want to multiply instances of cremation in relation to the sites as it is established that cremation was a universal practice, and each family was to select the site traditionally set aside and the royal family had their own cremation platforms.

Incidentally the problem of performing *agnisaṁskāra* and other *kriyā* of a royal personage who had died at a considerable distance from home should come for mention at this stage.

We have an inscription of the reign of Yoganarendramalla, which shows how the ancient Hindu scripture prevailed in determining the conduct of a relation of a dead person in regard to certain sacrificial ceremonies (mortuary rites) being

performed within some specified time of the occurrence. The inscription dates *NS 821 Māgha kṛṣṇa ṣaṣṭī Monday* and commemorates the resumption of *Koṭyāhuti* (offerring of ghee and parched rice to the fire) which was interrupted on account of the news of the death of Bhūpālendramalla (king of Kathmandu) reaching the patron. Bhūpāendra was a nephew of Yoganarendra at the fifth generation and his death had to be mourned as the *śāstras* had directed and this meant the cessation of all other ceremonies, and even normal religious duties. The *Koṭyāhuti* had to be abandoned, because the persons of all the relatives of the dead were supposed to be impure for a certain time after the death had occurred. The inscription states: The news of the death of Bhūpāendra reached here after two months and five days, and his horoscope was burnt and burning of *satīs* also took place ; then on the 16th day the fire at the altar had to be relit, and several learned Paṇḍits and teachers (Upādhyāyas) were called to give their opinion according to scriptures ; [the opinion they recorded is a *śloka* in the *Saṅkhasmṛti*, and this directed (the *śloka* is quoted in full) observance of mourning in accordance with rules prescribed for each caste], if the news reaches within the prescribed period ; but outside this limit if one hears the news of death within a year, then only for 3 nights mourning should be observed ; this was called *Khaṇḍāśauca*; after a year, however, while the wife and son mourned for a day, others of the clan were purified after bath. Ordinarily the mourning (*aśauca*) extends to 10, 12, 15 or 30 days as in each case the rule directed; now according to this directive, it was decided to resume *Koṭyāhuti* after sixteen days had elapsed since the burning of horoscope.

Although the inscription does not throw light on many aspects of customary practices it at least shows that the ancient scriptures of the Hindu society were influencing such practices also in Nepal to a great extent.

Dharmasvāmin while passing through the Terai on his

way to Darbhanga met Nepalese companions who had carried with them sacred ashes (the remnant of the cremated dead body) to immerse in the waters of the Ganges.²⁰⁶ They were however, non-Buddhists. Obviously this was a practice confined to those who followed Brahman priests. The practice continued up till quite late. The ashes had to be carried in a small metallic pot, and was not to be touched by persons other than the carrier. But it appears that the practice was limited to the upper castes of the Śaivite section of the community which was under the Brāhmaṇical influence.

The custom of burning the wife with the dead body of the husband was very old. As in the early middle ages, the custom of *Satī* was widely prevalent also in the later period as well. In the narrative we have seen how kings, members of the royal family and noblemen were followed on the funeral pyre by their wives. The Brāhmaṇas and the castes immediately below them followed this practice quite strictly. No kings had died, whose wives had not burnt themselves on the pyre.

Because it was a polygamous family, the king belonged to, his dead body claimed the largest toll of human lives on the pyre. Besides, the *Satīs* did also come from the harem, the favourite concubines chose to follow the lord. We can just present the masterly list prepared of cases come to our knowledge. Of these Mahendramalla's is the earliest for our period.²⁰⁷ He was burnt with several women on the pyre. With a gap we come to know of Partāpamalla's nine wives burning with his dead body.²⁰⁸ Nṛpendramalla was followed by 9 *Satīs*, but his brother Pārthivendra's body was cremated with 24 of them.²⁰⁹ In Patan according to the *Thyāsapu D* there were 9 women burning with king Śrīnivāsamalla. With

206 *Biography of Dharmasvāmin* p. 59

207 Doc. 6 of Mahendramalla.

208 *Thyāsapu D*

209 *Thyāsapu A*, f. 24, 62.

Yoganarendramalla 33 women had immolated on the fire. Bhūpālendramalla had died while out of Nepal, but women had been burnt along with his horoscope when the news of his death had reached Kathmandu.²¹⁰

The *Gopālarāja Vamsāvalī* (V¹ ? f. 27b) gives the information that Rudramalla, the subsidiary king of Bhatgaon, died in 446 and there were 4 women burnt with him as *Satīs*.

There is no doubt that the practice of *Sati* had started quite earlier, and the royal family strictly adhere to it.

As we have already suggested the practice was followed by the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and even by some Vaiśyas, those in touch with the palace ; what counted was position and status. Perhaps the influential families, to whichever castes they belonged followed this practice. The wives of the men of status and rank in the society accompanied their husbands to the funeral pyre. These were the wives of ministers or governors,²¹¹ royal priests, noblemen,²¹² and other prominent persons.²¹³ We can cite numerous examples. The *Thyāsapu* have noted only cases prominent enough to deserve being mentined. But we can imagine that it must have been a practice widely resorted to. Not all the women met the ordeal bravely. Many also escaped from the pyre. The *Thyāsapu A* mentions that the wife of Khoratama and the wife of Chautārā Lakṣmīnārāyāṇa had escaped. We learn from the *Thyāsapu D* that on 800 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa* 9 the *Satī* of Suvāla Punaśimha ran away from the fire.

I should add here that not only the wives were burnt along with the deceased husband, but in a few cases sisters and mothers of the dead one also are seen to have jumped upon the fire to follow him. One of Mahendramalla's documents

210 *Thyāsapu A*, f. 96.

211 *Thyāsapu A*, f. 17.

212 *Thyāsapu A*, f. 24. Khoratama, father of Chief Minister dies.

213 *Thyāsapu D*. under date 800 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa* 9 Suvāla Punaśimha died and his wife fled from the pyre.

(n. 6) shows his sisters burning themselves with his dead body, while according to the chronicle king Viśvajitamalla's mother had entered into her son's funeral pyre.

To be burnt along with the dead body was certainly inhuman and cruel. For our age it is too cruel even to think of. It is no wonder that many refused to be burnt when the first spark touched their body. Where this custom was practised it became sometimes compulsory on the part of the women to follow the dead man, and once the vow is made no escape was possible ; women were forcibly carried to the pyre, and burnt. But it appears that this was not so in Nepal. Here those who escaped were tolerated in the society. Of course, they led the life of widows. As we know from various sources, remarriage was not possible in the upper reaches of the society to which these women belonged. But howsoever sad their life might be they were spared.

As we have already made some observation on the position of women in connection with the *yihī* practice, we shall have to talk more on the subject as we come to discuss their property and other rights in the next section.

Having said so much about the festivals and other domestic ceremonies we now think it proper to make a short observation on the special characteristics of the rituals, which invariably form the backbone of any festivity and ceremonial performances. It was not enough just to refer to the rituals without saying what these were, how they were conducted and by whom, and also the paraphernalia required for the performance. In the following pages we shall describe them in all of their aspects and also quote authorities for the different form of rituals.

Taking advantage of the space we shall also describe all other allied rituals of *mahāyajña* and *mahādāna* as the case may be.

(V) RITUALS, GIFTS AND THE CLASSICAL TEXTS

Rituals, their priests: The Guvā guided the rituals of certain castes, while others followed the guidance of the Brāhmaṇas. But while with the former the Guvā and Bares functioned the latter as collaborators in conducting the ceremonies, the Brāhmaṇas obtained the assistance of a subordinate caste viz. Āchāju and Jośī (astronomer) in the performance of the rituals. The Bālkumārī inscription (of NS 748) of Siddhinarasiṃha mentions besides the Brāhmaṇas other persons whom it calls to have belonged to Āchāju and Jośī castes as those figuring as co-priests in the *pūjā* ceremony. There were Mūla Āchāju and Mūla Jośī but these were so treated only in the palace inscriptions (n. 98, 103 in our Appendix) and not outside. However, the Āchāju and Jośī, though placed below the Brāhmaṇa caste served to act as auxiliary priests for all kinds of subsidiary performance in the actual ritual at every household of the Śaivite family. I think although the Bāre enjoys the status in caste relation as the Guvā, they could not perform the duties of the main priest.

The Āchāju functioned as an inferior priest in all Brāhmaṇa led households. They accepted *dakṣiṇā* (gifts in money) as well as food in their host's house. In several inscriptions they have been placed alongside of the Brāhmaṇas in respect of the above. But they could not chant the *Vedic mantras* and also could not conduct the rituals. These were done by the Brāhmaṇas alone. The Āchāju and Jośī, however, were indispensable for any ritual. The Jośī was concerned with the task of finding out an auspicious time for any kind of rites to be performed. The Āchāju helped to arrange methodically the requirements of the ritual performance. He prepared the groundwork for the actual rite. It was left for the Brāhmaṇa priest to use them.

In the Buddhist ritual the chief priest is named as Āchā-

rya or *Gurubhrat*.²¹⁴ Others assisting him to get the same names as those of their counterparts in the Śaivite function.²¹⁵

Vedic rites: The Banepā inscription of NS 672 refers to the Vedic rituals (*Vedikavidhi*), with which the ceremony of setting up the image of Nārāyaṇa was performed.²¹⁶ In the *Thyāsapus* also Vedic rites are mentioned in respect of certain ceremonies of *homa* sacrifices and *dānas* (gifts). We have a reference to Vedic rituals in Yoganarendramalla's Vajravārāhi inscription of 821. It has been said that the goddess was worshipped and offered sacrifices in accordance with the Vedic rituals.²¹⁷

Thus it appears that the Vedic rites were still valid in our period. But these were confined to the followers of Śaivo-Vaiṣṇavism, whose priests were the Brāhmaṇas. Apart from Vedic rites *Smṛti* texts are cited in regard to many ceremonies. All these were again mixed up with the Tāntric rituals.

As far as the followers of the Guvā priests are concerned, they borrowed ideas from the current practices of Śaivite rituals. These practices were again incorporated in their own texts such as *Kriyāsaṁgraha*, *Mañjuśrīpārājikā* and other works of rituals. Our inscriptions also mention rites like *Pañchopachāra pūjā*, *homa* and *dāna* in connection with the ceremonies of the Buddhist deities.

Rituals, the process: The ground where the ritual was to be performed had to be cleansed properly and over it was sprinkled *Pañchagavya*, i. e. a mixture of five products of cow's body, viz. milk, curd, ghee, urine and dung. This is required for any kind of ceremonial purification, whether a ritual site or a house or a human body. The *Svayambhu Purāṇa* is the

214 n. 6, 33 in our Appendix.

215 n. 29, in our Appendix.

216 Insc. n.

217 See the narrative of the reign of the king.

authority for the use of *pañchagavya* in Buddhist rituals, whenever it was needed (Ch. II, As. Soc. Pub. pp. 74-75).

The *Pañchagavya* as a purifying thing is also highly recommended by the *Kriyāsaṁgraha*. While talking of rituals our inscriptions also mention the use of the *pañchagavya* for purifying the ground on which the *pūjā* or *homa* was to be performed. Similarly the *pañchagavya* had to be used to purify the house where the death of an inmate had taken place. A relation of the dead who was considered impure for the duration of the mourning shook off his impurity as he touched the *pañchagavya* after the mourning period was over. On the birth of a child a similar purification rite was held on the name giving ceremony day. The *Thyāsapu G* mentions 'how on 792 *Āśvina kṛṣṇa 7 budhavāra* the royal priest had purified the Bhandarkhal by sprinkling the *pañchagavya*, it was then made impure by a dog's entry'. It appears on all accounts that the *pañchagavya* formed a very important article in the ritual which was performed to purify the object in consideration whatever it was.

In the ritual two things were necessary to begin with. These were, (1) lighting the lamp and (2) setting Gaṇeśa represented in an unbroken piece of arecanut (*supāri*). The burning lamp signified the illuminating Sun God. The worship of Gaṇeśa and the lamp as it was lighted gave start to the particular rite that was to be performed. The worship of the main deity was elaborate. If a *homa* was there, it meant throwing over the fire select grains such as paddy, rice mixed with ghee (clarified butter) with the accompaniment of spells or hymns. In the *pūjā* the deity received sandal paste and other colours in the forehead if there is an image, or the worshipper sprinkled the same over the spot or a vessel where the deity was supposed to reside, and then offered grains of rice (*akṣatā*), flowers, *pañchapatākā* and sweets as *naivedya*²¹⁸

218 Inscription n. 103 gives the catalogue of requirements of *Pūjā* for *Nṛsiṁha*, *Hanumāna*, *Bhairava*, *Laksmīnārāyaṇa*, *Hari*

which the deity was supposed to eat. Sometimes the deity was to taste milk, curd or pudding of rice and milk. Another such item is called a mixture of so-called five nectars, milk, curd, honey, butter and ghee called *pañchāmṛta*. The incense (*dhūpa*) was burnt before the image to render the air in the shrine perfumed.

The burning of light was called *ārati*, and just when this was being offered to the deity there was ringing of bell and blowing of conch.²¹⁹ Although the priests were not the same, the Śaivite, Viṣṇuite and Buddhist modes of worship were similar. In both the *pūjā* and *homa* were the most essential part of the principal ritual.²²⁰ The inscription n. 126 in our Appendix mentions the paraphernalia of *pūjā*, dry rice, sandal paste and flowers as well as offering of *pañchāmṛta*, milk, curd, honey, sugar and ghee. The *Svayambhu Purāṇa* at several instances talks of *pañchopachārapūjā*²²¹ with the offering of flowers. It also talks of sacrificial offering over the sacred fire made in connection with the ceremonies. Hymns to propitiate the particular deity are also recited. The last thing was to feed the Brāhmaṇas or Guvās as the case might be. The paraphernalia of the *pūjā* might be kept in a vessel of brass or bronze called *Kuṣuṇḍā*.

There are systematic rules (*vratavidhi*) of worship for each of the important deities. These particularly concern the spells, the *homa* and mode of worship with ingredients like sandal paste, dry rice and flowers.

This is all about the rituals. Much of these were mixed with chanting of spells, and general hymns glorify the deity served in the process. The rituals contributed to the grandeur

śaṅkara on different occasions. But the inscription n. 98 also provides the same catalogue for the worship of the deity of Taleju.

219 Inscription n. 42 in our Appendix.

220 Inscription n. 27, 29 in our Appendix for Buddhist ritual.

221 Published by Asiatic Soc. Bengal. pp. 74 75, 257, 259.

of the moment and helped to surcharge the atmosphere with devotion.

Features of Tantric rites: The sacrifice over the fire altar was popular in the vedic age and since then it has come to be adopted as a part of rites on different ceremonial occasions. The inspiration is drawn from Vedic rites but with the development of *āgamaśāstras* of the *Tantras* this was much diluted with the rituals prescribed by the latter. Today the process involves a mixed ritual associated with all the three traditions. The deities invoked are not only those peculiar to Vedic tradition. Many more are added to their number, which definitely belong to *Purāṇas* and *Tantras*. As we have already described the deities in general in the last section we may now proceed to deal with other related matters. We have to take into account some innovations in rituals introduced as a result of *Tāntric* influence. I think that the Buddhist priests also learnt from the *Tantras*, the *homa* and kindred rites. The Śaivite and Buddhist *Tantras* between themselves must have played a large part in adopting the novel features. The *homa* fire is identified with the deity whose blessing is sought through the ritual.

In many places wherever rituals of worship are mentioned in connection with repair work of a *chaitya* or temple involving removal of deities or replacement of the image by a new ones we are told about the *nyāsa* process of taking out the essence of the deity and keeping the same in finial until the image is restored to its site or replaced by a new one. The essence is thereafter transferred from the finial to the old image or to the new one as the case may be. We have numerous records of the *nyāsa* practice in the inscriptions and *Thyāsapus*. The Kvāvahā inscription of NS 831²²² states how *nyāsa* was the medium which had helped to transfer the deity in the old *chaitya* of the site to the finial and again from the finial back to the same *chaitya* after proper repair.

In the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 94) Goddess Jayavāgeśvarī was set up after *nyāsa* ritual had transferred the goddess into the new idol.

By *nyāsa* the priest performing the ritual can invoke the presence of the concerned deity in his own body. He has only to chant some unintelligible meaningless compound of letters which apply traditionally in the ritual to call for the presence of the deity and with every such utterance touch parts of his own body where the invoked God or Goddess is supposed to enter and reside.

The *dhyāna* is another important feature of the *Tāntric* system of contacting the deity to be invoked before the rituals start. By *dhyāna* the devotee means to fix his mind on the image of the deity. This image is well defined by classical texts. He has to call to mind the image in all its details so that the entire picture is before him to see and feel intimately as it is. Thus the *dhyāna* enables him to feel the presence of the deity. Without the image before his mind's eye no such contact was possible. Hence the seers attach importance to *dhyāna*.

The *Sādhanamālā* is a treatise of *dhyāna* in respect of Buddhist deities as well as of such the Brāhmanical divinities borrowed by the *Vajrayāna* pantheon. This treatise was very popular in Nepal. One of the texts copied in Nepal in the 12th century A. D. happens to be the oldest manuscript copy available so far. There are several other copies belonging to later centuries.

The Śaivite *tantras* contain details of the *dhyānas* by which one was to establish contact with the divinity invoked. The *Tantrasāra* gives a gist of such *dhyānas* and their varieties in relation to the nature of the deities in question.

The *vrata* though current in earlier ages was also the popular medium by which to attain meritorious objective. Our inscriptions and *Thyāsaphus* are full of such accounts as bring to our notice the *vratas* undergone by the devotees on

a number of occasions. The *vrata* was practised by followers of both Śaivo-Viṣṇuism and *Vajrayāna* Buddhism. By *vrata* it was meant to undergo certain abstinence such as partial or complete fast for 12 hours or 24 hours or a month. The duration depended on which particular *vrata* was being observed. The fortnightly *vratas* such the *Upośadha* and *Ekādaśī* are common. The devotee undertakes to abstain either completely or partially from taking food for a day. This he does to purify his body and soul so that he is receptive to the sacred teaching or it may be just to please the deity of one's choice or to whom the day was dedicated. There are other *vratas* like the *Kartika Upavāsa*²²³ of the Buddhists and the *Chaturmāsa*, the *Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī*, the *Ananta-chaturdaśī*, the *Śivarātrī* the *Rāmanavamī vratas* of the Śaivo-Viṣṇuites. These *vratas* are each dedicated to some particular deity such as Buddha, Śiva, Viṣṇu and his incarnation and goddesses. The *Thyāsapu F* mentions *Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī*, *Ananta Vrata*, *Śivarātrī* and *Rāmanavamī vratas*. The *Ahorātra Vrata Kathā*²²⁴ of NS 660 describing divine essence of the *chaitya* asks the devotees to undergo a fast for 24 hours while at the same time listening to the priest narrating the story. Many more *vratas* can be cited. But it is outside the scope of the present work to deal with the subject in detail.

The yajña: While common rituals were complete with the five-article *pūjā* others had more specific ceremonies. The *yajña* was the most important part of the rituals on these occasions. Without the *yajña* no ceremony was complete. The *yajña* literally means offering of sacrifice. This has in traditional sense meant 'sacrificial offering of a mixed substance called *charu* to the Fire god'; the *charu* is a mixture of grains of barley, rice, sesamum all soaked in ghee. The *yajña* might involve also sacrifice of an animal. But such *yajñas* were known in early ages and not in our time. The *yajñas*

223 Inscription n. 78 in our Appendix.

224 DLC, IV. 18.

in the middle ages meant in all cases offering of *charu* into the fire over an altar (*vedikā*) to please a particular God or the Fire god himself for blessing sought to have the successful end of the ceremony. It is become synonymous with the *homa* rite.

We shall talk of the special *yajñas* a little later. Here we shall add a few words more about the general features of a common *yajña*, and cite the sources from a few of our inscriptions and *Thyāsapus* in support of our statement.

The *yajña* coming as a part of the bigger ceremony in a different context was performed as the last ritual in the order. The particular deity who played the main role in the ceremony was invoked while the offering was made over the fire. It was performed on a well cleansed ground ritually purified. The initial act was to lit the fire over the wood pieces kept in orderly fashion in the *vedikā*. The act is called *agni sthāpanā*. Then the chief priest assisted by his subordinates throws up to the fire the substance prepared for the purpose while at the same time he chants *mantras* invoking the deity. The duration of the performance depends on the number of times the *mantra* is recited. Ordinarily its duration is short.

The Oṭu (Kathmandu) inscription of 713 mentions the performance of a *yajña* at the end of the inaugural ceremony of the *Vihāra* in the locality by name Jambunada.²²⁵ A similar *yajña* was performed in NS 715 in the Svayambhu area on the occasion of the completion of the repair of the *stūpa*. In NS 689 feudatory Uddhavasimha built a temple of Viṣṇu and completed the inaugural ceremony with *yajña*²²⁷. On both the occasions the *yajña* performed was *Lakṣāhuti*, which is a special ritual of the type. There are provisions made for the performance of *yajña* on certain occasions to please Lord Bhṛṅgāreśvara, and this fact has been mentioned

225 n. 27 in our Appendix.

226 n. 28 in our Appendix.

227 n. 19 in our Appendix.

in the inscription of NS 806 set up by Siddhimaṅgalādevī.²²⁸ The inscription of Kvābahāl dated NS 832 tells us that in that year some images were set up in front of the *chaitya*, and the ceremony was completed with a *yajña* ritual.²²⁹ We have many more documents referring to the performance of *yajña*, but it is not necessary to mention them here because of the limited space the subject has been allotted in the present work.

As a great majority of the temples belong to mother goddesses and Gaṇeśa and Bhairava, the rituals involve sacrifice of animals and birds in a large scale. But not all animals and birds were acceptable to the deities. Their acceptance conformed to the tastes of the local populace. After all the sacrificed animal or bird was meant to be consumed by those who had offered them to the deities. There were select animals and birds to be sacrificed, and of these the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas were prohibited to eat the flesh of buffalo and pig as well as fowl and swan. We shall enumerate in the next paragraph the kind of animals and birds acceptable to the deities.

If the ritual was to be performed in the temple area, the ground chosen for the performance was just on the ground a little farther from the threshold of the main doors, and sacrifices even of animals might be offered at the site thus prepared.

The sacrifice of an animal or bird was the essential part of the ceremony if the deity to be propitiated happened to be the mother goddesses or Bhairava, Gaṇeśa and Bhimasena on the male side. The Buddhist Dākinīs also received animal sacrifice, but this was so not in the case of Hārīti. The latter was offered eggs in place of animals. Animals sacrificed were the goat, sheep, buffalo, pig and fowl, swan, pigeon amongst the birds. No female animal or

228 n. 97 in our Appendix.

229 n. 117 in our Appendix.

bird was acceptable to the deity. The two palace inscriptions of Bhatgaon of Jitāmitramalla and Bhūpatīndramalla, and one of Pannauti (n. 98, 103, 121 in our Appendix) talk of many occasions when animals and birds had to be sacrificed. These mention sheep, goat, buffalo, pig as well as swan and fowl.

On two occasions Lokeśvara Machhendranātha is offered animal sacrifice (a goat), once during the car festival in the month of *Vaiśākha* and then within the *Vihāra* of Bugā on a different occasion. On the very first day of the car festival a goat is sacrificed to propitiate the Bhairavas represented on the wheels. It is said that it is actually the Bhairavas who receive the sacrifice. As the car reaches Lagankhel on its forward journey, one more animal is sacrificed near the buffer with the same objective. This sacrifice is mentioned also by the *Thyasapu E* (f. 11, 13) under date line *Vaiśākha śudi*. The stone inscription of 796 set up by king Śrīnivāsamalla lays down that on the first of the dark fortnight of *Kārtika* there was to be a ceremonial sacrifice of *homa* in front of Trailokyanātha (Machhendranātha), which was to follow by a sacrifice of a goat on the *chapāda* adjoining the temple within its precincts. On one particular day in the lunar month, Lord Paśupati is also offered animal sacrifice. The occasion is the *mahābhoga* ritual coming every month on the day of Pūrṇimā. A long thread tied round the phallus is brought outside to touch a paraphernalia of articles placed in the south eastern part of the courtyard facing the Kīrtimukha Bhairava, where a male goat and a male buffalo are sacrificed on this spot, which is said to be a *valī* for Lord Paśupatinātha. The deity to accept the *valī* directly, however, is Bhairava at whose base the animal's head is severed.

Wine, meat and egg are freely offered to the deities who receive animal sacrifice. This is in keeping with the prescription of the *Tāntric* texts on the mode of worship. In our records we have numerous references to the offering of

meat, fish and egg to the deities. The Bhatgaon Palace inscriptions of NS 808²³⁰ and 818²³¹ might be cited. These mention important festivals of the year together with the requirements of the ritual for each of them. The purpose was to record the *pūjā* of the goddess Taleju and special deities of the festive days in particular on these occasions. It appears that meat was offered on the *Akṣaya tṛitīyā* day, and fish on *Gaṭhamuga* day. The Brahmāyaṇī inscription of Pannauti (n. 121 in our Appendix) mentions in addition to meat and fish also eggs to be offered to Kālikā. Wine also is traceable in the records.

It is offered to all such deities who accept non-vegetarian dishes (*Naivedya*). Wine is prescribed by our *Tantras* as offering to the deities of the *Śakti* cult. The *Kulārṇavatantra* prescribes the use of wine as drink to be offered to the deities, but this should not be done by ordinary men. The *Tantrasāra* recommends offering of wine to the deity by any devotee. The various *Pūjāvidhis* composed under *Tāntric* influence make similar recommendations.

From the *Kubjikāpūjāpaddhati* we learn that the same category of deities were to receive a bath with wine (*alī* and *ailā* in Newari) and as well as accept the offering of liquor. For their ornamental covering for certain of the image the devotee has also to offer 3 *drṣṭi* (eye-shaped small silver pieces) for 3 eyes a pair of *karnapatākā* (small flags in yellow colour) to be placed on the ears, 1 *adugar* (a small net-like piece of thread of reddish colour) for the breast and *pañchapatākā* (a small stick holding five pieces of cloth of five different colours) for the head. The spirituous drink is regarded as a very important offering.

The inscription nos. 98, 103, 121 in our appendix support the statement of the *Kubjikāpūjāpaddhati*. They repeat what the *paddhati* has stated. The above noted items have been

230 n. 98 in our Appendix.

231 n. 103 in our Appendix.

mentioned as offering to the deities. As these are inscriptions of the kings of the age the practice as laid down in the statement must have wide acceptance.

Tulādāna, *Koṭyāhuti*, *Lakṣāhuti* and *Saṅghabhoja*: These ceremonial gifts and sacrifices are often mentioned by the inscriptions and the *Thyāsapus*. These involved elaborate rituals apart from the cost in terms of the grains and ghee thrown over the fire and gifts made over to the priests. Gifts alone in large quantity of gold or silver in *Tulādāna* and elaborate rituals and feeding of thousands of priests during the *Samyaktāna* cost, one undertaking to perform these, enormously. The *Tulādāna* was the offering of gold or silver by a person equal to his or her weight, the precious metal being distributed amongst the Brāhmaṇas. Our records show that on numerous occasions this kind of gift was made by members of the royal family more particularly the king or the queen mother. Pratāpamalla had made a gift of *Tulādāna* of silver, gold, pearls and other jewels, all mixed as well as one hundred horses on 778 *Māgha śukla saptamī revatī nakṣatra ādityavāra*. He made another *Tulādāna* in NS 784. By offering *Tulādāna* one earned great merit, and happiness came to him in this world and the other. Several times he performed *Lakṣāhuti* as well as *Koṭyāhuti*. These involve rituals when Brāhmaṇas chant spells with an offering on the flames of sacred altar of a considerable amount of dry rice, paddy, barley and sesamum, all mixed in ghee. The offering is made over a *vedikā* lit with fire and the whole site is purified. Each time the offering is made the Brāhmaṇa may chant the particular spell (*mantra*) which is related to the deity being propitiated. This is more so in the Buddhist rituals. In the Śaivite ritual the *Brahmagāyatri mantra* is ordinarily recited. A large number of Brāhmaṇas is required for the ritual. The *Lakṣāhuti* comes to an end in a comparatively short time. The period will depend on the number of hands employed to do the job. Viṣṇusiṁha, the feudatory of Patan, took full 12 days to complete. But a *Koṭyāhuti* takes

full 40 days the working time being between 7 A.M. and 3 P.M. The number of Brāhmaṇas employed depends on how soon the ritual was to be finished as it in the case of *Lakṣāhuti*. These rituals are performed during summer. The *Koṭyāhuti* requires a lengthy recital of *mantras* 100 times more than *Lakṣāhuti*. *Lakṣāhuti* means recital of the *mantras* (spells) one hundred thousand times, and *Koṭyāhuti* means 10 million times. Hence the importance of *Koṭyāhuti*. At the end the host might make special gifts of horses or cows or gold. The Brāhmaṇas engaged in the work are fed sumptuously and receive their hard earned wage also in the form of *dakṣiṇā*. The *dakṣiṇā* could be a monetary unit. The *Koṭyāhuti* or *Lakṣāhuti* whatever it is, is called a *yajña*, where sacrificial offering is *charu* and *ghee*. The Brāhmaṇa who is called *hotā* holds a ladle using it to contain the mixed articles to be thrown into the altar, over which a huge heap of wood pieces are burnt. The ceremony is presided over by a Brāhmaṇa called *Āchārya* occupying the central seat, who guides the ritual. There is a staff to assist him such as *Brahmā*, *Gaṇeśa*, 4 *ṛtviks* who supervise the *homa* and 4 door-keepers who guard the premises and check the entrance.

The Patan ruler Siddhinarasiṃha, who is called a 'devotee of Lord Kṛṣṇa' performed *Koṭyāhuti* in NS 757 as he was inaugurating the completion of the construction of the now famous temple in the palace square,²³²

Tulādāna and *Koṭyāhuti* were performed also by rulers preceding Pratāpa and Siddhinarasiṃha. Jaya Sthitimalla and Jyotirmalla were such performers in their times.

After Siddhinarasiṃha his son and grandson also performed *Koṭyāhuti*, the latter on the occasion of the inaugural ceremony of the completion of the structure of *Maṇi-maṇḍapa*.²³³

232 n. 65 in our Appendix ; BLI, n. 17.

233 Insirption n. 108 in our Appendix.

In the ritual the *homa* is the last part. The *homa* literally means throwing sacred articles over the sacred fire. The articles are ghee, barley grains, sesamum seeds, rice grains and pieces of *kuśa* grass reed. The instrument used to throw these is a ladle made of wood.

The *Thyāsapu A* reports a number of occasions on which ceremonies of *Tulādāna* and *Lakṣāhuti* were performed. Pārthivendramalla made a gift of *Tulādāna* on NS 803 *Vaiśākha śukla 3 bṛhaspativāra* (f. 49). Chief Minister Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa performed a *Koṭyāhuti* on 808 *Vaiśākha śukla 3* (f. 66). In Chāngu Kathmandu's Queen Riddhilakṣmī completed her *Lakṣāhuti* in 45 days beginning from *Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 6* of 814 to *Phālguna śukla 7* (ff. 83-84). She paid her homage to Paśupatinātha also by performing *Koṭyāhuti* which started on 817 *Chaitra kṛṣṇa 6* and was completed on *Vaiśākha śukla ekādaśī*.

Koṭyāhuti is not within the capacity of individuals other than the royal personages as it requires elaborate arrangement of materials costing a huge amount of money. But *Lakṣāhuti* might be performed by persons who could be called well off but not as well as the royal family ordinarily the ministers and nobility could find themselves in a position to perform the *Lakṣāhuti*. But others in less fortunate circumstances also earned the merit by performing another *yajña* only with 10,000 recitals. This was called *ayutahoma*, and in ceremonies like the inauguration of the completion or repair works of temples or monasteries was the most common ritual.

Like the *Koṭyāhuti* the *Tulādāna* or *Tulāpuruṣadāna* was the exclusive performance of the king or if there was a very powerful and wealthy minister, it was also his. We have seen how Jayasimharāma had performed this *Tulādāna* while he was the Chief Minister in the late 14th century A.D.

Kālapuruṣadāna: A stray leaflet which has come to my hand describes the details of this *dāna*, which was made by

king Mahīndrasimha to destroy death, fear and disease. The *Kālapuruṣadāna* according to *Hemādri*²³⁴ is performed to meet the challenge of death. It is the gift of a full length image of a *puruṣa* either in iron or black sesamum seeds interlaced with gold and other jewelleries in the forehead. The recipient is a Brāhmaṇa. The gift is made from inside the curtain so that the man accepting it is not visible to the giver. The former is also required not to appear before the latter at any time in his life. The gift is accompanied by donations adequate enough to provide him resources for his life time. The *dāna* is performed only when the person is threatened by death. It is performed also only by the ruler. The fact that king Mahīndrasimha performed must endow the occasion when it was performed with some importance. Did Mahīndrasimha perform this *dāna* while he was seriously ill or he suspected foul designs on his life ?

Other Dānas : According to the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 70) queen Riddhilakṣmī gave *Kalpavṛkṣa dāna* on *Pauṣa śukla ekādaśī*. It was said that the occasion was a *mahaparva* called *Triprasaraka*. The *dāna* was given at the southern gate.

The *mahāvali* finds mention in the *Thyāsapu A* (f. 2-3). It says 'when the *mahāsnāna* of the Lord was completed Nṛpendra bestowed a *dāna* of a hundred cows, a horse and clothing to Rāmachandra Upādhyā in front of the Dharmaśīla on 798 *Vaiśākha śukla pūrṇimā* while there was a lunar eclipse. When the *dāna* took place the *mahāvali* was just over'.

The *Kalpavṛkṣadāna* requires the man undertaking the task to make a tree of gold, and offer the same to a Brāhmaṇa. The gift is regarded to reward the giver with a happy life for the duration of 21 births. The rite is conducted as mentioned by *Aparārka* in his commentary on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*.

Samyaktāna: The ceremony is performed on the day of *Makara Saṅkrānti* (13-15 January). The ruler of the country has also to be present during the ceremony. Dīpaṅkara Buddha in his image is worshipped on this occasion. A new image is constructed for the purpose. The image is just a bust, of which the head is of gilt bronze and the portion below is made of cane. The site of *dāna* is an open space preferably the Syengu area in Kathmandu and Lagankhel in Patan. The new Dīpaṅkara image is placed in front. If any *Vihāra* has such image it is also brought there. The Govā-Bares of the Nepal Valley are invited on the occasion. They are given alms of paddy, rice, wheat, barley and some sweets particularly *laddoo* (a sweet in the shape of a ball). They are fed on boiled rice, milk, curd, sugar, radish pickle, Amalā (a kind of plum fruit) but no salted preparation is given nor meat is served. The visiting king is also worshipped at the place where the Śākyabhikṣus are fed. A throne has to be made for him, which is purified by sprinkling water over it with the recitation of the *mantras*.

Unlike *Lakṣāhuti* or *ayutahoma* which were performed by the Śaivites and Buddhists alike, the *Saṅghabhoja* was purely a Buddhist ritual performed to please the Bodhisatva or Buddha of a particular *Vihāra*. We have reproduced the text of invitations issued from time to time on 3 occasions at different places, in Ṭhimi on 696 *Chaitra kṛṣṇa 13 budhavāra*,²³⁵ on 757.....in Kvābahāl, Patan,²³⁶ on 757 *Pauṣa śukla 12 pra 13 brhaspatidine*²³⁷ in Durukhyo-bahā in Chāpāgaon, on 839 *Māgha kṛṣṇa amāvāsyā rāhugrasta ādityavāra* in Kvābahāl, Patan.²³⁸ The main ritual consists of preparing and feeding the Guvā and Bare caste-men attached to a particular *Vihāra* with boiled rice, milk, curd, meat and other things liked by the guests. Before feeding the gathering a

235 n. 21.

236 n. 42.

237 n. 41.

238 n. 134 in our Appendix.

small image of Buddha or a *piṇḍapātra* is carried in procession throughout the locality.

The *Sukatāvadāna* is the classical text inspiring this pious deed. Probably the practice of feeding the monks existed since quite long while Vajrayāna had not emerged.

Narāñ: This is a *dāna* of the type of *Pañchadāna*. The ceremony of offering is held on the *pañjṛā* day of *Śrāvāna* or *Kārtika*. Like *Pañchadāna*, *Narāñ* is also performed in honour of Lord Dīpaṅkara according to *Kapisāvadāna* and *Mahāvastu-avadāna*. A new standing bust of Dīpaṅkara in broze is set up at a site where the *dāna* offered to the Śākyabhikṣus coming for alms and *dakṣiṇā*. The Buddha image of the local *Vihāra* is also brought to the place on a *khāṭ* carried by men accompanied by a party of musicians playing instruments. Like *Samyaktāna* and *Saṅghabhojya*, there is no feeding, but the donor has to offer *kṣira* (rice-milk pudding) rice, wheat, paddy, peas, chyuda and some sweets, digestive powder, barley, sesamum, needles and thread, rope, jug and coins.

Classical Texts Regulating Ceremonies: In several stages the inscriptions and *Thyāsapus* make a statement that the men concerned always looked to ancient texts for guidance in regard to ceremonial observances and pious deeds and their time and place.

The Patan Palace inscription of 795 brings in several names who were deemed to possess adequate knowledge of the *Śāstras*, and states that these had advised the kings on mortuary rites after consulting the relevant texts of the *Smṛti* and *Śāstras*.²³⁹

The *Saṅkhasmṛti* is said to have been followed in taking a decision about the number of days to be observed as mourning while Bhūpālendramalla had died in early NS 821 near Ayodhyā in North India.

239 n. 77 in our Appendix.

Although we have not come across sources telling us about Manu and other law givers being followed, one can suggest with surety that Manu, Yājñavalkya, Kātyāyana, Nārada, Bṛhaspati, Parāsara, Pāraskara and other law givers were accepted in regulating social customs and practices.

The Brāhmaṇical rites fell within the purview of *Sukla-yajurveda*, to which *śākhā* of the *Yajurveda* the Nepalese Brāhmaṇas belonged, and therefore Yājñavalkya and Kātyāyana must have greater say in the matter. A passage in the *Thyāsapu F* referring to the invisible eclipse of *Śrāvāṇa kṛṣṇa* of 858 informs us that in determining the time of eclipses the astrologers had calculated the time of visibility according to *Bhāsvati*, *Siddhāntasārasaṅgraha* and *Khaṇḍakhādyā*. The post colophon statement in Darbar Library copy of *Narapati-jayacharyā* with a commentary by king Jagajjyotirmalla emphasises how important this astrological work was, which the commentator with the assistance of Vaṁśamaṇi had procured with difficulty from Mithilā. Taking into consideration many commentaries on such astrological treatises written by local authors (see below the section on letters), we may suggest that the works were regarded as authorities in respect of matters concerning planets, their movements and their supposed influence on the destiny of men and women as well as the timing of the festivals.

The *Thyāsapu F* quotes a passage in a *Mayukha* treatise about the observance of the *Anantavrata* in the Nepal year 827.

The *Mayukha* mentioned is *Samaya Mayukha*. This is one of the several *Mayukhas*. The *Mayukhas* are devoted to regulating the features and timing of the rituals performed by Śaivites. It appears that apart from *Samaya Mayukha*, other *Mayukha Śāstras* were also known to the Nepalese. The *Samaya Mayukha* is regarded as authority in determining the timing of the festivals and other ceremonies with reference to the position of the Earth, Sun, Moon and other planets.

VI. SOCIETY: FAMILY, INHERITANCE, CASTES

Joint Family: Like any other feudal society, the joint family was also a unit of household in the middle ages in Nepal. Not only the brothers, but also their sons and grandsons lived together in the same house without partitioning of property drawing sustenance from a common source and bearing responsibility to one another as it was one close knit family. But a joint family could not extend beyond four generations. Thereafter it was the headmen of the clan, who was oldest in age and provided a rallying ground for the members. He was known as *Thakālī*. He enforced traditional practices of the family, advised others about these if there was some misunderstanding and presided over clan festivals. We shall have an occasion to say more about the *Thakālī* a little later.

System of Thakālī: The *Thakālī* was the head of the clan. He was the oldest member of it. By virtue of his age he possessed adequate knowledge of men and things, that concerned the entire clan. His opinions were sought on all matters affecting the clan in particular religious observances and caste practices. He presided over the community celebration of festivals and feasts. Wherever necessary he consulted authorities on ancient laws. The *Thyāsapu D* in narrating a private incident of 808 states that the *Thakālī* read the book and gave his opinion as to the ritual to be performed. If there was a family deity kept in secret he was the person to enjoy the privilege of entrance into the secret chamber. The *Thakālī* is empowered to take action against any member who is recalcitrant enough either to ignore the observance or to delay any religious rite. He might exempt any one if he is satisfied that such action on the part of the offending member is justified. The *Thakālī* as the head of the gathering also blesses the assembled, and everyone bows down to him in respect. The *Thakālī* is not only confined within kinship but a locality or a *Vihāra* or a *Gūṭhi* might have its own headman or *Thakālī*. In the *Vihāra* the oldest Guvā or Bade

becomes a *Thakālī*. He is called *Thapāju* or *Sthavira*. In time past in the middle ages there were *Thakālīs* in each clan. The Royal family also had its own *Thakālī*. At one time in NS 794 King Śrīnivāsamalla of Patan was the *Thakālī* because of his advanced age.²⁴⁰ As such he had been called upon to put the vermilion mark on the forehead of Nṛpendramalla. While the latter was crowned king in NS 794. In NS 826 King Bhūpatīndramalla of Bhatgaon was the oldest living member of the family. In the capacity of *Thakālī* Bhūpatīndramalla put *ṭīkā* on the forehead of Lokaparakāśamalla in Patan to proclaim the latter king.

Our inscriptions are full of the references to the *Thakālīs*. Right from the first inscription of NS 644 *Thakālīs* of different types appear in religious functions. The *Thapāju* is the *Thakālī* of a Buddhist *Vihāra* and he is seen in connection with religious rites, e.g. in the inscriptions nos. 10, 21 (he is called *Sthavira*), n. 27 (*pañchasthavira*), and nos. 78, 126 (*Sthavira*). A *Thakālī* of a certain kinship group is seen in n. 63, and we shall have something more to say about the Guvā *Thakālīs* when we come to deal with the subject of monastery administration. A *Sevākhalaka Thakālī* is noted in our inscription n. 125. He must have been the oldest person in the locality.

The *Thyāsapu D* gives several *Thakālīs* who were in all probability heads of family groups. These are mentioned by name under date lines in connection with simple ceremonies e.g. (1) *Hariśambhu* on the *Śivarātrī* day, 794 (2) *Dhvakamha Thakālī* on *Phālguṇa kṛṣṇa 14* of 798, (3) *Madhusūdana Thakālī* on 800 *Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 4*.

The *Thyāsapu A* also narrates incidents in which men called *Thakālīs* figure prominently.

The *Thakālī* as the headman of a kinship group or *Guthiyār* or *Vihāra* or a locality was a very important agency in the social structure. He was the custodian of the traditional

240 *Thyāsapu D*.

rules in the observance of rites. He was at the same time an authority on rituals. He was thoroughly conversant with all aspects of rituals, whether it was a simple worship or a 12 yearly ceremony or a chariot procession. The *Thyāsapu D* talks of many occasions when the *Thakālī* consulted the book. So he was a person who was well versed in the letters. He could at least read these lines and understand what sense they conveyed. The *Thakālī* obtained implicit obedience from his partners, and could find any recalcitrant members for his failure to do his duty. Everybody within his fold bowed to him. But his authority was sanctioned only by customs. The respect which his age had inspired helped him to enforce all traditional practices in respect of rituals.

Guṭhi: The *Guṭhi* is an institution of immovable property set aside for religious purpose in the care of some persons who could use it for a set purpose without having any kind of alienable rights. The property held as *Guṭhi* is in most cases land which yields income in terms of produce. It originates from the Sanskrit word *Goṣṭhikā* or *Goṣṭhi* meaning family connections, partnership or fellowship in the management of property to be used for religious purposes. The *Guṭhi* is a trust property.

Goṣṭhikā in this sense is used in a 6 line inscription of Rudradeva bearing date NS 292, which records the fact of a grant of land for the maintenance of a *paiṭikā* (one room inn) in Patan.²⁴¹ No one entrusted with the task of maintenance of the work concerned is mentioned in the record.

Goṣṭhikā is mentioned by records following Rudradeva's. Some inscriptions of the early Malla period refer to the institution of *Goṣṭhikā*. We have inscriptions of the reign of Sthitimalla and his immediate successors recording the grant of land defined as *Goṣṭhikā*. An inscription of the post-Yakṣamalla period (n. LXXVI in Part I) records the

donation of 12 *ropanis* of land to the temple of Yakṣeśvara as *Goṣṭhikā*, the income of which was to be used for the daily worship of the deity. The donor is the wife of King Yakṣamalla. In all these records names of those who were to look after the property donated are missing.

But all records of our period mention names called *Guṭhijana* or *Chintayākamha* charged with the task of looking after the trust property and fulfilling the obligations laid down in the document, usually a copper plate or a slab of stone. The *Guṭhijana* or those who were to give their anxious thought to the work entrusted are several persons functioning as trustees in modern sense. These can be the sons or relatives of the donor or persons picked up by him from among his friends. The trusteeship is in perpetuity and devolves on their descendants. The property is also indivisible. Therefore the management of the property and consequent drawing of income out of it rotates from one trustee to the other from year to year. There are also many inscriptions and other records which just show grant of lands without any one entrusted to look after them. These, however, concern the established temples and these donations are solely made over to the charge of the priests and hence no *guṭhi* holders are announced. But sometimes even the donations made to established temples are managed by private trustees on their own.²⁴²

The Saubāhāl inscription of 656 talks of *Goṣṭhisamūha* constituted by certain individuals named in the record, who were to carry out certain obligations on specified days in connection with the special *pūjā* in the *Vihāra*.²⁴³ The *Maṭhapati* of a Śaiva monastery in Bhatgaon was to fulfil the obligation mentioned in the inscription set up at the inaugural date, NS 692²⁴⁴. An inscription of Bādegaon mentioning the

242 n. 3 in our Appendix.

243 n. "

244 n. 23.

pramāṇa of *Chākabāhāra* as donor in 799 fixes the responsibility of looking after the endowment (*chintāyāka*) on one Mukundarāja Bhāro who was a *Jowara* of the same locality. Number of persons are made to look after the endowment created by Bhagiratha Bhāiṇya in NS 803 in Pharping.^{244a} The word *Goṣṭhi* occurs in the Chobār inscription of NS 808, where this is qualified *chintāyāka* and there are two names.^{244b} King Yoganarendramalla in his Taleju copper plate inscription of 818 uses the expression *goṣṭhi samūha* by naming four persons who were to carry out the obligations specified in the plate in the matter of the worship of the deity.^{244c} The *Sanātha guṣṭhi* was entrusted with the work of protecting the water conduit known as Sundhārā in Patan according to an inscription of NS 821.^{244d} In the Brahmāyanī temple inscription of Viśvalakṣmīdevī, the four men who were in charge of the endowment are called *Guṣṭhijana*.²⁴⁵ One Brāhmaṇa, one Joṣī and one Āchārya are as *Guṣṭhijana* in the copper plate inscription of NS 842 set up by Viśalakṣmī, wife of King Bhūpatīndramalla.²⁴⁶ A Brāhmaṇa the donor's own relations and brothers are mentioned as *guṣṭhi* in the Paśupati copper plate of NS 848.²⁴⁷ Although the temple known as Naudeval houses a *Śivaliṅga*,²⁴⁸ those charged to the upkeep of the temple are Buddhist Bādes and Tulādharas (a sub-caste of Udai). A grant of land to Paśupatinātha made in NS 847 is charged to the care of four men one of which is Kāyastha and another a Kṣatriya.²⁴⁹ Jagajjayamalla's grant of land to the Bhagavati of Palāñchok was taken care of by one Buddhist monk and 3 others who were Śaivite

244a n. 86.

244b n. 91.

244c n. 105.

244d n. 109.

245 n. 121.

246 n. 127.

247 n. 136.

248 n. 76.

249 n. 135 in our Appendix.

laymen.²⁵⁰ Name of persons belonging to different castes and sects appear in the inscriptions of the years NS 747²⁵¹ and 783.²⁵² The trustees in the former were members of the *Chavadasa* service group. We have not been able to produce the many records of private endowments in the hands of the descendants of the original donor. But particulars we have given in regard to other kinds of *guṭhi* might serve as model for the private *guṭhi* also.

The institution of *guṭhi* provided economic support for the continuance of all the religious rites connected with a temple.

But for this institution no ceremonial performance could continue. The *guṭhi* in effect was to give sustaining power to keep alive all medieval rituals and festivals, which continue to exist even today. I think that this is the greatest utility of the institution of *guṭhi*. With festivals are linked many media of entertainments, which also depend for continuance on the income accruing from the *guṭhi* property. If the classical dramas, folk dances and divine dances in mask continued until recently, resisting even the impact of modern ideas, it is because the *guṭhi* was there to sustain those engaged in the various performances. The upkeep of the temple, image and other properties was also the look out of the *Guṭhiyār*. As long as the *guṭhi* was providing maintenance for the priests and the watchman (*deopāla*), protection of the temple and whatever connected with it was guaranteed. The *guṭhi* had another utility. It provided means of livelihood for the men who managed its property. As the practice went the surplus after meeting the expenses required for the festival etc. went to the private income of the *Guṭhiyār* and there was always a surplus left. Perhaps he used it as his own remuneration as well, and this was not inconsiderable.

250 *Purātatvapratrasaṅgraha*, I, n. 2.

251 n. 35 in our Appendix.

252 n. 63 in our Appendix.

Sevākhalaka, etc: Like the *guṭhi* the *sevākhalaka* also embraced activities of religious nature, but those who belonged to it were not provided with sources of income. It is a group of people of a particular locality who volunteered to undertake the task of repairing a temple²⁵³ or a *chaitya*.²⁵⁴ The expenses were met out of local contributions. The members of the group also contributing liberally. There were two groups known as *chavadasa 'sevākhalaka* and *punamāsi sevākhalaka* according to the Chābel inscription of 840²⁵⁵. Sometimes both of them combined to do their work as it was when the temple of Gaṇeśa in Chābel was built.

The names of *sevākhalaka* were so given because the 14th of dark fortnight or 15th of bright fortnight of any lunar month were considered sacred days for prayers and worship and certain people who took part in these religious functions on either of these days were said to congregate into a special group called *khalaka* bearing the name of the particular day.

The *sevākhalaka* literally means a group of people engaged in the work of rendering service to the deities or community. The *sevākhalaka* can be compared with the *sevāsamiti* of today. Of course, the medieval counterparts interest only in works of local importance and their service was limited.

There were more *sevākhalakas*. One of them known as the *Bṛhaspativāra khalaka* is mentioned of the Kvābahal inscription of NS 831.²⁵⁶ This group must have been organising prayers and worship on every Thursday.

Property and other rights of women: As regards property rights it does not seem the daughter enjoyed any better rights than her counterpart in the Hindu North India of the middle ages.

253 n. 119 in our Appendix.

254 n. 125 in our Appendix.

255 Ibid.

256 n. 116.

A daughter could succeed to her paternal or maternal property sharing property equal to her brothers if she remained unmarried. Her subsequent marriage would involve the return of any immovable property left deducting from the same a part which was valued enough to meet the expense of her marriage.

She would inherit the property only if she had attained 35 years of age.

It appears that the most of the propertied classes were not touched by this basic law, for the girls in these were married at an early age.

It was a joint family system we have to deal with, and we know in such a situation the property remains intact for generations together. If division became unavoidable, then care was taken to allocate equal share to the daughter if she was of 35 or more years old, and to charge to the responsibility of the brothers all expenses involved in her marriage if she was not entitled to the share of property because of her age.

The wife was an equal partner with her husband and sons to share the ancestral property when it was partitioned. She was also the proprietor of all such property as was given to her by the husband out of his own earning and on his death she also inherited her husband's property along with the sons. All the properties obtained as dowry from her father belonged to her. It will appear that the property rights of women had sanction of the classical law-givers.

Yājñavalkya (VIII. 124), Kauṭilya (III. 5), Gautama (XXVIII. 24), Manu (IX. 118), and commentators Medhātithi and Kulluka, all of them enjoin on the brothers to set apart each from his share some money for the marriage of the sisters. As for a daughter's succession to the father's or ancestor's property the law-givers differ.

We have, however, found that in Nepal the unmarried daughter was entitled to get her share of paternal or maternal

property as soon as she was 35 years old, and until then her share of property is charged to the responsibility of one of the brothers. To be able to continue to enjoy the property she will have to take to lifelong celibacy. If she marries she parts with all the ancestral property left to her ownership. If a father leaves only a female issue behind him, she cannot succeed to his property in ordinary course unless he makes a will to that effect. The rightful successor would be the nearest male heir or heirs in kinship.

Wherever the woman becomes the owner of the property she could not dispose of it unless she reached middle age. She could not also sell more than a portion of the property.

All facts of hereditary succession we have noted were valid when the person leaving his property behind died intestate.

In normal course a high caste man could marry or cohabit with a woman of lower caste upto the limit where water was not polluted by her touch. No caste man could sexually mix with an untouchable.

The Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas as well as the upper section of the trader-peasant Vaiśyas of their equivalent did not allow their women the right of second marriage. They had not taken to *yihī*, and the marriage rites for them were sacramental, which prohibited separation of the couple. But in other castes women enjoyed the right of divorce called '*pārapāchuki*'. This right is there for all castes in the community except the Brāhmaṇas and including all sections of the Vaiśyas (the Kṣatriya caste is merged in the Seśyos losing its identity). As we use the term the castes this must include also all those who are served by the Guvās priests. The Guvās as well as their laity freely exercised the right of divorce as others in that category did. Because these castes did not consider their marriage between a man and a woman as sacramental, so divorce was a natural corollary to the situation. The *yihī* was the sacramental marriage for them and therefore a

divorce was not something of a breach of sacramental contract. The actual marriage was the second marriage, and a man or woman could break it if he or she did not like to continue it. There were probably some conditions for divorce. Divorce was sanctioned if the husband deserted the wife, married another woman without her consent, did not pay for her maintenance, or himself was convicted of theft and other heinous offences. If the husband was away from home for 3 years, and he had not made provision for her livelihood for this duration, the wife could automatically obtain divorce. Divorce was automatic if the husband adopted the life of a monk, was a leper, crippled, lame, impotent, dumb or idiot.

All that was required was the agreement between the two parties. But if this kind of agreement was not forthcoming, and it was the husband refusing his consent, the wife received maintenance allowance from him. In the reverse case the wife was automatically entitled to claiming maintenance from the husband. But all this could not compel the wife to live in that condition if she did not like. Apart from the fact that the husband's second marriage tended to dissolve his first one, the wife could seek another partner at any time and declare herself married to him. The husband could claim compensation in terms of money for the expenses he underwent in times of marriage, which was again not much prohibitive. The woman did not lose her status as a legal wife if she is remarried within her own caste any number of times. There is a near marital rite in such a case. Any kind of cohabitation without rites deprives the contract of its legality. The issues might become illegitimate if the caste men do not accept them. Untouchable castes were prohibited on pain of physical punishment to mix with the women of higher castes. But within the Vaiśyas and Śūdras castes of both sects as well as the Guvā and Udai castes, a woman could choose any man without fear of punitive measures against the new marriage. The society was liberal enough

to tolerate this practice, although the woman lost her caste if she cohabited with a man of an inferior caste, but of course within the same group. In the case of a pregnant woman deserting her first husband and taking to a second one, the child would be restored to the father willing to accept even if the mother had lost her caste by a new marriage. In practice there is also a provision for a woman to come to her fold even though she becomes pregnant by cohabiting with a man outside his caste.

We might mark some departure in respect of restrictions on marital relations as far as the lower castes were concerned. They have now been treated as a group in the matter. There was no occasion to draw a line also between the Vaiśya and Śūdra *varṇas*. The *Savarṇa* castes below the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas were let off with a simple rebuke if they in any case had marital relationship outside the caste but within the bigger community.

The Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya women were deprived of any right of divorce. Between the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya the same relationship as between a high caste and low caste prevailed. I think that in such matters the later middle ages followed the line established by Jaya Sthitimalla who had enforced the rules of castes as laid down by Manu. I may add that Manu prescribes harsh punishment in cases of sexual intercourse between a Brāhmaṇa girl and Kṣatriya male. He states that the Kṣatriya should be fined 1000 *paṇas*, and should have his head shaved after having been washed by urine of a donkey (VIII. 375). For the same offence the Vaiśya was to be sentenced to a year's imprisonment, and should have his entire property confiscated. Manu recommends death sentence to a Śūdra who has sexual intercourse with a twice born woman (VIII. 374). It appears from Manu that the Kṣatriyas are equated with the Vaiśyas in respect of sexual offence. These Vaiśyas might belong to the upper section who commanded influence in the society because of their immense wealth. The lower section was with the Śūdras,

We may suppose that in Nepal there was no clean line of demarcation between the Śūdras and lower section of the Vaiśyas. But more than that the dominant liberalising influence was that of Buddhism both with the Vaiśyas and Śūdras, and it is not unlikely that it was because of the influence the line between the two had been blurred in respect of marital ties.

It is possible that as ruling group the Kṣatriyas might have demanded higher status and privileges than what the Vaiśyas had obtained in the society. Being next to Brāhmaṇas, their women were tendered out of the reach to the Vaiśyas who might have been equated with the Śūdras in sexual offence involving Kṣatriya women.

Caste rules of marriage have been discussed in the last chapter of the Part I to the Volume. The information provided therein will supplement what we have given here. But it is generally admitted that nothing much can be said about how the authorities met the various issues arising out of the intercaste sex relations. We encounter the difficulty of the lack of reliable source materials. Even the little we have said has been drawn from the customary laws of the Newār community, which are supposed to have continued since the middle ages. If we dismiss these laws as irrelevant, there will be a gap in our knowledge of the social condition of the age.

Nepal enjoyed the complete absence of the custom of *Devadāsi*. No woman dancer or singer in temples is heard of from documents. It also appears that even with the higher castes (outside the priests, royal families and nobility) a system of divorce prevailed. There was widow marriage, although in the higher strata of society again a widow and a rejected woman were often treated with contempt. We know how divorce and re-marriage were permitted to a woman, but how it came it is difficult to know. Another good feature in the life of a woman was the absence of *pardā*. The women

in Nepal appeared without veil, and this showed that they were free to mix in society and although tutelage of the husband was commonly accepted, she had her own sphere of influence in the family and outside. But no woman was allowed to join the king's service, and the part assigned to her broadly in competition to the male fell to the very highest of them. We do not know if attention was given to a girl's education. But daughters in the aristocratic families might have enjoyed some kind of training in various arts.

The ideal of conjugal love was highly desired and practised. It appears from an inscription of Pratāpamalla that the inspiration was derived from the divine couples. The two dead queens were compared to Lord Kṛṣṇa's two espouses, Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā.²⁵⁷

Castes: The Pharping (Kochhuṭol) inscription of NS 527 (1406 A.D) mentions the people belonging to the four *varṇas*, whose welfare was sought to be enhanced by the meritorious deed said to be executed in the record. Castes and sub-castes that were catalogued in a table in the preceding volume had fully developed in our age. This is shown by reliable documents such as the inscriptions producing names bearing the caste titles.

Beginning with the Brāhmaṇa originated Jośī and Āchārya castes let it be known that we have now inscriptional evidence of their existence and of their having adopted the work of auxiliary priests. One Karmāchārya by name Kusumarāma repairs the *Vidyāpīṭha* in Bhatgaon in NS 672.²⁵⁸ It appears that the Seśyo castes had not yet been shaped and the various units composing the main caste retained their separate identity. Thus apart from Jośī and Āchārya or Karmāchārya, there come to view the Kṣatriyas, Kāyasthas, and men and women of other castes which could be put as Vaiśyas.

257 BLI, n. 18.

258 Inscription no. 11.

The Royal family and the nobility called themselves the Kṣatriya caste²⁵⁹. The Brāhmaṇas, of course, are already there as spiritual guides.²⁶⁰ The Kāyasthas²⁶¹ and Bhadil are some of the titles of the castes in the Śaivite fold above the Jyāpus.

About the Buddhist upper class we have already said that the monks as they took to married life adopted the caste names of Vajrāchārya²⁶² and Śākyabhikṣu.²⁶³ This was in evidence quite long ago. In the later middle ages the Śākyabhikṣus have been called Bāde or Badeju in the records.²⁶⁴ The Vajrāchārya as the priest class retains its original name. The Śākyabhikṣus on many occasions were addressed simply as Bhikṣus.²⁶⁵ The Vajrāchāryas were priests as of today. In any ceremony conducted in the *Vihāra*, the function of Upādhyā, and the Karmāchārya were rendered by the Śākyabhikṣu caste. In fact the two were regarded as one caste.

The Udai sub-castes such as Tulādhara,²⁶⁶ Tāmra-kāra,²⁶⁷ Kaṁsakāra²⁶⁸ and Śilākāra have been noted in the inscriptions. The Jyāpu peasants also come in for references in their sub-caste names such as Prajāpati²⁶⁹ (potter), Suvāla²⁷⁰ (measurer of land), and Maharjung²⁷¹ and Āvāla²⁷² (brick layer) are some of their sub-caste names borne by individuals in our records. Lower castes like *Chittrakāra* are in evidence. A research on

259 n. 3, 12, 50.

260 n. 22, 30, 31, 38, 77, 97, 107, 131, 135, 142

261 n. 19.

262 n. 35, 73.

263 Inscription n. 2, 10, 23 in our Appendix.

264 n. 28.

265 n. 10.

266 Inscription n. 27, 29.

267 Inscription n. 23, 29.

268 Inscription n. 29.

269 A slab of stone in Harigaon, NS 819 *Vaiśākha śukla* 3.

270 *Thyasapu D.*

261 Harigaon stone inscription of NS 802 *Vaiśākha śudī* 4 *śukra-vāsare* etc. also n. 146.

272 Inscriptions n. 15, 91 in our Appendix.

a more extensive scale might bring out other castes such as the paddy-husker, barber, painter, oilman and blacksmith. Often connected with the temple of Gorakhanātha, there appears a caste who can touch the persons of caste above them, but are debarred from serving water to them. This is the Jugī or *Darśanadhārī* caste. The Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa copper plate of NS 632 makes mention of the Jugī caste. The Sāṅku inscription of 679 mentions Kusulya Jugī who were to be fed during the festival of Chaitra. The Nālā inscription of 767 has one *Darśanadhārī* as the donor who had repaired the temple of Gorakhanātha in that locality.²⁷³ The Nai caste is mentioned by the *Thyāsapus*. The Bugā inscription of Śrīnivāsamalla (n. 78 in our Appendix) mentions Jugī, the Nayī and Dombi castes who were prevented from undertaking *upavāsa* inside the *Vihāra*.

All that we have to say about the castes have been told in the preceding book (Part I of the volume). Without going into details at this stage we might repeat the few essential features. The Brāhmaṇas occupied the highest position in the society. In terms of power, however, the primary place went to the members of royalty. One inscription places the Brāhmaṇas and Gods together in matters of respect commanded by each in his position. The Brāhmaṇas were as respectable as the divinities. He commanded regards from the most highly placed person of any other castes. The kings also paid their homage to him. He was exempt from physical punishments. He was universally respected. Killing the Brāhmaṇa was one of the five sins. This was so not only to the Śaivites but also to the Buddhists. Inscription recording the creation of endowments and temples ended with a stricture that everybody was to respect the wishes of the donors and any act contrary to it would invite the sin which one would earn by killing a Brāhmaṇa. The Buddhist inscriptions also invariably added this prohibitory stricture.²⁷⁴ They were

273 n. 49 in our Appendix.

274 n. 2, 99.

powerful in the court and as the spiritual tutor of the prince sometimes guided the policies of the country. Their approval was necessary for any kind of inter-state pact or agreement, and they had to append their signatures to such deeds. In matters of worship and rituals their opinion was final. So it was in the case of judicial pronouncement requiring the counsel of the ancient laws. Next to Brāhmaṇas came the Kṣatriyas. The ruling family belonged to this caste. People of high status, the ministers and governors, also came from this caste. They were the landed gentry. But it appears that both the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas had their number much limited. But we have seen that there were a number of Kāyasthas and men of castes whom we may call Vaiśya and who enjoyed influential position in the social life of the country. All these combined presented a sizable number. The same people had later merged together to form the Seśyo caste. Hybrid clans formed out of the cohabitation of a Kṣatriya father with a Vaiśya or Jyāpu or other lower caste women must have existed. We can see that the emigrant Kṣatriyas had mixed with those Kṣatriyas already settled but whose claim to being a Kṣatriya was not undisputed. The latter in their turn had probably a mixed origin. The Jyāpus were treated virtually as Śūdras. Some of the castes above them both in the Śaivite and Buddhist folds were now merged in the Seśyo castes. The Udais who followed the Buddhist Guvās as their priests, claimed the status of the Vaiśya. Perhaps there were few families of the trading Vaiśyas outside the castes of the Seśyo and Udai. The information about such families is given by the Capuchin Missionaries. From our inscriptions is known the fact of Udai caste-men carrying on trade activities. These people call themselves *vaṇika* (trader). One Vaiśya *Tāmraakāra* is noted by name in the Svayambhu inscription.²⁷⁵ If we scan the records we shall find more titles of sub-castes within the Udai community. One such title

275 n. 29 in our Appendix.

Siñkami, the worker on wood, is available in an inscription of Patan.²⁷⁶ Perhaps this sub-caste professionally working on wood belongs to the Uдай group. There is also a worker on stone called *Lohokami*.²⁷⁷ If the inscription was of Bhatgaon then the *Siñkami* referred to might have belonged to the Śaivite group. Inscriptions, nos. 21 and 23 in our Appendix give us two names one of Uдай *Tulādhara* and another of *Tāmrakāra* respectfully who bear the title *bhāro*. Some donors in our inscription n. 29 who belong to the *Tāmrakāra* caste of the Buddhist fold bear the title *bhāro*. These must have been rich merchants. In the hierarchy of castes the Uдай was placed in the grade of the Vaiśyas as the title one of the sub-castes bore goes to prove (See above).

The castes below the Udaīs such as the Jyāpus, and lower still, the Nau (barber), the Khusal, the Puin (painter), the Kau (nakami) and the Sāyami (oilman) were treated as Sūdras, the Jyāpus being on the upper borderline. The caste system was rigid, and one could not transgress its traditional rules and practices. The hierarchy was divinely ordained. There was not to be any grumbling against discrimination. Anybody had to accept his place, high or low, without demur. The Capuchin fathers talk of the Nepalese losing their castes once they entered Tibetan or Moghul border and regaining it on their return only after rigorous penance.²⁷⁸ The people were also not tolerant towards other religions. Those who did not practise the religion as it was then shaped in Nepal were *Mlechhas*. To this category belonged not only the Christians but also the Tibetans and Chinese.

Although the Capuchin fathers had been allowed to preach freely in Nepal, on many occasions there were demonstrations of hostility against their activities. The Buddhist and

276 Inscription n. 29.

277 Inscribed on the throne (of gold) now in the possession of the temple of Lord Kṛṣṇa in Patan.

278 Read Appendix below.

Śaivite priests were in the forefront of such demonstrations. We know from the accounts of the missionaries they were harassed on many occasions by such demonstrations. Sometimes the royal protection they enjoyed was not an adequate guarantee against popular hostility. Even otherwise, the people were not attracted towards Christianity, for the vast majority of them disliked the alien religion. Christian religion had no appeal to the Nepalese. Therefore the missionaries worked as physicians administering more scientific treatment to the sick. It was said that only such people as were physically handicapped and orphaned children could be converted, and after decades of preaching the Christian missionaries on their part again could hardly convert more than fifty of them. It was not a record of success, and the poor performance was due to the fact that the people in general viewed Christianity with hatred.

The caste system had certainly united the Śaivites and Buddhists into one community, the castes in each having fitted themselves with their particular places in the hierarchical order. The community had thus its castes distributed in the two folds. Again as these castes were professional, each stood to complement and supplement the other. Religion was no barrier to divide them. I think that the caste system in Nepal had introduced many evils in the society, it had at the same time done one enviable job. It had brought together the followers of Śiva and Buddha in the same fold.

The Society: Divided into high and low castes, dominated by superstitious beliefs in gods and spirits who often demanded close attention, ritual sacrifices and offering and with a huge majority of people eking out a pittance of existence the medieval society was like a stagnant pool just dragging out its existence.

It appears that the lowly were entirely ignored except that they were to carry the yeoman's burden in all spheres of

activity dominated by the high. They were never in picture. In effect the world was that of the rich. They were the embodiment of culture, custodian of moral virtues and favoured children of the deities. The low accepted what the rich allowed them. The upper crust of the society had monopolised political and economic power, and cultural attainments. This was the reason that the history of the middle ages was entirely theirs. We rarely come across events in the many documents where the lowly placed individuals or groups appear with a role to play. They, however, constituted the very base of the society as workers and producers. The two classes of peasants, the Jyāpus and Khusals, were treated as lower castes, but on their sweat depended the production of the foodstuffs which sustained the whole society, rich and poor.

The Jyāpus also served as carriers and drawers of chariots on all public ceremonial occasions. They also were guardians of temples where Gaṇeśa was the main deity. We have observed in our description of the *Māṛkā* 'divinities that in majority of cases the untouchable Poda castes were the guardians of the temple. We know the lot of the *antaja* castes, the washerman, the leather worker, the musical instrument player *cum* tailor. Other castes in the lower echelon of the caste hierarchy who occupy a position above the *antaja* castes are professional bricklayers, architects, potters, carpenters, masons, painters and dyers lastly those who did the hard manual work as carriers and serfs. But these did not deserve a betterment. They were placed in the lowest ring of the ladder in the society. These Jyāpus and others actually participated in the *Jātrās*, they were mostly concerned with the task of carrying the chariot, staging folk dances etc. In terms of castes some of the other castes came below the Jyāpus. Without the help of the architects, carvers on stone, and painters it is doubtful if the cultural progress of the country would have been what we inherited today as a legacy from that age. The upper classes

enjoyed the fruits of their labour. But such was the society in which they lived that these makers of our culture have remained anonymous, while their patrons, kings, ministers and wealthy have passed as the real creators of our heritage.

In the literature, however, as writers came from the two highest castes the field was outside the provenance of the lower castes. In the division of functions the Kṣatriyas defended the country, while the Brāhmaṇas had come to occupy the fields of letters. The upgraded merchant class emerging out of the Vaiśya castes was the third factor, wherever the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas had not taken to this calling. With arms and letters and merchandise in their hands the three castes dominated the others below them. In the modern parlance of economics the latter are productive and the former are almost sterile. But because of their intellect and power the society had gone under their influence.

Origin and Ethnic purity of castes: We might add a few words to the discourse to make a little observation on the purity and status of different castes in Medieval Nepal. The Brāhmaṇas were supposed to have retained caste purity as they were not involved in mixed marriages. It appears that the Kṣatriyas were deeply involved in such marriages. The progeny of Brāhmaṇa male and Kṣatriya female, always born out of wedlock were degraded to become astrologers, physicians and ritualists of the inferior order. But descendants of a Kṣatriya male and a female belonging to lower Vaiśya caste was accepted by the father's family. But this ultimately affected the entire Kṣatriya caste in ethnic sense. The ruling family in Nepal became a degenerate Kṣatriya caste. Pratāpamalla's marriage with the princess of the Koch Bihar ruling family is an evidence of this kind of degeneracy. The contemporary Koch Bihar ruling family belonged to the Koche tribe of the Indo-Mongoloid family. They were elevated to the ranks of the Kṣatriya on their attainment of ruling authority of a kingdom in the 16th century. The Nepalese

Kṣatriyas of the time had themselves been of mixed blood. It was for this reason that the marriage between the Koche ruling family and the Malla Kṣatriyas of Nepal became possible. The Kṣatriyas in Nepal in the middle ages represented a wide variety of mixed descendants of the Āryan Kṣatriyas, Kirātas, Lichhavis and indigenous tribes as well as emigrant groups from the Indian plains whose claim to the status of a Kṣatriya might have been legitimate or false. We have seen that one's illegitimacy did not prevent from ascending the throne in the event of the absence of a legitimate claimant. This meant that any son of the king born of his lower caste wife, whether of Mongoloid or indigenous tribal descent, could succeed to the throne assuming the title and status of a Kṣatriya. If such was the case of the royal family what are we to speak of other Kṣatriyas. Similarly the Vaiśya castes of the period came of heterogenous descents. They included the many Vaiśya emigrants of North India. These again got mixed up with the earlier settlers who had then formed a base, the indigenous tribes in the Nepal Valley. The yellow skinned Kirātas which could boast of providing a ruling family at one time in Nepal's history was also partly assimilated in the *varṇa* of the Vaiśyas. It seems all the indigenous tribes who had preceded the Indo-Mongoloid migration were relegated to the position of the Śūdras. But these had also assimilated a sizable section of the Kirāta settlers who could not have been upgraded. The ranks of the Jyāpus who happen to occupy the highest place in the Śūdra *varṇa* as well as the lower castes in this stratum were also to a degree affected by the process of assimilation. But on the whole if the Vaiśyas and Śūdras were to be compared the latter were exposed less to integration with the Mongoloid tribes. In the beginning the Jyāpus must have lived in the Nepal Valley as a tribe. Later as further emigration took place in the Valley, a full caste ridden community rose and absorbed them into its hierarchy.

The Balhamis and Duiñs who have settled on the western

suburb of the city of Kathmandu were the former Kahar castes from the North Indian Gangetic plains. The Khusal (rice-pounder and cultivator), Poon (chika or painter) the barber, the Chippa (dyer), the blacksmith Kau and oilman Sāyami all by their facial expression do not betray Mongoloid characteristics. There is an imprint of admixture with such elements no doubt. I think wherever this feature is prominently displayed it is due to the custom that the progeny of a marriage between an upper caste man and lower caste woman had to accept the mother's caste. They surely came from the South. The Sangos of Deopatan, former washermen elevated to the level of touchability must be placed in the same category. It is much difficult to identify their counterparts in North India for such castes as dyer, rice-pounder, blacksmith and painter. The barber (Nau) and oilman (Sāyami) could be placed along with the castes of Nau and Teli respectively because the caste profession is common to both the categories.

As for the *antajas* of both the categories we do not see that these were the part and parcel of the indigenous tribal society. These must have migrated from North India along with the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. Some of these were late-comers. But at any rate all castes must have existed when urban centres grew up in the Valley.

The washermen came from Bihar and Kanauj. Those coming from Bihar still celebrate the *Chhat* ceremony on the 6th day of the bright fortnight of *Kārtika*. This ceremony is widely celebrated in Bihar by all castes to worship the Sun God. In Nepal no castes other than section of the washermen observe this festival. The Pode caste with its profession of basket weaving, fishing and guarding the cremation ground, came from Bengal where it still exists in a large number with similar professions. The leather worker Kulu is treated just a little better. His work on leather, however, is confined to making musical drums. Primarily he belongs to the field

of art technique. For that reason probably the Kulu caste has been treated outside the four castes.

The order of monks: We have already observed at several places in the preceding sections that the Buddhist order of monks had broken and both the Hinayānist and Mahāyānist monks had no place in the society. These monks had in their turn taken to marriage relinquishing celibacy. They became priests of the laity ministering to their rituals as well as discharging the function of priests in the temples housing the images of the Buddhist deities. Their descendants continued this tradition. They also adopted the profession of goldsmith. This profession was considered to be worthy of a low caste only. We do not know how the castes accepting them as priests tolerated this practice on their part. But the Buddhist monkish order had disappeared for good. A transformation had also taken place in the order of the Śaivite monks, though it had not worked to abolish the whole order. Those returned to domestic life and their descendants had no use as priests in the society. But in the Śaivite *maṭhas* these were charged with the responsibilities of running them, and also of worshipping the idol kept in the sanctuary. The Jagannātha temple copper plate inscription of 753 belonging to the reign of Lakṣmīnarasiṃhamalla²⁷⁹ mentions 'ten names' (*daśanāmi*) mendicants (*Sannyāsis*) who had probably returned to worldly life. But although those were residing in Kathmandu, they did not belong to the Newar community. The language of the inscription is a mixed Newari *cum* Bhojpuri (spoken today in Western Bihar and Eastern U. P., India). Therefore it appears that such *Sannyāsis* did not exist in the Newar community. The Śaivite *Sādhus* were regular visitors to the Nepal Valley. The Sāṅkhu copper plate of 678²⁸⁰ mentions mendicants from outside Nepal, who were to obtain their

279 n. 39 in our Appendix.

280 n. 15 in our Appendix.

daily meals at Sānkhu for the duration of the *Jātrā*. It is not unlikely that such outsider *Jogīs* had settled in the Valley in the early 17th century A.D. The *Jugī* or Kusulay caste men are the Nepalese mendicants of the Gorakhanātha school. In the records of the 14th-16th centuries they are mentioned on several occasions to be treated like mendicants, when food was served them at the Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa building. The same Sānkhu copper plate issues directive to feed the Kusulay *Jogīs* during the eight days of festival in *Chaitra* after the full moon day. They guarded also the temples of Gorakhanātha as the many records of such sanctuaries go to show. But we do not know how it came to their lot to become one of the untouchable castes specialising in the playing of musical instruments and tailoring of cloths. According to the Machhendranātha inscription of 793 King Śrīnivāsamalla had issued a rule that the Kusulay *Jugīs* of Kobaha and Ekhalakhu (two localities within the city of Patan) should blow conch during the daily morning and evening worship of Machhendranātha. The association with the Machhendranātha temple was because of their being the followers of the Lord's disciple Gorakhanātha. Today their place as *Nāthapanthi* is filled by the *Kaṅphaṭṭā Jogīs* who unlike the Kusulays do not belong to the Newar society. It appears that in the middle ages Nepal went without any kind of order of monks. All had renounced unworldliness and come back to domestic life even when they suffered in status and privilege.

Sannyāsa was the last stage of one's life for the twice-born. It is not unlikely that the Brāhmaṇas of Nepal adopted the *āśrama*, and were included in one of the ten branches of the *Samāja*. They must have been assimilated in the order which, of course, had its roots in North or South India. So we may not say categorically that the Newar community was without its order of monks in the middle ages. There were surely no Buddhist monks. Hindu monks both local and emigrants must have lived in the Valley but they probably belonged to the *Parbatiya* language group, who had settled

down coming from across the western hills or the North Gangetic Valley speaking a dialect of the Hindi language.

The Newar Brāhmaṇas today claim to belong to the *Kānyakubja* section of the *Pañcha Gaudas*. They were the precursors of the same type of Brāhmaṇas who came to settle in the 17th century with the difference that they merged in the community, adopted their language, manners and customs and took to priestly functions. We do not know how many of them came to Nepal and at what time. We think that such emigrants must have merged in the Brāhmaṇa caste that had been living in the Valley for centuries together. The process of emigration and assimilation must have been gradual. The Brahmapurī (Kathmandu) stone inscription²⁸¹ of NS 752 has one Brāhmaṇa by name Sahaśra Śivānandaju who had come from the west. The descendants of Śivānanda are still living in Brahmapurī locality of Kathmandu, and they are one of the six *gotriya* Deobhāju Brāhmaṇas. Many names of the royal priests are available from the Patan Darbar copper plate of NS 795.²⁸² As distinct from others these bear the caste title of Upādhyāya. More Brāhmaṇa names are given by other inscriptions. They reveal identical features and common origin. Their ancestors must have come to Nepal by the same route as was trekked by Śivānanda, which was very probably the one passing through what we now call West and Central Nepal.

The Brāhmaṇas come from as far as South India. The Bhṛṅgāreśvara inscription gives the name of a Brāhmaṇa who had come all the way from the Kāveri and settled here. Stray new-comers were probably absorbed in the caste of the local Brāhmaṇas. However those absorbed were probably from a certain section which could be taken in the field because of identical origin. We have already discussed this point in the last paragraph. There were other groups

281 n. 38 in our Appendix.

282 Inscription n. 77 in our Appendix.

which had retained their separate identity. Such were the Bengali Brāhmaṇas mentioned in our inscription number 77. They were learned men and their advice was sought where the court needed the injunction of ancient laws. The names mentioned bear titles like *Bhaṭṭāchārya*, *Chakravarti*. The Maithila Brāhmaṇas also have settled in Nepal. Some of them seem to have come in the early 14th century. But more came later and the influx continued till late 17th century. In the reign of Jagajjayamalla some of them served as ministers. There were Maithila poets and dramatists working in the court. But the Bengalis, South Indians and Maithilas do not seem to perform priestly duties. The South Indian Brāhmaṇas coming from South of the river Narmadā served as priests in the temples of Paśupatinātha and some other Śaivite sanctuaries. The *Thyāsapu A* (f. 65) mentions the name of one Rāwal Rāghavānanda who had sheltered the fleeing prince Mahīpatendra of Kathmandu. The Rāwal was the head priest of the temple of Paśupatinātha. The temple priests in Gokaṇṇa and Komit (city of Patan) were also picked up from amongst those who hailed from south of the river Narmadā.

The functional basis of the caste system had remained intact throughout the middle ages. But in a few cases it showed some variation. This was mainly evident in the upper layer of the society as well as among the descendants of Buddhist monks. We have already referred to the account of Capuchin Padres who tell us that the members of the royal family were benefitting themselves by accepting trade as profession coming to the monks. We find that one Śākyabhikṣu called himself *Vaṇika* (trader).²⁸³ Another compares himself with the God of Wealth in the amount of wealth he had earned.²⁸⁴ Yet another bears the title of an

283 Kaṅkeśvarī stele, 764 *Phālguna kṛṣṇa 10 pare 11 pūrvāṣāḍha pra uttrāṣāḍha śukravāra etc.*

284 Inscription n. 27.

incarnation of Viśvakarmā, the God of crafts.²⁸⁵ The last had probably adopted a goldsmith's profession. They might have also specialised in other crafts.²⁸⁶ But when the Kusulay Jugī was condemned to lead the life of an untouchable caste, the Śākyabhikṣus whose ancestors had been monks in the Buddhist monastery were fortunate enough to have been accepted as priests to the caste of traders, craftsmen and peasants even if they had adopted the goldsmith's profession regarded as something unworthy of high caste. The Śākyabhikṣu caste men whether Guva priests or craftsmen, call themselves scions of the family of Śākya. A late tradition divides them into two categories, those descendants of Brāhmaṇa converts and those of Kṣatriya descent. But this seems a wrong estimate. Ethnically the Śākyabhikṣu caste might represent a conglomeration of different racial stocks which were imparted in the formation of castes assimilated in the monastic order before its dissolution. This is evident in their faces which range from the Aryan type to Indo-Mongoloid, Dravidian and Australoid.

Honorific Titles: The suffix 'ju' was added to the name of a person to indicate his respectability in the society. This respectability was supposed to attach to a person for reason of his high caste and power. It also went to those earning wealth in the case of Vaiśyas. The Brāhmaṇas²⁸⁷ had their names invariably recorded with 'ju'. So did Guvā-Bares if they had rendered priestly functions.²⁸⁸ Others who were respected because of their positions, they enjoyed at the court added Bhāro after their names. Many who were descendants of those once called Bhāros also adopted this title.²⁸⁹

285 A copper plate in Viśvakarmā Vihāra, 731 Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 10 śanaiścharavāra etc.

286 n. 30 in our Appendix

287 Insc. nos. 3, 10, 13, 23, 27 in our Appendix.

288 Insc. nos. 3, 6, 23, 28, 34 in our Appendix.

289 Insc. nos. 1, 33, 67 in our Appendix.

Those who claimed to be descendants of the Kṣatriyas commanded respect in the society, and they either bore the title 'Bhāro' or were given the suffix 'ju' when addressed.²⁹⁰ Names going without 'ju' had Śrī added before them.²⁹¹ But ordinary persons without any high station in life were just mentioned by name.²⁹² There was neither Śrī nor 'ju' to qualify their names. 'Bhāju' was another expression giving respectability to the name it followed. Kings and ministers were mentioned as so and so 'Bhāju.'²⁹³

We come across many names bearing the title 'Bābu'. As we have said in the narrative that some of these belonged to the relations of the royal family, who probably came from the region what we now call North Bihar.²⁹⁴ But the illegitimate sons of a prince of the Malla family were also called 'Bābu'.²⁹⁵ 'Bābu' is a new title so far seen, which appears during the late medieval period. The word 'ju' formed a suffix to express one's respectability was not newly introduced in this period. But the *Thyāsapus* of the period show numerous names with this suffix so that it could be said that by the end of our period it had become a very common practice of applying the suffix to any name the scribe or the donors thought to respect in the record. 'Ju' can be a precursor of the present day Hindi 'ji' and Nepāli 'jyu'. One name bears the title 'mahānubhāva.'²⁹⁶ The expression might have been used to indicate the high status or lineage of the person.

VII THE VIHĀRA, CHAITYA AND PRIESTS

Construction of the Vihāra: In the late middle ages the monasteries had ceased to convey the same

290 Insc. nos. 86, 105 in our Appendix.

291 Inscriptions nos. 39, 41, 42, 48 in our Appendix.

292 Insc. n. 35

293 Insc. n. 49; *Thyāsapu E*

294 Inscription n. 109 in our Appendix.

295 Inscription n. 15 in our Appendix.

296 Inscription n. 117 in our Appendix.

meaning and significance as it used to do in the time earlier. The period had monasteries without monks, but it was also not true that without the *Chaitya* (Tumulus) there could be no monastery. In effect therefore the monastery could be without monks and tumulus. In this background one has to know that the founding of the monastery referred to in the texts of the age did not at all envisage a dwelling place for monks. What the builder did was to construct a shrine housing the image of one of the Buddhas or Lokeśvara or Śākyamuni or Maitreya. The *Vihāra* was consecrated on a sacred site in an atmosphere of piety with sacrificial fire and gifts to the Guvā priests. There are passages in a Buddhist text,²⁹⁷ the *Kṛiyāsaṅgrahapañjikā* which defines the procedure by which *vihāra* comes into existence. To understand the procedure well let me quote a passage from K. L. Mitra's translation. "A piece of land covered by inauspicious trees is unsuitable. Land with a *Pippala* tree on the east, *pentaptera Arjuna* on the south-east, *Butea frondosa* on the south and fig trees on the south-west, silk cotton trees on the west, *Vakula (Mimosops elengi)* on the north-west, glamorous fig trees on the north and thorny trees on the north-east, is pronounced auspicious. A triangular piece of land or one with a pit or uneven surface is to be avoided, cremation grounds or any sacrificial sites or a land mixed with grease oil, or milk are impure. Land situated on the south-east, south, south-west, west, north-west sides of the town or corner is unsuitable. But hills and places with temples or *Chaityas* nearby are pure. A square plot of land stretching towards the east, or the north is the most auspicious; on the north it should have tanks full of white lotus, on the east *Kadamba*, mango and other flowering trees, groves, *punnaga*, *pārijāta*, jasmine, and other trees giving sweet

scents on the south, shady trees like *pippala*, jack and juicy fruit-giving large trees on the west. Different castes have to choose earths of different colours. The white colour is for the Brāhmaṇa, red for the Kṣatriya and yellow for the Vaiśyas. The colour should be visible either on the soil or through the flame of lamp when the foundation pit is dug. The Āchārya conducts the ceremony sitting over a square diagram well cleansed with cow-dung. He worships the *Buddha*, *Dharma*, *Saṅgha* as well as ten guardians of the quarters by chanting *gāthās*, with the left knee touching the ground and also blue flowers. Then he lights a fire called *kopāgni*, a fire taken from the hearth of the *chāṇḍāla* who guards the cremation ground. The Āchārya then chants a formula at his loudest and is supposed to take out any impurity. This is followed by *Vāstu* worship, worship of *Vihāra Devatā* (God of the monastery), laying the foundation stone, then raising platform, division of the space into rooms, chapel etc. The room of the *Vihāra* in which the Lord's image is to be placed should be painted with representation of Tathāgatas, Bodhisattvas and goddess of learning and Vidyādharas. A pair of eyes and a pair of water pots also to be painted on every door frame, at the top of the windows Tathāgatas, select Bodhisattvas, and various decorations should appear. In the interior of the room, just against the image should be Bodhi tree painted with Varuṇa and Lokādhīpāla on two sides each right and left respectively. The outer door should have two fierce images Mahābala and Mahākāla. Mahābala black with two hands, on head, three red circular eyes, hairs brown and raised upwards, protuberant teeth, tiger skin for cloths, eight snakes for ornaments, touching the right shoulder with the four fingers of the left, and the left should with those of the right, Mahākāla is in the same fierce and odd looking but wears a garland of human skulls. The painted figures are consecrated by ceremonies appropriate to each."

The *Kṛiyāsaṅgrahapañjikā* is said to provide ritual

procedure for the raising of *Vihāra* and we have seen that in this long discourse there is no reference to monastic settlement as such. This must be entirely due to the fact that the monks living a life of celibacy in *Vihāras* had ceased to exist long long ago, probably sometime before the treatise was composed.

But there were their descendants who are now called *Guvās* and *Bades*. They were called under various other designations such as *Vajrāchāryas*, *Śākyabhikṣus*, *Chailakas* etc. all conveying a sense of monkhood, the same which they bear up till now. In the late middle ages their secular life as well as association with the *Vihāras* were practically the same as they exist now. We shall have an idea of the degenerated monkhood as it obtained then from a study of the facts connected with the present day *Guvā's* role vis-a-vis the *Vihāra* as it stands today.

First let us know that the *Vihāra* though devoid of dwelling apartment for monks was not just a shrine. The building had more space than what was designed just for a temple structure. The entire building was constructed with a courtyard at the centre, and on all four sides there were adjuncts of the main structure which was used to house the image of the deity. These were in the fashion of ante-rooms rectangular in shape, and then were also side rooms in the upper storey. As the *Vihāra* buildings stand today they mostly show two storeyed structures. The lower storey is important for the shrine so arranged as to be there in the direction straight to the eye from the entrance. Other sides of the lower storey are meant to provide chambers for keeping images offered to the *Vihāra* by the devotees. These images are mostly the busts of Lord Buddha, *Dīpaṅkara* or other *Bodhisattvas* in gilt bronze or a clay model of the same with a gilt bronze facade superimposed on a mud and bamboo stick frame of the upper body as well as carved wooden statues and scenes of their life. The left ante rooms we talked of might be used for the purpose of congregation

as well as a vestibule for the chapel where a Buddha image was kept for general worship and prayer.

As for the nature of the image it might not be always an image of Buddha Gautama though in a great majority of cases the shrine has the Gautama images. Ordinarily Gautama's image should be enshrined in the *Vihāras*. But we have some *Vihāras* where Bodhisattvas such as Maitreya (Daubahā, Patan), Lokeśvara Jaladhāri (Taṅgabahā, Patan), Karuṇāmaya (Bugā), Ānandādi Lokeśvara (Chobār) are enshrined.

The Oṭu inscription of 713 refers to *Kriyāsaṅgrahas* for guidance in the construction of a *Vihāra*. The process described in the record: *prathamātara* (in the beginning) *bhūparigraham krodhāgnipūjā Kumārī archanā mārīchirakṣā śalyoparikṣā bhūmiyāchanā ekāśīīkoṣṭhakastha devata pūjā yavāropanam Jāngulipūjā kalaśādhivāsana kilakālopanam sūtrapātanaṁ vāstuparikṣā sandhiparikṣā bhūmikhaṇḍa pādasthāpana paryantānām yathā kriyāsaṅgraha śāstrōkta karmāparipātena pṛthak pṛthak homādi kṛtvā asmin Jāmbunadavambihāra pādasamsthāpitambhavatuḥ tadanantaram vanajātra dvārasamsthāpanam sthambasthāpanam gavākṣasthāpanam śirodārūsthāpana paryantānām yathāvidhivat karmam kṛtvā varṣaikana sampūrṇam bhavatu|..... asmindine idam vihāram śṛkhalavaloham bhavatu etc. etc.*

This is the entire ritual involved in the actual process of building a *Vihāra* once the land had been selected, and the preliminary rite of snake worship had been performed. According to the statement the ritual was prescribed by the *Kriyāsaṅgraha*. Initially a fire was lit and worship was performed. This was the great fire God of anger who was to be pleased to avoid the risk. *Agnipūjā* was followed by the worship of Kumārī and invoking protection of Mārīchi. Another rite performed was *Śalyoparikṣā*, examination of the soil with reference to its underground evils and their removal. The soil has to be judged whether it belonged to

a human being, to deities or to the evil spirits. The evil spirit is associated with some phenomenon of the underground which is known to the astrologers. The donor also prayed to the Earth-goddess and begged of her to give consent. Already there is a diagram with lines showing 81 rooms. There are 81 deities for these 81 rooms. They have to be worshipped. After this, barley-seedlings are planted. The worship of Janguli, a deity who blesses with an antidote against snake bite is performed as a finial is set up on the ground. Nails are fixed on the lines of the diagram which are again linked by a thread. The earth is dug for laying the foundation, which done rituals of worship and *homa* is performed. For pieces of wood required for door frames, windows, roofs etc. a special ceremony has to be performed worshipping the tree or trees that have to be cut off. The ceremony is called *Vanajātrā*. Then doors, pillars, windows and lastly the *Śirodāru*, the wooden logs supporting the roof are fixed. Each time a special rite of worship takes place. Thus the construction of a *Vihāra* is complete. The inaugural ceremony after completion is the *Yajña*. The *Vihāra* is completed after a year since its construction was started.

All this long ordeal of ceremony to be gone through not only when a new *Vihāra* is constructed but when an old one has to be repaired or a temple is to be constructed. Our inscription n. 73 describes the whole process of a repair work done in a *Vihāra* in Bhatgaon, which is exactly the same as in the case of the newly constructed Jambunada *Vihāra*. We shall take up the consideration of the ritual side of the construction of the *Chaitya* and Śaivite temples a little later.

Existing Vihāras: A pamphlet in Newari language issued on the occasion of the 2500th anniversary. Buddha's birth shows monasteries big and small, 167 in Patan, 120 in Kathmandu and 24 in Bhatgaon. Of these a great number have disappeared in course of time. In Patan the extent *Vihāras* go to form the largest number available in the locality. These are *Vihāras* also in Buga, Khoknā,

Chāpāgaon, Ṭhimi, Bode and Balambu. But the problem of identification of the *Vihāras* mentioned in the documents of the middle ages is difficult where such sites themselves go without any records of their own.

We now present a list of notable *Vihāras* where documents of the late medieval period exist with the names also popular at the moment.

The inscriptions mentioned are all on stones except when otherwise mentioned. They also follow the number of our Appendix (present volume) unless traced to the preceding one.

CITY OF PATAN

<i>Present Name</i>	<i>Name in the Document</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>
(1) Sibahā	Śribachhabahāra		873 <i>Vaiśākha śukla 2 rohiṇī nakṣatra bṛhaspativāra</i>
(2) Kontibahi	Komatibahāra		(1) NS 819 <i>Chaitra śukla 15 Śanivāra</i> (2) 855 <i>Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 6 aśleṣā nakṣatra śaniścharavāra</i>
(3) Dhumbahā	Dhumbahāra		871 <i>Vaiśākha śukla 3 rohiṇī nakṣatra budhavāra</i>
	Dhunibihāra		763 <i>Pauṣa śukla uttarāśāḍha nakṣatra śaniścharavāra</i>

<i>Present Name</i>	<i>Name in the Document</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>
(4) Yam̐bahā	Sūryavarṇṇa mahāvihara		785 Jyeṣṭha śukla 3 mṛgaśirā nakṣatra ādityavāra
(5) Binchhabahā	Mayūravarṇṇa mahāvihara		839 Māgha kṛṣṇa amāvasyā satabhiṣa nakṣatra adityavāsare
(6) U-bahā	Rudravarṇṇa mahāvihāra		(1) 795 Jyeṣṭha-māse śukla cha-turdaśyām viśaṣa nakṣatra bṛhaspativara (2) NS 759 n. 41 in our Appendix.
(7) Gujibahā	Vaiśrāvaṇa mahāvihāra	stone inscription	759 Vaiśākha śukla 11 hastā nakṣatra śukravāra
(8) Jya-bahā-bahi	Jyāṭhābahāra bahi or Jyeṣṭhavihara or Jyāyavaharavahi	..	(1) 808 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 5 śukravāra (2) 772 Vaiśākha śukla 15 anurādhā nakṣatra bṛhaspativāra (3) NS 808 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 5 śukravāra
(9) Taṅgabahā	Taniglabahāra	..	793 Phālguna śukla 10 ādrā nakṣatra ādityavāsare

<i>Present Name</i>	<i>Name in the Document</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>
(10) Tabahā	Tavabahāra		819 Pauṣa māse kṛṣṇa 7 chitrā na- kṣatra bṛhaspati- vāra
(11) Daubahā	Dattavihāra		906 Śrāvaṇa śukla 1 mūlā nakṣatra ādityavāsare
(12) Su-bahā	Indradeva saṅskārīta Jayamanohara mahāvihāra or Sasaka or Sas- vakavahāra		NS 656 Inscription n. 3 in our Appen- dix. NS 666 Insc. n. 6 in our Appen- dix.
(13) Kvā-bahā	Bhāskaradeva saṅskārīta Hiraṇyavarṇa mahāvihāra		NS 757 Inscrip- tion n. 42. NS 793 copperplate
(14) Ko-bahāl	Ko-bahāl		NS 805 Inscrip- tion n. 95.
(15) Pulchok- bahil	Śilāpurī Vānā- giri Vihāra		NS 828, Inscrip- tion n. 113; NS 835, Inscrip- tion n. 120.
(16) Pim bahāl	Mahā Pimtha- vihāra		NS 479, n. XXVIII in Part I,
(17) Mu bahāl	—		NS 567, n. LX in Part I.

<i>Present Name</i>	<i>Name in the Document</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>
(18) I bā bahi	—		NS 547 n. LIV in Part I.
(19) Bodhimaṇ- ḍapa or Mahabaud- dha vihāra	—		No documents are available but the structure with its enclosure seems to have existed in our period accor- ding to a paper in private custody.
(20) Chāk Vahāla	Chakra Vihāra		Inscription n. 85 in our Appendix.
(21) Gābahāl	Gādbahāra		Inscription n. 99 <i>Thyāsapu E, f. 29.</i>
(22) Nāgbahāl	—		—
(23) Mikhā vahā	Mikhā vihāra		Inscription n. 117 (NS 832)
(24) Yaṁpi vahi	Yaṁpi yantā vihāra		810 <i>Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa</i> 2 <i>śukravāra</i>
(25) Chuka vahā	Chakra Vihāra		—
(26) I bahi	Sunayaśrī Miśra saṅs- kārita		—
(27) Chuka vahā	Śrī Chakra mahāvihāra Mānadeva saṅskārita		<i>Aṣṭasāhasrika</i> <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i> DLC. IV. 215, NS 961

KATHMANDU

<i>Present Name</i>	<i>Name in the Document</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>
(1) Naka-baḥi	Anatādhithi mahāvihāra	Copper plate	NS 649, Insc. n. 2
„	Naka Vihāra		NS 629, Insc. Part I
(2) Nhaika bahi	Puṇyakīrti mahāvihāra	„ „	NS 508, Insc. Part I
„ „	Puṇyakīrti mahāvihāra	„ „	NS 796 Phālguna kṛṣṇa 14 bṛhaspativāsare etc.
(3) Mimnami Vihāra	Nimham nimba vihāra		NS 629 Ins. Part I
(4) Viśva-karma mahavihāra	Mañjuśrī mahāvihāra		NS 731 Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 10 śanaiś-charavāra makara saṅkrānti etc.
(5) Tarabahāl	Tavavihāra		Insc. n. 23 in our App.
(6) Pichhe-bahāl	Jambunada mahāvihāra		Insc. n. 27, NS 717
(7) Om vahal	Om vihāra		Insc. n. 29, NS 725
(8) Dhvakā-bahāl	Hemakarṇṇa mahāvihāra		NS 812. Insc. n. 100
(9) Nagha bahā	Ratnamaṇḍala mahāvihāra		Insc. n. 94

<i>Present Name</i>	<i>Name in the Document</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>
(10) Bhote bahāl	Bhoṭa bahāra		Insc. n. 136
(11) Musum bahāl	Maṇisaṅga mahāvihāra		(1) ms. <i>Amṛta- kaṇikā nāma nāmasangīti ṭippaṇī</i> NS 600, DLC, IV, 21 (2) Insc. n. 146
(12) Iṭam bahā	Pārāvarta mahāvihāra		Inscription no. XXX, Part I
(13) Yatkhā bahā	Bodhipranidhi or Yaṭakha bahāra		Insc. Dated NS 828 (other parti- culars peeled off)
(14) Chhusyā- bahāl	Guṇākara mahāvihāra		Insc. NS 788 <i>Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 9 ādityavāra</i>
(15) Musyā- bahāl	Karuṇāpurī mahāvihāra		Insc. Early 18th century
(16) Thabahil	Vikramaśilā mahāvihāra Gandhuli vahāra or Thabahi		Insc. NS 812 <i>Vaiśākha śukla 2;</i> Insc. 802 <i>Chaitra śukla 5 ādityavāra</i> No record
(17) Gaṇa- bahāl	Hemavarṇṇa mahāvihāra		Dharmasvāmin's Biography early 17th century
(18) Syengu	Śāntikara mahāvihāra		

<i>Present Name</i>	<i>Name in the Document</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>
(19) Vijeśvarī	Śrī Vijalaṅkha mahāvihāra		—
(20) Jana bahā	Kaṇaka Chaitya mahāvihāra		Inscription dates peeled off. Pro- bably mid 17th century
(21) Makhan bahā	Śrīratnakīrti mahāvihāra or Makhana vahāla		Nat. Lib. n. 213, NS 819, ms. Laṅkāvatāra
(22) Chekana- mugala vahāra	Kṛṣṇagupta mahāvihāra		Inscriptions NS 735 <i>Chaitra kṛṣṇa</i> <i>10 somavāra</i>
(23) Kvāṭha- bahā	Kvāṭha Vihāra		Ins. ns. 10, 17
	Dharma- chakra mahāvihāra		Ins. n. 27
(24) Tebahāl	Tedovihāra		Ins. n. LXIX in Part I
(25) Daubahāl	Dattavihāra	Inscription	NS 958 <i>Vaiśākha</i> <i>śudi 12</i>
(26) Dugabahil	Ṣadakṣari mahāvihāra		<i>Ms. Chandamahā-</i> <i>rośaṇatantram</i> <i>Ms. Mahākarma-</i> <i>bibhaṅga</i> DLC, III, 687, NS 547 Nat. Lib. 265, NS 531

<i>Present Name</i>	<i>Name in the Document</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>
(27) Kinu vihāra	Śrīkiṇḍola mahāvihāra		No record
(28) Piukhā bahāl			
(29) Tarañ- bahil	Guṇakā- madeva kārīta dharmachakra mahāvihāra		(1) 656 <i>Āṣāḍha śukla 11</i> (2) 796 <i>Māgha śukla 5 svama- vāsara</i> (3) Ms. <i>Chatus- pīṭhanibandha</i> (NS 135), DLC, III, 359
(30) Otubahāl	Ontāvihāra or Sikvamagutri- vanta vihāra	Inscription	(1) Ins. n. 23 (NS 699) (2) n. 29 (NS 725) (3) ms. <i>Abhina- mottara</i> , DLC IV. 16. NS 836 <i>Ms. Yogaratna- samuchchaya</i> DLC, I. 1092 NS 807.
(31) Sigha vabā	Śrīghaṭa vihāra. The site is known as <i>Samha ghaṭa sthāna</i> (Insc. n, 94)		
(32) Sibahā	Sibaha		Inscription n. 29.

<i>Present Name</i>	<i>Name in the Document</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>
(33) Mu bahā	Śrī Mūla Vihāra	Inscription	damaged NS 906 <i>Māgha śukla 13</i> <i>śukravāsare</i>
Vahichā	Vajradhātu mahāvihāra		<i>ms. Kāraṇḍavyūha</i> <i>sūtra</i> (DLC. IV. 12). No date.
Lhuga- bahā	Lbugravihāra		<i>ms. Kuṣāvadāna</i> NS 954 (DLC. IV. 1034).

BHATGAON

<i>Present Name</i>	<i>Name in the Document</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>
(1) Savachhe bahāl			
(2) Thathu- bahil	Jayakīrti Vihāra		Ins. n. 73
(3) Kvathu- bahil			
(4) Degu bahāl, Ṭhimi	Kīrti mahā- vihāra		NS 696 Ins. n. 18 in our Appendix

MISCELLANEOUS

<i>Present Name</i>	<i>Name in the Document</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>
(1) Durokhyo baha (Chapa- gaon)	Hemavarṇṇa mahāvihāra		NS 759. Ins. n. 41

<i>Present Name</i>	<i>Name in the Document</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>
Wabaha (Chapa- gaon)	Śubha varṇṇa Vihāra		NS 772 <i>Māgha kṛṣṇa 4 bṛhaspati- vāra</i>
Chobā	Kachchhapāla- giri mahā- vihāra		No record men- tioning the <i>Vihāra</i>

In the last chapter to Part 1 of the present Volume we have given a list of *Vihāras* following their mention by reliable documents of their period. Now that the names of the prominent *Vihāras* current in the late medieval age are given here, I am sure that the problem of identification becomes easy for us. On examination we find that some of the *Vihāras* of the early medieval period might easily be located.

Some of the *Vihāras* served as colonies providing housing accommodation. Each *Vihāra* of the colony type formed a locality, a *toḷa* of the town. The *Vihāras* offered advantages of an open courtyard with outlets, and to this extent these were preferred by those seeking accommodation to congested areas in the interior of the town. I think that the space covered by the *Vihāras* was initially utilised by the Guvā-Bare caste once these had ceased to harbour the celibate monks.

Not all these *Vihāras* came from the days when these used to be the abodes of the Bhikṣus. From the inscription we come to know that at least some of these were built in the late 16th or early 17th centuries. For example the Jambunāda mahāvihāra was built in NS 711 (=1591 A. D.) and the *Guṇākara mahāvihāra* in NS 783 (=1663 A. D.). Some *Vihāras* are, however, very old. The construction of these monasteries is attributed to rulers of ancient and early medieval Nepal. Such *Vihāras* are as one should have noted

from the above contents, n. 12 and 13, in the Patan list which were built by Indradeva and Bhāskaradeva respectively. There are *Vihāras* which are also ascribed to Śaṅkaradeva and Mānadeva and Rudradeva. The Bugā monastery is said to have been constructed by Narendradeva of the Lichhavi dynasty. These are all situated in Patan. The *Vihāras* in Kathmandu and Bhatgaon have no such legends.

The saṅgha: We may not like to swell the number. As we have already said, this is a very big list and its fulsome treatment can wait for another volume exclusively dealing with the subject of *Vihāras*. But we might like to say something about the organisation of the Guvā-Bare castes associated with the *Vihāras*, for although the *Bhikṣu Saṅgha* had vanished long ago, those who or whose forefathers were once monks continued their association with the settlement areas, each area with its members constituting a group as separate from those belonging to others. The group was called *Saṅgha* as it is called today. All the members whether performing the duty of the priests (Vajrāchārya) or not, a great majority of them do not, are called Śākyabhikṣu or even Śākyavaṁśa. Every *Vihāra* has one Thapāju (*sthavira*) who is the head of the *Saṅgha*. He is assisted in the management of the *Vihāras* by 4 or 9 men who are called Nāyaju or Aju. The Thapāju and Nāyaju together represent 10 *pāramitas*, the knowledge and practice of which is essential for the *Saṅgha* and its component *Bhikṣus*. The duties of the Thapāju and Ājus devolve on persons according to their age. They are all appointed from among the Śākyabhikṣu associated with the *Vihāra* in order of seniority of age. During festivals they wear a special kind of long skirt and shirt of red colour extending up to the waist as well skull cap with a *Chaitya* mark.

Every male born to a member of the *Saṅgha* has had to be registered in the *Vihāra*. This is checked during the *chudākarma* ceremony which is held when he attains certain

age. The function of the priest of the shrine is rendered by all the adult members in turn one by one, although the overall supervision of the *Vihāra* is maintained by the *Thapāju*.

The *Thalipā*²⁹⁸ or *Thapāju*²⁹⁹ or *Sthavira*³⁰⁰ is mentioned in several inscriptions. But *Āju* or *Nāyajū* do not appear in our records. As we have suggested they are the priests coming next to the *Thapāju*, the 4 or 9 oldest men of the community of the *Vihāra*. Gurubharat, who performs the function of the head priest during some special ritual may be or may not be a *Thakāli*.

As we have observed earlier, the *Śākyabhikṣu* even on return to domestic life has to follow the practices of the Buddhist monk in regard to his daily prayer, fortnightly *Upośadha vrata*, the *Guṇlā dharma* and *Katipunhi vrata*. The *chuḍākarma* looks virtually a conversion ceremony, though it is performed in early boyhood. It is performed in *Vihāra*, to which the family is attached. For four days the boy has to live like a monk abstaining from all kinds of actions prohibited to a monk. With shaved head and wearing yellow robes he has to go a-begging from door to door. He returns home on the 5th day having renounced monkhood by performing another ritual. While shaving his head no tuft is allowed to remain. In the case of other castes the *chuḍākarma* introduces a phase of being a celibate (*Brahmachāri*) in his life. But a *Śākyabhikṣu* becomes in formal sense a monk and the mark of it he continues to maintain in his wholly shaven head for his life. The death rites of a *Śākyabhikṣu* is different from those of the other castes. They have shorter mourning period. It is only six days. On the 7th day the ceremony of purifying the house is performed and *homa* and other sacrificial rites are held in that course. There-

298. Inscription n. 27, 78.

299. Inscription n. 10.

300. Inscription n. 21, 116.

is no offering of *piṇḍa* to the departed on that day. The Kusalay gets his *nyānuma*, an ensemble of eatable articles serving as full meal for the day. Similarly relations of the dead partake of a sumptuous feast with meat and other dainties, although for six days consecutively such delicacies are forbidden. Unlike other castes the Guvā-Bares have a custom of worshipping along with a sand *Chaitya* the small pieces of bones collected after the cremation, they are thrown into the running water of the river only when this rite was completed. A step further some would carry the bone relics to their home for a ritual called '*durgati parisodhanam*'. This is performed for three days on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th after the cremation. It is thought that with this ceremony the dead does not have to face a condemned existence in the next world. The ceremony according to *Mañjuśrīpārājikā* is performed by worshipping a *maṇḍala* at the spot inside the house, where a *Chaitya* had been set up with the bones in the *garbha*.

Ritual Aspects of the Chaityas: Following a description of the *Vihāras* it is proper that we take up the consideration of the ritual aspect in the composition of the *Chaitya*. The Valley of Nepal has temples and *Chaityas* in the same proportion as it has dwelling places for its population. The *Chaitya* and the temples touch each other. In many instances they cross sectarian barrier in standing together while sharing the same precincts. But the *Chaitya* is meant for a purpose much different from that of a temple. In the ancient past it was built as a memorial to harbour the relics of men and women whose memory was cherished. But as time advanced the *Chaitya* came to represent certain Buddhist symbolic representation. Later again under Mahāyāna influence the *Chaitya* became the representation of Ādibuddha and also was an object where all the divinities found their dwelling place. By worshipping the *Chaitya* the devotee could in effect earn the merit of worshipping the Ādibuddha as well as all the *devatās* of the universe. The *Chaitya* has its own

personality. It is addressed as *Bhaṭṭāraka*, and personifies the Supreme Being. As a temple where all Gods and Goddesses lived, the *Chaitya* with its narrow precinct passed as a small *Vihāra* bearing the name *Chi-bā*. A small section of the Śākyabhikṣu caste perform their *chuḍākarma* in such places. In its importance as religious shrine the *Chaitya* stands as important as the *Vihāras*. There are large and small *Chaityas*. There also *Stūpas* without embellishments which do not claim for themselves the form of Ādibuddha and a temple for divinities. These built of bricks look just like a mound of earth bearing the shape of a bell with or without terraces, and do not have idols in them. The larger ones are called *Sthura*.

The *Kṛiyāsaṅgraha* lays down the rules which guide the construction of a *Chaitya*. There are also other texts which not only stress its divine essence but also its architectural framework embodying the Buddha's teaching and various stages of the development towards its goal. The *Kṛiyāsaṅgraha* lays down the same ritualistic process as in the case of the construction of *Vihāra* upto the point of laying the foundation. Thereafter the *Chaitya* construction follows a different pattern in conformity to its architectural design which again has to agree fully with the Mahāyānic notion of Buddha abode and lower heavens, and of the highest pinnacle of the Primordial Ādibuddha.

The size of the *Chaitya* might vary but it must conform to certain pattern of structure as prescribed by a text. Firstly the *Chaitya* should be of a pyramidal shape. Secondly it must stand on a square or rectangular or circular plinth of stones. This supports a higher platform over which rests the dome (*garbha*) part of the structure. The platform may have several terraces or just one. If it is a large *Chaitya* there should be a staircase to climb to reach the *garbha* and above it the main *maṇḍapa* or the terraces should serve this purpose. Supervened on the *garbha* is the thirteen tier structure

rings one rising on the other and growing smaller in dimension as they go upwards, all these representing the thirteen worlds (*trayodaśa bhūmika*). The bottom of the structure is square shaped, and might bear painted eyes on all the four sides if the same is of gilt bronze. We get the sight of the eyes only in large *Caityas*, of which the structure above the *garbha* is made of bronze. The top of the structure is called *maṇimaṇḍapa*. It is another pyramidal bronze or gilt copper finial underneath an umbrella. The larger *Chaityas* have *toraṇa* at each side of the base of the gilt copper tapering structure of *trayodaśa bhuvana*.

On the four sides of the *garbha* the *Chaitya* has niches where images of the four celestial Buddhas are placed, Akṣobhya in the east, Ratnasambhava in the south, Amitābha in the west and Amoghasiddhi in the north. Vairochana the fifth celestial Buddha is supposed to reside at the centre, but he is not represented here in his image.

The *Chaitya* is to be the abode of other deities as well. Hence it is called *sarvadevālaya*. All deities dwelling in the site are not visible. But the following are sometimes represented on the four sides of the *Chaitya* in the order as represented in the table. As we find them there are four sets each placed under one or the other of the Celestial Buddhas in different directions.

<i>East</i>	<i>South</i>
Akṣobhya	Ratnasambhava
Kṣitigarbha	Sāgaramati
Ākāśagarbha	Vajragarbha
Vajrarūpādevī	Sabdādevī
Vajravīṇādevī	Vaṁśādevī
Lochanādevī	Māmakīdevī
Mālādevī	Gītādevī
Vajradhūpādevī	Dīpādevī
Gaganaganj	Lokeśvara
Ratnapāṇi	Mahāsthānaprāpta

<i>West</i>	<i>North</i>
Amitābha	Amoghasiddhi
Chandraprabhā	Sarvaśokatamotirghātata
Jālinīprabhā	Sarvanivarṇaviṣkambhi
Vajrarasādevī	Sparśādevī
Mṛdaṅgādevī	Murujādevī
Tārādevī	Pāṇḍarādevī
Nṛtyādevī	Lāsyādevī
Gandhādevī	Puṣpādevī
Amitaprabha	Samantabhadra
Pratibhānakūṭa	Akṣayamati

The construction of a *Chaitya* is a pious act. Therefore the ground on which it is to be erected has to be examined carefully and cleared of all evil elements as in the case of a *Vihāra*. Before the foundation is laid down there is an elaborate ritual of worship and sacrificial offering (not of animals) to the sacred fire over a small *vedikā*. The *Vāstuparikṣā* and other rituals are the same as in the construction of a temple in the *Vihāra*. We shall have occasion to write about the architecture of the *Chaitya* in the next section.

The medieval *Chaitya* differs considerably from its earlier prototype in structure and embellishments. It is not just a mound of earth or brick and mortar structure of pyramidal shape. We have some *Chaityas* of this type. They are of larger size. These are called *Sthuras* in the corrupt form of *Stūpa*. Some of these are attributed to Aśoka. But there are some larger *Chaityas* of a different mould, which are not called *Sthura*. The *Sthura* might go without the niches in the lower *garbha*, and without the four Buddhas. But as we have already suggested *Chaityas* without such images wherever they exist are called Aśokān types.

VIII

DRESS, ORNAMENTS, FOOD, DRINK ETC.

Dress & ornaments: For the costume of the time our sources of information are the life size statues of the many devotees erected before temples and accounts of Father Desideri and Capuchin Missionaries. There is no indigenous literature on the subject.

According to Father Desideri 'the people wear a woollen or cotton jacket reaching to the knees, and long trousers down to their ankles, a red cap on their head, and slippers on their feet, when it rains men and women go barefooted, while riding a horse noble men and even the king himself, make no use of saddles but sit on the horse's bare back with their legs hanging down, or at most have a horse back.³⁰¹ Desideri's must be the correct observation as he was an eye witness. The statues generally represent richer stratum of the people. The dress they wear are those of wealthy. The two statues of Bhūpatīndramalla and Yoganarendramalla respectively give us an idea of royal costume. So do many portraits of the kings drawn and painted by anonymous artists. We notice light fitting trousers for the lower body upto the anklet and a long jacket equally tight flowing upto the knee. A piece of cloth was tied round the waist in several rounds, and this was called *Jani*. There was an inner garment worn like a bodice, called *pakañ lañ*. The women wear *misālāñ*, a kind of blouse with sleeves. The trousers was the male attire for the underbody, while the women covered themselves with *patāsi*, a large piece of cloth encircling their body from the waist to the ankle. The *patāsi* is like an Indian *Sāri* but unlike the *Sāri* it ends, in a fold round the waist line. The headdress was a simple skull cap (*topli*). But the aristocrats used turban (*betāli*) on special occasions. A custom to erect before the front

301. See below Appendix.

door of a shrine the statues of the king and other highly placed personages who have dedicated temples, ornaments or lands to the deities prevailed here since early ages. These statues all in sitting postures provide us a clue to the mode of dress in vogue at the time. They show a common pattern of trousers and shirt-like upper garment. But the headdress differs according to the statues of the person represented in the statues. In the Tarab bahāl (Oṭu locality) of Kathmandu the kneeling devotee has a skull cap lined with a thick lining at the margin, which protudes on all sides. The design is that of a eating plate with its raised peripheri. This is in the style of the Indian *pugree*. The royal headdress is different. I have before me the portraits of Jayaprakāśamalla and other kings. The headdress is a turban bearing a feather at the top and interspersed by silk thread rendered to enhance its look and with a cover for the forehead. The turban was ornamented with gold and jewelleries, and was made of costly muslin cloth. What Desideri has described is costume of the urban classes. It is said that the peasants did not wear trousers. They wore just a shirt-like tight fitting upper garment, flowing upto the knee or even lower and a *jani*. Of course, they wore a skull cap of red or black colour.

No leather shoes seem to have been in use. But foot-wears of straws and of a fibre of *keṭaki* were made by a section of the Jyāpu caste. The latter was more durable, better looking in shape and finer in finish. This was called *Nālu*, and was worn by the upper classes.

Ornaments, *tisā* in Newari little figure in our source materials. Here also we shall have to draw our information either from the ornaments said to have been handed to the present generation by tradition add usages or from the ornaments said to have been offered to the deities and preserved up till now in the temple store. These are the ornaments worn by a bride on the occasion of the marriage: (1) *Tuki* (ear-ring stuck to the lobes through a hole pierced

into them), (2) *Tāyo*, (3) *Tik*, (both necklaces extending upto the breast but differing in designs), (4) *Pyākha angu*, a finger ring made of gold, (5) *luyā svān*, a flowerlike ornament of gold to be worn on the skull of the head, (7) *satiphali*, made of silver to match in length with the plait of hairs over which it is allowed to uspend, (8) *Nyapusikha* (9) *tuli baki*, anklets (*payala*), (10) *Vanhi or make sila*, bracelets, (11) *Jantra*, square shaped ornament of gold designed as armlet with figure of deity at its centre. The Newar women do not wear the nose ring. Bracelets are of gold, while anklets are of silver. The *Tayo* is a piece of gold elliptical in shape wrought with geometrical design to appear like a *karelā* vegetable (*memordica charanita*) its two ends tied to a velvet piece going round the neck over which is inlaid a gold chain of delicate craftsmanship. The elliptical *tayo* is about 5 inches long and has a thickness of an inch about the centre tapering towards the ends. It is much neatly carved all through and shows a snake's hood at the centre. The two ends of the chain meet into a piece which bears an image of Gaṇesa. The *Tick* has several rectangular flat pieces of delicately worked small gold sticks, which is suspended along the neck on a velvet piece which supports all of them together.

It should be understood that as we talk of gold content in the *Tayo* or *Lu svāñ* we do not mean that they were of solid gold. Gold was used to the extent of laying a thin layer over a model prepared of dark resin or wax (*Lāhā*).

Male ornaments used during marriage ceremony were finger ring, armlet, necklace of gold or pearls and sometimes even wristlet.

We have given illustration of the ornaments along with other pictures. These ornaments belong to the organisers of the *Kārtika* dance festival which was started by Siddinara-simhamalla. These ornaments are said to have been offered to the festival. We cannot vouchsafe for the accuracy of the statement. But it is generally believed that these ornaments

were in vogue since quite a long time. They were at least being used in the middle ages.

Food and Drinks: Above in the beginning we reproduced a passage from the account of the Capuchin Missionaries regarding the principal food and drinks of the people of Nepal. Here we shall supplement the information by the statements of the contemporary inscriptions on the subject. Our sources of information are of inscription nos. 98, 103 and 121 in our appendix, to which so many times references have been made regarding information on a variety of subjects.

To recapitulate the point let me quote a passage from Desideri 'Rice is their principal food, either cooked or crushed (after being boiled with husks) and roasted the latter serves as bread and as a relish. If they eat meat it is generally buffalo. They drink a nasty liquor made of a certain millet which grows in this country and is the staple food of the very poor. A kind of beer is also made from wheat or rice, and drink *arac* distilled from raw sugar'.³⁰²

Desideri has made a correct observation and we shall find that the statement which we give here in this regard is by way of adding details, from which a wide variety of food preparation as consumed by the people in the middle ages appear to our notice.

The inscriptions we have named refer to these varieties of food preparations and other eatables in the course of their description of the *pūjā* requirements for different ceremonial occasions of which one of the items is the *naivedya*, an offering of eatables to the deities and another item is serving all that constituted a meal to the Brāhmaṇas. The inscriptions mention as eatables in one form or another articles such as milk, curd, clarified butter, uncrystallised sugar, mustard oil, honey, different types of beans and peas, cereals like rice, wheat, barley, thin fish, dry fish, mutton, buffalo-

302. See below appendix.

meat, dry meat, eggs, swan, distilled and fermented liquor and spices such as cummin seed, black pepper, salt, ginger, cucumber, watermelon, varieties of oranges, arecanut, betel.

It is to be noted that while some of these things can be consumed as they are, others are auxiliaries used in food preparation and a few are just raw materials to be boiled or fried or parched before eating.

Special food preparations prominently figure as ceremonial offering. There are: *yomari*, *chaṭāmari*, *chākumari*, *tāyā laddoo*.

Yomāri is prepared out of rice flour. The flour is soaked in water and then small solid pieces of cakes in cylindrical shape are made out of it. The centre of the piece is kept a little hollow to contain some amount of sesamum seed and uncrystallised sugar. The *yomāri* is cooked by steam. There is a special earthen pot (*koñchā*) with holes at the bottom receiving steam from a big pan containing water heated over a fire stove. The pieces of the cakes which are allowed to be baked slowly by the steam are placed on the *koñchā*. It takes about one hour to cook *yomāri*.

If it is the only uncrystallised sugar entering into the composition of the cake (or course rice flour is the main component) then the preparation is called *chākumari*. *Chaṭāmari* is prepared with flour mixed with water and rendered into thick liquid. The thick liquid is poured upon a pan heated by fire underneath. In the course of preparation each piece is covered by an earthen mug of the size of the *chaṭāmari* on the pan. The cooking takes ordinarily 15 minutes.

Chākumari is the name applied for all kinds of sweets. *Dudumari* was a special preparation of milk, which has gone out of use now.

Kvakati is a mixture of Bhotia bean or soyabeans, grams, peas, beans of all varieties, white Bhotia beans, black gram, green gram and boiled and taken as soup on the day of *Śrāvana pūrṇimā*.

Khayu kvathi prepared out of a mixture of rice flour, green peas, nim leaves, salt, dry radish pieces is taken on *Vaiśākhi* day as preventive against infectious diseases that grow rampant during the summer and rain.

Meat was taken as curry prepared with spices and ghee. It is cooked with all its fat and other contents. The whole meat is called *tulitālā*. Dried meat (*sukhulā*) is regarded as very tasteful when it is boiled with ghee and spices. *Chhoyālā*, boiled meat is served *tulitālā* with dressing of salt, red pepper, drink and spices. All these varieties are mentioned in our inscriptions as offering to the goddess. So is the fish, but it was offered fresh without cooking. Smaller fishes were dried and salted so that these could be consumed.

Rice was eaten when boiled (*jā*). Again, out of rice were made *baji*, *tāyā*, *syābaji*, *khir*—all food items served daily or during festivals on one occasion or another. *Baji* is what in modern Nepālī known as *chyudā*, paddy grains boiled and then pressed by a wooden pole over another wooden vessel to become flat and then rendered free of husks. Boiled paddy grains without husks is called *tāyā*. Flattened rice parched with sands over the fire is known as *syābaji*. Both are taken with boiled meat on some festive occasions. Wheat, barley, maize, beans and peas of all kinds were mixed together and parched. These are up till now regarded as food items of special occasion. *Kṣirānnaghṛta* and *pakvānna* occur in our inscription n. 20. *Kṣirānna* is rice pudding made with milk. *Pakvānna* with *ghṛta* is boiled rice with clarified butter mixed in it.

Drink: As it is today the fermented drink was known as *Thoñ*, while the distilled one was called *yelā*. Fermented and distilled liquor are prepared out of rice, millet, maize and other cereals but mostly of rice and millet. The process of fermentation is boiling the rice or millet, and allowing it to dry a little spread over a mat and mixed with yeast. Then the whole is kept in a big vessel with its opening covered

with lid. It remains in that state for 4 or 5 days, and in that state it is thoroughly fermented. The white coloured watery part of the fermented boiled rice or millet is drunk as liquor. Generally some quantity of sugar is added to make it tasteful. The same fermented rice or millet in its whole is again boiled in a large cooking pot supporting an earthen vessel (*koñchā*) with holes at the bottom and containing inside another earthen pot. The vapour emitted inside the earthen vessel touched upwards a triangular copper vessel full of cold water with a capacity of 4 lbs. that was placed as a lid to fill its opening. The steam distilled because of its touch with the cold pot fell drop by drop into the earthen pot placed inside the *koñchā*. This is the distilled liquor, which the inhabitants of the Nepal Valley drank calling 'yelā'. Today they are using a modern type of apparatus for distillery but in times past they used a very simple instrument as we have described.

The Time system and the Society: In spite of my limited knowledge of astronomy I am here tempted to devote some space to the consideration of the medieval calendar as it then worked. This temptation comes for the reason that the calendar was intimately associated with the individual and that it was almost accurate even judged in the light of modern knowledge. The calendar giving information of the planetary movement, specially of the Sun and the Moon was closely linked to the need of an individual in the society as the same dictated time of festivals, days of domestic rituals (*vrata*) *Śrāddha*, annual *pūjās*, birth anniversaries, marital and initiation rites, etc, all of them traditionally determined, the festivals were associated with the cycles of season and therefore the calendar could not be overlooked as otherwise one would shut his eyes from his own natural environment, and would be far away from his social existence. Thus the calendar had overall importance for an individual as well as for the society, in which he lived. In this background the calendar is also of

profound significance for us. It will enable us to know of the basic facts of social customs of the day. But all this must be understood in relation to the chronology mentioned in the various documents. The chronology of events such as the birth and death of high personages, including the royalty of battles and raids, of famine and disease and religious performances and rituals is given with all particulars of dates provided in the calendar. It is left to a scholar to verify these particulars by his own calculation based on the system which was practised in Nepal for astronomical reckoning. In any case the chronology of events is presented to us in its varied details so that there is scope enough to identify the phenomena, so that a correct date of occurrence is made available to us. As the reckoning under the *Sūryasiddhānta* or *Bhrahmasiddhānta* or *Bhāsvatī* is accurate to the hours, the calendar based on the system of calculation according to these texts is of extreme value to us. We have below a table to show the difference in the time taken by the Sun and Moon to revolve according to various systems of astronomy including the modern.³⁰³

	<i>Sūryasiddhānta</i>				<i>Siddhāntasiromaṇī</i>			
	day	hrs	mits	sec	day	hrs	mits	sec
Sun	365	6	12	36.6	365	6	12	9
Moon	27	7	43	2.6	277	7	43	12.9
	Ptolemy				Modern			
	day	hrs	mits	sec	day	hrs	mits	sec
Sun	365	36	9	46.6	365	6	9	10.8
Moon	27	7	43	12.1	27	7	43	11.4

In view of the chronological importance of the calendar I have thought it proper to briefly discuss the aspect of astronomy, which was employed to prepare the calendar in the period under review. Needless to say that the system was the same as it is at present. So our attempt in this direction is just tantamount to explaining the *Pañchāṅga* system of

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Hindu astronomy in so far as the same emanated from the texts which were regarded to have been the authority for our calendar.

I have not verified the various chronological dates for that was not possible in the circumstances. This is one of the shortcomings of the treatment the narrative received at my hands. But I am sure that the next few passages about the astronomical system will throw some light on how our people in the middle ages reckoned their time with all the particulars of lunar and solar motion, the position of the planets etc.

As it was essential to refer to classical texts which helped to build the principles on which our system of calendar was based, we start with a quotation of a passage from a *Thyāsapu*, which gives the names of the texts used for determining the planetary position in our country.

In the discussion of the *Pañchāṅga* I have used the present tense as the system of reckoning and the concept of the planetary world have remained the same today since a long long time in the past.

Classical Texts: The *Thyāsapu* observes 'Today at 27 ghaṭi past, amāvasyā, Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa, Samvat 858 there is a solar eclipse, but according to *Bhāsvatī*, *Khaṇḍakhādyā* and *Siddhāntasārasaṅgraha*, is not seen, therefore the royal palace did not perform any rites in that connection.'

It appears that the opinion of the three astronomical texts mentioned above prevailed in determining the relative position of the planets, and the almanac also was prepared on that basis. The *Bhāsvatī* was composed by Satānanda about the end of the 11th century A. D. Brahmagupta who flourished in mid-7th century A. D., was the author of the *Khaṇḍakhādyā*. The *Siddhāntasārasaṅgraha* is, however, obscure at the present time and we know nothing about its date. But it seems to be an old work.

Besides these there were several other astronomical treatises, which were accepted as authority on the subject,

Of these the most important is the *Sūryasiddhānta* which is said to have been compiled by Varāhamihara in its earliest form in the 6th century A. D. But the work in use today differs from Varāhamihara's in some respects though adapted from the original. The later *Sūryasiddhānta* is said to have been compiled in about the 11th century A. D. The *Sūryasiddhānta* seems to have been a popular work as the many manuscripts in our Libraries and private possession copied in the 16th and 17th centuries go to show. The *Bhāsvati* based on the original *Sūryasiddhānta* was also no less popular for the same reason. The *Khaṇḍakhādya* composed by Brahmagupta (6th century A. D.) follows the system of Āryabhaṭṭa who was the foremost astronomer of the age, a near contemporary of Varāhamihara himself. It is stated that the *Bhāsvati* teaches us an easier method of reckoning time based on the annual movement of the planets, which enables the computer to arrive at results just by a process of mathematical addition and subtraction. This is regarded as an improvement on the method as taught by the original *Sūryasiddhānta*.

It is a common knowledge that the system of the later *Sūryasiddhānta* was followed in astronomical reckoning throughout North India and this influence had reached Nepal also. According to some scholars Brahmagupta was also regarded as the authority on the field. The reference to *Khaṇḍakhādya* is an evidence of the popularity of Brahmagupta. But this work follows in the main the method of the original *Sūryasiddhānta*. The *gaṇana* (reckoning) of the Pañchāṅga (calendar) for the period under review agrees principally with the *Sūryasiddhānta* but the same may also not differ substantially from the reckoning reached under Brahmagupta's system. Bhāskarāchārya (12th century A. D.) seems also to have followed *Brahmasphuṭa Siddhānta*, which is the *Siddhānta* work, standing in the name of the great astronomer. His *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* was also widely read in Nepal.

The next work of importance besides the four mentioned is *Grahalāghava* composed by Gaṇeśa Daivajñya. In the Darbar Library we have general copies of the *Grahalāghava*. We have also a Newari translation of the work dated NS 876 (DLC, III. 474). The *Grahalāghava* in original is available in several editions of earlier dates. It was quite popular in the early 18th century. The *Grahalāghava* is a work of astronomy showing methods by which the positions of the planets can be worked out easily. Its method of calculating the time of eclipses is also recommended as giving a correct timing.

The *Khaṇḍakhādyā* and *Bhāsvatī* are works called *Karaṇa-granthas* as different from the *Siddhāntas*. The *Karaṇas* are so-called because they calculate time from a fixed day within the life time of their authors. Their system does not involve elaborate calculation back to a very long period as is the case with the *Siddhāntagrāntas*. In the words of Sewell and Diksit the *karaṇas* determine the length of the year and the motions of places at a given time of the Sun, Moon and planets, and their apogees and nodes, according to the standard but they often add corrections based on their own observation, which they called *bīja* in order to make the calculations agree. The *Sūryasiddhānta* like other *Siddhāntagrāntas* starts its calculation of time since the creation of universe, which again according to such authors goes back to 2000 million years. The time passed since the creation is measured in 12 digits, the first being 7. There are also *Tantragrāntas* besides the *Siddhāntas* and *Karaṇas*. One of the *grāntas* is ascribed to the authorship of Ārya-bhaṭṭa. These calculate their time from the beginning of the *Kaliyuga* (Sunrise of Friday, 18th February, 3102 B.C.).³⁰⁴ Any calculation starting from such a hoary past is likely to introduce confusion, and mistakes are bound to occur as to the exact motion and position of the planets as seen from the

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Earth. As an attempt is made to reach conclusions on the basis of direct observation and incorporate the results as guidance for the future there is a general preference for *karāṇa* treatises by the astronomers calculating their time for the almanac. The *Bhāsvatī* was used in Nepal to prepare the almanac in the middle ages.

The Calendar: The calendar in the Valley was luni-solar. Although solar days were not mentioned the practice of providing information about the Sun's position from one Zodiac to another was there and it was always mentioned in the chronology.

In our account of the many events of the period we have found that whenever a date is mentioned, the particulars given are *māsa* (lunar month), *pakṣa* (fortnight) *tithi* (day), *vāra* (day of the week), *nakṣatra* (asterisk), *yoga* (conjunction), *karāṇa* (half of a *tithi*), *muhūrta* (1/30th part of a day) and solar and lunar positions in regard to the *rāśi* (Zodiac sign).

According to our science of astronomy the earth is the centre of the universe and round it revolve all planets. The revolution is diurnal as well as monthly or annual. The first causes day and night. It is believed that the entire planetary system moves round the earth from east to west completing the revolution in 24 hours. The latter revolution is monthly in the case of the Moon and yearly in the case of the Sun. The movement in respect of the monthly and yearly revolutions is from west to east.

By the word *Pañchāṅga* we mean five elements, the *tithi*, *vāra*, *nakṣatra*, *yoga* and *karāṇa*. But not all these particulars figure in full in the early part of our history. As it appears we can notice *tithi*, *vāra* and *nakṣatra* since the early years of our period. *Yogas* and *Karāṇas* are missing in the records of the time. They appear, however, since the 14th century, and it is only then that all the five elements are given as particulars of a date.

The day is reckoned from the sunrise to the sunrise of the next day. The time measure for this period is 60 *ghaṭis*.

This is however a solar day caused by the appearance of the sun in its diurnal motion. We have a lunar day called *tithi*. This is not exactly what we call a day in modern sense, which is a solar day. A *tithi* is the time measure due to a difference in the longitudes of the Sun and Moon. The first *tithi* occurs when the Moon moves away to a new position at 12° in its orbit from its earlier position where its longitude is equal to that of the sun. A particular *tithi* begins at any time of the day as soon as the preceding one has ended. We must remember that the order of the *tithi* has its base some time 5000 years ago. At the same time the length of the *tithi* is not always the same. It varies from one *tithi* to another as well as the same *tithi* might on different occasions differ in length. Sewell and Diksit have given the table below for the length of the *tithi*.

	<i>Ghaṭi</i>	<i>Pala</i>	<i>Vipala</i>
Average or mean length	59 (23 hours	30 37 minutes	40·23 28·092 seconds)
Greatest length	65 (26 hours	16 6 minutes	0 24 seconds)
Least length	53 (21 hours	56 34 minutes	6 24 seconds)

There are 13 expunctions and 7 repetitions of *tithis* in a year, which in total means eliminating 6 *tithis*.

We have the following table for the time measure of a day and its subdivisions as they obtained in the chronology of the middle ages.

$$1 \text{ day} = 60 \text{ ghaṭis}$$

$$1 \text{ ghaṭi} = 60 \text{ vighaṭi (pala)}$$

No fractions of *vighaṭi* are mentioned.

Because the greatest length of the *tithi* is above 26 hours we are warned against equating the *tithi* with a solar day.

The *tithis* are given in serial number for each fortnight; the full moon day is called *pūrṇimā* and marked 15, while the new Moon day, the *amāvāsya* is marked 30 denoting the end of the month.

The *tithis* ordinarily should be 30 in number for every month divided in two parts with 15 *tithis* for each *pakṣa*. Thus there will have 360 *tithis* in a year but the Moon completes in relation to the Sun its revolution round the earth in 29 days 7 hours 20 minutes to 29 days 19 hours 30 minutes. The total time it takes for 12 revolutions is about 354 days. In this way altogether we have to make way for a reduction of 6 *tithis* in a year. But this does not happen in a simple way. The astronomers have a system by which some *tithis* are expunged and some are repeated so that the resultant number of *tithis* (days) is no more than 354 in a lunar year, though the fortnightly or monthly numbers might and do vary. A *tithi* which is current at the time of the sunrise is taken to be the recognised *tithi* for the whole of the day. If the same also extends to the time of the next sunrise, it will get the same kind of recognition for that day as well. This particular *tithi* is thus repeated. For the expunction of a *tithi* what matters is the fact of its not being there at the time of the sunrise. If it begins only a minute later than sunrise on a particular day and does not also touch the sunrise of the following morning its case is then completely lost. The *tithi* in the circumstances is said to be expunged. We know from the *Thyāsapu F* that because in *Bhādra śukla* of 858 the *chaturdaśi* was placed as to cover just *ghaṭi* 0 and 45 *vighati* on the morning and the *pūrṇimā* expired before the next sunrise. So it was dropped from the calendar. Obviously the *pūrṇimā* came on that day after 0 *ghaṭi* 45 *vighati*, but the day had passed as *chaturdaśi* and it was followed by *pratipadā* in the almanac.

The *tithi* is caused by the Moon's going round the earth in its monthly revolution but it is also so determined as it gets away from the Sun and from their common longitude.

The longitudinal difference grows as the Moon moves forward on its orbit from 0° taking an easterly direction. As it moves from the original position it will pass from 0° to 360° to make a complete revolution. At each 12th° the Moon completes the time measure of a *tithi*. The Moon is also removed farthest from the Sun when it reaches 180°. While on this longitude it is exactly on the other side. Here the period is that of the full Moon. From this position the the Moon is again approaching Sun's longitude as it moves back towards the sun. The Moon's movement from 0° to 180° constitutes the period of the bright fortnight (*śukla pakṣa*) and the same from 180° to 0° or 360° makes a dark fortnight.

When some event took place at a moment while a *tithi* was on following the one which came along with the sunrise, the practice was to give both the *tithis* in the chronology adding *para* or *pra* before the second *tithi*. But this depended on the exact time when the event or incident occurred. If it had occurred at the time of the *tithi* coming with the sunrise then no other *tithi* was mentioned. As for the two *tithis* coming on the same day, it is a common phenomenon, for *tithis* and solar days are at variance if not always but more often.

I do not think that I should cite instances showing two *tithis* in the chronology. These are so common that by a glance through the pages of the *Thyāsapus* and inscriptions in our appendix one can notice them in profusion. The two passages of the *Thyāsapu A* reproduced in connection with the occurrence of the intercalary might also be cited for that purpose.

Days of the week (vāra): They derive their name from the Sun and Moon and the five planets respectively,

<i>Ravivāra</i> (Sunday)	<i>Budhavāra</i> (Wednesday, after Mercury)
<i>Somavāra</i> (Monday)	<i>Bṛhaspativāra</i> (Thursday after Jupiter)
<i>Maṅgalavāra</i> (Tuesday after Mars)	<i>Śukravāra</i> (Friday, after Venus)
<i>Śanivāra</i> (Saturday, after Saturn)	

Intercalary month: Before we take up the consideration of other particulars let us now see how the lunar year is made to agree with the solar year to avoid a widening gap between our months and cycles of natural seasons. There are about 354 days (= 360 *tithis*) in a lunar year. But the solar year is of 365 days 15 *ghaṭi* and a little more *palas*. According to the *Sūryasiddhānta* it is of 365 days 15 *ghaṭis* 31 *palas* 31 *vipapalas*. The lunar month by the same method of reckoning is of 29 days 31 *ghaṭi* 50 *pala*. Here is a difference of $11\frac{1}{4}$ days between the solar and lunar year, the latter lagging behind the former. The solar months and year agree more or less with the seasonal cycles, but a lunar year recedes by $11\frac{1}{4}$ days from the original position for every 354 days passed. The lunar *tithis* and months are very important for traditional festivals. Therefore the solar dates cannot replace them. But if the gap of $11\frac{1}{4}$ days is allowed to widen to its logical extremity then it may so happen that the lunar months and natural seasons might be poles apart. In our account of the festivals we have remarked how these were seasonal in their character. Festivals celebrated in winter will have to be celebrated in due course in the summer, and so on and so forth. The solar month and lunar month will also fall apart, and it will be after years and years of divergence that they will close up again. To avoid this contingency our astronomers have a device by which out of the twelve months one is doubled as intercalary and ordinary months. The additional two fortnights come within an interval of about 29-36 months. The gap is bridged at every 32 months 16 days and *ghāṭis*. The intercalary month is calculated in the following manner. In ordinary case one lunar month should have one *sankrānti* (solar). But sometimes it so happens that there is no *sankrānti* in a lunar month. This is to say that in a solar month there are two new Moon days (*amāvāsyā*). Such a lunar month is called *adhika* i.e. a surplus month or the 13th month. Similarly if a lunar month has two *sankrāntis* then the month is expunged

(*kṣaya*). But we have one more *adhikamāsa* within the next few months. This practice, however, was not followed in Nepal in the period under review. They did not reckon the earlier *no-sankrānti* lunar month in four fortnights i.e. one *adhika* and another ordinary months, although the month as such was declared inauspicious for special rituals such as the *Daśaharā* festival. They also did not take it as expunged the lunar month which had 2 *sankrantis*. But the following intercalary month was regarded as such in the real sense.

There is some difference of opinion as to the name of the month intercalated. But as we have already observed it is that lunar month without a *sankrānti*, which in effect is intercalary. A rule in this connection lays down that the month with the second *amāvāsyā* is intercalary. Both drive to the same end but the former can be better understood in a system of *āmanta* month. At any rate the first *amāvāsyā* would always fall in the preceding month. So the question of naming the intercalary month after the second *amāvāsyā* is redundant. As for the *kṣayamāsa* because the rule for the fact of dropping a month was different from what it is at present, the question does not arise.

An intercalation of months is time adjustment in the calendar, by which the astronomer tries to equate the lunar year with the solar year and thus bridges any gap between the natural seasons and lunar months. But it so happens that sometimes the rule evolved for effecting this adjustment introduces two intercalary months. In such a case a recourse is made to drop one month in the calendar so that there are not more than 13 months in that year. Regarding intercalary months in our period we get sufficient information from our inscriptions and the *Thyāsapus*. But here we shall not fix a table of intercalary months. This is not possible in view of our limited knowledge of the historical facts in this connection. We shall have, however, to make a short observation about the two methods fixing an intercalary month in the

light of their adoption in Nepal in the different phases of history. It appears that the *Bhāradvāja* system was in vogue till the end of the 15th century A.D. To supplement the information provided in L. Petech's book (p. 16) we have just two more instances of intercalation, one in Pauṣa of the year of NS 574 and another again in Pauṣa of NS 582 (Doc. 36, 39 of the reign of Yakṣamalla). Thus it is clear that the system of naming the intercalary month after Pauṣa and Āsāḍha stood well throughout the reign of Yakṣamalla. But a change was coming soon, because we have in the year NS 644 an *adhika* Bhādra (Inscription n. 1 in our appendix), which clearly the system of Bhāradvāja no longer held good.

The additional month in the later middle age was called *naṣṭamāsa*. Under the Bhāradhvāja system no intercalation was shown in Bhādra. When we notice an intercalary month of Bhādra we can say that definitely about this time the Bhāradhvāja system was discarded. We have another instance of intercalary month coming after 16 years, and this year there were 2 intercalary months. The *Thyāsapu A* (f. 87) which gives us the information states, "Samvat 660 *Chaitra śukla*; *Navarātra* was celebrated in *Kārtika śukla*. The *pratipadā* fell on Friday; on *vṛścika lagna* *Navarātra* was set up; the sword was worshipped on the day of *saptami pra aṣṭamī*, this was Thursday at the time of *Meṣalagna* then *Chāraṇa* was observed on Sunday; on the day of *pūrṇimā* the *Ahorātradharmā* was performed *Sakemalā* (*Kartika pūrṇimā*) and *Thesarā* (*Mārga pūrṇimā*) were celebrated on the same day; this year two months fell in the category of dropping months; these were *Āśvina* and *Chaitra* but *Āśvina* was just regarded as *adhika* for some rituals and not for others. Now, this passage supplies one more evidence of the *Bhāradvāja* system having become obsolete in this period, because we now find months being called *adhika* according as intercalation had taken place and not in accordance with the practice recommended by *Bhāradvāja*.

But the same passage tells us about the occurrence of two intercalary months within a period of twelve months and of a system then introduced by which only one of the two months was doubled and not the other. The intercalated month in the period of intercalation was called *naṣṭa* or *kṣayamāsa*.

We have one more instance of two intercalary months, and the information is obtained from the same *Thyāsapu* but under date NS 801-2 (f. 35). The *Thyāsapu* observes: Samvat 801 *Āśvina śukla*; this year two months were intercalary; upto *Bhādra kṛṣṇa amāvāsyā* all rites were held as usual, there was a change when *Āśvina* began; no addition was made to the usual month of *Āśvina*; it was just said to be *naṣṭa* for the purpose of *Mahani* which was held in *Kārtika śukla* but ordinary ceremonies such as birth anniversaries, death anniversaries and similar other rites of *Karmakāṇḍa* were observed in the usual manner; the *Mahani* was not celebrated in *Āśvina* as there was no *sankrānti* in this month; the *Balāchaturdaśī* was also pushed from *Kārtika kṛṣṇa* to *Mārga kṛṣṇa*; this following *Chaitra* which was intercalary was doubled, the additional month was declared as *naṣṭa* and all kinds of ceremonial observances were barred.

The *Thyāsapu D* supplements the above information, and says "Samvat 801 *Kārtika śukla*...Harinātha died in Gvala... this year *Navarātra* was celebrated since the *pratipadā* of *Kārtika śukla* the *Mahani* festival was celebrated on subsequent days of the fortnight *ahorātra dharma* also was completed on *Sakamalāpuni*. In the situation, *Śāstras* were consulted and *Āśvini* was called *kṣaya* (lost), but two months were intercalary and in *Pauṣa* there were two *sankrāntis* and now there would be 14 months in the year, which could not happen; therefore although *Āśvina* was *kṣaya* it was not doubled; the same was counted as one month but for the purpose of *Mahani* and similar festivals it was said to be lost as in the *kṣayamāsa*."

I think that these three passages are enough to give us an idea of an intercalary month, its name and its limited or unlimited *Kṣaya* character at the time of two intercalary months and finally of how traditional festivals were observed during the period.

Rāsis: There are 12 *rāsis* which the Sun in its annual revolution round the earth was to pass through. The time taken by the Sun to pass from one *rāsi* to another varies from 29 days 7 hours 38 minutes to 31 days 15 hours 28 minutes. In the calendar of the period we deal with the solar month finds no place, but it should be borne in mind that the name of the lunar month is derived from one of the stars grouped in the *rāsi* which is to be on the solar longitude. The star is the brightest and prominent in the group and otherwise in a system of equal space would be close to or on the longitude of the Moon on the *Pūrṇimā tithi* of that month. According to renowned scholars of the age the practice had been to name lunar month as *Chaitra*, which ends in the period when the Sun is on the *Meṣarāsi*. Thereafter other months follow.³⁰⁵

Let me now reproduce the table for the names and grouping of the *Nakṣatras* and of the months which are called after the 12 prominent stars.

Group	Month		Rāsi
(a) 2 <i>Kṛttikā, Rohiṇī</i>	<i>Kārtika</i>	from	<i>Kṛttikā Tulā</i>
(b) 2 <i>Mṛgaśirā, Ārdrā</i>	<i>Mārgaśira</i>	„	<i>Mṛgaśirā Vṛschika</i>
(c) 2 <i>Punarvasu, Puṣya</i>	<i>Pauṣa</i>	„	<i>Puṣya Dhanu</i>
(d) 2 <i>Aśleṣā, Maghā</i>	<i>Māgha</i>	„	<i>Maghā Makara</i>
(e) 2 <i>Pūrvva Phālgunī.</i>	<i>Phālguna</i>	„	<i>Phālgunī Kumbha</i>
	<i>Uttarā Phālgunī</i>		
(f) 3 <i>Hasta, Caitrā,</i>	<i>Chaitra</i>	„	<i>Chitrā Mīna</i>
	<i>Svāti</i>		

305. All the tables given in this section are from the Indian calendar by Sewell and Diksit.

Group	Month			Rāśi
(g) 2 <i>Viśākhā, Anurādhā</i>	<i>Vaiśākha</i>	from	Viśākhā	Meṣa
(h) 2 <i>Jyeṣṭhā, Mūla</i>	<i>Jyeṣṭha</i>	„	Jyeṣṭha	Vṛṣa
(i) 2 <i>Pūrvvāṣaḍha,</i> <i>Uttarāṣaḍha</i>	<i>Aṣāḍha</i>	„	Āṣaḍha	Mithuna
(j) 2 <i>Śravaṇa, Dhaniṣṭhā</i>	<i>Śrāvaṇa</i>	„	Śrāvaṇa	Karka
(k) 3 <i>Śatabhiṣā,</i> <i>Pūrvvabhādra</i> <i>Uttarabhādra</i>	<i>Bhādra</i>	„	Bhādra	Siṃha
(l) 3 <i>Revati, Aśvinī,</i> <i>Bharaṇī</i>	<i>Āśvina</i>	„	Aśvini	Kanyā

To continue our observation of the *rāśi* system, we shall here speak of the *lagna* and the Moon's relation with the *rāśi*. The *lagna* is the particular *rāśi* for the month, with which the Sun rises in the morning. The Sun is on different *rāśis* for the duration of that day until it comes back to the same *rāśi* the next morning. The Sun stays roughly $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours on each *rāśi*.

As for the Moon's *rāśi*, the result has to be obtained by dividing 27 days, (the time taken by the Moon to revolve round the earth) by the number of *rāśis* which means we have roughly $2\frac{1}{4}$ days for the *rāśi* of the Moon.

Our astronomers believe that the *Nakṣatras* are fixed stars. We have already shown their grouping. Below they are placed in the order reckoned in a system of equal spaces.

Longitudes of the ending-point of the *Nakṣatras*.

Order of Nakṣatras	System of equal spaces	
	Deg.	Mig.
1 <i>Aśvinī</i>	13	20
2 <i>Bharaṇī</i>	26	40
3 <i>Kṛttikā</i>	40	0
4 <i>Rohiṇī</i>	53	20
5 <i>Mṛgaśirā</i>	66	40
6 <i>Ārdrā</i>	80	0

Order of Nakṣatras	System of equal spaces	
	Deg.	Mig.
7 <i>Punarvasu</i>	93	20
8 <i>Puṣya</i>	106	40
9 <i>Aśleṣā</i>	120	0
10 <i>Maghā</i>	133	20
11 <i>Pūrvā-Phālgunī</i>	146	40
12 <i>Uttarā-Phālgunī</i>	160	0
13 <i>Hastā</i>	173	20
14 <i>Chitrā</i>	186	40
15 <i>Svāti</i>	200	0
16 <i>Viśākhā</i>	213	20
17 <i>Anurādhā</i>	226	40
18 <i>Jyeṣṭhā</i>	240	0
19 <i>Mūla</i>	253	20
20 <i>Purva-Āṣāḍhā</i>	260	40
21 <i>Uttara-Āṣāḍhā</i> (Abhijit)	280	0
22 <i>Śrāvaṇa</i>	293	20
23 <i>Dhaniṣṭhā</i> or <i>Sraviṣṭhā</i>	306	40
24 <i>Śatalārakā</i> or <i>Śatabhiṣaj</i>	320	0
25 <i>Pūrvā Bhādrapadā</i>	333	20
26 <i>Uttarā Bhādrapadā</i>	346	40
27 <i>Revati</i>	360	0

The figures are obtained by dividing 360 by 27 i.e. the the sun of total angles made by the Moon in its orbit round the earth divided by the number of *Nakṣatras*. But this has nothing to do with their apparent position. The system of equal spaces is artificial and designed to ease the reckoning of the *Nakṣatras* vis-a-vis the Moon. The following is the length of the *Nakṣatra* in terms of the *ghaṭis* and also of hours.

	<i>ghaṭi</i>	<i>pala</i>	<i>vipala</i>
Mean or average length,	60	42	53.4
	24 hours	17 minutes	9.36 seconds
Greatest length	66	21	—
	26 hours	32 minutes	24 seconds
Shortest length	53	56	—
	22 hours	22 minutes	24 seconds

Yoga: If the sum of the longitudes of the Sun and Moon is $13^{\circ}20'$ then it is said to have completed the first *Yoga*. There are 27 *Yogas* and each has the same longitudinal distance of $13^{\circ}20'$ in a system of equal space.

The following are the names of the 27 *Yogas*:

1. Viṣkumbha (Viṣkambha), 2. Pṛīti, 3. Āyusmān 4. Saubhāgya, 5. Śobhana, 6. Atigaṇḍa, 7. Śukarma, 8. Dhṛti, 9. Śūla, 10. Gaṇḍa, 11. Vṛddhi, 12. Dhruva, 13. Vyāghāta, 14. Harṣaṇa, 15. Vajra, 16. Siddhi (Asrk), 17. Vyatipāta, 18. Variyāna, 19. Parigha, 20. Śiva, 21. Siddha, 22. Sādhyā, 23. Śubha, 24. Śukla (Śukra), 25. Brahma, 26. Indra and 27. Vaidhṛti.

Both the *nakṣatra* and *yoga* are repeated and expunged to make them agree with the total number of days in a year. In the *nakṣatra* system the Moon revolves in its orbit round the earth in about 273 days. It revolves thus 13 times, because by the time it completes 12 times the Sun is about to complete its own round and deviated farthest on the orbit from its old position. The 13 round would take roughly 355 days.

We have the following table for the length of the *yoga*:

	<i>ghaṭi</i>	<i>pala</i>	<i>vipala</i>	<i>hrs.</i>	<i>minutes</i>	<i>secs</i>
mean	56	20	21.75	22	35	45.7
greatest	61	31	0	24	36	24
least	52	22	0	20	52	48

It will take comparatively a shorter time for the Moon to complete one cycle of *yogas*, which it does in 25 days 25 *ghaṭis* and 27 *palas*. In one year it will have 14 cycles of *yogas*, and these will be covered in 355 days 21 hours 11 minutes and 31 seconds.

We shall, however, remember that the *yogic* cycle of the Moon is totally imaginary and has nothing to do with its real motion.

In our almanac there is yet one more system of *yoga* which is different of the above. This is determined by the

conjunction of a particular *nakṣatra* and a day of week. The *nakṣatras* relating the *Yogas* of the type are 28 in number which thus includes also *Abhijit*. We might have other systems of *Yogas* as well, for the *Yogas* might connote a sense of being together of two or more elements. There are auspicious and inauspicious *tithi* and *nakṣatras*, but we shall come to this point a little later as we touch the subject of astrology.

The *tithi*, *vāra*, *nakṣatra* and *yoga* are the most important elements of the *Pañchāṅga*: But the *yoga* seems to be an invention of the astronomers who had been much influenced by astrology.

Karaṇa: The time measure of half a *tithi* is a *karaṇa*. They are 11 and 7 of these coming in succession one after the other for eight times. Starting from the second half of the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight (*kr̥ṣṇa paṅṣa*). Others, the remaining 4, have each a half *tithi* extending from the second half of the 14th *kr̥ṣṇa paṅṣa* to the first half of the 1st day of the following *śukla paṅṣa*. The seven *karaṇas* of the first group are: *Vava*, *Bālava*, *Kaulava*, *Taitila*, *Gara*, *Vaṇija*, *Bhadṛā*. These are called moving (*chala*) *karaṇas*. The rest, *Sakuni*, *Chatuṣpada*, *Nāga* and *Kimstughna* are called *sthira* (not moving) *Karaṇas*.

Muhūrta: Outside the *Pañchāṅga* but coming as one of the particulars of the date is *muhūrta*. The *muhūrtas* are 30 in number, 15 for the bright hours and 15 for the dark hours. The duration of the *muhūrta* of each group varies according to the seasons depending on the length of the day and the night. The longer the day the greater the duration of the *muhūrtas* of that group. Similarly the greater or shorter the night the greater or shorter is the length of the *muhūrtas* of the dark group. A *muhūrta* invariably is 1/15 part of a day or night.

Muhurmāsa of the day

1. *Ārdrā*
2. *Aśleṣā*
3. *Anurādhā*
4. *Maghā*
5. *Dhaniṣṭhā*
6. *Pūrvaṣāḍha*
7. *Uttarāṣāḍha*
8. *Abhijit*
9. *Rohiṇī*
10. *Jyeṣṭhā*
11. *Viśākhā*
12. *Mūla*
13. *Śatabhiṣā*
14. *Uttaraphālgunī*
15. *Pūrvaphālgunī*

Muhurmāsa of the night

1. *Ārdrā*
2. *Pūrvabhādra*
3. *Uttarabhādra*
4. *Revatī*
5. *Aśvinī*
6. *Bharaṇī*
7. *Kṛttikā*
8. *Rohiṇī*
9. *Mrgaśīrā*
10. *Punarvasu*
11. *Tiṣya*
12. *Śravana*
13. *Hastā*
14. *Chitrā*
15. *Svāti*

Eclipse: The notion about the causes of eclipses is practically the same as that of the moderners. Although legends attribute the occurrence to the action of *Rāhu* and *Ketu* who were supposed to attack the particular planet, the astronomers without exception believed that an eclipse of the Sun or the Moon was an astronomical phenomenon caused by a particular position of the Moon in relation to the Sun and the earth. The lunar eclipse occurs when the earth is casting its shadow on the plane of the planetary orbit, through which the Moon passes at the time. For the occurrence of the Solar eclipse the Moon has to intervene between the Sun and the earth. In both the Moon occupies a position approaching the orbit of the Sun, and it is also on the point where either it crosses the solar orbit or is adjacent to the same. As we know the lunar eclipse comes on the day of *pūrṇimā*, i.e. the time of the full Moon. On this day the Moon is exactly opposite to the Sun, 180° away as seen from the earth. A solar eclipse takes place always on the *amāvasyā*, when the longitudes of the Moon and Sun are equal, in other words when they are together.

The passage of the *Thyāsapu F* informing us about the Solar eclipse on *Śravaṇa kṛṣṇa amāvāsyā* of 858 suggests that our astronomers knew the fact of the eclipse being seen from over a small area at the same time.

Phalita Jyotiṣa: We now come to the astrological utility of the calendar. In this we are helped in our assessment by works like *Jaganmohan*, *Muhūrtachintāmaṇī*, *Bṛhajjātaka* and *Jyotiṣaratnamālā*. All these works seem to have attained a degree of popularity in our age.

We must understand that the scope of the *Jyotiṣa* is limited to fixing auspicious time for initiation, marital rites and all other rites performed at different stages of a man's career, which come after *annaprāśana* or *janko*. To these we can add a few more ceremonial functions. The time to begin special rituals such as *koṭihoma* or *tulādāna* is also fixed by the astrologers. In the same way the auspicious moment to lay the foundation of a temple or house or *chaitya* is shown by them. The horoscope of a baby on its birth is prepared by an astrologer. Similarly *grahadaśā*, i.e. the calamity befalling an individual due to the planet can be seen only by an astrologer. The auspicious moment for departure from one's home on a journey or for return and entry into the house is determined in accordance with the statement of the *Phalajyotiṣa* in this regard. But the day (*tithi*) for festivals, *vratas*, birth anniversary, death anniversary (*śrāddha*), etc. are decided with reference to the *vachana* (saying) of the *Dharmaśāstras*.

The *Phalajyotiṣa* is far removed from scientific ideas though based on the scientific date of astronomy. It creates belief in the doing of the supernatural forces which are said to work through the planets. Because in the medieval world man was superstitious enough to believe seriously these forces working to mould his destiny he thought that he was to follow faithfully the advice of the astrologer regarding any activity of his life. The *Phalajyotiṣa* has one virtue that is,

while it signals dangers ahead, it does at the same time recommend a safe course of action with a choice of a time for ceremonial observances and then provide corrective if anything wrong has been unknowingly committed. The correction comes in the form of ceremonial offering to the deity and priests.

Astrology or *Phalajyotiṣa* is based on the understanding that mankind is subject to the influences of stars, which require to be counteracted through rituals if something undesirable was imminent. It shows man's helplessness against the natural forces, but he might not be wholly helpless if he listens to his astrologer.

We draw our information mostly from *Muhūrtachintāmaṇī* and *Jaganmohan* in regard to the following.

No auspicious occasion for a *śubhakārya* (welfare activities) can take place at a time when the planets Jupiter and Venus, are not visible to the naked eye, i.e. after the heliocle rising of these two stars. But this rule is more strictly applied in the case of the initiation and marital ceremonies, as well as other special rites such as *Mahāyajña*, *Mahādāna*, etc.

These occasions are limited to a conjunction of the auspicious *tithis*, *nakṣatra*, *yoga* and planetary position. The rejected *tithis* (*tyakta*) are *chauthī*, *navamī*, *chaturdaśī* and *amāvāsyā*. The *nakṣatras* from *Dhaneṣṭā* to *Revatī* are considered inauspicious and so are *Bhadrā* and *Bharaṇi*. The birth of a child on *Mūlanakṣatra* is regarded as fraught with evils for one of the parents or for the baby. If a man dies in the time of five *nakṣatras* (*Dhaneṣṭā-Revatī*), it is considered very inauspicious. The death might be followed by five more deaths in the family. For the initiation ceremonies all months from *Māgha* to *Āṣāḍa* are recommended while the marital rite can take place in the same period except *Chaitra*. The marital rite can also take place in *Mārgasirṣa*. But all days in these months are not illegible. Once again the time has to be deter-

mined with reference to a conjunction of some *tithi*, *nakṣatra*, *yoga* and planetary position which has been traditionally settled, though there might be some disagreement as regards the auspicious character of the particulars of the date.

The *Thyāsapu F* quotes a verse in Sanskrit, which purports to say that any virtuous deed performed at the time of the day while two *Tithis*, *Ekādaśī* and *Dvādaśī* and *Chaturdaśī* and *Pūrṇimā* have combined go in vain. Thus it appears that the *Tithis* above mentioned were avoided for rituals. But the *Anantavrata* which is observed on the 14th of *Bhādraśukla* was an exception.

It appears that every aspect of a man's and woman's life was covered in full by astrology and there was not one action, ritual or otherwise, which was free from it. One could not do anything new without consulting the astrologer. He could not perform ritual nor he could build his house unless advised by his astrologers. The astrologers (*Daivajña*) was an important functionary in the domestic ritual. Because the astrologer was the man who knew through the horoscope which stars were influencing his client's destiny and in what manner, he could foretell what was in store for him, weal or woe. The prognostication was very important because if something bad was coming there was a remedy for it. The astrological treatises commended rituals to the end which could remove the evils or at least alleviate or lessen the intensity. The *Brhajjātaka*, *Bhṛgusamhitā* and similar other astrological treatises are read by those who want to be adept in the art of horoscope reading so that they could say and foretell everything connected with a man's life from birth to death.

If there were some disturbances in nature at a particular time the astrologer could read its consequences. But he was not always a pessimist. Minor earthquakes according to *Yogāvati* bring fortune to the people. Such was the line of thinking in the world of astrology. The astrologer uttered

also a word of consolation at a time of distress, and tried to interpret the evil as good.

One of the most difficult tasks of the astrologer was to compare horoscopes of the prospective bride and bridegroom. The problem was to make a proper choice of partners and avoid incompatible marriages on the basis of the *Janmakunḍali* which is framed with reference to planetary position at the time of one's birth as shown in the calendar. There is a special treatise of astrology on the subject of the examination of horoscopes for marriage. The problems of marriage from an astrologer's point of view has been discussed since Varāhamihira's time (?)

We learn from the *Thyāsapu A* (f.) that the astrologers gave auspicious time for the troops of the king of Kathmandu to march in the territory of a neighbouring country. Earlier in the narrative we have written how in NS 828 the fort of Dāpchā was repaired, and the work was started on an auspicious occasion pointed out by the Royal Astrologer, and accompanied by the performance of some rites. A text of astrology, known as *Narapatijayacharyā* which was quite popular in our time discusses at length the pros and cons of undertaking a military expedition at some odd hours. The author of the work, Narapati, claims to possess knowledge of the astronomical phenomena of the time in which the king was to order his forces to march. Thus we find that astrology influenced the actions of the king and commoner alike.

Our astrology is mixed up with superstitious beliefs. Its concept of the astronomical phenomenon is based on a classification of auspicious and inauspicious elements. Wisdom lay in reading and interpreting these to one's advantage while avoiding the inauspicious and while avoiding the inauspicious and catching the auspicious by the forelock.

Lastly, as suggested earlier, the astrologer is not helpful at all when it comes to deciding the exact time for the obser-

vance of traditional festivals, anniversaries, rituals of *vrata* and similar other rites. In these cases it is only the *tithi* which counts in the celebration of festivals, etc. and the time is fixed according to the opinions of our ancient lawgivers. We have referred to the passage in the *Thyāsapu F*, which says that the *vrata* of *Anantachaturdaśī* was held in NS 858 following the injunction of the *Samaya Mayukha*, one of the texts, of *Dharmaśāstra*. The observance of the *Mahani* festival on different occasions are also said to have taken place at a particular time in persuance of the injunction of the *smṛti*.

Our *Thyāsapus* tell us many such instances where the *Dharmaśāstras* have been consulted in regard to the time suitable for the celebration of a festival or observation of some *vratas* or rituals. For example the *Thyāsapu F* under date line 827 *Bhādrapada śukla* states that following the saying (*vachana*) of the *Samaya Mayukha* the *Anantavrata* was observed on the day which was reckoned as *chaturdaśī* but with just *o ghaṭi* 35 *vighaṭi* of time. The *chaturdaśī* was here combined with *pūrṇamāsi* for the day, and the *vrata* had to be ended on the day following, which was *Pratipada*. The *pūrṇamāsi* having been dropped in the calendar. Patan and Bhatgaon, however, observed the *vrata* on the day of *Trayodaśī*. There are other instances where the *smṛti* is mentioned to have been consulted as dispute arose about the time of a particular festival.

Diseases: Small-pox, plague and cholera were the three ferocious diseases, which came in an epidemic form and took a huge toll of human lives. We have already described in course of our narrative how in the mid-13th century small-pox and plague destroyed a large number of people. In the later period things were not very much different and such scourges often visited the Valley. If every year they did not fail to come, they also attacked in the most virulent form once in three or four years. The *Thyāsapus* are our last informants about these events. The *Thyāsapu D* reports death

of some people caused by cholera on *Samvat 792 Kārtika śukla tritīyā budhavāra*. It reports again the death due to an attack of small-pox of King Jagatprakāśamalla of Bhatgaon on *793 Mārgaśira kṛṣṇa 4 bṛhaspativāra*. Although no epidemic is mentioned at both the dates, we can surmise that the death occurring was one caused by widespread pestilence. There was certainly an outbreak of cholera on one occasion and of small-pox on the other. Thus we are told that the epidemic had wrought havoc not even sparing a youthful king.

From the *Thyāsapu A* we learn that an epidemic of small-pox raged in the month of *Śrāvaṇa* and *Bhādra* in 799 NS (ff. 13-14), and a large number of children died as a result of the attack. One of the victims of the attack was king Nṛpendramalla's niece (sister's daughter). Fifteen days later Nṛpendra's sister and her son also died of small-pox. Small-pox and cholera made their appearance so often that the scribe does not mention them unless they came in the form of a widespread epidemic. A violent outbreak of plague in the summer of 1716 is reported in the account of Father Frayer, to which we have already drawn attention. The *Newārī* fragment of a chronicle (f. 44a) corroborates the above report and states that several hundreds of people died during the attack of the great disease (*mahāmāri*), which had lasted more than 4 months from *Chaitra* to *Śrāvaṇa*. Father Frayer says that the rampant disease was plague. The chronicle attributes Bhāskaramalla's death to this disease. This is not so certain but we have seen that these *mahāmāris*, as the epidemics were called, did not discriminate between the royal family and their subjects. Both fell prey to their attacks. We have already seen how king Jagatprakāśa died of small-pox in 793. The last sorrowful incident of the kind to come to our notice is the death of Jyotiprakāśamalla in NS 883.

The *Syeṅgu* inscription³⁰⁶ of Pratāpamalla in the prayer

306. Inscription n. 57 in our Appendix.

to Svayambhunātha states that if this was chanted the lord would relieve one of the troubles of cough, fistula as well as diseases affecting appetite. These ailments must have been common in Nepal in view of its moist climate. Its water was not wholesome for digestion and hence the widespread occurrence of diseases of abdomen and anus.

Foreign travellers, in particular Desideri, have described the ordinary people as those of unclean habits. Perhaps the inhabitants in the cold climate of the Nepal Valley were not as careful as they should have been of hygiene. They lived in congested areas, They did not have their towns or townlets well drained of refuse and waste matter. Their drinking water was also at some points got contaminated during some occasions in the year. All this caused the epidemic of cholera and small-pox. There might have been other diseases also.

Conveyance in the Valley: The *Thyāsapu D* under date line 810 writes that King Yoganarendramalla rode a horse accompanying his troopers to a fort. The *Thyāsapu A* (f. 56) mentions a gift of horse chariot on 806 *Kārtika kṛṣṇa amāvāsī(sī) somavāra* by King Pārthivendramalla. Elephants were brought to the Valley either in presents by the Sena rulers of the Terai or on capture by the rulers of Nepal³⁰⁷ Kings gave elephants and horses to Brāhmaṇas as gifts.³⁰⁸ The Kathmandu kings since Mahīndrasimha's time addressed themselves in their *prasasti* as lord of the kings of elephants.³⁰⁹

The elephant was not probably a regular carrier, but the horses and chariots drawn by horses were used as conveyance to travel, the latter within a limited area inside the Valley where the roads were broad enough to allow such a means of transport.

The Malla rulers seem to have possessed a great interest

307. *Thyāsapu A*, ff. 80, 85

308. „ ff 72, 84

309. See the narrative

in horses and their training. We have several treatises on the treatment of horses with commentaries in Newari added in this period³¹⁰ some were written at the instance of the royal patrons. One such treatise talks of horses from Tajk, Khorasan and Tuşara³¹¹. The author thinks that the horses from Khorāsan, Tuşara and Golkonda.

THE WORLD OF SUPERSTITIONS

The people lived in the world of superstitious beliefs. All mishaps to a man's life, economic hardship or physical disease were attributed to the play of evil forces or to the frowning of the supernatural beings. The victim had either committed in this life some offence to invite the wrath of the evil spirit or the Divine Being or he had committed them in the earlier life and was reaping the harvest. In both the cases the powers that dominated his surrounding and life had to be obeyed and propitiated. Hence the importance of the rituals. Together with this, the medieval man believed that actual visitation of suffering was prior known through certain ominous incidents. One has to be alert about them and interpret such omens so that preventive measures might be taken beforehand to ward off the evils as they were imminent. Propitiation of deities was the best means of meeting the situation. The same was known as 'the rite for removal of impending distress'. According to the *Thyāsapu A* 'on 798 *Chaitra śukla 10*, early in the morning while the doors were being opened blood came out of the God's umbrella. Five days later a *yajña* was performed to remove the evils in the traditional manner' (f. 2). The same *Thyāsapu* gives more instances of similar nature in its noting. Again 'a large number of children had died of small-pox, on 799 *Bhādra śukla 4 pra 5 śanaiścharavāra*, animals were sacrificed to please the Goddess at many places such as *Maru, Pachali, Lumadi* and at *Kaṅga*' (f. 14).

310. Darb. Lib. Cat, I. 1104, 816, 341

311. Darb. Lib. Cat. I, 1104

Twenty days before King Jaya Pratāpamalla had died on 793 *Mārga sira śukla 4 bṛhaspativāra*, tears were seen in the eyes of Bugadeo (*Thyāsapu D*). The *Thyāsapu E* reports the appearance of Comets in the sky twice within 15 days (ff. 4.6), once on 801 *Pauṣa śuddhi 1* and then on *Pauṣa vadi 3*. On *Pauṣa śuddhi 3* the mother of King Śrīnivāsamalla died.

A lunatic had ascended the *stūpa* of Svayambhu and brought down the parasol. This happened on 800 *Phālguna kṛṣṇa 5 budhavāra* at night. A ceremony to remove evils following the occurrence was held nine days after (f. 23). Before King Nṛpendra died in NS 800, a she-goat was by mistake sacrificed at the altar of Taleju, and an evil-removal rite was performed (f. 23). A vulture was seen on the roof of the temple of Degutale in Kathmandu two times in the month of *Āṣādhā* within five days and Lakṣmīnārāyaṇ Bhaṭṭa performed rites to the best of his knowledge (f. 31). A dead serpent with a wound in the body was seen by the priest inside the temple of Vāsuki on 803 *Āśvina śukla 12 śanaiścharavāra* (f. 51). This was an inauspicious sight. The narrator further says that 'on 804 *Bhādra kṛṣṇa 3* the end of *Indra Jātra*, at night poured heavy rain, and this continued for five days and four nights, several temples were damaged in the Paśupati area, big trees fell down, the $\frac{3}{4}$ parts of *garbha* of Svayambhu was broken, other images were washed away, many buildings collapsed, and people said that the snake deity of *Koyana* (the gorge of Chobar) had caused this act of destruction' (f. 53).

The people believed that natural calamities were caused by angry gods, and so they propitiated them. Certain things such as the appearance of a dead snake inside a temple, vultures perching on the roof of a house or temple, sacrifice of she-goat, of course, done unknowingly, taking out the finial from the temple in unusual circumstances were considered to forebode evils. In the superstitious atmosphere credence was lent also to hearsay reports about occurrences which nobody would believe today. For example, on many occasions we are told

by the *Thyāsapu A* that the liṅga of Paśupati had bled or the trident over the roof of the temple sent up flames (f. 23). At one time in the inner sanctuary of Paśupati (802 *Śrāvana kṛṣṇa 8 saptamī Tuesday*) the *jaladhari* placed above the phallus to sprinkle water and the stone on which a piece of sandal wood was rubbed for paste, had bled (f. 44). Such cases of bleeding also happened in the temple of Vāsuki, the *jaladhari* having bled on 806 *Jyeṣṭha śukla 1*. The image of Chāṅgu's God Nārāyaṇa as well as the *stūpa* of Svayambhu also were reported to have shown abnormal phenomena like bleeding etc. On the day King Śrīnivāsamalla had died, the image of Paśupati bled, which was seen while doors of the temple had opened (f. 60). Men circulated news on *Śrāvana kṛṣṇa 11 budhavāra* that they heard voices from heaven which resembled sounds of drums (f. 59). These were heard all over Kathmandu. About a month and half latter, another voice was heard in Chāṅgu (f. 59). Apart from the *Thyāsapus*, there are inscriptions which record the act of *Sāntipūjā* performed to propitiate deities on the occurrence of some abnormal incidents.

The people felt themselves helpless in this superstitious environment. They behaved in the manner that they were unknowingly being influenced by supernatural powers. In this situation they needed to be alert, and so they watched every occurrence around them. Anything unusual was sure to attract their notice. Left to themselves they would do nothing to cause such events. If they had to do anything beyond the routine affair the astrologers were consulted for auspicious moment so that nothing would occur to make the gods angry. We have already observed how battles were fought on the advice of the astrologers who gave a suitable time to march forward (*Thyāsapu A*, f. 48). All ceremonial occasions were fixed up by the astrologers according to their calculation conforming to the recommendation of the ancient treatises. There was no guarantee that success awaited them in observing rituals or in regulating their life according to the

advice of the astrologers. But the planets and other goods seemed to follow them always. They had to be careful at every step if something had not taken place to cause the gods angry or if they had failed to know how stars had shaped their destiny. Such was the world they lived in. There were many things going wrong at one time or others. This demanded their close attention and care, and had to be met by arranging ceremonies with elaborate rituals, animal sacrifices and drinking and feasting, which meant considerable expenses. All this was additional burden on the already attenuated resources of the people. The superstitious world was the world of poverty except for the very rich. It also meant feudal exploitation by the priests and wealthy. Superstition could flourish only in an atmosphere of ignorance generated by economic backwardness. Festivals provided temporary escape and a moment's transformation into a happy environment. But his unhappy lot ever remained. He was not destined to live a care free life. Gods, priests and landlords had combined to make him feel helpless, dependent and poor. This is not to say that the rich were not affected by superstition. In fact the instances we gave were those which concerned the royal family and upper class people. They were no less victims of such beliefs on the religious plane. But they at least could do the other end of the business by undertaking to perform hard rituals without feeling the brunt of the loss in terms of depleting resources. One thing more, men and women in ordinary station of life could find it hard to meet that was demanded in the situation and always lived a dreadful life. At last this much was certain that in comparison between them the poorer section placed in the caste hierarchy at the lower level stood in a sadder plight than the upper one as far as the world of superstition was concerned. One thing, however, has to be said in regard to the prevalence of superstitious beliefs. After all, the conception of evil consequences was not allowed to stand unmitigated. The rituals were designed to counter the pressure. Thus the people had

maintained their optimism as to the life they lived even in the adverse circumstances.

Attitude to life: Whatever might be the difficulties they faced, the people may station of life tried to make the most of their situation, no matter what suffering they had to go through. Except those who belonged to feudal classes, all others had to struggle for a pittance of existence. But this did not make them despair of life. The festivals, the entertainments accompanying them, the many occasions when sumptuous meals and community feasts took place—all these gave evidence of a desire to live and live with enthusiasm. We must bear in mind that many of the festivals were there because primarily these were propitiary rites performed as a defensive measure against the possible wrath of the divinities who influenced the human being in his life. The many purificatory rituals from birth to death were intended likewise to procure divine blessing for the person concerned, the last to ensure him a happy existence in the heaven of the departed (*pitṛloka*) or in the life hereafter. But mortuary rites also protected those who were closely related to the deceased. From the moment of death until the 12th day when the deceased joins his or her predecessors, the performance of the rites was directed to save the deceased from the trappings of the world of spirit so that he did not visit home in that form and cause troubles to the family. The spirit of the deceased was said to hover round the house for sometime and it was the occasion while utmost care was demanded of the survivors as to rites so that nothing untoward may happen.

The spirit in the most dangerous form is likely to come back home before the cremation if an iron implement even a needle is not placed on the coffin. Risks lessen as time passes but until the 12th day or 7th day for some castes the spirit approaches the house where the deceased lived. This approach sometimes might influence the destiny of the survivors living in the house. All this belief shows that the

survivors lived their life with deep attachment. They did not seem to be so much aggrieved at the bereavement as they were worried about their own fate. The mortuary rites revealed the same weakness. Emancipation from the cycles of birth or a happy place in heaven were some of the objectives of the many rituals. Such rituals were performed for the sake of deceased parents and others who were dear to the performer. At times the survivor himself desired never to be reborn or felt to shed sins and earn a place in heaven by meritorious deeds. But in overwhelming majority of cases there was a prayer to be enabled to lead a long life of health, peace, fortune with one's family in this world, and bliss of heaven after death which was invariably emphasised. The happiness in the present world was the primary objective. Only in regard to the dead a place in heaven was sought as a *quid pro quo* for the meritorious deed performed in his or her name. We may not refer to records to support our statement. This was the universal practice. The texts of the inscriptions reproduced in our appendix will bear out what we have suggested. We must note that the primary objective of every pious deed remained to be the attainment of happiness in this life. This is not the feelings of the people influenced by other worldliness. This amply proves that even in the most unhappy circumstances one felt deep attachment to life, and he wanted to make the best of the bad bargain to better his condition. A desire to live also sometimes overcame the fatalistic ideas. The decree of fate was something which had to be accepted in the ultimate analysis more in the hour of defeat. But this did not happen without putting up a struggle which again came through rituals performed to counteract the influence of planets, evil omens and wrath of divinities. Whatever might have been the superstitious beliefs, and consequent helplessness, the fact that different rituals were aimed at countering the effects of the situation shows that the Nepalese were not those who had resigned to their fate or evil designs of supernatural powers without

attempting to implement the ways to neutralise the consequences.

It is true that some prayed for not to be reborn. Others wished prosperous new life after death. They had, however, not ignored the usefulness of the present life, and it was their ardent desire to live it to its fullest length.

Those who prayed for emancipation for themselves or their relations were comparatively few. Most of the people took rebirth as unavoidable. God ordained it. Perhaps this was the common belief. It was therefore desired that the next life should be one of happiness in heaven. Those who were enlightened enough to seek release from the cycle of birth did so pray. King Pratāpamalla in his inscription of NS 784³¹² and 790³¹³ tells us that he set up a pillar bearing a group of statues of himself and others invoking the blessing of Goddess Taleju and Degutale respectively so that all of them were to enjoy release from the cycle of births. Some other kings also desired not to be reborn. But all their emphasis including Pratāpa's had been always on the happiness of the life. So even while desiring no rebirth, the attachment to this life had remained. Summing up our discourse on the attitude of the medieval people to their life it must be said that it was shaped in accordance with their desire to live and live in happiness and peace although their approach was religious and they wanted to attain their objective through a process of rituals, which were the only instruments in their hands to meet the challenge.

To throw light on one more aspect of their life. The Nepalese were not certainly leading an austere life. On occasions they followed in practice, the dictum eat, drink and be merry. The rituals based on the teaching of the Tantras taught them so. Buffalo meat and liquor consumed unhesitatingly both by deities and men reflected this way of thinking.

312 n. 64 in our Appendix.

313 n. 69 in our Appendix.

For castes other than the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, there were few restrictions in the observance of caste rules. On the otherhand the women of the lower castes enjoyed more freedom with divorce and marriage in the context of *yihī*. So life was not so much an ordeal that they should not cling to it. Other things—a desire to have a place in heaven or happy rebirth proceeded against this background.

LITERARY: LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND DRAMA

Break marks in writing: The medieval records show that different marks to indicate breaks or stops have been used in writing a passage. The following are the marks for different categories of breaks in a sentence or after a sentence. After a sentence or verse a full stop mark was thus given as '//', after the end of the half sentence or half verse the mark was '/', and after a word or phrase the break mark was just a comma , . These are the marks which we notice in the passages of the inscriptions, *Thyāsapus* and manuscripts. But the scribe did not always adhere to accept the rules. Thus in practice these marks were applied in different ways by different writers. Our description of stop marks in diction might not therefore apply to a great many cases. But these may broadly agree with the system adopted by a majority of scribes.

The initial few words of invocation in a text were treated as a separate category, and therefore a mark of full stop followed at the end. In many instances names, of deities, persons and places, phrases, parentheses, or words were separated by a mark of comma. A sentence might be broken, and each part marked with full stop. Similarly in a sentence the comma might come every time a word or a group of words carried singly or in conjunction with others some sense in a sequence, however partial. Similarly at times while the scribe was giving particulars of a date he gave a comma mark to every particular. Sometimes we find even full stop marks for each of these.

The reader is referred to the Appendices, particularly the *Thyāsapus* and texts of inscriptions which will give an idea of the devices used by the scribes in respect of stop marks. It was not essential to illustrate the points of our statement because of their almost wide use in the many documents we have reproduced. Let me therefore proceed to consider the next item in the section.

Stone and copper plate inscriptions and Palm leaf records as Memorials: For a pious deed performed the donor set up an inscription on stone or copper plate to commemorate the occasion. A pious deed meant building a temple or a *vihāra* or a *chaitya* or anything connected with these e.g. their repair or setting up new images or the grant of land for their upkeep and daily or annual worship. A grant of land to a private individual was also recorded in a rolled palm leaf. The copper plates bore the coin stamp of the king if he was the donor. The king's palm leaf records likewise always was stamped with clay seal on the margin where the writing started.

The texts of the inscriptions as given in our appendix testify to what we have said above. These can be each cited. But in the bulk of documents cited in the narrative the main theme of the contents have been given, and there is much we get in regard to the voluminous information on the subject. We might not add more information because some of them might be just repetition. However, we shall give a few more instances from new materials which might give as additional information avoiding at the same time likely repetitions. But the treatment shall be brief.

Below are some of the inscriptions listed according to the nature of objective, all from our Appendix.

(1) for building or repairing of temples and setting up images (Śaivite), Nos. 4, 8, 9, 19, 45, 48, 49, 53, 63, 65, 80.

(2) for building a *vihāra* or a *chaitya* of their repair or setting up Buddhist images, Nos. 1, 3, 5, 23, 27, 41, 73.

(3) for grant of land to institutions or private individuals, Nos. 6, 10, 14, 15, 17, 20, 40, 61, 76.

(4) for constructing a bridge (n. 62) or canal (n. 90).

Besides the religious deeds royal decrees regulating public conduct were also inscribed on stones and copper plate, e.g.

(5) Royal decrees on stones and copper plates nos. 72, 77, 78, 107, 137, 138, 139, 152, 153.

(6) The copper plates bearing coin stamps of the king who is a donor, nos. 137, 144, 147, 149, 152, 153.

Every record at the end warned the miscreants against actions likely to damage the records. It said that any one responsible for the act of damage will invite upon himself punishment as much as the same would be inflicted while committing five great sins (*pañchamahāpātaka*).

There was yet one more use of the copper plates. Royal agreements were also inscribed on them and deposited in the custody of either Paśupatinātha or Taleju in one of the capital cities. Such copper plates, the text of which appear in our appendices are numbered 34, 59, 102, 104, 110.

Incorrect Sanskrit :

In this age Newari was being used increasingly in records and was growing into a language of literature. As we have suggested earlier the influence of Sanskrit in Newari was also increasingly felt. Sanskrit was used so widely that it constituted more than 60% of the Newari vocabulary. But whether used as the sole medium in new works composed in this period or as copartner of Newari in different inscriptional texts, Sanskrit had lost its charm and chastity. There were, however, a few exceptions. But the large majority of works of the period fell far short of the standard which was maintained in the earlier ages.

Here we shall talk only of the language used in inscriptions and ms. colophon statements which were meant to pass as public memorials for the pious deeds performed. All these

records were intended to be read by the elite of the locality, who were, however not as learned. It appears from the language and style of the writing that in many cases the composers were not men of deep learning and were not conversant with the intricacies of Sanskrit grammar, rhetoric and poetics. Because these constituted a variety of people who claimed knowledge of Sanskrit either as priests or composers, we can imagine the standard of common writing in Sanskrit of those days. In a large number of compositions Sanskrit was used as the medium of expression in its faulty and corrupt form.

We may not substantiate the points raised by quoting from the documents. As a matter of fact all our inscriptions (in the Appendix) and ms. colophons amply prove what we have said about. Of course, there are exceptions but these do not match in number with those which show incorrect use of Sanskrit language.

It was an age of poor scholarship, not only for Nepal but also for the Indian subcontinent. So there was nothing unusual about the literary creations if our scholars had shown poor performance and betrayed their shortcomings.

Although not for good poetry but for a tolerably fair handling of the language and diction free from grammatical mistakes we might recommend the following pieces of writing in our Appendices. Inscription Nos. 12, 19, 44, 51, 53, 57, 60, 64, 65, 71, 84 and 88.

The source materials we have given as appendices will reveal that Sanskrit words used as they are and such use after being structurally changed to a local pattern are found in abundance to the extent of bearing its influence as deeply as it could be in the circumstances. The infiltration might have gone deeper affecting about 60 percent of its vocabulary. But the basic structure of the Newari language was little touched. The writing in Newari of the very early composition available in the inscriptions or the chronicle might have fewer words of

Sanskritic origin, but in difference cannot be very wide. Perhaps in the beginning the verbs we have listed were not these. This means that Newari's contacts with Sanskrit as ancient as its own history. For a considerable time since the ancient period up till the end of the 13th century A. D. Sanskrit was not only the language of the court and elite but also is the language in which statements about religious and pious deeds of private individuals were recorded. We do not know how far the dialect spoken by the mass of the people had been influenced, if this was so to the extent as the record language was.

The Newari language, the language of the Valley of Nepal during the pre-Gorkha days grew under the impact of varied influences emanating from Sanskrit and its literature. The Sanskritic influence had been felt in so many ways semantically and morphologically and this was most powerful in the later middle ages while the language was taking a definite shape through its own literary writing. But it appears that its vocabulary was being increased at the same time also by borrowing words from Persian and other non-Sanskritic sources current in North India of the period. This was the age when Nepal had come into contact with the civilisation and culture of Moghul India. Linguistic and other cultural influences from India had surely made themselves felt in Nepal due to this contact. We have seen that in this period a large number of Muslims from the Punjab and Kashmir were living in Nepal to handle the trade to and from Lhasa. But more than that the influx of people from the western hills, who spoke a language (modern Nepali then *Parbatiyā*) which had borrowed in its vocabulary a number of words from the official language (Urdu) of North India was the most important factor in that direction since the early 17th century. Its impact was felt in the Valley in so many spheres, one of them being language. The Khasa Kṣatriyas had become influential at the court. They had also permanently settled down not only in the areas outside the Valley but also inside the Valley

occupying the tracts on the foot-hills not far away from the capitals. We have the inscriptions of Lakṣmīnarasiṃhamalla and Pratāpamalla, the text of which is written in the *Parbatiyā* language.³¹⁴ The Bhatgaon Palace copper plate of 823³¹⁵ mention among other things persons speaking the *Parbatiyā* language, who appear to occupy important stations in the state. These people were so spread far and wide and specially in the capital that their association had in normal course caused the *Parbatiyā* and Newari dialects to influence each other in a variety of ways.

So far as Newari was concerned, the influence was felt in two forms, (1) borrowing words which *Parbatiyā* had absorbed either from the official or link language of India or from other sources and adopting them in the form as they came, (2) and moulding them in its structural pattern and using them as a subject of predicate or a verb of the time in the Persian language.

We have already taken notice of a text called *Samṣkrita-Pārasika pada prakāśa* attributed to a writer undertaking the work at the behest of Emperor Jehangir, which was copied in Nepal in the reign of Jitāmitramalla. This shows the interest of the elite of the time in the Persian language. The *Sanskrit Pārasika Prakāśa* gives in 528 verses Persian equivalent of many Sanskrit words.³¹⁶ A *Thyāsapu*, which is designated *Pārsikośa*, is available in the National Library.³¹⁷ This consists of Persian equivalents of Sanskrit, and other Indo-Aryan vernaculars of the 17th century as were spoken in the areas now known as Uttara Pradeśha and Bihar. The *Parśikośa* was composed by Jitāmitramalla in 810. This is a very short lexicon and again both might neither give us an idea of the extent to which Persian was learnt in Nepal

314 n.

315 n.

316 Samṣkrita Sandesha, I. 2. pp 34-35.

317 Recently acquired.

nor the same might enable us to know if there was an attempt to learn the script but some Persian words had found their place like Turkish, Arabic or others in the Newari texts of several inscriptions or *Thyāsapus* which were meant to be read by literate people of the kingdom.

Urdu was the immediate language which adopted these words, and passed on to other dialects near to the border of what we now call central Nepal states. We have to make it clear that these words did not come directly from their own original sources nor from Urdu nor from border dialects. These came to be adopted in Nepal in all certainty through the *Parbatiyā* language which was introduced into Newārī in the contemporary period as a result of intimate contact with the speakers of the former.

Many other words of Indo-Aryan vernacular dialect current in *Parbatiyā* had come to be adopted in Newari as verbs. These had been qualified with the Newārī. 'Yānā' meaning 'to do' which becomes an inseparable part of the new verb. The use of such verbs over wide space in the inscriptions, *Thyāsapus* and later works of literature might show the depth of interrelation between Newārī and the language that was spoken in the hilly tracts of west and central Nepal.

<i>Word used in the text</i>	<i>Original</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>English</i>
<i>Guṇāgāra</i> or <i>Guṇahāgā</i>	<i>Gunāhagāra</i> (Persian)	Ins. n. 72, 79, 108	Sinner
<i>Bharosā</i>	<i>Bharosā</i>	Ins. n.	assurance
<i>Hākim</i> or <i>Hakhim</i>	<i>Hākim</i> (Arabic)	Ins. n. 153	Officer
<i>Dastura</i>	<i>Dastura</i> (Persian)	Ins. n. 153	a kind of conventional tax

<i>Word used in the text</i>	<i>Original</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>English</i>
<i>Hajura</i>	<i>Hujūra</i> (Arabic)	Ins. n. 151	
<i>Sipāhi</i>	<i>Sipāha</i> (Persian)	Ins. n. 153	Soldier
<i>Omrāo</i>	<i>Umrā</i> (Plural of Amir)	Thyāsapu A f. 48, 111	plural of Amir, military officers who combined also civil functions.
<i>Darbāzā</i>	<i>Darbāza</i> (Persian)	Ins. n. 103	Door or gate
<i>Vakśisa</i> <i>Vaksīsa</i>	<i>Vakhśīsa</i>	Ins. n. 144 Ins. n. 149	Reward
<i>Sāheb</i>	<i>Sāhab</i> (Arabic)	Ins. n. 121 Thyāsapu B (f. 7)	Respectable person but here prince
<i>Kāzi</i>	<i>Kāzi</i> (Arabic)	Ins. n. 104, 150	Judge but here minister
<i>Kotwāra</i>	<i>Kotwāl</i> (Persian)	Ins. n. 83	Police officer
<i>Chābuk</i>	<i>Chābuk</i> (Persian)	Thyāsapu A (f. 91)	A stick to beat a horse.
<i>Tupa</i> or <i>Tupaka</i>	<i>Topa</i> ³¹⁸	Thyāsapu A (f. 66) Thyāsapu D	field gun

318 All those words not marked as Arabic, Persian, or otherwise are used in the dialects of present-day U. P. and Bihar of India. The same are also current in the Pahāri or Parbatiyā dialects of Central Himalayas.

<i>Word used in the text</i>	<i>Original</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>English</i>
<i>Bhujyālī</i>	<i>bhujālī</i>	Thyāsapu A (f. 78)	A kind of dagger the same as Khukri
<i>Jagāta</i>	<i>jakāta</i> (Arabic)	Ins. n. 65	a kind of tax
<i>Phira</i> or <i>Phirāda</i> or <i>Pherāda</i>	<i>phariyāda</i> (Persian)	Ins. n. 153 Ins. n. 72	complaint
<i>Ṭhānā</i>	<i>Thānā</i>	Ins. n. 139 Thyāsapu A (f. 103)	military attack or post
<i>Baṅdeja</i>	<i>Baṅdheja</i>	Ins. n. 72 Thyāsapu D	restraint or agreement
<i>Chauka</i>	<i>Chauka</i>	Ins. n. 52	courtyard
<i>Āsrā</i>	<i>āsarā</i>	Ins. n. 151	expectation in favour of intention
<i>māphika</i>	<i>māphik</i> (Arabic)	„	
<i>āsiya</i>	<i>āsaya</i>	„	
<i>bhitar</i>	<i>bhitar</i>	„	inside

Our list is not exhaustive. There might be more words of the nature we have listed. Our purpose is just to indicate that the Newārī language by its contact with the *Parbatiyā* language of the Indo-Aryan family was enriching its vocabulary by borrowing words which had crept into the latter on account of its association with the court of link language of North India. The list will serve to enable the readers to have an idea of this contact and influence.

It seems that such words were unknown to the Newari language until the 16th century. But they appear in records belonging to the 1650 A.D and after. About this time the Mislīm traders from the Punjab as well as the *Parbatiyā* people, the Brāhmaṇa and Khasa Kṣatriyas from the western hills had found their way in the Nepal Valley and settled there.

We now list words of *Parbatiyā* language now introduced into Newari, which are used as verbs in conjunction with the suffix 'yānā' of the latter.

<i>Newarised</i>	<i>Original verbs</i>	<i>Records</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
<i>uthāyayāna</i>	<i>uṭhanu</i>	<i>Thyāsapu A</i> (f,69)	to rouse
<i>bāñdhayayāna</i>	<i>bāñdhanu</i>	<i>Thyāsapu A</i>	to tie
<i>mānayayāna</i>	<i>mānanu</i>	<i>Thyāsapu</i> (f.41)	to obey or respect
<i>pāpalākajuro</i>	<i>lāganu</i>	Ins.n.61,62	to be touched by
<i>milayayānao</i>	<i>milanu</i>	Ins.n. 104	to unite
<i>bolayayānāo</i>	<i>bolanu</i>	Ins.n. 110	to speak
<i>chhekaya-</i> <i>yānao</i>	<i>chhekanu</i>	Ins.n. 110	to obstruct
<i>khojayayano</i>	<i>khojanu</i>	Ins.n.150	to search
<i>Jamaoyanao</i>	<i>Jamaonu</i>	Ins.n. 111	to maintain

This list also is not exhaustive, we should, however, know from the examples set pattern of Newari rendering of verbs in the *tadbhava* form. The change in the morphological structure of words is slight as compared to those which came from the Sanskrit source.

We shall herewith cite also a few instances of incorrect Sanskrit words as they occur in our colophons. It is to be understood that those who wrote treatises in the Sanskrit language were learned enough not to commit mistakes, grammatical or otherwise, though from the point of view of diction and style their writing might not be placed high in our estimation.

But those who were just copyists or trusted to write scripts for the stones and copper plates made horrible grammatical mistakes. Let us examine the particular colophons. It appears that the common mistakes were those of spelling, gender, using a mixed Sanskrit-Newari language, etc.

ms. *Sūryaśatakaṭīkā* of NS, 661 (DLC. III. 689), *likhitam sūryaśataka ṭīkā daivajñya Jayakirtirājena*.

ms. *Mugbodha vyākaraṇaṃ* of 858 (DLC III. 72). *Śannivāre dine simir pusti Kammudā*.

We have the same kind of mistakes here as in the above.

ms. *Aṅdhakāsuravadhopākhyānam* of Raṇajitamalla (NS 888, DLC. I 365). *Bhīmasyāpiraṇebhaṅgo.....Yathālikhitam mama dokho na du khanam*. Perhaps the scribe is trying to drive the point that he is not to be blamed for mistakes, but the language in which he expressed this idea is patently wrong.

ms. *Chitraketupākhyāna* of 871-884 (DLC. I, 365) *likhiti Manirājena*. It should be *likhati* and *Manirājena* is also wrong in that context.

ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* of 774 (DLC. IV. 792). The scribe writes *mahattara* for *muhūrta*, *vāsale* for *vāsare*, *lāsi* for *rāsi*, *savitari* for *savitali* and *Kastena* for *Kaṣṭena*.

ms. *Narapatijayacharyā svarodaya* of 522 (DLC. I. 1179).*śāstraṃ nṛpativijaya likhatī*. The scribe uses the verb wrongly, though he poses to know better Sanskrit than others.

ms. *Kubjikāmataṃ* of (DLC. III. 378), *lekhaka.....tathā likhitaṃ lekhako nāsti doṣah*. The very sentence is wrong.

We have a similar example in,

ms. *Kubjikāmataṃ* of (DLC. I. 1403), *śatadvevatsare pūrnne pañcha panchāsātādhika āsā māse śukla daśamyām tithi muttamaṃ Visākhe rikse nametu*. Most of the words are used in the wrong form.

ms. *Abhidhanottaram* of 836 (DLC. IV 33). The scribe writes *Vijya* for *Vijaya*, *Katamanda* for *Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa*.

The copyists were not all learned. They made mistakes in copying Sanskrit words.

The common mistake was to write *ra* for *la*, *ta* for *ṭa*, *tha* or *ṭha* and vice versa.

Similarly they saw little difference in the three kinds of *śa*, *ṣa* or *sa*.

Such mistakes are widespread and these will be noticed if one goes through a text which otherwise shows a correct language. In many places they used Sanskrit cum Newari language to write colophons or passages in inscriptions. They confused the two as to *kāraka* and again gender. For example note in the ms. *Tārārahasyaprāpti* of 811 the expression *Rāmachandrena choyājuro*. Here the first word is in Sanskrit, which is also grammatically correct but wrong from the point of view of Newari grammar. This should have been *Rāmachandrana*. Another work, the ms. *Devapratīṣṭhā vidhānam* (DLC. II. 380) has also a colophon in similar language with a similar kind of mistakes. An example of the confusion of *ra* and *la* is seen in the ms. *Ārājītapratyngirā* of 887 (DLC, IV. 1061).....*Viradhvajena Vajrāchārya Hemanta Kalayāta choyājuro*. The *la* after *Hemantaka* is also a mistake for *ra*.

Instances are too numerous to be reproduced in their details. But the reader can have from the above an idea of the grammatical or other mistakes committed by our writers and scribes.

Having given the nature of mistakes, I do not think that we need cite instances from the inscriptions. The latter also present the same features while they were treated by an inept hand.

We shall request the readers to look into the texts of the inscriptions which we have named for that purpose.

One will have no different experience of the *Thyāsapus*. Although they write their notes in Newari, they attempt to reproduce some statements of Sanskrit classics and here

unwarily they commit mistakes. The spelling mistakes in writing the names of the particulars of the *pañchāṅga* are also very common.

The following passage from the *Thyāsapu F* will be enough to know the nature of mistakes committed by the scribes: *Rudrena dvādasi (śi) yukta, chaturddāsa syā (śyā) rthapūrṇṇima I ete veṣṭa mahāghoraṃ hanti punya purā-krtām*. I have put the correct spelling within brackets. But there is also an error of syntax.

Original Contributions in Sanskrit

As in the earlier period Nepal shows keen interest in different branches of learning also in the late medieval period. Manuscripts which cover works of prominent authors in the Sanskrit language in the literary field are traced in abundance in the Nepal Valley. We need not enumerate all of them here. But we should bear in mind that the range of activity embraces practically all the subjects and does not leave out one single author of repute in the field.

This is evident from the way kings and their priests used to claim knowledge. As we have already suggested Pratāpamalla called himself as one who had crossed the bounds of the knowledge of all *śāstras* (different spheres), *śāstras* (weapons) and fine arts including music. Jitāmitra in Bhatgaon called himself wise and a person of profound learning. Jagatprakāśa was the teacher of the science of music (*Gandharva-vidyāguru*). In the Taleju pillar inscription Pārthivendramalla lays claim to a variety of learning including grammar, lexicon, philosophy, literature, logic, music, rhetoric and what not.

The Patan ruler Yoganarendramalla was addressed as one knowing many branches of learning (*Sakalanītiśāstra Kāvya-vyākaraṇa Kośālankārasaṅgītādikuśala*). At the age of 12 Bhūpālendramalla is said to have been endowed with the qualities of learned (the Kathmandu Śiva temple inscription of 810).

In a noting of a *Thyāsapu* of the time (in my possession) I marked that a Brāhmaṇa priest responsible for the writing called himself master of all branches of learning.

We doubt the voracity of the claim put forward by our rulers. But the subjects they mentioned in the writing are exhaustive, and the students of these *Vidyās* were certainly being patronised. In particular I am amazed to see the extensive list of the branches of learning in the Taleju inscription of Pārthivendramalla. He mentioned all subjects ever known to a learned of *śāstras* of the day. These include to give everything in detail *kośe vyākaraṇa purāṇa kalane tanre cha vaiśesike saṅgīte vedānta pātanjale kavyālaṅkaraṇe smṛtaucha.....sāṁkhye srutau tarkkake mimāṁsā*. Pārthivendra was the master of every kind of learning if his statement was true. But we need not go as far as that to accept in verbatim what he says about himself. However, there were scholars who specialised in one or other branches of learning mentioned above. Our interest in his statement lies in the fact that it brings out the many subjects of learning and we can interpret it, to have suggested that these were studied carefully by men qualified for the task. This supports our earlier statement that the learned had a very wide range of interest in the branches of knowledge and were devoted to the study of a vast number of subjects. It is difficult to say if there were great scholars and specialist in the field. But it can be said that there were at least persons who took pains to study different works of learned authors, and if it were not for this the vast number of manuscripts would not have been copied in Nepal and available to us today.

A special feature of the literary world of the day was the patronising of Newari. There were men who wrote either in Newari or in a mixed language with Newari in it.

There are also works of Nepalese authors who used the medium of Sanskrit. Although they are not as many they are nevertheless important from our point of view. Let me

now first introduce these pieces of writing to the readers. The following arrangement is according to the subject the work deals with. We shall have a separate section for original writings in the Newari or mixed Newari language.

Astronomy: (1) *Narapatijayāchāryāsvarodayaṭikā*³¹⁹ by Jagajjyotirmalla composed in Śaka 1539. This is a commentary on the famous work of Narapati.

(2) *Grahadarpaṇa*³²⁰ by Bālānanda composed in NS 860 at the instance of Raṇajitamalla. It is a *ṭikā* on the work of Gaurīśvara who based his thesis on the *Sūryasiddhānta*.

(3) *Jaiminiasūtravyākhyāsubodhini*³²¹ composed by Nilakaṇṭha Regmi in the time of Raṇajitamalla in Śaka 1676. This is a commentary on a work on horoscope 'in *sūtra* form, complete in four chapters divided in four paras attributed to Jaimini'.³²²

(4) *Jyotiśāstram*. According to H. P. Śāstri 'this appears to be a work on divination in Sanskrit and Newari, compiled from various sources by the observation of the positions of dogs, lions, mules, snakes and elephants'.³²³

(5) *Khaṇḍakhādyāṭikāspaṣṭapadā* copied in Bhujimo character but without date. This is a commentary and in the beginning after invocation to Sūrya introduces a formula to render Śakakāla into Nepāla era.³²⁴

(6) *Chandragrahaṇādihikāraṭikā* composed by Nilakaṇṭha by permission of king Raṇajitamalla.

(7) *Gaṇitamāñjarī*³²⁵ composed by Md. Raṇajitamalla, son of Bhūpatīndramalla. The work is compared with *Sūryasiddhānta*. The date of composition is NS 886.

319 I. 1186.

320 *Darb. Lib. Cat.*, I. 1209.

321 DLC, I. 164.

322 CPMDN. I. Preface. p. XXVII.

323 *Ibid.*

324 *Darb Lib. Cat.*, I. 1647.

325 *Nat. Lib. Cat.* 2977.

Purāṇa: (1) *Swayambhupurāṇa*³²⁶ probably written during the reign of Yakṣamalla. This is a work dealing with the origin of the Swayambhu *Stūpa*.

(2) *Paśupatipurāṇa*.³²⁷ The work available was copied in NS 624. The work is primarily concerned with the origin and sacred character of the Bāgmati, and secondarily with the *Mahātmya* of Paśupatinātha and other Phallus images of Nepal Valley.

(3) *Vāgvatīmahātmyaprasaṁśā* (CPMDN, I, p. 45). The work probably belongs to the 17th century A.D.

(4) *Skandapurāṇa-Nepālmahātmya*.³²⁸ The oldest copy in the Durbar Library bears the date NS. 703.

Tantras: (1) *Kālīkulārṇavatāntras*³²⁹ (Darb. Lib. Cat. II, 130). The work deals with the subject of worship and propitiation of Guhyakālī. The ms. is dated NS. 867. The date of composition not known.

(2) *Kulavṛitti* (DLC, I, 252) composed by Purṇānanda, NS 752,

(3) *Nairātma Guhyeśvarīmantranāma-Dhāraṇī*.

(4) *Mañjuśrīsādhanā*.³³⁰ The deity is worshipped in the text as a patron of art and architecture. We are not, however sure of the date of its composition. This work deals with the temple architecture, art of making images and utensils. We may place it in a separate category and not with the *tantras* as far as the classification of the subject goes.

Literature: (1) *Kāvya-Gītakeśavam*³³¹ by Māndhātāsīmha written in NS 797.

326 Published by the Asiatic Society of Nepal.

327 Published in Banaras, 1955; Partly referred to in Sanskrit Sandesha, I, 6, pp. 13-15.

328 *Darb. Lib. Cat.*, I, 1209.

329 CPMDN, I, p. 160.

330 *Ibid.*, I, p. 121; Preface, pl. XVII.

331 *Ibid.*, I, p. 272; DLC, I, 815.

(2) *Gīta-Govindam* with a commentary by Jitāmitramalla, NS. 810 (DLC, I. 528).

(3) *Gītaṇṇchaṣikā*—composed by Jagajjyotirmalla in Śaka 1550 (= 1628 A.D.).

(4) *Mahākāvya* by Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa written for the recreation of Yoganarendramalla.³³²

(5) *Kṛṣṇacharitrakāvyaṃ* by Vaṃśamaṇi (DLC, I. 427).

Music, Dance, Acting: (1) *Sangītasangraha* by Jagajjyotirmalla is an abstract of all works on music, dancing and acting known at his time.³³³

(2) *Saṅgītachandra*, a comprehensive work on music and dancing by Jagajjyotirmalla.

In our narrative we have already referred to the works of lyrics composed by royal personages and others. So we do not need mention them here. Similarly as we do not find a drama composed in the Sanskrit language in the period, we also do not touch this subject at this stage.

(3) *Hastamuktāvalīsārasamuddhṛta-ṭīkā*³³⁴ is a commentary on *Hastamuktāvalī* of Subhaṅkara composed in 795 by Ghanaśyāma for the training of Jagajjyotirmalla's daughter's son Ananta in the art of moving hands while dancing. The author claims that he wrote the commentary fully knowing the views of Bharata and Śubhaṅkara.

Politics: *Kuśapadeśaṭīkā*,³³⁵ a commentary of 8 śloka prepared on 644 *Phālgua pratipadā dine bhṛguvāsare* by Bāndhavasena Vajrāchārya who lived in a *mahāvihāra* in the eastern part of Kathmandu.

Erotics: A commentary on *Nāgarasarvasya* of Padmaśrījñāna by Jagajjyotirmalla of Bhatgaon.³³⁶ The commentator writes at the end *Jagajjyotirmalla bhūpaih granthanekau*

332 CPMDN, I, p. 16.

333 H. P. Sastri. CPMDN, I, Preface. p. XLI.

334 In my possession.

335 CPMDN, I, P. 85.

336 *Ibid.*, I, p. 196.

vilokyacha iyam nāgarasarvasyaṭikā yatnena sādhitā. The work is an explanatory treatise on *Kāmasāstrasya* invoking God Kāmadeva, the lord of sexual desires. About this work H. P. Śāstri (Preface, p. XLV) writes. The commentator takes great liberties with the text, for instance, in the second hemestitch of the first verse the word *ladaha* in the original has been changed into *yodiha*, because the word being an unknown technical term in erotics was rather hard for the royal interpreter to explain. The Hindu Raja takes the Buddhist Mañjuśrī as Kāmadeva, without a word of explanation.

*Āyurveda: Yogamanjarī*³³⁷ compiled by Vardhamāna. This is a work in Sanskrit on the subject of the medical treatment of horses. The author apparently is a member of the court of the kings of Nepal. He composed the work in NS 846.

The kings treated all scholars, Śaivites or Buddhists, on a footing of equality and we obtain in this period literary works belonging to all schools of thought and faith. All these exhibit a variety of taste and style and a wide range of interests as already suggested.

It must be remarked however that the Nepalese had not produced anything worth the name in many fields of literary activity. It is also true that if it were not for their drama and lyrical compositions they would not have passed as very able writers. But the dramatic works are all in mixed Maithili—Newari language.

Copied works: Much interest lies in the literary works copied in Nepal during the medieval age. This is for the reason that these copies had been preserved intact in Nepal, while the same had been lost in the countries where they had been originally composed. We know for certain that the availability of old manuscripts to-day in Nepal is mainly due to climatic factors.

337 CPMDN, I, pp. 233-34. *Darb. Lib. Cat.*, I. 816.

The climate of Nepal is excellently suited for the preservation of manuscripts written in palm leaves as well as papers. But it is also no less due to the immunity Nepal enjoyed from any large scale destructive effects of Mahammadan invasions. There was only one invasion of this kind but while this had destroyed many images and temples and records on display in the public sanctuaries, the manuscripts kept in private custodies were not at all touched.

As the manuscripts have been already noted in connection with the colophons, I do not think we need reproduce the names here. As in Part I we shall be content with a short observation on the subject of copied literary works also for this period.

It appears that Nepal was rich in *Tantric*, *Jyotiṣa* and *Āyurvedic* literatures. These have the largest number of copies either written in Nepal or brought from outside. Similarly the volume of Buddhist literature is large covering every aspect of the doctrine as well as esotericism.

According to H. P. Śāstri³³⁸ who made an extensive study of the Nepalese manuscripts there is dearth of Vedic literature. Some *Samhitās* appear to have been copied but 'the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads are unknown and works on Vedic sacrifices are conspicuous by their absence. Vedic scholarship has for a long time been at the lowest but copies of *Gr̥hyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras* are also limited indicating comparative lack of interest in the subject. But the dearth might be also due to the large scale destruction occurring in the chaotic period. The available works of *Samhitās* include Vajasaneya Samhita or Śuklayajurveda' (CPMDN, II, p. 83).

Literature in Newari and mixed-Newari

Sanskrit was not the only medium patronised. For the first time in the history of Nepal its rulers encouraged writing Newari language, which they called *Nepālabhāṣā* or *Deśa-*

338 CPMDN, I, Preface, p. 11.

bhāṣā and in Maithili. About the same time indigenous dialects were being encouraged all over India, and they were gradually taking the shape of literary languages. From the contemporary history of India, it appears that Marathi, Bengali and Hindi were coming to the front and their early development was in evidence at that time. We have said that Newari had held the field for a long time as a spoken language. As one of the oldest members of the Indo-Tibetan family, it has a significance for the historian equal to that of Tibetan. It was, however, not patronised till then by men of culture and learning, who did their work in Sanskrit. But from the 15th century A. D. onwards the court became alive to the need of giving a lift to Newari, the language of the people of the Valley and some valuable works were written in that language particularly in the field of literature. I have found that the Darbar Library possesses quite a few books of a time as old as the 17th century A. D. There may be more in the archives of the old *Vihāras* as well as in private possession. The inscriptions and mss. have added the last portion of their statements in the Newari language, which we would not find in the older inscriptions, and this is again an additional material in the language.

A little later while we discuss the subject of *Kīrtanīyanāṭaka*, we shall find that there comes to notice quite a few works of dramas in Maithili Newari. While we talked of the reigns of individual monarchs we have also referred to the songs in Newari of their composition. But dramas or any work worth the name in Newari appear in any scale not before the middle of the 17th century.

It must also be admitted here that apart from the mixed Newari-Maithili dramas, much that was known as literary works constituted devotional and love songs.

We have already dealt with works composed upto the time of Yakṣamalla. Beginning with purely literary compositions of the age, let us now note works of the later Malla period.

Songs: (1) *Newari bhāṣā Saṅgītasāṅgraha* which is a collection of songs. The work is undated.

(2) *Gitamālā*, (3) *Gitāvalī*.

All these works are in private possession.

Literature other than plays:

(1) *Nṛtyāraṃbhavidhi* on dance performance by Bhūpatīndramalla.³³⁹

(2) Works by Jagajjyotirmalla³⁴⁰ already listed in the narrative.

There are two published collections of such songs. The pieces are ascribed to one or the other of Malla kings.

Items of similar materials from an unpublished collection could be cited as specimens for their high lyrical and poetic qualities. All these seem to belong to the later Malla period.

Āyurveda Medicine:

(1) *Newaribhāṣāvaidyakaraṇa* NS 560.³⁴¹

(2) *Newaribhāṣāchikitsā*, NS 561 (Yakṣamalla's reign).³⁴³

(3) *Dhanañjayakośa* with Newari commentary, dated NS 795.³⁴²

(4) *Yogaratnasamuchchaya*³⁴⁴ of 807.

(5) *Vaidyakagraṇtha*.³⁴⁵

(6) *Chikitsāsāra* with Newari commentary composed in NS 674 (DLC, II. 352).

(7) *Haramekhalā* in Newari composed in the reign of Jagajjyotirmalla, NS 541 (DLC, I. 1114).

(8) *Pālakāpya*, a treatise on the medical treatment of elephants composed in NS 850 (DLC, I. 1118).

(9) *Aśvachikitsā* in Newari dealing with the treatment of horses, NS 813 (DLC, I. 1105).

339 *Darb. Lib. Cat.*, I. 6950-59.

340 *Govt. Nat. Lib. CPMDN*, I, 974. Lib. n. 4230-32.

341 *Ibid*, n. 437.

342 *Ibid*, n. 439.

343 I. 1092.

344 CPMDN, I, p. 19.

345 *Darb. Lib. Cat.*, I. 876.

(10) *Aśvavaidyakaṃ* with a commentary in mixed Sanskrit-Newari by Jagajjyotirmalla NS 737 (DLC, I. 341).

(11) *Aśvāyurveda* with a similar commentary as above by Raṇajitamalla, NS 850 (DLC. II. 49).

The last four works are on the science of veterinary medicine. *Yogamañjari Aśvaśāstra* is a treatise in Sanskrit on the same subject, dated NS 846,³⁴⁶ which we have already listed.

It appears that the authors of the period tried to make available to seekers some of the works of classical literature in the language of the people, and in that strain came to be translated in Newari a large number of books so far within reach of only a few learned persons.

In the Darbar Library we have a bundle of papers in the form of *Thyāsapus* relating to expenses, undergone in times of festivities. These belong to the reigns of Bhūpatīndramalla and his son, both kings of Bhatgaon.

(1) *Prāchinavyayanirdeśapustakam*³⁴⁷ (Ancient Book on methods of spending), *Vyayalekhapustakam* (record of expenditure Book),³⁴⁸ *Nānākasyavyayalekhapustakam*.³⁴⁹ (A book recording expenditure on various works) and *Gṛhanirmāṇavyayanirdeśa*.³⁵⁰ (A book on how to arrange expenditure for building one's house).

In addition to these (1) *Raṇajitadikṣāvyaya*³⁵¹ records expenses incurred by the ruler on the occasion of the son's initiation ceremony, and (2) *Mulchok Devatāvārṣikapūjāvidhānavyayasaṅgraha*³⁵² deals at length with the account of expenses undergone for the annual ceremony of the deities belonging to the Mulchok. Expenses incurred during the

346 *Ibid.*, I; 1332.

347 *Darb. Lib. Cat.*, III. 58.

348 *Ibid.*, I. 1689.

349 *Ibid.*, III, 194.

350 *Ibid.*, I. 1492.

351 *Ibid.*, I. 330.

352 *Ibid.*, I. 1138.

dance performance of the play *Gaurivivāha* are preserved in yet another book.

One *Thyāsapu* of Bhūpatīndramalla is a collection of records of various items of expenditure and of rules thereon touching several subjects and heads in regard to his household and festivals and celebrations.³⁵³

Astronomy and Astrology: (1) *Sūryachandragrahaṇādhikāra*.³⁵⁴

- (2) *Jyotiṣasāraṅga*.³⁵⁵
- (3) *Grahalāghavabhāṣā* (NS 876)³⁵⁶
- (4) *Nakṣatrajātaka*³⁵⁷
- (5) *Bhāṣājyotiṣam*³⁵⁸
- (6) *Śakunavatidvayam* in mixed Sanskrit-Newari language.
- (7) *Kākacharitrāphalam* partly in Sanskrit and partly in Newari (DLC, I, 1509).
- (8) *Bhusuṇḍipada's Keraliyaśāstra* partly in Newari copied in NS 624 (DLC, III. B).
- (9) *Khaṇḍakhādyāṭikā* of Bamata with translation in Newari, copied in NS 762 (DLC, I. 1203).
- (10) *Jyotiṣasaṃgraha* with notes in Newari copied in 810 (DLC, I. 1213).
- (11) *Nakṣatrapurikṣā* with passages in Newari (DLC, I. 1535).
- (12) *Praśṇajyotiṣam* with notes in Newari, copied in 819 (DLC, I. 1139).
- (13) *Praśṇavichāra* in Newari (DLC, III, 97).
- (14) *Bhāṣājyotiṣam* in Newari copied in NS 542 (DLC, I. 1183).
- (15) A treatise of 365 verses on eclipses composed in 790 (Nat. Lib. n. 2947), with Newari commentary.

353 This is a bundle of pages.

354 *Ibid*, I. 2943.

355 *Ibid*, I. 2947.

356 I. 1198.

357 *Darb. Lib. Cat.*, III. 97.

358 I. 1107.

(16) Miscellaneous :

(i) *Kuśopadeśasaṅgraha*³⁵⁹

(ii) *Chāṇakyanīlīsārasaṅgrahaṭīkā (Buddhivilāsinī)*³⁶⁰

All these are undated. *Lilāvati* is a work on Mathematics done in Newari by king Ranajitamalla in NS 888.³⁶¹ The subject of civil and criminal laws has been covered by (i) *Nāradasaṃhitā*,³⁶² dated NS 500 and (ii) *Yudhiṣṭhira-Nāradasaṃhitā*, NS 835.³⁶³

Tantrākhyānakathā written in NS 725 *Kārtika* 'is an abstract of *Pañchatantra* with a Newari translation'³⁶⁴

*Vetālapañchaviṃśati*³⁶⁵ published by Hans Jorgensen in Denmark. But this does not probably belong to our period.

We have *Sanskrit Phāraṣi Prakāśa* for learning Persian copied at the instance of Jitāmitra in NS 810. The author of this work served Emperor Jehangir and he writes in the preface that the *Kośa* was prepared at the behest of his patron. We have yet one more lexicon of the type and this is a much smaller work said to have been compiled by king Jitāmitramalla in NS 810 in the time of Bhāgirāma Pramāṇa. The original copy lies in the collection of the National Library. This is not a *Newari-Persian Kośa*. The words given as equivalents of the Persian are all those current in the dialects of the upper region of the Gangetic plain. Two sentences near the end are given in Hindi and Persian, and this may provide a clue to the nature of the vocabulary in question.

Dramas

We have already referred to certain works of literature in Maithili composed in the times of the Malla rulers. They

359 *Darb. Lib. Cat.*, I. 3475.

360 *Ibid.*, I. 3487.

361 *Ibid.*, I. 1214.

362 *Ibid.*, I. 1198.

363 *Ibid.*, I. 1601.

364 CPMDN, I, p. 64, Preface, p. XLIV.

365 *Ibid.*, I, p. LVII.

were either poetic compositions or plays containing also such pieces here or there in the forms of songs. As we have this space for the consideration of this subject, we want to devote some lines to it even at risk of repetition. But we do not think it necessary to take note in details of every aspect of literary activity of the period. It will suffice to take in hand here the main trend of this activity which was on all accounts the drama played and performed at the court and which was full of melodious songs for mirth and entertainment.

But all these works should not be taken as exclusively belonging to the Maithili literature. Although some of them produce a content mainly garbed in Maithili, others betray a mixed form of language a composite one, specially the dialogue being expressed in Maithili, Bangla, Hindi and even *Parvatiyā* together in many such treatises.

However, the fact remains that essentially these plays were Maithili in character, and therefore they come into the category of the Maithili language.

According to Jaikānta Miśra, in his book '*History of Maithili Literature*' (p. 180).

"There were three influences working during this period. In the first place, the Sanskrit drama acted as the model framework; secondly, the *Yātrā* type of drama gave life and movement, and thirdly, the tradition of Maithili school of music directly initiated these vernacular dramas. The outcome was consequently of three kinds; one was 'regular' Maithili drama where the form of Sanskrit drama was preserved but the language was more or less Maithili; the second was the kind of drama where some incident in the life of Kṛṣṇa or any other popular hero was described in the form of extempore dialogues interspersed with popular songs; the third was an independent kind of operalike drama mainly made up of secular songs. In the last two types the main interest was in the music of the piece; naturally their literary and 'poetic' excellence was not very great." And further,

“The usual structure of the ‘Irregular’ Nepalese Maithili drama was as follows: After the Nandi (sometimes accompanied with *Aṣṭamaṅgala* and *Puspāñjali*), the *Sūtradhāra* and the *Naṭī* appeared on the stage, and introduced the subjectmatter, the author, the patron and the occasion on which the play was composed. Then followed what was known as *Rājavarṇaṇa* and *Deśavarṇaṇa* (the description of the king and the country and thereafter, the section proper commenced. The actors entered the stage and disclosed their identity through appropriate songs. The action progressed in the songs ended in songs. There are lacunas between the songs which might have been filled up by prose passages that were not put down in the play (Dr. Bagchi, *op. cit.* p. 173)”.

In some cases the *Rājavarṇaṇa* contained a genealogy of the ruler who was a patron. It seems that the line of distinction between the regular and irregular dramas was very thin. But unwritten dialogues might have been interspersed in what we now call the regular drama preserved in writing.

The drama always ended with the invocation of divine blessing on the king, and then followed benedictory lines which prayed for his long life and glorious reign.³⁶⁶

It does not mean however that the glories of the king was sung only at the beginning and at the end. Often there are laudatory verses introduced anywhere. In soliloquies, one often sang praise of the sovereign through whose favour the enactment was made possible.

Songs: The literary feature of the dramatic works was the kind of poetical composition incorporated in them, whether of regular variety or irregular.

The dramas contain lyrical poems which can be compared with the finest of them written in other languages of the age.

366 *Gopichāndropākhyānanāṭakam*, I. 345; *Kṛṣṇachāritropākhyāna*, I. 365.

Songs were the integral parts of any drama. They gave life to the scenes. They provided not only entertainment but also an opportunity to get an insight into the play.

The poetry in them revealed all the nine *rasas*, and were sung in melodious tunes. The *rasa* was adapted to omit the main theme of the occasion enacted.

The themes of dramas were based on the stories of our classics, e. g. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and other *purāṇas* and this was a common feature of all kinds of dramas. As the titles of the works show, the plots derived from these classics were quite known to the audience conversant with the legendary tales. They invariably based the performance on familiar tales of our myths and scriptures. But as it appears, the pattern was designed more to please the audience with songs than with the texture of the story. Apropos of the same, the lyrics sung to the audience were composed to give serially the development of the story; often while the performance sang, he expressed certain mood by gesticulation. But gesticulation was a very minor aspect of performance so that only those who could sing became actors. In other words singing was the be all and end all of the play, and songsters qualified as actors. In some cases songs were rendered in Sanskrit, and the players sang such song in melodious tunes. In the same way the *Nāndīślokas* were also composed in Sanskrit, and sung in that manner.

Theatre: We have to deal here with an outdoor stage of the open air, where the performance took place in broad day light. Up till now this feature of the play stands: this is the traditional play enacted before a motley crowd of audience imparting to them mirth and merriment as they witness the scenes. No curtains were used to give the background of the situation, rather the idea of the scene was conveyed through songs which described the same. This was meant to be intelligible to those who watched the performance. But without the medium of the curtain, the actual stage was

however presented with the appearance conforming to the nature of the incident in question. We notice that only a remote affinity to the actual situation was intended. As it goes at the moment, the dress of the players also conformed to the occasion. It indicated the personality of the character. There were as well certain auxiliaries added to the general pattern of clothing. If a warrior was to be presented, the player carried sword with him. If it was the part of a mendicant, the actor was dressed in a suitable yellow garment. Similarly, other features were shown by presenting articles associated in the main with the characteristics of the scenes involved so that the audience knew at the first sight what was being enacted at the stage.

The dialogues in the main conveyed humour and mirth to the audience. These were mostly in Newari, but other dialects also appeared.

Theatrical masks: Masks were worn by characters to make themselves appear in the role portrayed in the drama. This was more in the case of the villains and demons, their appearance could not have been presented in normal human face but only through the grotesque and ferocious look of the masks. Sometimes the superhuman deities who had assumed animal forms in their different incarnations were also represented through masks. The many goddesses whose portrayal in the classics is through animal form did surely appear through masks. Through masks the actor not only projected the nature of the role he was cast, but this device also enabled the lookers-on to identify the roles the actor was playing.

The orchestra consisted of instruments like *dhime* (double drum), *khīm* (also a kind of double drum), *ghā* (double drum but varying in shape) *kochakhim* (single drum like the *tablā*), *tāināi* (a bell plate of bronze struck by a round object), *bhusyā* and *muāli* (a trumpet).

As it shall appear most of the authors of the dramatic

works were royal personages, on whose patronage again the theatrical art flourished. The common people witnessed the performance on special festive days. Often, the palace provided the venue for such a performance. Whether it is in Kathmandu or Bhatgaon or Patan, the palace possessed a platform in one of the courtyards called Nāsalchok, where performance took place. On occasions when dramas were enacted the people enjoyed free entrance into the site. These platforms are still preserved and can be seen. Besides the palace venue, the people maintained their own platforms, and each quarter of the city enjoyed one constructed by common labour. Sometimes the temple sites also were used for staging plays. The construction of platforms came within the purview of social activities, which has been already described in full with reference to inscriptional references.

Dramatic works: The most prolific period from the point of view of literary activity was Pratāpa's in Kathmandu, Siddhinarasiṃha's in Patan and Jaya Jyotirmalla's and his three successors' in Bhatgaon.

The *Gītadigambara* of Vaṃśmaṇī is the most famous literary work for Pratāpa's reign. This four act 'regular' play was composed for being performed on the occasion of *Mahātulādāna*³⁶⁷ by the ruler of Kathmandu.

Jayakanta Misra writes: It proceeds gradually from *Mudita Maheśa* (Act I) to *Maṇinimānabhaṅga* (Act II) to *Virakta Virupākṣya* (Act III); the story of Śiva's enticement by Pārvatī is very familiar and the main attraction of his treatment lies in the vernacular songs. There are quite a few hymns to Śiva as simple and dignified as the one which he gives in the beginning of his play.³⁶⁸

Two more dramas, one *Nalacharitanāṭaka* of the time of Bhūpālendramalla and another *Abhinavaprabodhachandrodaya* of the time of Jagajjayamalla are noted as works of merit in the history for Kathmandu. The latter is an adoption

³⁶⁷ *Nepal Cat.*, p. 8 (ms.).

³⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 182.

in Bengali-Maithili mixture from the work of the same name in Sanskrit.³⁶⁹

There is nothing very important for Patan apart from what we have written earlier. But Bhatgaon's contribution requires to be dealt with in its details. A good many lines from Jagajjyotirmalla's *Kuñjavihārināṭaka* are spoken of very highly by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, who published the play in Bangala Samvat 1347 (in monthly *Parichaya*).

In the kingdom of Bhatgaon the writer of merit after Jagajjyotir was his grandson Jagatprakāśamalla who wrote devotional songs and more than nine dozen dramas in Maithili.³⁷⁰ The dramas are:

- (1) *Uṣāharaṇa*.
- (2) *Naliyanāṭakaṃ* (longest of all),
- (3) *Pārijātaḥaraṇa*.
- (4) *Prabhāvatiharaṇa*.
- (5) *Malayagaṇḍhinī*.
- (6) *Madanacharita*.
- (7) *Mūladevasāsīdevopakhyānaṃ*.

One three Act play called *Rāmāyaṇa nāṭakaṃ* (Govt. Nat. Lib.) was written by one Kṛṣṇadāsa in the king's name.

To Sumati Jitāmitra, son and successor of Jagatprakāśa is attributed the authorship of the following plays: *Kāliyamathanopākhyān*,³⁷¹ *Jaiminibhāratanaṭakaṃ*,³⁷² *Madālasāharaṇaṃ*,³⁷³ *Gopichandranāṭakaṃ*,³⁷⁴ *Uṣāharaṇaṃ*,³⁷⁵ *Navadūrgānāṭakaṃ*,³⁷⁶ *Bhāṣānāṭakaṃ*³⁷⁷ and *Bhāratanaṭakaṃ*.³⁷⁸

369 *Darb. Lib. Cat.*, No. I. 1154, pp. 1-7; III, 565, pp. 1-164.

370 *Darb. Lib. Cat.*, I. 1564, pp. 1-60; 1, 397, pp. 1-108; I. 420, pp. 1-45; I. 305, pp. 1-44; I, 436, pp. 1-86.

371 *Darb. Lib. Cat.*, I. 460, pp. 1-44.

372 *Ibid*, I. 1121, pp. 1-21.

373 *Ibid*, I. 354, pp. 1-30.

374 Dealt by Dr. Bagchi.

375 *Darb. Lib. Cat.*, I. 1564.

376 *Ibid*, 1322.

377 *Ibid*, 1455,

378 *Ibid*, 1478.

Gopichandra is in mixed Maithili Bengali and parts of *Bhāṣānāṭakaṃ* are done in Newari.

Bhūpatīndramalla's reign has also a prideful record of achievements in this field. The dramas preserved are: *Mādhavānala* (Darb. Lib. Cat. No. 1. 1455) *Gaurīvivāhanāṭaka* (Ibid. I. 460, pp. 1-36) *Paśupatiprādurbhāva* (II. 460, pp. 1-56) *Gopichandropākhyāna*,³⁷⁹ *Uṣāharaṇa*,³⁸⁰ *Rukmiṇīpariṇaya*,³⁸¹ *Vidyāvilāpa*³⁸² and *Mahābhārata*³⁸³.

Other works available are *Kaṅsabadhakṛṣṇacharita*, *Kolāsurabadhopākhyāna*, *Vikramacharitanāṭakaṃ*, *Padmāvatināṭaka*, *Jālandharopākhyāna*, *Jaiminibhārata*, *Vidyāvilāpanāṭakum* and *Manorajananaloka*. All these are preserved in the Darbar Library (Kathmandu).

We have more works in the name of Jitāmitra and Bhūpatīndra, but we may not mention them here.

A very remarkable feature of these works is the fact of language which is much of a mixture between Newari, Maithili, and Bengali. As these were intended for the understanding and entertainment of illiterate laity assembled at the freely accessible palace, these could have been only rendered in a dialect, even though a mixture, intelligible to them.

Most of the theme of these dramas were also common for other parts of the Indian sub-continent, even when they were not borrowed from epics and Purāṇas as seems from the reading of *Vidyāvilāpa* and *Mādhavānala* (of Raṇajīta).

The last ruler of Bhatgaon Raṇajitamalla who lived up to a ripe old age is the most prolific of the writers, and under him were composed a good number of plays of high qualities in the best tradition. The works ascribed to his authorship

379 *Darb. Lib. Cal.*, 345, pp. 1-75.

380 *Darb. Lib. Cat.*, 32, pp. 1-81.

381 Dr. Bagchi's article in *Parichaya*.

382 In *Nepala Bangala Nāṭaka* (B. S. P.).

383 *Ibid*, Dr. Bagchi.

and patronage are *Kṛṣṇacharita*,³⁸⁴ *Kṛṣṇakailāśyātropākhyān*³⁸⁵ *Uṣāharāṇa*,³⁸⁶ *Indravijayanāṭakaṃ*,³⁸⁷ *Mahāyātryopākhyāna*,³⁸⁸ *Kolāsuravadhopākhyāna*,³⁸⁹ *Āṇdhakāsuravadhopākhyāna*,³⁹⁰ *Kṛṣṇacharitropākhyāna*,³⁹¹ *Madanacharitra*,³⁹² *Mādhavānalakā-makaṇḍala*,³⁹³ *Nalacharitra*,³⁹⁴ *Rukmiṇīpariṇaya*,³⁹⁵ *Jalasāyiviṣṇvādisrṣṭyopākhyānaṃ*,³⁹⁶ *Tripurāsuravadhopākhyānanā-ṭakaṃ*,³⁹⁷ *Prthūpākhyāna*,³⁹⁸ and *Yayātyupākhyāna*.

Another of his plays *Rukmiṇīharāṇanāṭakaṃ* is composed in a mixed language—Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi and Newari.³⁹⁹ *Khaṭvāsurasuravadhopākhyānaṃ*⁴⁰⁰ (I. 365), *Subhamopākhyānaṃ* (I. 365) and *Haragaṇakathā* (I. 365) and *Dikpālagaṇesopākhyānaṃ* (I. 365) have also a language of this type. *Māndhātryopākhyānaṃ* is composed in mixed Maithili-Newari.⁴⁰¹

It is obvious that in Bhatgaon there was a long line of kings who took active interest in literary activity and were themselves instrumental in producing works of merit in abundance.

The same could not be said of Kathmandu, and we have seen how Patan's zeal also was flagging in spite of the boast

384 *Darb. Lib. Cat.*, I. 368, pp. 1-132.

385 *Ibid*, III. 116, pp. 1-32.

386 *Ibid*, I. 365, pp. 1-105.

387 *Ibid*, I. 365, pp. 1-51.

388 *Ibid*, I. 365, pp. 59.

389 *Ibid*, late discovery No. pp. 1-78.

390 *Ibid*, I. 365, pp. 1-26.

391 Dr. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 180.

392 *Darb. Lib. Cat.*, I. 365, pp. 1-11.

393 Dr. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

394 *Ibid*.

395 Published in Nepala Bangala Nāṭaka.

396 *Ibid*, the name of a poet Dhanapati is also associated with this drama.

397 I. 342.

398 Also associated with this drama.

399 6956, *Nat. Lib.*

400 All these above are listed as works in Newari in the catalogue.

401 *Darb. Lib. Cat.*, iv. 365.

of its monarch (Yoganarendramalla). But here and there dramatic works composed by writers of Patan and Kathmandu appear, and some of them are royal personages.

Yoganarendramalla appears to be the author of two dramas, *Gopichandropākhyāna*⁴⁰² and *Nalacharita*.⁴⁰³ To Viṣṇumalla is attributed the authorship of *Prabhāvatīharāṇanāṭaka* composed in NS 863. Śrīnivāsamalla was either the patron or the writer of a piece of dramatic work called *Daśāvātāranāṭaka*.⁴⁰⁴ We have also a play in the name of Bhāskaramalla as the writer. This work designated⁴⁰⁵ *Mañichutresvarī charitrābhīdhānāṭikā* mentions Bhuvanalakṣmī as the mother of the king Bhāskaramalla. There is one work of the last phase of the Malla period in Kathmandu, where Jayaprakāsamalla and Jyotiprakāśa are praised. The drama called *Chaura Chakravartī* was composed in NS 871. The author of the drama was probably a courtier in Kathmandu. The *Thyāsapu F* talks of a play *Daitya Kumhara* witnessed by king Jayaprakāśa. But we have not received any trace of the play in writing.

We have already listed one work of the reign of Jagajjyama. I have not been able to see more works composed in Kathmandu in this period. We could say something about Patan. Except the single dramatic work in the name of Viṣṇumalla, the entire period since the death of Yoganarendramalla up to the time of Tejañarasimha goes without anything. Thus it appears that Bhatgaon gets the sole credit of continuing the literary tradition uninterrupted. The tradition died with the elimination of Bhatgaon as an independent principality.

There might be more works remaining untraced. The list however, is exhaustive enough to give us an idea of the contri-

402 In my possession

403 *Ibid*,

404 *Ibid*,

405 *Ibid*,

butions made to the dramatic literature of the age, which was rich inspite of the fact that the works piece by piece are small in volume.

Here we come to the end of the discourse about the subject of dramatic literature. A critical discussion of the literary aspects of the dramas listed is outside the scope of the book. All these might be treated in a separate volume.

Musical Instruments: The inscriptions and dramatic works bring out many songs which were sung according to prescribed rules of classical music. The principal 6 *rāgas* and 36 *rāginis* are fully represented, and we need not enumerate them here. One of the works of Jagajjyotirmalla is said to be full of different notes, emotion, melody, etc. (*Gītapan-chasikā*). Another work of his was to expound *tāla laya nṛtya* and instruments like *mṛdaṅga*.

As for musical instruments, we hear of *mṛdaṅga*, *vīnā*, etc from the works of Jagajjyotirmalla. An inscription of Guitabahi in Patan dated in 778 NS talks of five musical instruments (*Pañchasvaravādya tathā nṛtya pada*) with five sounds of dancing.

The five instruments are (1) *Dhola*, a two-headed drum played by both hands. (2) *Tyampe*, a small kettle drum played by one or two sticks, (3) *Jhyāli*, a pair of bronze circular cymbals played by hands as when clapping, (4) *Khiñ* a two-headed drum, played by both hands on two sides and (5) *Muāli* a pipe of the shape of a horn.

A copper plate invitation (now in the Kvābahāl) issued to king Mahīndrasimha on 839 *Māgha kṛṣṇa 30 ādityavāra* etc, has the following passage: *Nānātūrya mṛdaṅgādidhakkād jharjhara maṇḍalaih murajāsankhakāraḥ sahamaṅgala vādakaih*. This suggests the use of various musical instruments during the ceremonial occasion of *Samyakadāna* in the monastery. The *Tūrya*, *Mṛdaṅga*, *Turaja*, *Jharjhara* and *Dhakkā* are all drums, but we do not know how to identify them with the variety of drums that are in use today.

In Bhīmamalla's Yatkhatol inscription of 763 the *Guthiyār* (the holder of the *Guthi* property) is asked to perform the daily *pūjā* of Śiva Puruṣvara accompanied by the playing of five musical instruments as well as a *Dundubhi* (a large kettle drum).⁴⁰⁶ In ordinary course the worshipper has to toll the bell and blow the conch at the time of daily worship (*nityapūjā*).⁴⁰⁷ This is the simple way of *pūjā*. But the *Nagara* or *Dundubhi* (kettle drum) and *pañchavādya* are added at a greater cost if the devotee wants it. Each time even when ordinary *pūjā* is performed these might be played to the tune of the prayer.⁴⁰⁸

The Bhairava image in the Museum as well as in a temple in Patan, the latter set up in 878 (Inscription of the date), shows a drum suspended along the neck of the deity and placed in the waistline of the front body. This is a double drum but with an additional disc raised at the centre which is alternately played by the left hand to produce a third variety of *tāla*. This drum is called *panchatavādya* or *paintakhiñ* and is regarded to produce five kinds of sounds. This drum is still in use.

From the above three paragraphs we learn of several kinds of drums and a few pipes. I am sure that the drums mentioned are the same as those in popular use at the present time, one of which is *Panitakkhiñ* which is also the instrument in the hands of the Bhairav image of the Śiva temple in Patan illustrated also in our book. The *Tūrya*, *Jharjhara*, *Dhakkā*, *Murasa* and *Mṛdaṅga* might be identified with the many variants of drums now in use such as *Dhimye*, *khim*, *Dhā*, *Koñchākhiñ*, *Dhola* etc. The *Mṛdaṅga* and *Nagara* are easily identified.

All drums are made of wood with the leather cap on one or two sides as the case may be. The drums itself is hollow

406 Yatkhatol inscription of 763(Kathmandu)

407 Samvatsaraloho of 793 (Patan).

408 Sankhmul inscription of 852.

and cylindrical in shape. The leather is made to give sound when beaten with a rod or pair of sticks or by fingers depending on the nature of the instruments. There are drums with plain surface of the cap, which produce plain sound. There are others with two kinds of surface designed to yield a variety of sounds, particularly the three high, even and low in musical terms. Some drums have in their cap surface black circle at the centre hardly 2" in diameter, which is slightly raised as to be felt when touched by the fingers. These are all played by hands unlike the plain surface ones which are played by a knob or rod. There is a special method for designing the drums with a black centre. A paste called *khau* is prepared by mixing together the powdered iron waste pieces, ashes of straws, boiled rice, resin and water. The same is slowly rubbed by a stone over the surface of the leather until it is completely absorbed to give a black look to the rubbed part and also raise slightly its level. Except in *Mrdāṅga* or *Pakhima* the two openings of the drums are tied by a number of leather strings with the care that the cap coverings are rendered tight, and the sounds produced are not affected while in use.

The *Dhimye* is a large two-headed drums of the type of brass drum. It is played on religious occasions by people who go round the temples. The instrument is carried as it is tied to a string suspended from the player's neck pressed against the abdomen. It gives only two kinds of sound as the player beats with his right hand the surface with the knob of a small coiled cane-stick and left surface with his own fingers. The leather cap on the right side is kept thinner than the one on the left. This causes the two sides emit two different sounds.

The *Khīm* is also a two-headed drum but designed to produce multiple sounds played with fingers on both sides. It differs essentially from the *Dhimye* in that it is just elliptical in shape and is not as large in size. There is also a circle of slightly raised surface in black colour, and this is so

rendered due to rubbing of *Khau* (see above). This is done to produce a shrill sound along with the plain sound produced from the plain surface.

The *Koñchākhim* is like the *Tablā* a single drum played by a single hand with the bottom open except for the leather strings which go round the drum passing through the opening. It is a single headed drum played by the right hand while being carried as in the case of *Dhimye* and *Khīm* suspended through a string from the player's neck.

The *Nāya khīm*, is a two-headed drum of an elliptical shape played by both hands each on one side, but it is designed without the centric circle in black colour. It is smaller in size than the *Dhimye*.

The *Dhā* is also a two-headed drum beat by a digit long rod of some thickness. The *Dhā* is not much different from *Dhimye* except for its size and shape. Its breadth is not as large as that of *Dhimye*. The leather caps also are not as thick. It is played in the same way as the *Dhimye* but here the left hand is used to hold the rod.

The *Dhola* or *Dholaka* is also a two-headed drum of elliptical shape like the *khīm*, but there is no black circle at the centre and instead the rubbing is done on the surface from within applying a special preparation in the nature of *khau* but consisting of the seedlings of *alapu* (castor), mustard oil and the crystallised juice of the bark of sal tree. The *Dhola* is played like the *khīm* with both hands. One strikes the central part with his fingers, and a sound different from that of *khiñ* is generated.

The *Mṛdanga* or *Pakhimā* is shaped like the *khiñ*, but it has the *khau* applied centric circle only on one side. The other side is kept plain but a thin cake of wheat flour is put at the centre while the instrument is being played. Struck over the cake applied region the drum gives out a peculiar sound. Another special feature of the *Mṛdanga* is the placing of wooden pieces all around the outer frame work of the drum.

at the centre over which the leather strings connecting the two caps are made to pass. With this device the *Mṛdaṅga* has a hemispherical shape with the strings but going at the centre as in the case of the *Tablā*.

Next to *Mṛdaṅga* comes *Dākhiñ* or *Damokhiñ* is like the *khiñ* but while one side is kept plain the other side gives sound as in the case of *Mṛdaṅga* through wheat cake applied circle at the centre. Both in the *Mṛdaṅga* and *Dakhiñ* the wheat is not allowed to get dry while it is being played.

The *Dākhiñ* is played during the *Guṇlā* period (the lunar *Śrāvaṇa*). This is regarded as the instrument dear to *Bhairava*, *Mahālakṣmī* and *Kumāri* whose busts made of clay are placed on the drum while on play.

The *Nagara* or *Tyāpu* is a single drum strongly resembling the kettle drum. It is of different sizes. The shape is hemispherical. It is played with one stick or a pair of sticks depending on the size. The drum is made of either copper or earth, and the cap, of course, is of leather. It produces the sound like that of a kettle drum.

Khanjari is like a tambourine a small drum with loose metallic jingles at the side all around.

The *Tainai* is a brass disc of certain thickness struck by a rod to produce a tinkling sound. The instrument is held by the left hand while the right hand is used to strike.

We have already referred to the cymbal kind of instruments. Apart from the *Tā* and *Jhyāli* there are two more varieties on the *Bhusyā* and another *Chhusyā*. The *Bhusyā* is the larger one, and both produce the same sort of rising sound as when metal plates clash, but the *Bhusyā* produces a more voluminous and sharper sound. It is generally played to the accompaniment of *Dhimye*.

The following musical pipes are still in use.

- (1) *Vaya*, small flute of the length of a digit.
- (2) *Vansuri*, a long flute.

(3) *Neku* or *śṛṅgabherī*, a horn of the undomesticated buffalo living in forests. This gives a one track sound. The horn adorned with silver lining is played on religious occasions by the Buddhists.

(4) *Bhamar Muali*, *Gujerati Muali*, and simple *Muali*.

We however do not know if the above noted musical pipes were in use in the period under review.

We may imagine that the *sitāra*, *sārangi* and other string instruments were in use, but none of these appear by name in our documents.

Unlike the pipes which are only played by the *Kusalya* castemen the drums can be played by all castes. Those who play the drums get their training. They are grouped caste-wise and each group is called *Dāpākhala*. The members of *Dāpākhala* head the procession of pilgrims to the *Vihāras* and other Buddhist shrines on festive days whenever such a pilgrimage is organised. The *Dhimye*, however, is mainly a drum of the peasant caste as the *Nayo Khiñ* is exclusively of the butcher caste. But other drums are played by all castes, the *Bades* included.

The five musical instruments referred to in our documents are played during the material rites, and religious performances.

There are two more pipe instruments which we have so far left out of account. These two are played on occasions of religious observances and mortuary rites respectively. One is called *Pongā* and another *Kahābujā*. Both are long pipes made of copper with a wide opening at the end. The *Kahābujā* is supported by another pipe which it crosses, and with which it is tied by a silk piece at the point. While playing the pipe by mouth the right hand holds the main pipe and the left hand the other subsidiary pipe the *Kahābujā* is longer than the *Pongā*.

Dancing: Dancing was a part of dramatic performance. Either it was collective accompanied by chorus singing or it

presented symbolic movement of body as characterised the portrayal of certain divinity in action.

Sometimes the entire story was portrayed all through by different stages of dancing. For example, the killing of *Mahisāṣura* by the goddess *Durgā* was one such performance, which came all by itself. There were many other *Devi* dances symbolising victory of the female *Śakti* over pestering demons and these were performed with some variations even today.

Two iconographic representations of dances by divinities are available today through two images both preserved in the Nepal Museum.

These are variously (1) the *Nṛṭyanātha* and (2) *Bhairava*.

The image of *Nṛṭyanātha* has 10 hands, each holding an emblem. The right uppermost hand is raised above the head. The right leg is bent at the knee as it is raised. The face is smiling indicating extreme delight felt by the lord from the cosmic dance. The *Nandi* supports the dancing. *Śiva*, while the *ganas* look on. The image of *Bhairava* has four hands and there is a *Panchatālavādya*, the double drum played by two hands on two sides with a third disc raised at the centre, the whole placed on his belly suspended by a string from his neck ; which the lord seems to be playing. The right leg is slightly stretched, while the left is bent upwards a little but shows movement and ecstasy. Altogether the image represents rhythmical movements, and shows a dance pose, majestic and full of vigour.

We have already talked of *Jatala Pyākhañ* and *Ikhuna Pyākhañ* of the late middle ages. These were played with some religious theme portraying at the last phase the victory of the male or female deity over a demon. The play with the Goddess of *Harasiddhi* in the main role is what is up till now known as *Jatala pyākhañ*. The *Thyāsapu A.* (f. 21) under date lines 799 and 800, and the *Thyāsapu F.* under dateline 783 *Māghakṛṣṇa* 9

speak of the dance party of *Jatala* staging the dances. The *Thyāsapu F.* has something to say about *Ikhunala pyākhañ* and the principal roles played in it by God Bhairava and Indrāyaṇī. There is further the *Gaṭhu pyākhañ*, the dance of the female deities visiting homes during the Mahani festival. The *Thyāsapu A* (f. 53) under date line 804 *Āśvina śukla* mentions the *Gaṭhu pyākhañ* while there is a reference to this dance in the *Thyāsapu F* under date 827 *Āśvina śukla*. The *Gaṭhu pyākhañ* was a special feature of the Mahani festival, those who participated in the dance as players belonged to the *Gaṭhu* caste of the peasantry (*Jyāpoo*). The Gods and Goddesses played their role in dances with particular formation of hand fingers (*mudrā*) and poses. These dances were witnessed in a serene atmosphere and the audience was thrilled as if the dance were divine or divinely inspired. It was a common belief that the players personified the divine characters and therefore they were all treated to elaborate worship and offering as it was described in the *Thyāsapu F.* Animals were sacrificed on the occasion and the *Thyāsapu F* says that Pratāpamalla arranged to get 105 lambs and 24 he-buffaloes to be slaughtered on the occasion of the dance performance.

In the *Thyāsapu F* again Jayaprakāśamalla is reported to have visited a site of festivity on *Asāḍha śukla 7* of 858 where he witnessed the dance (or dramatic performance) of his peoples (*Prajā yā Pyākañ*). Was this a folk dance, which the *Thyāsapu* had characterised as *prajā pyākhañ*? The theme of the play is not mentioned, some can guess that it was in the nature of a variety show in which the folk dance must have been one item.

CHAPTER V

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

(A)

Architecture: It must be said to the credit of the Malla rulers of the later medieval period that they had without exception patronised art and architecture with the same zeal and devotion which had characterised the activities of their predecessors in the field. It appears that a great many of the famous temples, *stūpa*, images on stone and wood and painting on canvas and ms. leaves which are preserved today owe their origin to this age. This was not possible had it not been for the bounteous assistance the rulers bestowed on the artists and builders of time. The Malla rulers had not only patronised art creations but had themselves actively participated in such activities, building temples, setting up images, encouraging ms. painters to draw on leaves and large canvases depicting deities and religious events.

We have devoted quite a large space to the treatment of the subject in the preceding volume. I do not think that we need add more on the general features of art and architecture. But we may recapitulate some of the points in this regard to enable the readers to refresh their memory so that with the background of the style it helps one to understand development as it took place in the later middle ages.

We shall take up the consideration of the architecture of the *vihāra* and *stūpa* at the first instance. This will be followed by the description of temple architecture and individual temples. It may be remembered in this connection that our age produced temples of both the traditional Nepalese and Śikhara styles. The two styles had run side by side. But the traditional style received greater attention

and a large number of buildings of this style belong to our period, the earlier ones having been destroyed in course of time. No temples built prior to Jaya Sthitimalla's time has been preserved.

The materials used in the architecture were bricks and woods. But the temples of Śikhara style are of stones. There are small temples of bricks built without having anything to do with woods, except for their doorways.

The Vihāra Architecture: We have already spoken of the religious aspect of the present monastic system. In that course the architecture of the monastery has also come in for passing reference. We described the building of the main shrine, and the chambers round the courtyard. This was in effect the architecture of the *vihāra*. The temple site was just opposite to the entrance. The temple might be of one or more tiers of roofs depending on the number of storeys with all the carvings on wood and painted walls inside. But at times multiple tiers of roofs stood without respective storeys. We have rare cases of painted walls in the monastery. The courtyard might have at the centre a tumulus (*chaitya*). The temple doorways faced the main entrance. These again were profusely decorated; the frames, the lintels, the sills, the cornices and tympanums (*torana*) were carved showing flowery patterns or images of deities. The entrance was the open hall with pillars supporting the storey above it. The floor of the building was raised from the ground level of the courtyard, the space jutting out of the enclosure being treated as platform. One could reach the temple through the courtyard or through the platform taking a circuitous route. The *vihāra* buildings are of two storeys. The height of the storey was low. It hardly allowed a person of even medium tallness to stand straight. But the temple structure may be taller, as already suggested. The two storeys of the structure on three sides of the courtyard are meant to provide rectangular chambers where images and manuscripts belonging to

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the *vihāra* are deposited. If there are images for daily worship other than the deity of the main shrine they find a place in the side chambers of the first floor. A part of the upper storey might also be used by the priest of the shrine for the accommodation of his family. It should be remembered that the main deity of the *vihāra* is always the Buddha Śākyamuni or the Bodhisatvas of the age. There are still a few words more to be said about the architecture of the *vihāra*. The architectural beauty of the frontage of the surrounding structures compared to that of the shrine appears dull. The large square or rectangular lattice windows are devoid of any sculptural ornamentation. Their roof also is most ordinary. If there was a balcony it had also the same drab look. In contrast to this the shrine was a veritable treasure house of carved figures from top to bottom.

The entrance to the court was through a door which was either of wood or hammered brass. In embossment it looked in no way different from the door of the shrine inside. The tympanum might look like a structure of the same type in the temples. In the absence of tympanum there might be a wood plank on which there are images of deities carved or they might stand separately forming an arch to resemble the *torana*. This row extends on the two sides of the door if the architect was not satisfied with the embellishment of the door jambs and in such a case the images on wood stand in a vertical order.

The hall adjoining the door and negotiating its threshold is just a passage, but on two sides we see a number of niches on the wall which harbour as many deities each one in the niche more in particular the Mahākāla, Hariti, Gaṇeśa and Hanumāna, who were regarded as protectors of the *vihāra*.

The *vihāra* architecture is fully evident from such sites as are preserved their old structures intact or narrowly modified. But none of these go back in their age beyond the 14th century A. D. It appears that the *vihāra* with the

dwelling apartments for the monks had a different appearance. The extant *vihāra* is apparently so small in area, the average area might be about 30' × 30' that it was hardly expected to provide rooms to a large number of monks. Probably the larger courtyards with their own temples but little else represent the sites of such monastic settlements. But in these except the structures enshrining the deity, the houses all around belong to private citizens who live there. It so happens that some of the *vihāras* have not one house belonging to the followers of Buddha. They have not even succeeded in maintaining their exclusive character.

Some of the architectural structures of smaller *vihāras* are also lacking here. So it seems that all except the shrine spot and space of the site nothing of the old has remained. But from this we should not think that every *vihāra* was meant to be spacious enough to provide apartment for the many monks to live at a time in all cases. It is quite likely that some of the smaller monasteries in the present form had not changed since the time when the monks resided there. In particular I would like to mention the two *vihāras*, one within the Svayambhu area and another at the upper end of the town of Kathmandu, the site known as Tha-bahil. The Tibetan monk Dharmasvāmin who visited Nepal in 1224 A.D. talks of the *vihāra* of Svayambhu as well as of one of such *vihāra* which was called the 'upper'. Now, we have no doubt about the identity of the former. As the latter is also literally called the upper *vihāra*, Tha in Newari means upper. We might accept the Tha-bahil the same as the upper *vihāra* of Dharmasvāmin. According to Dharmasvāmin these *vihāras* were occupied by monks. By his description these monks appear quite other than the Guvā-Bāre priests. They were those who were living in the cloistered seclusion of the monastery undergoing penance and devoted to studies of the Mahāyānic texts.

There are *vihāras* which have a larger area. Some of these *vihāras* cover more than an acre of land. These

vihāras are, Na-bahā, Wu-bahā, Naga-bahā, Bhinche-bahā, and Tava-bahā in Patan. Itaṅ-bahā, Tara-bahā, Tava-bahā and Yetkhā, in Kathmandu. There are few such large *bahās* in Bhatgaon. Small *vihāras* are, however, widely scattered. The three cities are full of them and the reader's attention to the writing on *vihāra* at the beginning of the present chapter for further details.

The Stūpas

The earliest specimen of this form of structure and perhaps the most ancient devotional monument lies in the southeast of Kathmandu, in one of the suburb towns, called Patan. Except for relics in Tilaura and Piprawa, the *stūpas* are the oldest monuments of architectural importance. These are five in number, four in the cardinal squares of the citadel and one at its centre known as Pimbahil. These are attributed to Aśoka. There is a *stūpa* at Kīrtipur, a fort town at the south-east of Kathmandu on a tiny ridge, but its origin cannot be traced out on account of the elaborate decorations and alterations adopted in course of time.

These *stūpas* are of the shape of hemisphere, constructed out of bricks on a plinth of the same (two, however, on a pavement of stone) and devoid of any architectural decorations. They are very simple and present an appearance of the very primitive edifices that were in existence even before the birth of Buddhism. At the top there is a small chapel, and on four sides at the base of the *garbha* there are similar chapels, and this addition is the only embellishment given to the body of the structure if this could be called so, but the whole is so simple and of elementary execution that the usual environment is unaffecting. The top chapel is dedicated to Vairochana. At each lateral chapel attached to the hemisphere, which has changed from a simple stone vault into a multiple Pagoda, the images of the four of the meditating Buddhas. Amitābha, Ratnasambhava, Akṣobya and Amoghasiddhi betray a deep interfusion of the influence of the other sect,

viz. the Mahāyāna. The central *stūpa* is more like a *Chaitya* and stands on a tier of brick and stone platforms, unlike the mere mass of bricks characteristic of the other *stūpas*. The summit is a canopy cube-shaped and in the form of rings like the *toraṇa* which maintains a parasol (*chhatra*) standing on a tripod of metal. The Aśokan *stūpas* are respectively called, *Laghañ*, *Traitas*, *Phulcha* and *Zimpi sthuras*.

Originally the *stūpas* were simple mounds of earth brick of certain bulk and stature designed as a place of deposit of remains of the dead. But in course of time the entire conception of *stūpa* had changed and without as was natural also in its architecture. Under Buddhist Hinayāna the structure was also just a mound, the hemisphere of which dominated the whole of it. In the changed form under the influence of Mahāyāna the hemisphere was no longer the only dominant feature, and there were other factors added to the structure, e.g. not only the dome but also *harmikā* (the quadrangular enclosure above it) became a little larger in size to attract immediate attention and so was the sphere comprising the uppermost part with thirteen supramundane tiers supervened one above the other in thirteen rounds which formed into a tapering height of pyramidal shape. It is suggested that the latter type of *stūpa* resembled a temple of the Śikhara style that took shape during the Gupta period.

This is in essence the principal architectural features of the Aśokan and of the Mahāyānic *stūpa*. It might be noted here that the *stūpas* of the later architectural design were probably numerous in the Valley, but as we shall find a little later their number had dwindled. These are noticeable among a few large sized *Chaityas* still existing in the Nepal Valley, two of which are known as the Svayambhu and Bauddha.

We shall describe the architectural composition of these *stūpas* in the next few paragraphs as the same had been left out in the preceding volume.

Smaller mounds of earth supporting a chapel like structure have also been found in different parts of the Valley but these

have been embellished like the Aśokan *Chaitya*. Besides these, there are miniature *stūpas* with a courtyard, of the description of larger works and essentially of a different design and execution. These are called *Chaitya* in Nepal and the site they occupy is known as Chi-bahā (small monastery). Their main feature is a much diminished cupola but prominent *hermikā* and *bhūmis*. There are innovations in the space created by diminution of the cupola in size. They belong to comparatively recent times and as such do not necessarily belong to an early type of non-conventional structure or of a pre-image conception of worship. They are iconographic like the latter images, as the five symbolic figures of the Buddha reveal. Yet the simplicity of structural design and taste has the bearing of an earlier iconography and sculpture and generally resemble the central *stūpa*.

A

Svayambhunātha and Bauddha:—Not far from Kathmandu and at its western end overlooking the spacious Valley, stands the four hundred feet high hillock which rears the *Chaitya* of Svayambhu with a multitude of miniature *Chaityas*, Pagodas, shrines and chapels all round. One travels only a mile over a terraced highway to reach the base of the hill leading to the top by a stony staircase, nearly three hundred steps, very steep and narrow, from the eastern side. From down below where one accosts three grand images of Buddha in meditative posture, one sees on both sides a masquerade of deities mainly in meditation and of *stūpas* and chapels of simple and beautiful design. The sanctity of the place is fully heightened by the peaceful poise of the images under the shade of the tall green trees which spread their branches as if in deep reverence towards the spirits dwelling in the images, the whole symbolising in a glorious manner the fundamental structure of the Newari social life permeated with Buddhist peace and harmony. The soft murmuring of a cool breeze, and the song of the birds impart a lulling

sensation; the devotee in a trance as it were, merging himself in the prayer, while he counts up his beads and enraptured by the occasional shouts of '*Buddha Dharma Saṅgha*' coming from lips equally placid, feels himself in tune with nature and his environment, where all have combined to give an effect of a deep aesthetic quietness to the sacred monument of the Svayambhu.

The hillock is a continuation of the Bhimdhunga hill, a curved jutting towards the east and is separated by a chasm from another hill on which stands the chapel of Mañjuśrī, according to local legend the Chinese incarnation of Buddha, to whom the chronicle ascribes the humanising of the Valley and helping the evolution of the Self Existent therein out of a lotus flower, by a supernatural feat of drainage of the great lake that hid the beautiful Valley in yore. This Mañjuśrī passes as a female deity, viz. Sarasvatī, in Śaivite worship, and the belief has gained ground in spite of the image which definitely reveals a prominent feature of the Bodhisatva with a book and sword in hands. The summit where Svayambhu is situated is a flat surface, some thousand square yards in area, almost every inch of it studded with religious images of the Great Buddha and his satellites, the Dhyani Buddha and numerous Vajrayāna deities. At the centre stands a monument on a plinth of stones, hemispheric in shape, completely white-washed to look like an egg but which is bulging out in the middle and flattened narrowly at the top to give it the shape of a grove, which forms itself the base of a gilt *torāṇa* with projecting cornice and with eyes painted on each side, which according to legend cast a benign look over the Valley to protect it from destruction and sacrilege. Over the *torāṇa* there lies a big sloping mass of wooden rings coated with gilt copper which hides the surface to match the whole perfectly with the brilliance of the *torāṇa*. The finial is a copper gilt bell-tower fenced in by a tripod with a broad metal base circular in shape and dexterously adorned with artistic pendants. Between the cupola and the smaller shrines there is a vacant

space for processional rounding but so narrow as to lean against the iron framework which contains the prayer wheels with Tibetan symbols of *Mani padme hum* and a pair of flags. Attached to the dome are four chapels, mainly of bricks and plaster, with finely worked trellis and bell crowns.

The gilt *Vajra* (thunderbolt), called Dorje by the Tibetans, lies just at the end of the staircase on the eastern vicinity of the *stūpa*, and guarded by two lions of stone erected by Pratāpamalla at the entrance. The basement is a stone disc standing on a drum carved on stone, the outer walls of which contain in bold relief the images of serpent, horse, sheep, monkey, goose, pig, rat, bull and hare—symbolic of astronomical cycles for Tibetan calenders. The disc is called *Vajradhātumaṇḍala*. Nearby the twin footmarks on a blackstone are also objects of veneration. A flame of sacred oil is always burning as if to keep up the glory of the lord, or perhaps to remind the world that the Great Light, the Buddha consciousness, is never put off.

The *stūpa* of Bauddhanāth is another marvel of simplicity and undecorated beauty, which has been preserved to us for ages on a site near Paśupati between Kathmandu and Sāñkhu. The little village which forms the surrounding of the *stūpa* lies on the way leading to Lhāsā, which has led scholars to think that its antiquity is mixed with Lamaistic preachings. Unlike the Svayambhu *stūpa*, the site of the Bauddha has little of the elaborate decorations. The *stūpa* is a central shrine around which are the dwelling houses of the Lamas and Sherpas. The *stūpa* is enclosed by a wall. The base is of three successive pavements, on which the *Garbha* rests, and is approached by a flight of stairs. At the corners of the terrace stand small *stūpas* in harmony with the main dome: they contain a row of niches. All other features exactly resemble those of Svayambhunātha.

According to Waddel's information the Bauddhanātha contains relics of Buddha Kaśyapa, the fifth Buddha in succession.

Architecturally similar are the two Chilañdeo of Patan and Kirtipur respectively, the *Chaityas* of Nabahā and Nyachuka in Patan, and equally large *Chaityas* of Sigha, Mahābauddha, Tavābahā and Yatkhā in Kathmandu.

We have already mentioned the Svayambhu and Bauddha (*Khaṣṭi*) *Chaityas* I think that the other large *Chaityas* belong to the same age, although it can be said as in the case of the Svayambhu *Chaitya* that some of the decorations might have been added later.

The Temples

Kirkpatrick has rightly remarked that the Valley consists of as many temples as there are houses and of as many idols as there are men. Kathmandu is a city of temples and so are Patan and Bhatgaon. Every inch of the sacred soil supports a shrine or an image. We have a few specimens of temples built purely on Indian style, all of them belonging to our age e. g. The Rādhākṛṣṇa temple of Patan and the Chyāsiṅg deva, the group of temples in Bhatgaon's palace square and several others elsewhere, which closely resembles the buildings in North India. The style is known as the Śikhara (Summit) and as Fergusson says 'the structure is a square tower-like, with a perpendicular base, but a curvilinear outline above.'

As the description of the Śikhara style of temple architecture is given in Part I of the volume we may now proceed to examine the principal features of the indigenous style, which is more important from our point of view.

The Nepal Style: It is a mistake to take the temple style in Nepal as one deriving from the Pagoda style, since temples of the style existed in Nepal earlier than elsewhere. It is, therefore, not proper to consider the temples as derivatives and to call them Pagodas. They should enjoy in all justice a name which is attached to the place of their birth, and the style should be named as the Nepalese style.

At first sight the temples in Nepal look like Pagodas. The body is a square entablature of bricks rising in diminishing

proportions to a great height, sometimes to the fifth storey, with roofs each attached 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, tiled or copper gilt, are quadrangular and the uppermost roof is always of gilt copper. The entablature may stand on a terraced platform of stone and might be of as many stages as there are storeys, as is the case with the Nyātpolā temple. Ordinarily the entablature rests on a colonnade of wooden pillars. This gives a balcony around the chapel. The roofs are connected with the entablature by struts, which are set up in a projection at an angle of 45.° These struts form in many cases symbolic images of the deities of the main shrine. Sometimes the bottom parts are the object of vulgar carvings, with ridiculous pictures of sex life, which according to superstition are regarded necessary to resist lightning or other attacks of nature on the temple. The cornices in the window or above the door and the outer beams are finely decorated with elaborate carvings, rich pictographs of deities or foliage or designs in arabesque. The windows are nearly square and screened by a trellis ornamented by carving. They are also sometimes provided, specially on the front side, with balconies which project forward and give the whole window a slanting appearance. The doorway or window is supported by architraves with a gilt copper or wood tympanum at the middle point and containing carved images of deities in bold relief on the surface, where the principal figure, that of a mythological Garuḍa or Sarava, holds two serpents in his hands, to bite them off. Round the edges of the roofs hang a series of small and thin bells with slender clappers which a mild rush of wind sets tinkling. The interior of the temple is as magnificent. Elaborate and beautiful carving is a common element of the decoration. The chapel occupies the hall, and there are no ante rooms except in a few temples and on the smooth red bricks of the front wall are hung all sorts of vulgar collections of old

swords, shields, pans, spinning wheels, rings, jars and horns, but most of the famous temples avoid this display.

Some temples might not have carved struts. These uncarved supporting beams are called *Kuñsim*. The *Vilapau* are those beams which show carved figures. At each angular formation connecting two side roofs there is a figure of a flying horse or lion with wings, horns like those of a ram. These are called *Kunsala* literally meaning 'the horses of the corner'. The male sexual organ is also prominently displayed between the hind legs. The summit can assume any shape. It can be bell-like. It can bear the shape of a Śikhara style turret as in the case of the Taleju temple of Patan. It may also have a design of the so-called Pagoda style of roofs as is displayed over the pinnacle of another temple of Taleju in the Royal Palace of Patan.

Another thing to take notice of in the description of the temple structure is the arrangement of pillars outside the chapel. These might support the beams attached on the wall which might give additional support to the roof. But these are not set up in the nature of the struts. These are like beams supporting a balcony lies on the ground plan adjacent to the chapel and all around the main structure. Balconies in the upper storeys come to view very rarely.

S. Levi describes the style of the temple structure thus: In the centre the house of the God, a storeyed building raised on a terrace of stone; the sanctuary in the lower storey, a rectangle of brick and wood sheltered by a slanting roof, covered with tiles or copper with the corners bent upwards; beams running counter to the slope of the roof and bearing it up. Over this agreeing with the fundamental principle of all Indian architecture, the ensemble is repeated from storey to storey, but gradually diminishing each of the upper roofs being drawn back a little more than the lower one, a bell turret of metal crowns on the summit'.¹

1 *Indian Art and Letters*, II. 2, p. 65.

The same style of temple in the words of Percy Brown is presented 'as a comparatively simple design. The plan is ordinarily square and the ground floor is generally the only one put to any practical use, the upper floors, which may be several in number, being often blind storeys. The lower room, built on a stone plinth, is the chamber of the temple or sanctuary of the deity, and contains little but the idol, and a few religious accessories.....Above this arises the red tiled roof of the sanctuary, and surmounting this are progressive storeys, which go up to make the Pagoda. The roof of the highest of these is plated with copper gilt.A very attractive addition to the gilded roof of the Pagoda is a kind of pendant escutcheon of embossed metal hanging from the pinnacle over the lane'.²

I think that if our statement had not adequately presented a graphic account of the type of the building of the Nepal style, the above quotations of the passages by Levi and Percy Brown have done. There is, however, a scope to elaborate the points giving different facets of the said architecture. But as these have been discussed already in the preceding volume we may proceed to deal with some of the reputed temples of both the styles as they are preserved up till today. We are presenting the account with a brief description of some of these temples in their historical and architectural background.

Among the temple buildings belonging to the indigenous style of the period are to be counted those of Paśupatinātha and Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa, Jaisideval (in Lañtala quarter of Kathmandu), the two Śiva temples in front of Kathmandu's state Hall, the Kavīndrapur near by, the Chāysingdeval at the western corner of Kathmandu's palace square, the Taleju temples in the three cities, the two Bhīmasena temples of Kathmandu and Patan, the Tavadeval (of Machhendranātha) of Patan, the temple of Viśveśvara in the Palace Square of

2 *Picturesque Nepal*, p. 148-49.

Patan, the temples of Yakṣeśvara, Ākāśa Bhairava, Dattātreya, Brahmāyanī and Nyātpola in Bhatgaon, the temple of Vajrayoginī in Sāñkhu, the temple of Harasiddhi (south of the city of Patan), the temple of Bhagavatī in Nālā. The temple of Chaṇḍeśvarī in Banepā and lastly the temple of Vajravārāhi in Chāpāgaon.

Of these temple buildings the Nyātpola, literally five storeyed, has received attention from the widest number of admirers. It is a five storeyed temple enshrining the image of Goddess Bhairavī. The structure stands on a fine tier plinth. There is a staircase leading to the sanctuary, and at each rise of the tier there are placed from bottom to top figures of human beings, elephants, two lions, two griffits and lastly a pair of female deities Simhīnī and Vyāghrinī. The stout human figures are said to be Jaimal and Phaṭṭā who each possessed the strength of ten wrestlers. The strength of the animals and deities rose in the same proportion until we reach the last pair of female divinities of absolute strength. According to Percy Brown it is an ornate and imposing building 'the like of which is rarely seen'. The height of the structure from the lowest platform, to the finial is about 70 ft. the plinth alone covering 35 ft. of the height. The building was completed in NS 828. The Kumbheśvara temple of Patan originally built in NS 512 does also have 5 tiers of roofs but the plinth is only of two tiers, and even this lacks the imposing grandeur of the Nyātpola plinth. The struts, doorways and window frames in the temple are equally elongated and profusely carved. The Taleju temple of Bhatgaon is not as imposing. It is just of one storey, the shrine occupying the inner portion but there is much artistic decoration in the struts and doorways not only of the shrine part of the courtyard, but of all the buildings around it. This is the Mūlchok (Chief Courtyard) of the palace of the kings of Bhatgaon. The two sides of the courtyard are used as the abode of the Goddess. The western wing provides accommodation for the permanent sanctuary, whereas the southern wing

is her temporary residence where the sacred is for the duration of the Durga festival in *Āśvina śukla*. The front of the temple is really so majestic. The tympanum with the images of the principal Śaktī deities was set up by King Jitāmitramalla. His grandfather Nareśamalla improved on the old structure by adding artificial windows, and he also set up the large images of Dvāraśrī and Lakṣmī in NS 761. Bhūpatīndramalla restored the 11 pinnacles on the roof in NS 826 after performing *Koṭyāhuti*. The Mūlchok is famous for the frescoes on the wall close to the eave. There is also a platform of stones, which Jagatprakāśamalla constructed to please the goddess. The platform called *maṇḍapa* is mentioned in an inscription dated NS 782. Bhūpatīndramalla offered a large bell of copper and iron in 826, which is suspended on a stone beam resting on two pillars. According to the inscription on the bell, a small amount of gold had also to be mixed in casting.

The temple wall of Taleju in the Mūlchok has gilt copper struts. In the upper section below the eaves one sees in gilt copper female divinities with different kinds of attire and ornaments. Some wear skirts upto the knee, and some upto the ankle, some have blouse half sleeve upto the waist. Elaborately carved necklaces, garlands, waist bands, earrings and bangles are also visible.

Such courtyards with the shrine of Taleju of the same design and dimension also exist in Kathmandu and Patan. But in the latter two capitals there are also separate temples of Taleju. Both these lie within the confines of the royal palace. In Patan these touch each other. The one in Kathmandu rests on a multi-tier plinth of stones, the tiers as in other cases being of diminishing proportions, which retains the height of the temple structure of 3 storeys. The central tier of the plinth has at each corner a miniature temple to match with the large space. The temple faces the main door of the palace on the northern side, and does not form a part of the palace buildings. The Taleju

temple of Patan is one of the buildings within the palace structure, which rises above the top of a building of considerable height consisting of 4 storeys. Around the base of the temple the space is a balcony. The house is of simple design except for windows which are carved. This is one of the buildings of the palace area. Both the Taleju temples have their summit in the shape of Śikhara temple. The Taleju temple of Patan was constructed by Siddhinarasimhamalla. The Degutale temple is also of the same size but larger in bulk.

The present temple of Paśupatinātha was constructed in 2 storeys in NS 812, the old one having been destroyed by white ants. The *Thyāsapu A* mentions the fact of destruction by white ants which had destroyed the entire structure including the foundation. The present temple of Paśupatinātha has undergone much change, so it is difficult to say how the structure stood in its restoration in NS 812.

The temple of Chāngu was gutted by fire in NS 822 upto the ground floor, the upper two storeys were restored subsequently and in NS 828 the rulers of the Valley celebrated a festive occasion by presenting gilt copper plates on the eaves of the roofs. The inscription on the plates gives the name of Bhāskaramalla under date 828. With four gates and perambulator inside the temple of Nārāyaṇa in Chāngu stand on a high plinth of stones of two tiers with a surrounding platform. The gate at each side has 3 pairs of doors, the central one being of a greater height than the rest. But, the other doors are just show, and not for entrance. The western entrance is guarded by large sized stone elephants, one at each side of the staircase. Other animals are represented on the remaining sides in similar fashion. In the words of Percy Brown,³ 'the temple of Garuḍa Nārāyaṇa at Chāngu is the richest of the Nepalese Pagodas in carving, colour and embossed metals. The entrance to the temple

is one mass of hammered brass beaten up into angles and devils, reptiles and fishes, winged creatures and floral forms. In front, on pedestals guard the portals the baleful effect of one ferocious looking griffin being humorously intensified by a garland of merigold, carelessly thrown around its neck. Above is the usual hanging pagoda eve, the deep shadow of which is cleverly broken, carved wooden brackets composed of sprawling demons and deities in many arms.”

While talking of the details of the temple embellishment one should note that except in a few cases it is much difficult to distinguish such parts from the original as are added to the structure from time to time in course of the last 200 years. We shall, however, try to delineate at this stage only such features as were introduced at the earlier period.

We shall here describe the architecture of some temples of the period in so far as the space and scope of the work permit. These will be the temples erected under royal patronage other than the palace squares of the three cities.

Within the old kingdom of Bhatgaon, the temple of Bālakumārī in Ṭhimi, the temples of Chaṇḍeśvarī in Banepā, the temple of Bhagavatī in Nālā, the temple of Brahmayani in Pannauti and the temples of Ākāśabhairava, Brahmāyanī and Dattātraya are important, but most of these have no special attractions to offer from architectural point of view. They bear close resemblance to the temples already described in the many facets of their architectural and artistic embellishments. The Nālā temple is of 4 tiers unusual for the building of the type. This was constructed in NS 767 in the time of King Jagataprakāśamalla. The Chaṇḍeśvarī temple was probably constructed about the same time. We have a reference to this temple in a ms. noting of NS 792 as already referred to in the narrative. The Pannauti temple was built by King Bhūpatindra's wife in NS 837. This is a three storey structure. The Dattātraya temple is said to have been originally built by Yakṣamalla, but in the present form it was set up

by Viśvamalla; at least the latter seems to have done extensive repair work in the building, this he did with efforts to restore its old shape. The structure follows the architectural pattern of the Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa with balcony in the ground and first storeys. There is a special tower-like structure with finial at the top, which is supervened on the part of the top of the first roof at the front side. Unlike the Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa there are 3 tiers of roofs in the Dattātraya temple. Large sized images of the wrestlers Jayamall and Phaṭṭā guard the temple door from the stairs. The Ākāśabhairava temple situated in the Taumadhiṭol of the city of Bhatgaon is said to have been originally built by Viśvamalla and later repaired by Bhūpatīndramalla. There are 3 tiers of roofs, and 7 pinnacles at the top, the one at the top being larger than the rest. The sanctuary lies on the first floor. The temple structure is quite high and large. The Brahmāyanī temple of Talachhe built in 769 looks like an ordinary house of four storeys including the ground floor but the character of the temple is inspired to it by tympanums set up above the doorway and windows and finials on the top. Bhatgaon could boast of more temples but these were destroyed in course of ages. The gigantic surviving plinths of two temples, however, attract our notice. Both the temples were dedicated to Śiva and his espouse.

The Bhavānī Śaṅkara temple with everything but the plinth lost a 3 storeyed structure of the indigenous style, which was constructed by King Jagataprakāśamalla in NS 787. The concentric plinth of bricks is of 5 tiers. The animals placed as guards are from the first to the last tier, horses, elephants, lions, camels and men.

The Tahā temple houses a Śiva liṅga. It is based on 6 tier plinth of bricks, but there are only 3 pairs of guards. From top to bottom the pairs are those of elephants, lions and bulls. These animals are of large size. The temple is so

called because of its grandeur. It was said to be the tallest temple in the area.

In Patan city, the temples of Kumbheśvara, Bālkumari and those in the palace square attract our notice. A little further towards the north-west at the corner of the square stands the temple of Bhīmasena. The Kumbheśvara temple is of 5 tiers of roofs. The doorways are built in the pattern of the Yakṣeśvara temple of Bhatgaon. Their artistic embellishments are similar to those of the Chāngu temple. As in the case of the Paśupati-nātha temple, a large stone gilt-copper bull with his face turned towards the main door sits on a raised platform of stones. The doorway tympanums and cornices bear deities of the Śaivite faith. The struts in all the five storeys present carved image of one deity at the upper level, and of another deity at the lower level. This kind of arrangement is available only in some temples and not others. The Bhīmasena temple is of 3 storeys with 3 tiers of roofs, one of which the uppermost one, is of gilt copper. The temple is wider in its span up to the first floor. But it looks a bizarre structure. The ground is not here utilised for the shrine. The deity is placed on the floor above. A staircase leads to a spacious hall and to the right we have a room where the deity is enshrined. The two ends of the halls are joined by a balcony extending on three sides. From architectural viewpoint this is not impressive. The temple was restored in NS 802 after fire had gutted a major portion of the structure. The beautiful images on struts show this date at the bottom of each and every beam.

The temple of Viśvanātha and Nārāyaṇa in the Palace Square are designed on the model of the Yakṣeśvara temple but erected on a high two tier plinth of storeys. These are two tier roofed temples with a special arrangement of space for the sanctum where the four faced *liṅga* is kept on the ground floor. The image of the deity in each case is placed in a square room at the centre with 4 doors, which is again situated within a larger room with the same number of door-

ways. Outside, there is a platform with wooden columns on the margin. The temple of Viśvesvara shows on the staircase a pair of elephants on stones, whereas a pillar supporting the Garuḍa is erected in front of the Nārāyaṇa temple. There is a simple Śivaliṅga in the former temple. In the latter the round *argha* supports a phallus with four life size images of Viṣṇu whom the inscription attached addresses as *pañchata-tvātmana*. The Nṛsimha temple, a very simple two tier structure of the Śikhara style was built by Purandarasimha in NS 710.

By the right side of this temple there is a temple of Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa, which has 3 tiers of roofs. The temples of Harasiddhi and Vajravārāhī at different sites to the south of the Patan city are other important centres of attraction. The former is a house-like temple with finial at the top. The shrine is at the storey above the ground floor. There is no elaborate artistic decoration. It wears the look of the Bramāyanī temple of Bhatgaon. The Vajravārāhī temple, inspite of the importance of the site, is also quite unimpressive although the surrounding is full of objects like columns, animals etc. It has 3 tiers of roofs of bricks. The sanctum is open on all sides. There is no balcony.

In the old kingdom of Kathmandu the Lañtala temple of Jāgeśvara locally known as Jaisideval, the Śiva temple in front of the present state hall, the Kumārī temple nearby, the now dilapidated Paśupati temple on the northern outskirt of the Palace Square, and the temple of Bhīmasena as well as the Kavīndrapur and the temple of Vajrayoginī in Sāṅkhu are important for historians. The temple of Bhīmasena is of 3 storeys, of which two roofs are of gilt copper and the lowest of tiles. Five gold finials adorn the top. The deity along with the associates is worshipped in a room on the upper storey. The architecture of the building bears likeness with the temple in Patan. Lord Kṛṣṇa's image is also prominently displayed in the niches around the chapel.

The Jaisideval erected on a high plinth of eight tiers and with 3 tiers of roofs is an imposing structure but without much architectural setting. This is one of the three high temple structures of the city of Kathmandu. The other two are the temple of Taleju and Maruṭol temple of Śiva. The latter with three tiers of roofs stands on a high plinth of 10 tiers, each tier having a span of about 5 feet. Both Jaisideval and the Śiva temple have little extraordinary features to show than their height, which is imposing both in respect of their plinth and the structure above it. They go without any kind of strut images. The Jaisideval was built in 808 by Kathmandu's Chief Minister Laṣmīnārāyaṇa Jośī. The Śiva temple was built 4 years later by King Bhūpāendra's mother.

The Kavīndrapur was built by Pratāpamalla in NS 792 where according to the inscription the image of Nāṭyaśvara, the Lord of Dance, was enshrined. It is a huge structure overlooking the Maru Square where a stone platform exists for the purpose of staging dances and dance plays. The Kavīndrapur is a building of 4 storeys, the uppermost of which with 3 finials at the top looks like a tower supervened on the centre of the structure and covering an area just one third of it. The ground floor on the front over a raised plinth is a hall imposed on the wood columns, but the same is now divided by wall. The third storey retains yet its old shape, and it is a hall par excellence with windows on 3 sides resembling the 55 window palacial building which King Bhūpatīndramalla was to erect a quarter of a century later. The wide sloping roofs of the building are all of tiles and the 3 finials on the top gives it the character of the temple.

The Chyāsiṅgdeval rises on the four tier plinth of bricks. It is a 3 storey temple, of which the roof arrangement is made in all the 3 tiers to have eight divisions for each of them, which shows eight angles in a row instead of four angles as in the case of other temple roofs. Besides, these roofs appear like an open umbrella. The struts are simple, and there is very little of other art decorations in the temple.

The Chyāsiṅgdeval houses the images of Lord Kṛṣṇa with his two wives, Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā. There is yet one more temple and this lies on the front of the old palace overlooking the Nāsalchok which has 3 tiers of roof in the shape of an umbrella.

Another important temple which was also razed to the ground during the earthquake of 1934 was the one erected on the centre of the tank known as *Nhupukha* (better known as the Rānīpokharī to outsiders). The temple raised over a large platform of stones and bricks about 15-20 ft. high above the level of the water was negotiated through a bridge from the western side. The temple was of 3 tiers of roofs all bricks. It was a simple structure enshrining the *Śiva Liṅga* in the chapel of the ground floor. According to the *Thyāsapu F* 'the temple was built on the completion of the construction of the tank. The digging of the tank started in NS 784 on *Vaiśākha 12* at a site known as Jamara. This was completed on 787 *Pauṣa vadi 4* and began the building of the temple at the centre of the tank. The completion was observed on 789 *Māgha śukla 10 mṛgaśirā nakṣatra ādityavāra*. Four days after, the occasion of the completing the temple of the middle of the tank was celebrated. Pratāpamalla offered *Gajura* to the temple on this day'.

It appears that this very tank was later dedicated to the memory of Pratāpa's son Chakravartendramalla.

The Kumārī temple called Chanuk in the literal sense because of its extending to all the four sides of the courtyard is the residential building of the Goddess in human form. It is a three storey building excluding the ground floor with 3 finials at the top standing on a 2 feet high plinth of bricks. The arrangement of the building is like that of a dwelling apartment with rooms and ante-rooms. The entrance is a door with its own tympanum, and guarded by grotesque lions on stones on two sides. We enter the courtyard through a dark vestibule shaped like a room. Inside, the southern side building harbours on the ground floor the image of Śākya-

muni. The courtyard rears a *Chaitya* at the centre making the site appear as a *Vihāra*. The third storey is open on 3 sides. The stairs lead to a large open hall, which extends to the other two sides. In the morning one of the side hall is used to display to the worshippers the child Goddess seated on a richly carved and ornamented chair. The walls of the entrance hall has a life size portrait of King Jayaprakāśamalla. There are also large standing images of Matr̥kā deities in brilliant colours of classical conception. In the second storey rooms are used as sleeping compartments for the goddess and her attendants. The entire structure of buildings stands on a 3 feet plinth of stones. The front of the buildings within the courtyard on all four sides wears the appearance of the frontage on the main road facing the palace. All the windows, open, lattice or otherwise bear *toranas* which have carved images of different female deities with other common symbolic images. The building was originally constructed by Jayaprakāśamalla at a site quite close to the palace, but probably there were modifications introduced later but in essence the temple structure remained the usual one.

The temple of Vajrayoginī on the hill above the townlet of Sāñkhu occupies a picturesque surrounding of a green forest. The temple doors and windows have tympanums in gilt bronze, which carry rich carving of foliage, animals and deities.

Some temples of the period were destroyed during the 1934 earthquake. Among these are the Naudeval of 3 storeys standing on a brick plinth of 5 tiers. This was a simple structure built in NS 795 by the then Chief Minister of Kathmandu. The Paśupati temple close to the main gate of the royal palace of Kathmandu constructed in the 16th century on the model of the Deopāṭan temple of Paśupatinātha. The Śiva liṅga in this temple as in the case of Yakṣeśvara temple of Bhatgaon and Kumbheśvara temple of Patan bears close resemblance to the Phallus image of the original Paśupatinātha.

The construction of the temple of Harasiddhi, Vajrayoginī and Degutale (Kathmandu) is attributed to Pratāpamalla according to the inscriptions. The temples of Paśupatinātha in Deopatan and Vajrayoginī have metallic (copper) roofs. We do not know what originally these were made of. The uppermost tier of roofs in the Degutale temple in Kathmandu and Taleju and Degutale temple of Patan are also of gilt copper. All tiers of roofs in the Nyātpola, the Jaisideval, the Śiva temples in Maru of Kathmandu (in front of the State Hall), the Kumbheśvara and Bālakumārī temple of Patan, the Chāṅgu temple, the temple of Bhatgaon in Nālā, and Vajravārāhī's temple of Chāpāgaon, all temples in the Palace Squares in Bhatgaon, Kathmandu and Patan have roofs of tiles.

The arch gateways: Like the palaces of the kings, some temples have their own premises with outer walls which are negotiated through arch gateways. Such gateways exist at Chāṅgu, at the Paśupatinātha site of Deopatan, in the temple precincts of Kumbheśvara in Patan and in the Sāṅkhu temple of Vajrayoginī. Most of these gateways are structurally modified in course of time through various stages of repair, but a few are still preserved in their old shape and form and we might take up consideration of two such gateways, (1) the southern gateway of Paśupatinātha and (2) the western gateway of Kumbheśvara. The latter is a modest structure with large wooden door frames and richly carved lintels and cornice. The gateway supports a tower like building structure, which probably was being used as a place for those playing musical instruments during the morning and evening prayer hours. It appears that there used to be two gateways as is the case at the Chāṅgu site. The Paśupatinātha premises have however, three gateways, of which the southern and western look picturesque because of its brilliant and beautifully carved tympanum and the entire gold plated door structure. Apart from the massive door frames showing flowery designs in symmetrical formation the gilt-copper *toranas* present a beautifully laid artistic appearance.

The erotic figures at the bottom part supporting beams below the roofs in a temple is a common sight. These are available everywhere except in the temples belonging to the *vihāras*. It is said that these are connected with the six *āmnāyas* of the *Tantra*, which in final analysis envisages 84 postures of sexual act. The variety of postures is very well depicted in the scenes carved on the base of the struts. It is surprising that although the *adhara āmnāya* is connected with the *Bauddha Tantra*, the temples of Buddha and Bodhisatvas are free from such influences. The same Tāntric influence, however, is very much evident in the many individual pictures and wooden images which show the male deities embracing on the lap their female Śaktis.

Many temples have on their wall cooking and other utensils of brass and small arms. Temples within the municipal limits of the cities go without these utensils and arms. But those on the suburbs and away from them and also those in the townlets do invariably present a sight of the utensils and arms attached on the upper walls. It has been said that these arms and utensils are there because of the devotees having offered them to the deities enshrined. The Mīnanātha temple in the heart of the city of Patan, however such a display of utensils. The Bāghbhairave temple of Kīrtipur bears on its walls weapons left by Gorkhā invaders who were defeated in several engagements before 1767 A. D. They were surrendered to the temple by the victors who in this case were defenders of the fortress. It appears that the practice of offering utensils and arms was prevalent during the late middle ages.

Besides the temples of the indigenous style, there are numerous temples of the Śikhara style which are scattered all over the Valley. These are both of stones and bricks and wood materials come into the composition only in doorways or to some extent even as supporting pillars and not elsewhere. They mostly abound in Bhatgaon.

Amongst the temples of the Śikhara style, the temple of

Kṛṣṇa in the Patan Palace Square constructed by Siddhi-narasimhamalla and completed in NS 757 is most famous. The temple stands on a diminishing 3 tier plinth of stones. The uppermost plinth forms a balcony around the temple structure which is a turret which has a tapering shape towards its summit; this is surmounted by a pinnacle of gold. The Śikhara literally means the top part of the mountain and the temple structure bears the name in the style because of its shape resembling the mountain summit. The Kṛṣṇa temple is divided into two storeys besides the ground floor. The sanctuary occupies the first storey. Around the sanctuary there is a balcony resting on the columns of the platform of the ground floor, which again forms a sort of perambulator round the bottom of the turret. The second storey has an opening on one side, which leads to a small balcony on the side. Each storey has an outline structure of miniature temples standing on four pillars with sloping roofs on 3 sides and look as if they protrude from the walls of the turret. But actually these stand on the two lines of arcaded pillars, one of which supports the balcony overhead. The lowest storey has only one line of arcade. But the upper two storeys have two. The pillars are not as remarkable. Their capital, however, are beautifully shaped. But the 2 feet thick and 5 feet long pillars are of the same size everywhere. The miniature structures are shown as temples only in respect of the roofs with their gilt-copper fluted finial and the flying horses at the four corners. The same flying horses (*Kuśala*) of larger size are seen at the lower portion of the crest of the turret. The miniature temples superimposed on the four pillars are in the likeness of the central temple to which they are attached. Each miniature has its own turret looking like a sloping dome over a square. The pillars are not ornate, they are octagonal and this gives them a fine shape. There are 21 miniature turrets, eight on each storey and five above. About $\frac{1}{4}$ th part of the structure of the temple appears like the peak of the

mountain above the various structures of the parts below—the balconies, the miniature temples, the columns, etc.

The temple is highly decorated by means of carving. Artificial windows and doorframes with flowery designs are carved on the walls on all sides. In the part above the cornice and below the architrave are carved in low relief the stories of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, the former in the first and the latter in the second. The frieze goes round the entablature on the four sides. In the words of Percy Brown 'Trabeated in principle, the lintels are carried on both a system which has led to this device being described as the "crutch" type of support almost invariably employed in the wooden construction of the mountains region.' The images of Lord Kṛṣṇa and his two espouses all made of black stones are beautifully shaped. Lord Kṛṣṇa is playing on a flute in the usual pose standing with the ankles of the feet crossed, and holding the flute.

Equally finely executed are the images of the incarnations which includes Buddha Śākyamuni. These are carved on the large niches around the central chapel. As we enter the open space of the storey above the ground floor, we turn towards the left to come face to face with the chapel and then we find on the walls the two life size images of the Fish and Tortoise incarnations of Viṣṇu. The other images follow in succession as we walk round from left to right.

Two lions guard the temple structure from the staircase, and there is a huge pillar of considerable height. Surmounted by an abacus with a full blown lotus designed as a throne on which there is seated the gilt copper image of Garuḍa with a human face.

It is said that originally the temple was intended to be dedicated to Śiva. This is not well confirmed. But the Śivaliṅga on the frieze over the main entrance and also on the summit below the *Chūdāmaṇi* is a pointer. But it may only suggest the builder's equal devotion to the cult of Śiva, and not at all a change of idea on the completion of the structure.

The Chyāsiṅgdeval is another temple of the Śikhara style and like the Kṛṣṇa Mandir it is all of stones elevated on multi-tier plinth of diminishing proportions but without the relief panels and other decorative features. The structure was damaged during the 1934 earthquake and restored to its original size and shape later. The temple was built in NS 843 by Yogamati, King Yoganarendramalla's daughter, unlike the Kṛṣṇa Mandir which has a square shape temple, this temple is octagonal, and so the name Chyāsiṅgdeval. There is also a difference in regard to the shape of the main temple. Behind the miniature turrets the size visible imparts it the appearance of a sloping dome. The turret or Śikhara in the Chyāsiṅgdeval is not as tapering as it is in the other temple. There are only two storeys and 16 miniature structures designed in similar fashion. The top in both the temple looks alike, so do the balconies in their respective places. The lowest storey on a single plinth of stone of 4 feet height has a narrow staircase from the eastern side to negotiate to the upper storey where there is the chamber enshrining the deity of the temple. The arrangement of the crutch pillars also is parallel between the two structures. These pillars are about 5 feet long and 2 feet thick they are also octagonal in shape. But the Chyāsiṅgdeval with the balconies and side turrets has different looks because of the octagonal shape in the structural arrangement of the parts other than the temple proper. It looks like a hemispherical body, though the stretch towards the summit shows attenuation.

Two temples of the Palace Square in Bhatgaon may be treated here as other important representatives of the structures of the Śikhara style. Both the temple lie just in front of the 55 window hall of the royal palace. One of the temples is dedicated to the Goddess Vatsalā with the miniature turrets (eight in number). This temple has the main structure of the Śikhara form, the arrangement is similar to that of the Kṛṣṇa Mandir as far as the latter's upper half structure goes. The side turrets, however, look alike only

in so far as the central ones are concerned. But because of the absence of any pillar in the upper balcony it makes all the difference. For this reason again the miniature turrets are made to stand on pillars of their own. Their shapes also differ from those of the Patan temples. The four central ones have the design of the Pagoda style temple with 3 tier roofs and a fluted finial at the top. These stand on four ordinary pillars. Others stand on six pillars and are surrounded by a raised balcony, and a summit of the style found in a Sikhara temple rises above the structure. The temple is elevated on four tiers of stone platforms and the sanctuary is negotiated through a flight of steps guarded by elephants and horses one on each side.

The open balcony where the side turrets rest is raised on the crutch pillars of medium thickness. There are 12 pillars and all these are arcaded. This balcony of the one above it are used for the purpose of perambulation. The span of the balcony is about 4 feet. The doorway faces the west. The height of the temple along with that of the plinth might be about 40 ft.

The other temple which confronts the large bell of Raṇajitamalla from the other side is without a perambulating balcony. But to enter the doorway we step into the small varanda after we ascend the stairs. This appears to be what we call the *urusṅga* attached on the main temple but as an accessory to provide passage to it. The four pillars of the varanda supports a miniature temple attached to the front wall of the main turret as its projection. The sloping roof is flat and is placed but the turret and a fluted finial are imposed on it. There are artificial windows in the temple. There are also images of *Maṭṛkā* deities in the act of killing *Mahiṣāsura*, the demon buffalo. There is an image of female deity in the chapel. She is seated on the shoulders of male carrier which has the body of a human being. This temple is unique for one reason and that is the fact of displaying a variety of animals as guards on the steps of the temple.

Besides elephants and lions, there are camels, boars, dogs and griffins. There are also a male and female attendants at the bottom step, the former to the right and the latter to the left. Each holds child by arms.

The deity in the Vatsalā temple is represented by a diagram carved on stone which has a pedestal of lotus.

The temple of Śikhara style are either of stones and bricks. They are scattered all over the Valley. The style is common to all kinds of buildings irrespective of the faith or character of the deity. In Kīrtipur the *Lhoñdeval* literally a stone temple enshrines the deities of the Buddhist trinity. The temple was built in the early 17th century.

Terracotta Temple: These were built of bricks and as in the case of the stone buildings wood served only for the purpose of door frames or even as supporting pillars. All such temples are constructed on Śikhara style without a balcony. The chapel is invariably on the ground floor, and the entrance area before the door step. In appearance they look exactly like those made of stones. Some have the indigenous flying horses on the four corners of the upper part of the turret. There might be more other innovations based on Nepalese style introduced in the structure. Such temples lie scattered over the Valley. One lies in the palace square of Bhatgaon, and this is attributed to King Bhūpatīndramalla. But two temples built by Pratāpamalla to house Vajrayogini and another female deity respectively lying within the precincts of the Svayambhu *Stūpa* are of earlier date.

A temple of bricks rising no more than to the height of the sanctuary and without a common summit lies on the bank of the river Bāgmati below the temple site of Paśupatiñātha. There are terracotta images of Śiva and other deities on the niches of the walls outside in all four directions. The doorway is guarded by a pair of *Nāgakanyā* (Serpent Girl), one on each side distinctly observed because of their hood. These *Nāgakanyās* appear also in other brick temples.

The Mahābauddha temple in Patan built in the 16th century as a replica of the Bodh Gaya temple is all of bricks, which was also extensively damaged during the earthquake but restored with reference to the plan of the work available to the artisans. In the present form with the chapels at the lowest storey the temple is Mahāyānic in inspiration. It is said that the structure was built by one Abhayarāja Śākya who had come back from Bodh Gaya with a plan of the temple. Lastly we may draw attention to the brick temple constructed in NS 710 by Purandarasiṃha, the High Feudatory of Patan.

The brick temple in the palace square of Patan has a turret in the likeness of Kṛṣṇa Mandir which rises on a plinth of two tiers. There are four attached turrets, one on each side rising up to the half length of the main structure. Each turret is supervened on wood pillars, about 5 ft. in length and the area forming a shaded platform before doorstep. The attached turrets have small artificial windows on 3 sides, which adds to the artistic beauty of the structure. There are flying horses on four sides in the upper storey.

The Royal Palace: The royal palace in each of the three capital cities of the Nepal Valley was not only their residential quarter of the ruling monarch but also the seat of the government. These palaces were not ostentatious judged by the modern standard. They were not also imposing on account of tallness or their span. The palace was just an ordinary house in many respects including accommodation if a single building was to be taken into account. But it was detached from the neighbourhood and maintained land its own compactness within walls around, and spacious garden inside the premises.

Besides this, the palace covered within its confines the square ground studded with temples, some of which were consecrated to their family deities. The royal palace which was a compact structure of buildings was divided in several

sections each with a courtyard around which stood the dwelling apartments. As the royal palaces in the three cities remain intact up to this day. We can examine the architectural plan of the buildings in their details. It appears that the three palaces were built at about the sametime. A major part of the palaces came into existence during the mid-17th century, though a rudiment of a palace structure might have been there already since sometime earlier. In this connection it must be understood that we are talking of the royal palaces that appeared since the portion of the Nepalese kingdom ruled by Sthitimalla and his immediate successors. We do not know anything about the royal palace of Sthitimalla's time which lay probably in the same site as the later palace in Bhatgaon. We lack also knowledge of the palace structure of the old capital city of Patan, from where the kings of Nepal ruled their kingdom before Sthitimalla's time. Perhaps the royal palaces of our time both in Patan and Bhatgoan stood on the ruins of the old structures. The royal palace in Kathmandu seems however to be newly founded.

The front of the palace with the main gateway on the outer wall and entrance doors showed lavish refurbishing in wood frames and windows richly carved showing supernatural beings, deities, flying nymphs as well as human beings and geometrical patterns. The gate and the main entrance door were provided with *torana* which again was profusely carved in the nature of the temple counterpart. The gates and door frames and jambs were either of wood covered with copper or brass plates or simple wood, of which the frames showed artistic designs in carving. The windows in the storey above the ground floor as far as the front portion goes are generally lattice works. The real artistic decoration lies in the wooden materials of the storey where in some cases the window frame is pulled up for the opening in the nature of a lid of chest. In other cases the windows have two frames and jambs like the doors. Kathmandu's palace front is gone out of sight, but we have yet seen miraculously preserved some parts of the

frontal of the palaces in Patan and Bhatgaon. Although the main gateway of the royal palace in Kathmandu is missing, Kathmandu and Bhatgaon have retained one gate each and we can have an idea of the architectural beauty of these by a recourse to studies of the premises by personally examining them.

The courtyard is literally called *Chatuska* i.e. having four corners. It can be a square or rectangle, and on the periphery stand the buildings on each side—all as parts of the single housing scheme. The floor of the courtyards was pebbled. Not all courtyards were of one size. The smaller ones provided at the centre a water conduit meant to provide water for the palace as well as a bathing accommodation for the members of the royal family. The Sundarichoks in the Patan and Kathmandu palaces have such water conduits. The water conduits have their own courtyard and accommodation at a depth of 6 to 7 feet below ground level. The walls are all covered with images of deities carved on stones or those on copper placed on niches and attached on the wall. The water spout was of gold or gilt copper. In Bhatgaon the bathing water conduit is situated just outside the building which Jitāmitramalla called *Thanturājakula* after its erection. It adjoins the new palace in a picturesque surrounding of the kitchen garden.

Looking at the extant structure of the inner apartments of the palace one gathers that the open windows and lattices were designed and carved in the same way as in the front. But the portion opposite to the entrance bore more resemblance to the side which was the front of the palace and visible from outside.

The palaces seem to be also as high as to support four storeys including the ground floor, but whereas the ground floor in the commoner's house was not fit for residential place, this was not so in the case of the buildings within the precincts of royal palace. The latter served as various rooms for storage and arsenals. The outer part was used as public

hall, though there were halls in the upper two storeys as well. The 55 window hall and the one below it in the frontage of the Bhatgaon palace as preserved today show large space. The palace in Kathmandu being much modified by the Gorkhā rulers shows halls in the ground floors. I think that the royal palace in Patan also underwent many changes and halls like the ones in Bhatgaon were not allowed to retain their old feature.

All the courtyards lay in the same row but the main courtyard was distinguished by the elaborate decorations of its gate. In the same way this provided also the entrance to the palace. Others might have side doors. In Patan and Kathmandu the main entrance led to the spacious courtyard called Nāsāl (Nṛṭyanātha or Narasiṃha) chok. In Bhatgaon the pattern was little different. Once entrance was made through main gate to a spacious opening, one saw on the two sides, doorways for the courtyards. Each palace has a Mūlchok where on one side they raised the temple of Taleju. The Mohanchok and Sundarichok were the apartment for the private use of the royal family both in Patan and Kathmandu. We have already described the attractive features of these courtyards. The Mūlchok being invested with religious sanctity wore a more religious look. The Mūlchok in all the three palaces is more specially designed as a place of worship, though other courtyards also are deeply imbued with religious spirit in harbouring images of deities of all sorts. The Mūlchok shows the influence of Śākta cult wholly. In the one storey building the struts of the roofs are carved with the images of the female and male deities of Tāntric origin, the eight mother Goddesses, the Mahāvidyās, Gaṇeśa, Bhairava and others. One side is the sanctum of the Goddess Taleju, where the door frames, tympanum, lintels and cornices are again excellently hammered and carved. The door frames are of gilt copper and so is the tympanum.

The sleeping rooms of the members of the ruling family lay in the houses of the courtyards other than the Mūlchok.

and Nāsalchok. These were long and narrow rooms and fixed in the traditional fashion but without any internal decorations. Some rooms received special attention, and on their walls were drawn pictures of deities in life size in brilliant colours as we find in a room in the Royal Palace of Bhatgaon, which is said to have been the private chamber of Bhūpatīndramalla.

The Royal Palace of Bhatgaon boasts of the greatest number of chanks. We come across references to Mālaticok,⁴ Mūlchok,⁵ Eṭachok,⁶ and Kumārīchok.⁷

There is one more chok called Sadāśivachok now known as Bhairavachok because of the 18 images of Bhairava enshrined in the hall. These images were said to be built by King Nareśamalla who was himself an expert on Tāntric studies. The windows and doors are richly carved. There are all sorts of grotesque animals on woods and in one window to the south is a scene which surpasses human imagination. It is all in a circle, the toad swallowing an elephant, a rat intimidating a ferocious cat, and a frog sits on the lions. There will be no greater miracle than what is performed by the weaker animals against the strong ones. It is a kind of phantasy which could not be imagined today, but the builder warns that such a time will come. To add, the Ganges of nether world flows through a well in the same courtyard, and it was said that Nareśamalla took bath with the water gushing out of it. Nearby there is a water spout built by Bhūpatīndramalla. In Kumārīchok we have a tub whose outer wall on stone is an intricate carving showing serpent writhing. We are told the coils were of 11 serpents whose heads were cut off but tails are seen. The beautiful images in the adjacent hall are further attractions.

4 Inscription of NS 810.

5 Different Inscriptions of the area.

6 Inscription of NS 802.

7 *Ibid.*

The Palace gates were arch gateways. The arcaded gate showed carving of the figures of deities. The arch gates were either of wood or terracotta. The arcade supported in some cases a super structure of balcony. The gateway was guarded by stone lions or elephants, there was a practice of setting up the images of Hanumāna, Nṛsimha and Gaṇeśa. These deities were to protect the palace from the evil designs of the enemies of any character. The arch with the two columns of the gate might show vessels, crocodiles, flying *apsarās* and deities. We have an idea of the decorations in terracotta by looking at the four gateways on the 8th plinth of the temple of Taleju. The plinth supports also the surrounding wall at the level. The arch gateway of the Bhatgaon palace comes in for elaborate notice elsewhere.

The outer walls of the palace were manned by soldiers at strategic centres. A contingent of troopers were kept in the long narrow one storey building in front of the main gate of the palace. Perhaps the buildings on the same line were also used to provide accommodation for administrative offices and courts. But the king's secretariat functioned from inside the palace in one of the ground floor halls.

In the following section we are describing the civic architecture as it related to the dwelling houses of rulers and citizens in the urban area. But we might interrupt the account by adding a few passages on the architectural formation of the capital cities in so far as it had come to stand in relation to roads and their crossings.

As we have already suggested the Palaces in Patan and Kathmandu occupied the heart of the towns. From these run across the expanse of the town though somewhat irregularly the main roads from south to the north, which are again crossed at points by streets and the latter by the lanes. The crossing of the main roads or streets is a square but it is not to be compared with the central square in the palace area. This is a small plot albeit providing space for a stage platform and one or two temple sites. But this kind of square

is very important both as a place of public utility and as a principal component in the general plan of the town. Such squares belonged to the public in contrast to the square of the palace area, which was the private possession of the king and was used in the way he liked. I think that we should take up the consideration of these squares having touched squares of the palace area. However, all matters connected with the layout of the town have been already discussed, so we do not see the need to go into details regarding the many squares, roads, streets and lanes of the three cities. But we may mention here some of the main spots of cross roads of the most important town of the period to enable the readers to have an idea of how these squares stood in the scheme of things affecting the many aspects of the civic life of the town in its architectural setting.

We may not extend the scope of the present discourse to cover areas other than Kathmandu, which being the most important urban area should represent the common features of the problem we are of treating here. Similarly our description of the public squares should be brief.

At the outset let me locate the various squares of the town, where the principal thoroughfares met. This is difficult to recount as the plan of the town remains the same up till now. We start with the southern extremity of Kathmandu. The town was situated in a triangular formation on the upland formed by the bed of the river Viṣṇumati to the west, the Bāgmati to the south and Ṭukuchā to the east along the stretch in the direction of the north to south. As we have already stated the Lagan quarter of the town constituted the southern block. There was the square of Lagan with the settlement along its peripheri and those of the *vihāras* all around. From Lagan one road came straight west to Lañtala, covering a distance of half a furlong and yet another road meandering through southwesterly direction turned to the north and converged at the same place. The convergence of the two gave Lañtala a flat opening which was a square

with a big temple in its midst, and a platform for plays and dances witnessed by the people of the locality. In Lañtala the road again bifurcated, both meeting at the Maruṭol quarter. The road which passed through Chekanamugal had a straight course due north, while the other one made a round of that part of the town slightly deviating towards the west but taking a northerly direction. The temple of Bhīmasena was situated on this loop road which was called Kohity after a water conduit. The western row of houses with their adjuncts on that side along this road represented the least inhabited locality of the town facing the river Viṣṇumati. The Maru quarter touched the fringe of the palace area from the western side, so did another quarter Pyāfal which was situated on the extension of the road coming from Maru. The extension does not seem to go beyond a distance of another half furlong passing through Yatkhā and Neṭa where the road ended. No squares are noticed in this sector but about Yatkhā the road had receded from the Viṣṇumati and there was a dense population in the lanes and bylanes both right and left where open ground of the *vihāras* served the purpose of the squares.

The Palace occupied quite a large chunk of Kathmandu's area. It went deep into the heart of the city on all sides, but it covered more ground in the immediate east and west. The immediate south of the palace compound was full of populated *vihāras* right up to Lagan. Here figure *vihāras* of the name already mentioned in our account.

As the Palace was situated on the centre of the town the area north of it was known as the upper part and the south as the lower. I think that a similar division existed in Patan and Bhatgaon, but there the west was the upper and the east was the lower as the towns had east-west expansion.

The adjoining public quarter in the northern side of palace was the Makhantol, a very ancient locality figuring in the record of Harṣadeva's time. From Makhan ran the

main road to Kamalādi and Jamar, about a furlong from the approach of the royal palace. The Wongal also known at present as Indrachok was a large square on this road not far from Makhan. From Makhan the road took a straight course due north-east, and it was visible from one end to the other. The Wongal was probably the market centre of the town being the widest square. The Wongal square was the biggest area in which there were a cluster of temples including the shrine of White Machhendra. The Asan crossing was another square lying close to Kamalādi further north east. From both Wongal and Asan streets and lanes ran on all sides. One street from the Wongal stretched upto the eastern perimeter of the town, and there were *vihāras* and temple sites centred round the quarter known as Oṭu, which started from the immediate vicinity of the Wongal quarter. Right from the south eastern extremity of the perimeter we can locate congested *vihāra* areas, the Ganabahā, the Te-bahā, the Dugubahil, the Mahābauddha, Musagali and further north ended with Asan.

There was one road proceeding to Thahiti where it joined another road running straight from Wongal, which mostly covered the locality known as Navagraha or Naghala. The area around Navagraha was called *Suvarnapatāli nagara* as distinct from Kantipur. The central spot of the locality was occupied by the *Sigha Chaitya*, and to the east of it there were *vihāra* quarters densely inhabited the last of which, Thabahil, was situated in isolation on the outskirts of the town a little distance away from the hubbub of the Navagraha's congested quarters.

We note from the various inscriptions that the part of Kantipur to the south and immediate east of Makhan was called the land of God Yamaleśvara. We do not know to whom the name referred. Some say it is to the Śivaliṅga lying in the area. But I think that the references to Machhendranātha who was otherwise known as Jamāradeo in the *Thyāsapu* and chronicles.

Localities such as Lagan, Lañtala, Chikanamuga, Maru, Yatkā, Neṭa, Kamalādi, Wongal, Oṭu are mentioned in various records and their present situation is also there for the identification of sites.

It was said that Kathmandu was founded on the discus (*chakra*) of Lord Viṣṇu, Bhaktapur on his conch (*śaṅkha*) and Patan on his lotus (*padma*). The *chakra* like shape of the town of Kathmandu can be imagined by defining the outline of the urban area with its stretch of roads and streets interspersed by rectangular blocks of the *vihāras*, which are projected from the centripetal point of the royal palace. Patan definitely is a town spreading in all directions centripetally from the centre as a fully blown lotus flower. Kathmandu was also a compact area within a circle, but the extension in the direction of the northeast went outside the circle.

Other *vihāras*, those on the eastern side of Navagraha, were Gam, Dhvaka, Jhvaya, Jyāṭhā, Chhusyā, Musyā and Ratnamaṇḍala and Sigha. All these names have Sanskritic appellation, which we have mentioned in our account of the *vihāras*.

Architecture of Dwelling Houses: This may be called secular architecture as distinct from temples of religious architecture. Here again bricks and wood form the principal materials of construction with also metals used for decorative purposes. The dwelling houses might be divided into two categories, (1) the Royal Palace, (2) and apartments of the common citizens. We may have a third category of buildings where the few rich and men of power lived. But this would go along with the palace structure.

A common feature of all kinds of secular buildings is their location round a courtyard. There were courtyards touching the main roads, but a great many of them lay in the interior. The layout of the cities and villages has not changed, so we can have still to our view an outline of the

architecture then adopted. The rich living in the palacial building had in their possession all the buildings surrounding the courtyard. Actually these were not separate buildings, these formed a unitary structure with different parts and all the four sides were inseparably connected and there were internal exits to pass from one building to another. Such was the structure of the Royal Palace, and of all the residential quarters of the nobility. In the case of dwelling houses used by the ordinary citizens the buildings in the courtyard did not belong to one family. For each building there was a separate group of persons. There was yet one more identical feature for such a building, and this is their architectural decorations. The architectural ornaments were most evident in the front portion. The door frames, lintels, cornices, struts of the roofs, windows were all beautifully carved showing deities and human beings in fanciful ways.

If the house happened one facing a public thoroughfare, then the frontage received more elaborate ornamentation. Similarities, however, ended here. Taking an ordinary house, we may notice that if it was far removed from the throb of the busy roads and streets, the ground floor was least used for purposes of habitation. So they required little ornamentation. Utmost they could be used as a place for depositing surplus or waste materials. The ground floor of a house on the public thoroughfare, however, wore a different look. The front line provided broad opening to the interior and instead of a wall there were wooden pillars ornate and embossed which supported the structure above the doorways. The house was generally of 3 storeys beside the ground floor. The top floor '*buiga*' beneath the roof served to provide space for kitchen as well as for storage of necessities and chapel for family worship and prayer. The second storey is generally within access of the strangers. So the space therein is allowed for a hall called *matan*, and ante-rooms in the interior and on one side. The third floor has a big hall covering a large space and lying open right from the point

where the flight of stairs from the down storey ends. The ante-rooms provide sleeping accommodation for the elders. The hall is called *Chotā*. Every house must have an opening along the lower line of the roof negotiated through the *buiga* to serve as a place for washing, bathing and similar other purposes. The opening is a projection supported by a part of the roof and is called *Dhoñ*. At the top of the roof there is a large hole of triangular shape, which acts like a chimney as well as a way out and in for domesticated cats of the same house. It is called *bhaupvā* meaning a cat's hole.

Construction materials: Before we proceed to describe the civic architecture, let us take notice of the materials used in the construction of buildings.

These materials are principally bricks, tiles and wood, and often metals in particular, gilt copper and bronze as well as stones whenever necessary. When the walls of a house had to be raised the bricks were joined by water soaked earth from layer to layer. But this was not so in the case of royal palaces and temples and *stūpas*. Here in place of earth the masons applied lime and powder of well baked bricks, both mixed and soaked in water. This was called *vajra* literally a stone. Actually this substance worked like the modern cement and rendered the surface applied as forceful as unbreakable stone.

The bricks of temple and palace structures were thoroughly burnt. The process of making the brick was to put the water soaked earth of a particular variety called *pachā* found near the bed of the two principal rivers of the Valley into a mould of particular size (breadth, length and thickness), and to deposit the same in the sun once it was moulded so that it became dry. The mould was of wood, and the whole operation was conducted with his hands by a person. After the bricks became dry and hardened due to exposure to the sun, they were gathered together in heaps one ranged about the other and in different rows. The arrangement is pyramid-

like while on the floor allowed between the rows seven ovens where faggots are placed burned to keep the flame touch all the bricks from top to bottom on all sides and in all layers. The burning continues till every brick is thoroughly burnt and in that process becomes red to the core.

Inscriptions tell us of the pious deeds of devotees which had paved the courtyard of the *vihāras* with smooth bricks (*chikana inṭa*). Bricks in the Royal palaces and temples of the age are of large size. There are ordinary size bricks but even these have a thickness of 2 inches and a width of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The difference between the two varieties was only in respect of length, which in the case of large sized bricks was sometimes more than 18 inches. The Chilandeo of Kīrtipur shows bricks of larger size. All these look, brilliantly red.

Mud plaster was applied to the walls from inside to cover the visibility of bricks. This plaster was obtained by adding certain amount of cowdung and paddy husks to the mud and allowing the mixture to stew in a pit for at least 24 hours. This imparts to the plaster a quality by which it can durably stick to the bricks of the walls while washing or colouring of the walls was done when the plaster became dry. The *vajra* can also be used to plaster the walls. Both have been used for the purpose of frescoes.

The Ratha and Khaṭ : In our narrative we have several times referred to the chariot procession of Red Machhendra quoting the Tibetan monks Dharmasvāmin for the earliest information on the subject. Locally the procession is up till now known as *Rathayātrā* and we have here four wheeled chariot or *ratha* with the balcony round the chapel and a 32 cubit high spire rising high above it. The chariot is drawn by men pulling the rope which is tied to the buffer. This is a bulky kind of chariot requiring a host of hands for draught, which was used only on two occasions, once in Patan and once in Kathmandu but both celebrating the entry of

Machhendra into Nepal. In our time the first reference to the festival is available from a *Thyāsapu* noting, which talks of the chariot procession of Red Machhendra in NS 737⁸. We learn from such sources, how the chariot drawing brought ceremonies and festivals to the households lying on the thoroughfare through which the chariot passed. A similar kind of chariot but without a spire but with the sloping gilt copper roof on four sides and a finial on top is used during the pre-autumn festival of the Goddess Kumārī. The wheels of the chariots in all cases were of wood, and they were large or small according to the structure supervening, which in the case of the first category of chariot was tall and was formed to stand as a spire or turret in the nature of the *Sikhara* style of temple but in the case of the second category was just a small temple of the so-called Pagoda style with one or two tiers of roofs of gilt copper. The *Khaṭ* was nothing but a chapel constructed of wood embossed with copper or brass opened on three sides, however, without the wheels, which was to be carried just over men's shoulders. This is in a way a portable temple. In local parlance if the *Khaṭ* was this type of structure, then the *ratha* stood for a full scale chariot with heavy wheels of woods and intricate cane works

8 सम्बत् ७३८ वैशाखशुक्ल प्रतिपाद्यायां थ्व कुन्हु श्रीबुगमलोकेश्वर
रथस थडा जुरो ॥

थ्वन पेन्हुलि वउजुनं गात्रवाहार यातडाव ॥ सन्ति देवत्वं साराव
यंडा महापालस आगतोक दोलाव व त्वं थाक ॥ थ्वन संति उथे हतेषा स
आकतोके दोलाव थाक, न्हानोचो काठया भिनं उथ्यं आक तोक दोलाव थाक
सन्ति वैशाख श्रुक सप्तमी पुष्य प्र अश्लेष नक्षत्र गंध योग अंगारवार देवशाल
यंडा, नोगरस देवहरकरे ओक तो दोलाव स रथं मेते वोल ॥ रथनं चियाव
सिक छद्मं महु ॥ थन देव जुकोकोकायव नोगलेया हितिफुस फलेस तथा
जुरो ॥ संति रथ थडा वतव पेन्हुतो थ थें चोड ॥ वैशाख शुक्ल ए(कादशी)

all over. These are the two types of conveyances used to carrying the images in a procession on festive occasions. The terms, however, are not strictly applied to a particular description. Often in local parlance the *Khaṭ* and *Ratha* are synonyms. Both connote a sense of transport for the deity. Both are made to stand for a chapel of the deity for his procession. But by whichever name it was called the wheeled chariot drawn by men was something quite different from another chariot carried by them over their shoulders in terms of structure. There were wheels in such chariots, while others went without them. Of course, the actual structure made to contain the deity, which we may call chapel, is the same and of the same size everywhere. It should be noted that the chapel is just large enough to contain one idol, its area could not be larger than 9-12 sq. feet. The wheeled chariot added to it a balcony round the chapel. This is an all round expansion forming a rectangular space with a closed railing. The Machhendranātha's chariot is endowed with 32 cubit high spire supervened over the chapel. The spire is an arrangement of thick ropes of cane and fibre overlaid with mosses and branches of ferns.

In the Valley it is the custom to take out of the temple the deity in a chariot once in a year on a certain fixed occasion, which is considered the festive day of the deity. Very often the chariot is carried over men's shoulders. But in a few cases draught chariots are used. We have already said enough about the chariot festival of Machhendranātha. More wheeled chariots come to be drawn during the Indra-jātra in Kathmandu. The chariots belong to Kumārī, Bhairava and Gaṇeśa. In Bhatgaon similar chariots are used on the occasion of the Vaiśākhi. Two prominent deities of the locality, Ākāśa Bhairava, and Bhadrakālī are taken in their four wheeled chariots to a spot where a flagpole is erected, and then pulled down the next afternoon.

II

Art

Sculpture: Unlike in the preceding period the sculpture of the late middle ages had a wide range, and consisted of objects not only on stone but also on metals, clay and wood.

We shall start our description with the metallic art.

The Nepalese images in gilt copper or bronze are worth studying as excellent specimens of art works of the medieval age. Occasionally they are studded with precious stones, coral, amber, pearls and rubies, turquoise, etc. According to S. Levi, they have no equal. As early as the seventh century A. D., the taste for decoration with jewels had attracted the attention of the Chinese travellers and the later works bear the continuation of the same craftsmanship and taste.

It should be understood in connection with this variety of art work that the vast majority of the bronze pieces so called are really executed on copper or brass. These metallic pieces are often called *aṣṭadhātu* literally meaning amalgam of eight metals including gold, silver, tin, iron, mercury and lead in addition to brass and copper. But no such *aṣṭadhātu* art works are available to our knowledge. Tin being difficult to procure bronze art objects were rare in evidence.

Metal cast works of the period are found in abundance. They consist of the images in gilt copper, brass and copper as well as the reliefs in tympanums and doorways. The coins of the period have also their artistic aspect as reflected in the many floral and geometrical designs and illustrations of finials, double drum, and similar other objects. These should be included for consideration of the metallic art of Nepal. Further, the art works on metal might also include all the accessories for worship such as *sukundā* (lamp holder), *koṭa* (a metal dish to keep things for worship) and *tvādivā* (lamp stand).

There are few pieces of metallic art which can be placed to the period before the 16th century. We learn from Father

D'Andrade that the Nepalese artists worked on metal in Tsaparang. D'Andrade wrote in 1628 A.D. and we also know from several inscriptions of the 14th-15th centuries that metal images were set up in temples for worship.

One of Yakṣamalla's inscriptions, the Paśupati copper plate of 667, speaks of an image of Pārvatī set up to honour the memory of the late queen mother.

It is notable that whereas the art of image making on metal had completely disappeared in North India since the 13th century on account of the suppression it received at the hands of the iconoclast Muslims, Nepal had not only preserved the art in the period of its extinction in India, but also had carried the tradition unimpaired until recently.

It is not easy to ascertain the ages of the brass or copper images as they appear to us each singly. But some images of deities in gilt copper or brass and statuary groups or statues of the royal family cast on the same metal can be distinguished as those of our period as there are documents giving information of the time of their installation.

Whenever we mention a bronze doorway, it should mean such materials of wood over which there is a hard covering of copper sheets or even brass. The incrustated copper might be gilded if the donor so desired and most of such door frames are actually gilded.

The gilt copper door panels give an impression of a delicate and excellent work of art. The four door frames of the Taleju temple set up by Pratāpamalla are the examples of such art, but the southern one ranks high above them all. Such door panels are rarely seen in other parts of the world. In the case of the Taleju doorways the whole is definitely a masterpiece of an art executed on hammered and beaten metal. The so-called bronze doors are attached to a frame which again is supported by an architrave and pilasters and rectangular frames of greater thickness within concentric formation all of which are carved. The upper beams extend

farther unto the wall on both sides. The extension appears as projecting triangular space on wood, which is deeply ornate. Embossed on the copper and then gilded are the images of the Goddess and her consort Śiva and other divinities as well as vessels, flowers and geometrical designs. The eye feasts on a panorama of finely engraved images and flower designs. It is a triple doorways, the middle of which supports a *torana* with the image of the Goddess at the centre. The pilasters as well as the beams above the door frame are carved delicately.

It appears that the door-jambs of the inner room was embossed with gold by Bhūvanalakṣmī in 820, but this goes without any decorative additions.⁹

Pratāpamalla restored also the Mūlchok, and he raised the beautiful *torana* of the temple. The main deity of the *torana* is the 18 handed goddess in *ālīdha* pose. Her frame is youthful and fresh. Her attitude is expressive of joy at the defeat of the buffalo demon. There are accompanying female deities on the metal, which are also graceful,

The copper doorways of the Mūlchok temples in Kathmandu, Bhatgaon and Patan are all magnificent examples of the kind of art in view in Nepal of our period. The front of the temple in all the three cities is designed in the same pattern, which is a doorway flanked by two lattice windows, the holes therein either assume a circular shape (Patan) or a square (Kathmandu). The windows are comparatively smaller in Bhatgaon, and they have tympanums in Kathmandu's shrine. The tympanum in the doorway is the common feature

⁹ Inscribed on the door-jambs are the lines:

ॐ नम श्री भवान्यै ॥ नेपाल सम्मतेस्मिन् खवसुवलितेश्चाश्विने शुक्लपक्षे
वारे हिमान संज्ञेवकरणयुते चोत्तराषाढ ऋक्षे अष्टम्यां योगे शुभदिन वसरे
भक्तिभिर्भूपपत्न्या श्रीमद्देव्यै कपाट प्रद्वर वसुपत श्रद्धया संप्रदत्तं श्रीश्रीश्रीतरेजु
माजु प्रीतिन श्रीश्रीजयभूपालेन्द्रमल्ल देवस पत्नी श्रीभुवनलक्ष्मी देवीन ध्व
लुंखाया दुन्ता, सम्बत् ८२० आश्विन शुक्ल महाष्टमी बुधवार शुभ ॥

so also are the images of Śrī and Lakṣmī Goddesses on the right and left respectively. The pilasters and the frieze below the tympanums are richly carved. The stone *Kalaśa* or flower vase laid over a 3 tier stone pedestal of round shape adorns the two sides of the wall at the bottom adjoining the pilasters. The objects in the tympanum are the Goddess Taleju and eight others of the emanations, the central figure executed in bold relief while others are in low, but they can all be recognised. All these are placed within an arch which is inside the bigger arch formed by the Garuḍa and Makara images. In age the Bhatgaon doorway appears to be oldest followed by Patan (C. 1630 A.D.) and then comes the Kathmandu structure (c. 1640 A.D.).

Chronologically speaking the Taleju door frame is the earliest available art object of the type. Older pieces might have been lost in course of the ages. The next in importance come the western and southern geteways of the temple of Paśupati-nātha. The door panels are simple but the tympanums show engraving in the most exquisite style and there is beauty in grandeur. The entire door structures were set up by Devidas on 796 *Kārtika pūrṇimā*. The semi-circular tympanum with the *Chūḍāmaṇi* at the centre in a perpendicular position shows Lord Śiva within an arch under the canopy of the Garuḍa in a flowery surface, his hands raised and legs catching serpents in a coil. The image of the Lord is flanked on two sides by smaller images. The image is that of the ten handed and five headed Śiva standing with the left leg stretched in a dancing pose, who commands in all majesty. The western gateway wears the same appearance but the tympanum shows Garuḍa instead of Śiva at its centre. The bird with a nose of a parrot holding serpents by its claws is not of human shape but is a full fledged winged bird. The Garuḍa image seems to have been transplanted and is not a part of the metallic frame forming the tympanum.

The Chāngu doorway probably of the time of restoration

has triple door frames on all four sides one of which is of copper and the rest of wood. The side doorways are artificial. The central has a tympanum surrounded by three tier umbrella topped by a *Chūḍamaṇi*. The three figures in it are those of God Viṣṇu and his two consorts. They are in bas reliefs, and each within a hooded canopy bracketed by rims and seated on a lotus pedestal. All the doors bear *Kalaśa* images in the lower portion and floral designs in the upper. The side doors are smaller by about a foot and on closure they reveal a scollop formation while in the triangles on two sides seated on each we notice a four handed image of Viṣṇu in low relief. We do not know if the doors were originally covered with copper. The present appearance is no guide to its date.

The door in all the entrances wherever covered with copper sheets show on the surface geometrical patterns in square or circle formation centripetal rays, the whole being symmetrically arranged from top to bottom unless otherwise mentioned.

The last of such doorways is the *Sundhokā* of Bhatgaon's royal palace built by King Raṇajitamalla in NS 873. Percy Brown, an artist himself writing in his 'Picturesque Nepal' was so much impressed by the artistic features that he was impelled to express his appreciation in the following words 'a doorway of brick and embossed copper gilt, the richest piece of art work in the whole kingdom, and placed like a jewel flashing innumerable facts in the handsome setting of its surroundings and further and the artificer of this doorway has proved in this great work that he was not only a past master of his craft, but a high priest of his cult. There are many other beautiful and absorbing features on the various buildings in the Darbar Square of Bhatgaon, but this the door of gold-molten, graven hammered, and rolled—forces these into comparative insignificance by its depth of meaning, richness of design, wealth of material, and the excellence of its workmanship. As a specimen of man's handicraft it

creates a standard whereby may be measured the intellect, artistic and religious, of the old Newars."¹⁰

The *torāṇa* bears the image of the Goddess 16 handed with three normal heads and one placed above, and there is one smaller figures of Śrī and Lakṣmī by her side. These figures seem to have been cast separately and joined together on the same background. They lie inside the broad ring engraved on the metal of the tympanum.

The two pilasters of the doorway, which extend above to the outer arch of the *torāṇa* contain each 5 figures. one of them being a flower vase, while again such a vase rests on the wall adjoining over a raised pedestal.

Copper or gilt copper images are often found in the *vihāras*. They are large sized. Some Śaivite temples also have metallic images. But they are limited in number. The Chāṅgu images of Viṣṇu is of gold, but the old one having been stolen a new image is placed as a substitute. Gilt copper images of Dīpaṅkara are carried in procession on festive occasions.

Iṣṭādevatā or *Kuladevatā* images are also made of metal but light enough to be carried in a small chariot over men's shoulders. These, however, have little art value. The Chāṅgu gold images as well as metal images in sanctuaries are not meant to be taken out of doors. The best specimen of gilt copper images in an architectural setting are available from the stone walls of the water conduit courtyard of the Sundari-chok in Patan and Kathmandu. Similarly placed are the Śrī the Lakṣmī images in the Mūlchoks of the three royal palaces. The western door of the interior of the temple of Paśupatinātha is flanked on the right by the image of Pārvatī on copper which was set up in the name of Sansāradevī, mother of Yakṣamalla, in NS 567 (=1447 A. D). In the Nepal Museum two feet images of Dīpaṅkara, Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara are assigned to the 15th century. We cannot,

however, rely on guess work. Father D'Andrade writing in 1628 A. D. talks of the images of Indra with hands stretched, which in its whole outline looked like the Christian Cross. There are certain images in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum, which Stella Kramrisch attributes to the early medi-
eval period. But I doubt if the date can be pushed so far back. But at any rate the art on metal was flourishing in the period under review and we have best specimens which are yet preserved, though these are scattered here and there.

The metallic image is characterised by certain features of composition a very full modelling of the flesh and almost florid features, the bridge of the nose is markedly rounded and the lips full. On the other hand, those of the later date, and upto modern times, are no longer so robust and fleshy, but svelte and slender waisted and more sharply contoured, the nose becomes aquiline. Sometimes even hooked, the lips clear cut and thin, and the expression almost arch.' The quotation is from Dr. Coomaraswamy who further states that the Nepalese metallic iconography of the later period had tended to become a goldsmith's art with more ornamentation and loss of the plastic quality which was an inherent quality of the earlier creation.

I think that Coomaraswamy's estimate is correct only in a limited sense, and it did not apply to all the metallic iconography produced in the period. It did not certainly apply to the images up to the mid-16th century in general. Even for the later years it can be stressed that most of the earlier features had been retained. It has been said that metal was the only field where a continuation of the main current of art influence was maintained uninterruptedly with all its achievements. But a certain degree of deterioration in the composition was evident as we approach 17th century A. D.

As far as we know the Pārvatī image in life size of Sansāradēvī is the earlier icon on copper for our period. This is a beautiful piece of art, sitting in the posture of the Goddess in an austere mood the right hand fingers arranged in *vyākhyāna*

mudrā and those of the left hand in *pustaka mudrā* and with a diadem on her forehead the image of the royal lady has the divine look. The face, body and the limbs are fleshy, and well proportioned, the modelling is so rich and yet simple. The contours are well defined. Although the image belongs to the mid-15th century A. D, it answers to the description of an art image of the period which had received its inspiration and stylistic influence of the Pāla School of North India.

The nose is aquiline and prominent and the bridge head is raised to that level and not depressed, the eye lids and brows just drawn to match with the thin outline of other parts, the lips are full, the chin clear cut, the ears were a circular flat ring and on the whole the face has a fine expression, which shows symmetry tending to add beauty of composition to it. There are other ornaments such as bracelets, armlets, necklace and lastly the waist band (*mekhala*) but there is no heavy ornamentation. The drapery is simple. This is just a diaphanous loin cloth below the waist line. The image is in a sitting posture but the left foot is pendant and the right raised and bent at the knee is lowered to touch the margin of the pendant. The image in its *mudrā* and posture also resembles the Buddhist Tārā as well as Pārasvati.

Let me briefly examine here the Dvāraśrī, Lakṣmī, the Sundarichok Viṣṇu-Lakṣmī, Viśvarūpa and some Buddhist images we have mentioned earlier. Of the Śrī-Lakṣmī images those of Patan and Bhatgaon belong to the mid-17th century. The Bhatgaon images had been set up by King Nareśamalla in 761, the Patan images by Siddhinarasiṃhamalla about the same time and the Kathmandu images by queen Bhuvana-lakṣmī in 828.¹¹

11 Inscribed on the images are the lines:

सम्बत् ८२८ आश्विनमासे शुक्लपक्षे महाष्टम्यान्तिथौ शुक्वासरे थ्व
महाष्टमि महापर्वदिन

कुन्हु श्रीश्रीश्रीतलेजुमाजु प्रीतिन श्रीश्रीभुवनलक्ष्मीदेवीन थ्व मूर्तिदुन्ता
जुरो शुभ ॥ मूलचुक न्हूल दयकं

These 4 feet tall images are hollow as all cast images are. In the iconographic representation Śrī and Lakṣmī are standing on the back of a crocodile and tortoise, their *Vāhanas*, respectively in a *tribhaṅga* pose, a leg bent at the knee and crossing the other descending straight. The bent leg is placed over the back of the *Vāhana* on the fingers of the foot, but the other leg is stretched, and stands in that fashion; the two legs are seen kept a little apart. The relative position of the legs differed from one image to another. In Patan Śrī has her left leg bent and stand on fingers, while Lakṣmī has the right leg in this position. We have similar arrangement of legs in the Kathmandu images, but whereas in Patan's images the straight leg is forward, the Kathmandu images have the bent leg placed over the other leg. In this respect the position of legs in the images of Kathmandu follows the pattern of those in Bhatgaon. The *tribhaṅga* pose is evident only through the placing of the leg and actually as the images are straight no bending either at the waist or neck is discerned.

In all the images the aureole is placed on the hind part of the shoulders so that it stands in the form of an enclosure, the upper half wearing the appearance of a *ṭoraṇa*. The aureole is richly engraved. The groups differ as to facial expression, *mudras*, drapery and ornaments. The Bhatgaon group is heavily ornamented unlike others which have only light ornaments. The former also carry on the palm of left hand, a casket (*sinhamu*) and a mirror (*nhaika*) respectively, fingers arranged in particular *mudrā* formation. The latter, however, (including those of Kathmandu) do not carry anything in their hands or are the objects lost? The body on the whole appears normally developed but not fleshy. The hands are bent at the elbow, the fingers of the right hand and left hand of Jamuna have the same *mudrā*, the *Vyākhyāna*, whereas the fingers of the other hand are seen arranged in *paraśu mudrā*. And further, the right hand in every case obstructs the view of the breast on that side, while the other

breast is exposed. The diaphonous long frock extends up to the ankle in the Patan images there is no garment over the upper body. But ornaments cover larger portion. The latter mode of dressing the upper body is seen in all such images. Similarly the armllets, bracelets, necklaces, garlands, and waist-bands—all beautifully engraved, are also common features. The Kathmandu and Bhatgaon images wear a crown of five peaks, which covers from view the entire head from the top of one ear to another. The facial expression is one of beauty and grace both in the images of Patan and Kathmandu. The forehead is not if broad also not short, the eye lids open and brows are thinly outlined, the nose is prominent, the lips full well chased and slightly smiling all these are well proportioned so that the entire composition is symmetrical. The Bhatgaon images, however, are not as graceful and beautiful as the other two groups appear as far as the symmetrical arrangement of the eyes, nose and lips are concerned. The nose is not as pointed, the eye lids and lips are thick, the eyes open, the upper one thicker and the nostrils are visible because of this. As for the ornaments, whereas below the belt no ornaments appear in the Śrilakṣmī images of Patan and Kathmandu, those of Bhatgaon are laced also with ornaments from waist to foot. A long garland extending up to the knees is also special for these images. The Goddesses wear anklets, which is also something not found in the other images. In the lower body the legs have become slender, the thighs not as full, there is also stiffness in the posture, although the artist intended motion through the modelling of legs, which however does not appear to have succeeded. The drapery is thick, but the legs shown below the knee appear uncovered, which however was not intended by the modeller. The arrangement of the dress in modelling seems to be little faulty. But barring some shortcomings the images look excellent pieces of art creation.

The 2½ feet copper image of Viśvarūpa standing on a 4-tier plinth was set up by Pratāpamalla in NS 781. Protected by

multiples serpent-heads like a canopy the image has 3 tiers of heads, 7 in each but in diminishing proportions from the bottom row to the top. Hands cannot be counted, but one can list 9 on each side including the 2 normal ones. Two hands just below the normal ones hold one image each stretched from the waist. The abdomen shows a ferocious face. Each hand holds an emblem and the fingers arranged in a *mudrā* of its own. All heads but one wear crowns. The crownless head is the central one in the middle row, and the head looks like the head of the southern image of the *Sivaliṅga* at Paśupati. The hairs are curled. Earrings, armlets and wristlets are common for all the heads and hands. Faces are well shaped. The chest is broad but not full, a small but broader necklace suspends from the neck to the breast and a flat sheet of 1 inch width richly carved extends from round the neck to the shoulders and to the thighs. This is a garland, but the chain tied round the neck suspends through the breast at a lower level than the flat one. The image is standing one leg bent at the knees and erect on heels, the rest including the fingers raised a little. This is the right leg. The left leg is stretched sideways. The legs are disproportionately short.

The Mohanchok and Sundarichok of the Malla palace of Kathamndu are not accessible, but the Sundarichok water conduit courtyard of Patān is also no less rich in the assemblage of images on stones and metals. We shall take into consideration only one of these, i. e. the gilt copper images of Viṣṇu and his consort placed on the conduit of the shape of Makara with open mouth. Viṣṇu is riding his Garuḍa, his consort Lakṣmī sitting on his left thigh with her left leg slightly raised at the knee and then kept suspending on the wing of the carrier while the left one is placed above the left thigh, palm turned upwards. Viṣṇu is holding Lakṣmī by his left hands, all the four hands being arranged in the usual pose. The consort is two handed wearing bracelets and wristlets. Apart from the *Kuntala* she wears a necklace. Both Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī wear a crown. The ornaments are not

heavy. Viṣṇu has *Śrīvatsa* in his chest. Laksmī wears half sleeve blouse, and the transparent frock is spread over a part of Garuḍa's back, as well as covers her body up to the ankle. The left foot is visible under the frock because of its transparency. Viṣṇu wears a loin cloth, otherwise he is naked. The face is not as expressive. Eyes in all the images of the group appear as looking downwards, eye lids are thick, the nose is prominent, the lower lip is thicker but towards the top is rendered flat, the waist is thin, the abdomen is sunk, but the navel appears like a hole over a swelled flesh of certain roundness.

In the background of a plain stone with the design of flowery rim the image occupies the large arcaded niche on the wall of the courtyard in the northern side. The background is simple showing large leaves on the surface, while the arch has four tiers of leaves surmounted by four stage cupola over which flows a long garland along the line of the arcaded leaf arrangement. The *vāhana* of Viṣṇu i. e. Garuḍa is a winged bird of human face and hands, his legs are not visible, wearing ear-rings and garland and armlet of snakes, he also holds human faced snakes in his hands. These must be the maids Garuḍa has curled hairs. He does not wear any ornaments except the snake. His hands and other features are modelled in a manner similar to those of the other two images of the group. His downward eyes also bear close resemblance to the shape of the eyes in similar images.

Among the less significant iconographic art objects might be considered some images on the tympanums. One such image is the 4 faced Śiva of the southern gateway of Paśu-patinātha. Śiva is accompanied by two deities each on his two sides. The two in the extremities are yet smaller in size. Śiva has 3 heads in a row, and one more above the middle one. The 10 hands hold different emblems, and the legs are set apart in a poise similar to that of Viśvarūpa. The body of the Lord is naked. There are no ornaments but the head

wear crowns. The contours of the face is finely drawn, and all the four faces are beautifully shaped. But the chest, hands, abdomen, and thighs and legs are full of flesh. Besides this, the hands appear stiff without suggestive motion. The leg stretched does not impart movement to it. The waistline is not curved as in other images. The whole abdomen appears as one fleshy whole. Although the deity is in *atibhaṅga* pose suggesting dynamic movement, the figure is not disposed to the rhythm due to assumption of unusual flesh. But inspite of this the image does not look to have fallen much below the standard. The finish speaks volume for the craftman's skill,

The images on the *torana* of the golden gateway of the Bhatgaon Palace with the smaller images of Śrī and Lakṣmī on the right and left respectively the central image which is of Taleju Bhavānī embodies in it the same qualities of art which are found in the metallic images of the late medieval period. The legs and hands are not differently placed from what they appear in the Śiva image of the tympanum in the latter's shrine. The left leg is stretched a little forward sideways. Here too, the hands except the normal do not suggest motion. But the *atibhaṅga* pose shows dynamic movement. The Goddess is in the act of killing the buffalo demon.

The drapery covering the lower body is thick but the sunken apparel is marked between the legs, and both are skilfully shown in the figure. The forward breasts and curved waistline are also more accurately contorted. Although the images were set up after nearly 75 years of the Paśupati tympanum, the deft handling of the image by the artist is no less revealing.

The front door in the Mūlchok of Patan, Kathmandu and Bhatgaon have their tympanum each, which show images of the type we have described. The description of the various aspects of the body images as handled by the artists in the

foregoing cases applies also to the Navadurgā deities on the tympanums.

As for the art of engraving there are flowery designs much delicately engraved on the surface. On the periphery of the *torāṇa*, about an inch of arched space is covered by the Garuḍa holding serpents and then there is a crocodile—Makara, on each side raising its tail amidst the background of floral and linear patterns executed in all symmetry. Some of the images are in bold relief and seem to have been put on the *torāṇa* after modelling, but the smaller images were engraved over the surface and so were the geometrical and flowery designs. These came to be executed by beating, hammering and engraving on the metal.

On the whole the metallic iconography had retained the high standard of craftsmanship that was handed down to the late medieval age by the preceding generations. Thus we find that much of the earlier features are in evidence in the metal figures of the deities. However, the paucity of dated images outside the architectural surrounding as we have noticed makes our task of estimating the metallic art in chronological order almost impossible. For the same reason it is also much difficult to institute a comparison between the metallic arts of the two stages of the medieval age, the early and late periods. But because the metallic images we have examined.

The Brassware and Copperware: These are mostly jugs, jars, finials, lamp-stands, inkpots, incense burner and suspended bells. There are few inscribed materials but a copper jar of Jitāmitramalla kept in the museum carries with it the king's name. There are other objects along side of the jar, and all these are presumed to have belonged to the Bhatgaon ruler. The jar is of the height of 1'8" and at its hemispherical expansion the width might be about 3". Other objects are a jug *goyedyan* (a pan for keeping arecanuts), a basket or *koṭa* (keeping flower, etc. for worship), the *Sukundā* (a lamp

and a wick holder)—all of copper. The 3 ft. long *pānas* or *tvariba* (a lamp stand) is another attraction in view of its artistic appearance. Bells by kings are also available to us along with the inscriptions. Such a bell of a large size exists in Patan and Bhatgaon on a specially built structure of a raised platform in front of the palace at the courtyard. The former is attributed to Viṣṇumalla, and the latter to Raṇajītamalla. There is yet one more bell in the palace square of Bhatgaon. The large bell in the Mūlchok of Bhatgaon was offered by King Bhūpatīndra in NS 818. In the shrine of Taleju inside the palace in Kathmandu we have a bell of medium size offered by King Bhāskaramalla in NS 834. Similarly we have inscription about some *Chuḍāmaṇi* or *Siromaṇi* i.e. the summit of the temple. These summits or tops are of gilt copper as the bells are of iron or bronze. The dated summits or tops are traced through the inscriptions attached to the temples, which tell us also about the donor. But there is no means to verify all summits as the original ones.

The Statues: We have already described Bhūpatīndra's statue in the words of P. Brown. All the statuary images are in kneeling postures as a mark of devotion because the pillars are dedicated to one or the other deity. In shape and form the statues look alike, they are moulded under the same process. As we view the three statues, of Pratāpamalla, Pārthivendramalla and Yoganarendramalla respectively, and compare them with Bhūpatīndramalla's the common style of statuary art of metal is evident. The modelling is as good though not perfect. But the smaller statues look very formal and dull in comparison. Under canopy of snake or snakes the central image acquires the dignity of a royal personage. Sometimes the images may go without a canopy of snakes. It also so happens that along with the larger canopy the smaller statue has also its own canopy, e. g. in the group of Yoganarendramalla's pillar the queen has her own snake canopy. Even without the design a throne, the seat under-

neath the canopy assumes the respectability of a sitting place fit for the royalty. The face, the hands, legs and their gestures and attitudes conform to certain conventional patterns. The dress and ornaments of the statuary image belong to the contemporary usage. Perhaps the face was broadly shaped to admit of common features but never individual likeness. No kind of total identity of the person represented with the statue was intended. The absence of one's likeness in the statue is evident from the two effigies of Bhūpatīndramalla, one supervened on the pillar and another, a separate kneeling statue, now in the possession of the Nepal Museum. These two again might be compared with the portrait in *Pārijā-taharaṇanāṭakam* (Nat. Lib. Cat.) The dress is more or less similar in the three, and so is the gesture. But all these can be presumed to have been portraits of three different persons. I do not think that it is different in the case of Pratāpa's statuary images of the pillars and we find also the same on the stone image lying in the shrine of Gujyeśvarī. But the face is skilfully modelled probably in the light of the appearance which members of the royal family presented in their racial features. It would be, however, wrong to suggest that these features were Mongoloid a large forehead, prominent nose, small mouth, not small eyes these do not surely indicate Mongol feature. Most of the statues have no moustache and beards (Pratāpa, Yoganarendra, Pārthivendra). This might be so designed to give youthfulness to the statuary figures.

The artistic aspect of the statues is described by Percy Brown in his estimate of the statuary image of the Bhatgaon pillar of Bhūpatīndramalla. The statues by themselves although they may not bear the likeness of the individuals represented do express what we call the majesty and grandeur of the most august station in life of an individual. The royal attire, the sword or dagger at the waistband, the jewellery and ornaments including the fingering they wore are fitted well into the pattern. The turban worn in common with the rulers of India of the time the long shirt, and tight

fitting trousers, with all these collectively the regal pattern is evident. The women's bracelets, armlets, ear-flowers (*karna-phula*), and necklaces of various lengths, and the drapery of a *patāsi* (covering only lower body) with folds, everything seen as a part of ornamentation makes the female figure appear stiff and immobile. The facial expression with open eyes and folded hands is not as clear.

The art of coinage: One of the appendices to the present volume deals with coins, and the illustrations therein will show different linear patterns as well as symbolic objects. The linear patterns are shaped variously as triangles, squares and circles and concentric squares and circles and concentric circles, then scalloped squares, and lastly square figures with projections from the sides (Walsh, V. 4 reverse) and two interlaced *svastikas* which also form squares (V. 5 obverse), two intersecting quadrilateral, with concave sides (V. 5 reverse) or simply as Persian characters. There are intersecting triangles, squares, *Sarasvatīyantra* and scalloped octagon. The emblems are also of different kinds such as conch, trident, *Kalaśa* (vase of holy water) with streamers, noose (*pāsa*), elephant goading *ankuśa*, a sword with wreath, Sun, crescent, lotus, bunches of flowers, rebuss of the lion, *stūpa*, (double drum) bunches of flowers, mirror and a casket for keeping vermilion powder. The legends are spread around the space made by linear designs.

All these emblems as well as the linear patterns are finally drawn and come to us in a finished shape, and the pieces are really valuable even as works of art in the excellent way the designs are executed.

At this stage the reader is referred to the appendix on coins, where we have fully described the various geometrical designs and emblems adopted in the coins which find place in the description. We might add to the list a few more coins from Walsh's book and evaluate their qualities of art in the light of the shape and forms of the objects represented.

We shall take only certain specific coins for our consideration, coins which bear elaborate geometrical marks and also those with the emblems of that nature. Such coins belong to all the three kingdoms. For complicated geometrical patterns we may suggest coins of the Patan rulers as given by Walsh in his illustrations. (V. 5, 6, 7). The linear patterns indicated are intersecting quadrilateral forming octagonal figure inside and rhomboid crossed by triangles of equal lines respectively. The no. 8 of the same plate gives a figure of intersecting squares and at the centre a small square placed in slanting fashion and yet showing within it a smaller square perpendicularly placed to touch the centre of each side by the angle. The obverse of n. 13, 17, 34 in our appendix has also a similar pattern. Decoration of the surface by dots, bunches of flowers, Persian character is found in Walsh, II. 12, III. 1, 2, VI. 5, 6, and in n. 27, 28 of our appendix. These look like the coins of Muslim rulers of India except for the symbols. Apart from the design of an octagon round the central circle (Walsh, III. 5, 8, VI. 9; n. 8, 10 in our appendix), there is one device of a nice linear arrangement noticed in coins, (Walsh, IV. 6 obverse; VI. 10 obverse). The scalloped circle with a triangle in centre is an attracting pattern, and so is the figure of a circle surrounded by six petals, which are again surrounded by scalloped petals. More coins of simple design with scalloped squares (II. 2, 4; V. 1) or ordinary at the centre and thick dots and comb-like formation of line are also commonly found. The line arrangement in all the coins gives a fine look to the coins. Numerous emblems appear in the coins, such as a vase with streamers (Walsh. II. 5, 6, 7; III. 2; V. 4), trident with or without streamers and sword with wreaths (n. 8, 9, 10, 17, 26, 27, 32, 33 in our appendix and (Walsh, II. 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12), trident and words (Walsh, III. 4, 5, 6) sinamu casket for depositing vermilion powder (n. 13, obverse in our appendix); Walsh, III. 10, 13; V. 5, 8, 11, 12; VI. 12), the double drum (n. 1, 2, in our Appendix), the symbols of *aṣṭamaṅgala* in the eight

petals around (Walsh, III. 4, 5, 12; IV. 2, 6, 15) conch shell or *Saṅkha* (Walsh, V. 7; II. 8, 13) discus or *chakra* (Walsh, II. 13; IV. 9; V. 11, 12), mace or *gadā* (Walsh, II. 7, V. 6, 7, 8) and finally the rebuss of the lion when the name of the ruler ended in the word *siṃha* (Walsh, V. 1, 2; VI. 1, 2). A bunch of flowers singly (Walsh, IV. 9) or in a group or within a circle (Walsh, II. 4, 9, 10, 18 reverse) or a triangle or above a sword (Walsh, V. 9) is noticed in several *mohars* and $\frac{1}{2}$ *mohar* coins. The flower looks full blown.

All these are religious emblems, and we obtain these also in more coins. We have given the above reference just to show the specimen for the artistic representation of the objects. It appears that the art of cast silver in the shape of coins was marked by a variety of geometrical designs as well as religious symbols which are engraved in a formalised shape and form yet retaining some kind of appearance. The *Kalaśa* with leaves streaming out is so real that it does not differ anyway from the sculptures on stones and wood, and it equals in beautiful look with the counterparts. Coins which have several symbols (Walsh, II. 13) or scattered over many points (II. 9, 11, 12) are (to take a few examples) as excellent as the other. They do not show any appearance of overadjustment and disarray and their space is not subject to spoliation.

The different objects thus represented e. g. the *aṅkuṣa* (for goading elephant), the *pāsa* (noose) the double drum, the vermilion casket, the lotus—all have a likeness even though not as real to the counterpart on stone or wood or canvass. The rebuss of a lion in our coins might be compared with similar figures of the Licchavi period. The conventionalised figure is the same on metal or stone for this period. But it differs from the Licchavi lion in that it is too conventionalised to resemble a real lion, which the latter does not also have the majesty of the latter, although an attempt seems to have been made to imitate the old shape.

The lion in Malla coins is the skeleton in comparison, in a thin body it has a thinner neck and legs, and in addition the crest over the head, and the paw conforms to the general pattern, and only in one case (Walsh, VI. 1, 2) the raised tail (as well as in Walsh's V. 2) and the position of the legs might suggest mobility.

Considered in general perspective the metallic art as evidenced in the coinage of Nepal in the late middle ages had sufficiently advanced both in regard to the technique of modelling and finish as well as in respect of adopting the variety of designs and the objects of symbols.

The technique of casting metal images followed in Nepal is known as lost wax or *cire per due* process, which we briefly describe here. A model is prepared of wax and crystallized juice of the bark of the *Sāla* tree in the likeness of the image or design or pattern the artist has in mind. The modelling is done by hands and then using a delicate instrument like a niddle for fine imprints. The artist puts quite a hard labour and skill into the preparation of the model. He has to twist and add and punch out the wax piece in the process. The wax model is several times dropped into a thick liquid of smooth clay and cowdung, and then a plaster of yellow earth mixed with husks was to be applied into it. In the application of plaster care is taken to leave a hole for molten wax to flow outside when the plastered model is allowed to shed off its wet content. It so happens that after sometime when dry the layer outside the wax becomes hardened and fireproof.

Now it is time to take out the wax and this is done by heating the model over fire lit in a locally devised earth pot called *maka* or in the mild sun. The fire must be just warming. The sun also should not emit scorching heat. Because of the mild heat the outer layer is not affected by this kind of fire but the inner core of material made of wax is melted and flown out. Later the same exit is used to pour

molten metal into the model retained after the loss of wax. We must understand that the model is now made of clay plaster which has fully absorbed all the designs and patterns worked by the artist on the wax model. As molten metal takes its place, all this is transferred to it when the liquid crystallises. There is a process of cooling the mould. Once the warmth gone the outer crust of the plaster clay is removed and you see the images of whatever one designed it.

Terracotta: Images in burnt clay belonging to the late Malla period are available in the cells of temples as well as on the niches of their front walls. According to Percy Brown in his *Picturesque Nepal* (p. 173). 'Apart from the structural features, terracotta is used freely for decorative purposes. The tympanum which is found over most important doorways, usually of hammered brass or carved wood, is in cases boldly executed in burnt clay with details sharply modelled in this plastic material. Niches with figures, dragons, and foliage, running borders of snakes finials of crowning cocks, and all the ornamental additions characteristic of a brick architecture are to be observed'. The two snake figures one a Nāgakanyā and the other of a Nāga male with the head under the snake canopy and holding a conch shell by his two hands is a common sight in some of the temples of both styles. Together they circle round the temple as if forming a hand and their heads are shown, one on each side of the doorway. The Nepal Museum has in its possession the images of the eight mother goddesses, and it is said that they belong to the time of Jitāmitramalla. The life-size image of Ananta Nārāyaṇa in Āryaghāṭ, Deopāṭan also is there but this belongs to the early 18th century A.D. The Dathu temple of Rānīpokhari has a collection of terracotta images of the size of a foot and half. This includes images of Viṣṇu and his incarnate, Vārāha, Goddess Mahisāsoramardīnī, and the God of sea, Varuṇa. In the same temple the four corner chapels on the platform are decorated with the terracotta *torāṇa*, with

the two side figures of crocodiles and the central figure of Garuḍa holding snakes between his teeth. All these images and *toranas* belong to king Pratāpamalla's reign. Further in Taleju the main palace gateway by name Siṃhadvāra and on the 6th terrace four subsidiary gateways of the temple of Taleju are of burnt clay. The deities represented in these belong to Śaivite pantheon, such as Śiva, Pārvatī, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Gaṇeśa and Bhairava. We notice also the animal figures of lion, elephants and horses besides the crocodile and serpent.

The terracotta images of Aṣṭamātrikā, Varāha, Viṣṇu Sūrya and Varuṇa might be treated here for their art value. It can be safely added here that the art on terracotta was as highly advanced as the sculpture on stone or wood carving. The image of Varāha closely resembles the Varāha on stone lying in a temple at a suburb of the city of Kathmandu in the northeast so does Sūrya holding by his two hands the full blown sun flowers and riding a chariot drawn by 7 horses. It is a seated image both hands bent at the elbows and the lower half slightly turned and raised straight through the chest. The image of Viṣṇu with hands catching classical emblems is standing on a snake base. This is a four handed image but much damaged. The Varāha has lifted the tiny earth by his left tooth and his boar's head is raised up and with all its fierce countenance, the expression of wrath and victory is so skilfully planted.

P. Brown is greatly impressed by the moulded brick and modelled terracotta. This is how he gives expression to his appreciation of the art: 'The builder used an exceptionally good quality of clay, and by means of a system of firing which produced a hard smooth, shell like surface, his masonry seems to defy all weathers, besides displaying a most artistic colouring. Terracotta is sometimes used in place of wood or metal for the sake of economy.'

Apart from the Mātrkā deities the life size standing Ananta Viṣṇu in a niche like arcaded brick built shrine at

Āryaghāṭ is another masterpiece of the artist using terracotta. This image which is well modelled in the tradition of the sculpture of the age displays the high qualities of plastic art. The canopy of serpents is suspended from the ground, and the image with four hands and the classical emblems, wearing the diaphanous *dhoti* tending to touch the knee, and all ornaments, two tier beaded necklace, armllets, wristlets and the crown on the head is like any other Viṣṇu image on wood or stone. Although elongated and comparatively slim, but with the beautiful face, forehead, eyelids, brow, nose, and other features are symmetrically modelled and inspite of certain drawbacks the image could be our proud heritage.

Temple accessories such as a lamp and flower pots with flowery designs are also made of burnt clay.

Lastly we may add a few words about the technique of making terracotta art objects. As already suggested, a few particular kinds of earth is used for the purpose. These are variously known as *masuchā*, *dyachā* and *gathechā*. Water is mixed with earth and allowed to be soaked into clay. The modelling is done by fingers, and for carving, a delicate pointed chisel like instrument is used. When the image or pattern is ready, the process of burning starts. All the objects are grouped together, and within a brick structure they are deposited on piles of straw one upon another. A kind of structure like a brick kiln thus begins to work with fire lit from all around. The burning continues for more than 24 hours. The straw supports also the burden of the clay image at the level, and this happens even after being burnt. The objects become red after the whole process is through. In the middle ages those who worked with terracotta followed this process of moulding and burning.

Wood: Wood carving in Nepal had attained the highest form of art ever attained in the field. No other country can lay a claim to such a high degree of attainment. The carved work on wood is also abundantly found and its numerical

superiority is rivalled only by stones. Windows, doorways and cornices, friezes and architraves, struts as well as other kinds of supporting beams of the roofs, beams and columns and individual wood pieces with carving of divine images, are the objects of wood art. We are in particular taking notice of the strut images in the courtyards of the palaces in the three cities, and temples of Yakṣeśvara (Bhatgaon), Paśupati (Deopatan) and Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa, the two Nārāyaṇa temples in the locality of Ko-bahāl (Patan) and Bhīmasenasthān (Patan), a separate image such as the Dīpaṅkara Buddha (Nepal Museum) as well as the richly carved tympanums in some of the monasteries over their gateways, doorways and windows.

The woodcraft follows the same style as that of stone when we consider the art aspect of carved images. All qualities of art found in the sculptures of early medieval period are found in carving on wood. The strut images in the Mūlchoks of the three palaces provide the best examples. The front windows and doorways of the Patan Palace which face the courtyard to the west are beautifully carved, the first storey presenting over the trellis the Sun God and before him sitting Aruṇa holding the reins in a chariot driven by seven horses. The doorway now closed shows on the frames, the friezes, lintels, cornices and the triangular side *mandanas* and tympanums different geometrical patterns and beautiful images of deities. The Sun God appears also elsewhere on the same setting. The two side figures at the top of the trellis windows are Sun God holding fully blown flowers in their hands. I think that in the same measure the images of the Bhīmasenasthān (d. NS 802) and of the Mādhavamandir (d. NS 582 but later repaired) could be presented as elegant and fresh pieces of art.

The struts in the latter show images of the ten incarnates of Viṣṇu as well as his Śaktī, Lakṣmī the Goddess of Wealth, and other female deities. In the Bhīmasenasthān every strut in the first storey is some deity of the Viṣṇu Śaivite pantheon.

male or female, in which the Viṣṇu incarnations are prominent. What is important for us is also the fact that they bear the date at the base (NS. 802). Nearby in the northern direction there are two temples of Nārāyaṇa again displaying in their supporting pillars the divinities of the Viṣṇuite cult. One temple of Nārāyaṇa erected in the 17th century A.D. has in the struts the Viṣṇu incarnates in the upper portion and at bottom the scenes connected with the life story of Prahlāda. More temples of the time show other deities. The Chhusyabāhā in Kathmandu nurses in the struts of its roof the images of stars or constellations as well as the nine *Grahas*. One bahāl of Bhatgaon close to the Palace at the western direction has different Buddha deities in the struts.

The strut images impress us with their good modelling, and highly skilled carving. The images of deities conform to the classical description, and are in their ideal form. They are excellent show pieces of art with their charming countenance. Irrespective of the ages they were created they show a common style of composition and conformity to the tradition. The face, the hands, shoulders, chest and legs are all well shaped and the artist has succeeded in giving to each image the degree of perfection he was capable of. Images of Śaivite and Buddhist deities in different moods, and postures. Wearing appropriate dresses and ornaments including a crown of one or three peaks and in the act of performing varied functions, are in evidence as we scan the struts in the temples and palace courtyards. These are images with multiple heads and hands holding traditional weapons. One strut may show a couple, male and female, standing together, one's hand placed on the other's shoulder. In the Bhīmasena temple of Patan we have in the struts multiple handed Śiva, Pārvatī, Bhairava and Gaṇeśa in their classical pose each mounted on the traditional carrier. The 3 storeyed Nārāyaṇa temple on the main street of the Kobahāl area shows a supporting beam where appear the dancing

Gaṇeśa and his consort mounting the mouse displaying in the many hands and weapons their might and power.

Most of the *toranas*, doorframes, pilasters in concentric folds, the doorways, lintels, the architraves, cornices—the *toranas*, jambs, and other grounds on the temple plan are carved showing deities of flowery and geometrical patterns. They show a wide variety of images as well as linear patterns and designs. Animals such as elephants, horses, lions, dragons, fishes, tadpoles, crocodiles as well as a variety of bird family are skilfully carved. The *makara* or snake with its mouth open, a deity male or *apsarā* seated there on the niche is a common sight on the wood plank overlaid on both sides of the doorway. The front of the Royal Palace which was built by Siddhinarasiṃha in the early 17th century in Patan but is preserved up till now maintains windows open and lattice, cornices, architraves and friezes, everything available is carved and deities and designs intermingle. We have already referred to the sun chariot on the lattice. The chariot supported by a row of the 7 horses with raised heads suggesting quick movement in the nature of gallop. The chariot is specially designed by intricate carving and slight projection. The open window structures above the lattice are all arcaded as if each has a *torana*. The three windows resting on a thick wooden frieze is flanked by cube shaped lattices. The doorway with its delicately carved *torana* lintels and friezes and concentric pilasters is so magnificent to view that it simply beggars description.

The Bhatgaon palace is another treasure of carved wood pieces. The Mūlchok, Bhairavachok and Kumārīchok are the special storehouses. These are full of strut images of different shapes and attitudes with multiple hands, (upto 16), male-female, each on his or her own *vāhana* carrier. The usual picture is that of the Goddess killing the buffalo demon. But more devices are adopted to enrich the artistic appearance of the shrines as well as the residence of the ruler. The thin

lattice windows, designs of open windows retained without the device to open door jambs, all beautifully carved with the images of Śiva and his espouse Pārvatī, are the common sight. The visitor is accosted with this feast for his eye, which no second building can afford.

Regarding individual wood images, one could examine a piece (1) The image of the Dīpaṅkara Buddha in the possession of the Kathmandu Museum. The Buddha Dīpaṅkara is standing. He is preaching his doctrines and assuring fearlessness as is indicated by his *mudrās*. He wears the long apparel and ornaments of a Bodhisatva. He wears a three peaked crown in the usual way. The starred earrings, chains and necklace and wristlets are all what the Lokeśvara images also would show. A circular halo surrounds the beautiful and calm face. In the niche of the elaborately designed *toraṇa* and above a lotus pedestal and flanked by Tārā on each side squatting in *lalitāsana* and *rājalilāsana* pose respectively. The Bodhisatva stands against a plain ground with two units of rims very much diminutive as in Lokeśvara and Viṣṇu images of stone. The attire he wears is a long skirt extending up to the knee, one end of which is thrown through his broad chest astride the right-shoulder.

The face is well proportioned and reflects a high standard of modelling. His hands are stretched a little forward from the elbows, which emphasises the importance of his gait and attitude. The figures of Tārā are set against the *torāṇa* which are fixed as pilasters to the image. The base is single but out of this three lotus seats are carved, of which the side ones are larger to give room to sitting figures. Two spouts of lotus stalks with blooming flowers rise a little higher along the side bases. Tārās have their own halo each, and the ornaments are similar to those in such figures of the early medieval period, but there is also a long garland worn round the upper body, neck to the knee, and this is not what we see earlier but which is a common type of decoration in the

figures of the latter period. The date of the image is NS 782, so this ornamentation is formal. Another feature which is unusual is the armband worn round the elbow. On the whole the image reminds one of the stone sculptures of the 9-12th centuries except for certain ornaments. It can be suggested that the work on wood had maintained its high attainments in spite of the passage of time and consequent lowering of standard.

Stone art: Iconographical representation on stone was made both through the images as well as unchiselled stones. Chips of stones individually or brought together in 5 or 7 or 10 pass for the Elephant God, Pañchakumārī and Daśavidyā Goddesses respectively. A few shrines have in their inner sanctuary a stone engraved with geometrical designs representing the *Yantra* of some female Śakti. But we are concerned here not so much with such materials but with the icons and similar objects where we notice the art creations of the age on the stones. The stones generally came from Godāvarī and Pharping hills and were either lime stones or granites.

Being chiselled the icons possess in common all those qualities of art which are attributed to the Indian sculptures of the contemporary era. The image was sculptured on a single stone, until late 17th century pedestal and rims also, formed one stone along with the figures single or configurated.

All these images are relics sculptures. The artist used the chisel to carve on stones whatever icons of deities or designs he liked to work. He used no other instruments and he had also mastered the device to polish his stone with the help of a particular variety of lime stone.

In examining some 15-17th century images we will not be far from the truth when we declare that even in this period the old style of composition was followed. But the artist had not lived up to his mark and there were extraneous influences which had led to embellishments marring the simplicity of the the figures.

It appears that throughout the 14th century right up to the consolidation of power by Sthitimalla, there was no specific activity in the field of art. I do not know for what reasons the activity was taking a slow step even afterwards. We search in vain for major art works until we reach the 16th century. But, however, few and far between the creations of the 15th century come to notice we shall touch them here for some reference.

Coming to the 15th century we find that the Tāntric influence which had already dominated the iconography in painting had spread in the field of sculptures. Exciting odd looking images began to appear on stones as well as on metal and wood. We also notice that the cult of *Śakti* worship was getting popular, and in consequence images of female deities were appearing in form and shape unknown before. The first image of Mahisāsūramardīnī for the period is available in Pharping and an inscription of 1407 A. D. calls her Jhañkeśvarī. This is a 8-handed image in the act of killing the demon. Such images with animal or human faces were numerous for the subsequent centuries. Quite a good number of such images might not have art value but a few Purāṇic deities conceived in the traditional style are represented in icons of definitely high quality and craftsmanship.

Beginning with the Sun God image we find that individual images of the Sun God had disappeared, but we get *maṇḍala* images. This *maṇḍala* is composed of the sun family within a circular disc. The whole is a scheme of chariot over which the Sun God appears dominating by his height. The plain base supports the structure of the chariot, and the imaged chariot as well as pedestal form one single stone inseparable.

Examining the dated Solar chariot Banepā (date NS 516 = 1396 A. D.) we find the scheme of a chariot, a line drawn across the circle just below the diameter creates the shape of a chariot over which are Aruṇa, the driver holding the reins, and Uṣā and Pratyūṣā, female attendants in

reclining posture the whole of their body bent on the side. They are seen in the act of throwing arrow from their bow. The chariot like a canoe is borne by 7 horses, whose heads and front legs are visible in symmetrical arrangement of a row. Below this there are two figures again in reclining posture making a gesture of beating with swords held by both hands. Aruṇa's upper body from the waist line upwards is visible. The Sun appears standing in the usual pose. But his lower limbs are not noticed. He is haloed and crowned. Other figures also are crowned and wear ornaments, which are elaborate for the earlier century. But the form of the crown worn by the Sun is different. It stands which is just like a skull cap with a band and a crest in the shape of *Jalanhaika* at the top. The image of Te-Bahāl (d 572) is more elaborately designed. It has a circular frame round the ground, which consists of 12 signs of zodiac. The legs of the standing sun are fully visible behind Aruṇa who is sitting just leaning against his master's lower legs and holding the reins tied to the 7 horses. At the bottom level the two figures with swords wear *mukuṭa* like that of Bhairava. This headgear is not a type of object covering the skull, it only rises above the forehead and protruding on two sides covers the front area round about the head in particular the ears. This kind of headgear appears for the first time to our notice. We have one more image of Sūrya, and this is probably of the late 15th century. This is on a stele occupying a niche of a rectangular stone with designs of plants and leaves. The image is different from the two we have described above. Apart from the two figures Uṣā and Pratyusā, the Sun God in this image is accompanied by his two *Śaktis*, one four handed (right) and another two handed (left). They appear above the Uṣā figures whose bow and arrow again are more clearly seen here than in other steles. The sun is also sitting here. The *mukuṭa* of the figures at the bottom is the same as in the Te-bahāl image. Some sitting Sun images with their hands holding flowers in

the usual fashion appear in Patan. There is yet another image of the Sun God sitting with his *Śakti* on his chariot drawn by 7 horses. The stele has rims with bifurcated flames, but otherwise is plain. Here the Sun does not hold the flower by his hand, rather the flower is seen with the stalk shooting forth by his right side. After the horses there is no other panel below. Uṣā and Pratyusā occupy their place as before. The *Śakti* wearing a *mukuṭa* like a coronet and folded hands is sitting on the Sun's lap to the left. The Sun has a beautiful face, and so has the *Śakti*. He wears a crown worn by Viṣṇu in the images of the earlier period. The hand which was employed to hold the stalk is raised with fingers in *abhaya-mudrā*. The other hand goes round the *Śakti* from behind and is seen. This image is one of the many lying uncared for in the temple of Rāṇipokhāri (Kathmandu).

It seems the cult of the Sun God had not died but had just lingered in the 16th century A.D.

The Viṣṇu image of a temple in Talāchhe, Bhatgaon with date NS 574 though not large enough to be compared with those we have already mentioned seems, however, to follow in the traditional style of composition. Although this is a different kind of image, which does not have a configuration but with its own series of incarnation figures, the figure has a close resemblance to the Viṣṇu figure of the earlier age. Sculptured on a polished lime stone with a plain background and wearing traditional features, Lord Viṣṇu retains all his poise and majesty.

Here we may refer to an image of Chintamaṇi Lokeśvara bearing date NS 549 on the pedestal. This is one of the most beautiful images of the 14-15 centuries. Lokeśvara is standing in *tribhaṅga* pose, the right hand stretching forward a little away from the waist line; the left leg stands on tiptoe while the left hand stretched upward from the elbow catches a branch of the tree which in its thick foliage forms a canopy above the Bodhisatva figure. The modelling is excellent.

The flesh gives beauty to the body, and to the chest, waist line, and the slightly raised hip. The rounded shoulders and legs are all designed in perfect symmetry. The face well chased shows a broad forehead, prominent nose, eyelids closed to oval shape, ridge-like eyebrows, small mouth and chin full of smiles. The *tribhaṅga* pose imparts tension and plastic movement to the body. The contour is so well defined. One of the rare examples of Bodhisatva image for its variety and all embracing ornaments the image has a crown of 3 peaks and wears a circular double mohar type of convivial ornament to hang from the long and large holed ear lobes. In addition to the short flat necklace of 2 tiers, there are two chains streaming to the upper abdomen, and then a garland of 3 webs interspersed with star like circular designs. More ornaments follow over the region of the waist cult. Ornaments in hands and legs are worn near the joints. There are two wristlets. There is also a band round the leg below the knee. The loin cloth is worn in the traditional manner, but the reedlike fold is absent, while a loop visible on right margin of the left thigh crosses beneath the garland to ascend the left, and a thin single fold descends from the waist to the left leg which is bent to cross the other one.

The above images of the Sun God, Lokeśvara, Chintāmaṇī and Viṣṇu reveal some changes in the total framework of art objects more particularly iconography. The same developed further in the subsequent centuries also to affect the composition to a certain extent. We have more images of Viṣṇu for the following years. One such image is that of Mādhava set up under the joint reign of Yakṣamalla's sons about the end of the 16th century. Another image we find in Harigaon in a dilapidated temple. The pedestal gives the date NS 635. These Viṣṇu images show substantial modification of composition at the hands of the artist. To take just one example, the Harigaon image about the date of which we are assured we can notice that this image retains most of the features of the earlier Viṣṇu images. But the pedestal

and order of the attendants as well as the setting are not as they were. Garuḍa is now on the right side and Lakṣmī on the left. Each pedestal looks separate, the lotus motif between them creates division instead of creating a common link, although in the main they rise from the same plane but even this is very roughly shown.

In contrast the old order remains and an attempt is made to retain the symmetry of the base in the three divisions in the Naksāl image. The *Kīrtimukha* crown, and reedlike bands round the wrists, arms, and waist in the principal images are just as they are schemed in the Chāngu and Pharping images, and the something about the bell, sacred thread (tucked into the belt and loin cloth) and loin cloth lowered upto the knee figures of Garuḍa and Lakṣmī are also planned in the same fashion. The halo and ground rims are delicately designed. It appears that this image belongs to the 15th century. There is no lack of vitality in this image. But in the image of Harigaon stiffness and sagging are clearly visible. This is not so also in the image of the Ko-bahāl Viṣṇu. We find at a glance that the former was leaning backward instead of maintaining a balance as in the Naksāl and Ko-bahāl images, which again retards the plastic tension. Similarly its pose of grandeur and majesty is marred by the stiff limbs and not so calm and charming countenance but the rounded shoulders and the entire physique looking fleshy and well developed does not make the image as worse. However, the modelling is poor and contours are not as clear. But we do not witness the elongation and over embellishment necessitated by a cramped body. But the attitude on the whole is stiff. In drapery and ornaments some changes have occurred. The drapery is formalised, the belt is gone, the fold of loin cloth round the waist line is crude, the reedlike fold across the thighs is just a wrapper hanging on two sides from the waist, the fold between the thighs is just allowed to fall to the ground without any zigzag pattern. The ornaments are now worn near about joints although they remain more or less the

same. The bracelets cover a greater area in the wrist. The sacred thread descending from the left is imperceptibly brought down to the loin cloth in the thighs but there is no tucking up into the garment. The configuration is also changed maintaining however the basic unity of the pedestals. The lotus is prominent in the space between figures, but the area is broader than what is requested for a loop of the lotus stalk. The pedestals agree in size with the general arrangement elsewhere of the Viṣṇu image. But attendants have changed their usual seat. Garuḍa is now on the right. Both Garuḍa and Lakṣmī images have both their movement. The reclining Garuḍa does not actually recline in devotion but it appears that he is leaning against the ground because of some physical alloment on the waist and hips.

The two stone images of Dvāraśrī and Lakṣmī in Naksāl (Kathmandu) give some idea of the way heavily ornamented figures were produced without however depriving them of the usual elegance of form associated with the earlier images.

The kneeling figures of the same deities who are placed as watch and ward on the steps outside the Nārāyaṇa temple of NS 680 (=1560 A.D.) in Patan palace square give us the same impression. These can very well be compared with the copper gilt images of Śrī and Lakṣmī and presented to Taleju by King Nareśamalla in NS 761 (=1641 A.D.). All these are laden with ornaments.

Apart from this ornate over emphasis, the figures of Nārāyaṇa in this very temple of Patan which are cut over a 3 feet high 3 ft. round stone piece erected over a round base seem to look much different from their earlier counterparts. The modelling in this image is poor indeed, but the beauty of form is also missing as the figures are sleek, and lack symmetry and poise. The outline is so blurred that it is difficult to distinguish normal physical features from the drapery and ornaments. This stone was installed in NS 680 (=1560 A.D.), and might give us an idea of the deterioration in the style of composition at the time.

A likely contemporary of this image is available in Pharping but without even those qualities which sustain whatever grandeur there is about the Harigaon figure. This is a configured image of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī and Garuḍa. We have here the placing in the old style but many things have changed in the stele. The majesty of the Viṣṇu figure has disappeared. The figures are physically attenuated and display little sense of proportions, the modelling very poor, all parts of limbs are equated in thinness and the waist is sunk beyond proportion, and in this stance the entire body seems to lack flesh. The configuration is not well adjusted, the 3 figures are made to stand on a lotus vessel without any kind of base.

The halo and rim though full of flowery designs look like metallic objects of the type affixed to the image. There is no background, probably the figure 3½ feet tall and the satellites were sculptured on a small stone. Other representations the drapery and ornaments follow the pattern of the time as described in other preceding passage. The sacred thread runs along the margin of the drapery across the thigh quite imperceptibly, which again discarding the character of a fold becomes flat, and if on the latter the designs are simple the whole piece from one end of the waist to the other is also interspersed with starry patches. There is, however, distinct change of pattern. Similarly the crown is elongated and awkward, and the band looks like one loop of a turban, the ornaments of the neck are those which we find in the 16-17th century figures. The face which is oval in shape has unfamiliar characteristics, lengthened forehead, everything marring the usual charm and grace of the Viṣṇu image.

We have one more piece of stele with Viṣṇu image without configuration. This is lying in a corner of a street in Naksāl a quarter of Kathmandu and its lower hands are damaged. This is a hooded image with 7 serpents with a plain background and rim of flames. The banded armlets (3 bands) and wristlets are traditional but all these worn near the joint. The

belt, and loin cloth are worn as in earlier images. But new garland coming from the two shoulders and arms, each loop on one side, covers the fold across the thighs.

The Uma-Mahesa image of 15th century is available in one such image in Harigaon with date NS 543. This is a damaged stele but the plan of the relief is preserved. All the figures in the stele look stiff, the background of Kailāśa is drawn in a way defacing the identity and summit of the mountain; the union scene is devoid of any emotional content.

Another Śiva family image now deposited at the Patan palace collection the pattern of the older image is maintained, but figures look stereotyped. The faces of Śiva and Pārvatī are also devoid of any lustre. The posture seems awkward as well as we are struck by their stiff attitude. And this is the only relief where Śiva puts his hand on the breast of Pārvatī. The artist in showing that Pārvatī was not sitting on his laps leaves a narrow space between them which appears very defective in view of the space arrangement.

There is general insipidity of the environment, and the attempt of the artist to reduce this effect by creating lively images of *Gaṇas* has failed as they are mostly seated and without gesture.

Since the mid-16th century the Umā-Maheśa family steles are none to be seen in the usual form. On account of the ornaments the Patan Bhandarkhal image might be stylistically allocated to the early 16th century or even later. Leaving aside the *Śivaparivāra* stele, and others we have just described we have to keep in mind that not all icons were so much fallen in standard and in many cases although there was general deterioration in craftsmanship, the stylistic representation was faithful. In some craftsmanship was also of standard, so such images were regarded as excellent piece of art. But such changes in modelling necessitated by new ornaments and apparel should not be ignored in our examination of the iconographs of 16-17th centuries.

A similar change is noticed also in the images of Buddhist deities. We have already referred to the figure of Chintamaṇī Lokeśvara of the early 15th century. It is unfortunate that a great many of the dated images of the 15th and 16th centuries are missing and less of the images which can be recognised stylistically as belonging to this period also come to our notice few and far between. In any case all the images, hence to be considered will be such as belong to the 17th century A. D., whether they are Buddhist or otherwise.

The 17th century was the richest period in the history of Nepalese art. It may not be in respect of quality, but otherwise Nepal seems to have made the highest contribution in the field of art in this century. More than 90 per cent of the extant architectural relics—royal palaces and temples belong to this age. Even the 10 per cent attributed to the earlier age could be claimed in so far as these were restored in the 17th century.

Almost all our extant treasure of metal and wood art is claimed by this age. Such is the case also with terracotta. The images made between 1560 and 1720 A. D. are mostly those of the Tāntric Bhairava, mother goddess, and of a great number of Tāntric deities, Buddhist and Śaiva alike but all deities, other images, like those of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śākya-muni, celestial Buddhas, Lokeśvara, Śiva-Gaurī, Hariśaṅkara, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa are also found in large number. The latter category of images are of greater importance to us from the standpoint of comparative study of art of different periods in the middle ages.

The Viṣṇu images are found in different places and in different forms of configuration. The one-stone configuration seems to have changed, there is now one stone for each image. The usual companions of Viṣṇu, his espouse Lakṣmī and carrier Garuḍa are also not there. The accompanying images might be the miniatures of the central image.

In one image Śaṅkara-Pārvatī (half Śiva and half his-

consort) the attendants are Gaṇeśa and Kārtikeya. We might consider the Mādhava image of NS 790=1670 A. D. (Rāṇipokhāri stele) and the Śiva image of Indrachowk (Kathmandu) in this context.

The Mādhava image is majestic and full of grandeur. A charming and calm face, well built physique, traditional crowns and ornaments, these are features which the figure shares in common with the Viṣṇu image of the earlier period. Even the apparel is alike, e.g. the reedlike belt and loin cloth, but the loin cloth is worn here above the tight fitting trousers.

The background and halo are not as elegant. Instead of Lakṣmī and Garuḍa the attendants are Śrī and Lakṣmī but considerably diminished in size. Similarly the weapons in the lower hands are the mace (Gadā) and lotus, which maintain their own shape and form in the same proportion as the upper two discus and conch.

We have an image of Viṣṇu known as Bālāju in a locality about 2 miles north-west of the city of Kathmandu. The image is that of Jalāsayana Viṣṇu chased on a single stone in the likeness of the similar image of the 7th century A.D. But the impact of time on the art is evident. The figure has not been able to reflect the serenity, majesty and grandeur of the original image.

The earliest reference to the image of Kṛṣṇa is available in the Chāngu pedestal inscription of Amṛtadeva's reign which is dated NS. 296 (=1176 A.D). But this refers to Viṣṇu as the statement of the inscription clearly mentions. Actually Kṛṣṇa in the form we know him today seems to have become popular not before the 16th century. In the 17th century the cult of Kṛṣṇa was popularised also through the many dramatic works composed in the period, of which the theme was some event connected with the Lord's life. In the following passage we shall say about his images as we find them preserved at the present time.

There are several Kṛṣṇa figures of the 17th century. The

Patan image set up by king Siddhinarasimhamalla, of which a mention has been made, is the best of all. So skilfully executed on black sand stone the Kṛṣṇa figure playing his flute in his usual pose represents a high grade of workmanship. All the fine qualities of Nepalese art are reflected in it. The Lord is performing his divine dance of joy with his consorts, his face is simply charming and the attitude so elegant. One more Kṛṣṇa image in the same style is found in Harigaon. The groove is made of two plants rising on two sides of the figure each out of the sacred vessel, *Kalaśa*. Lord Kṛṣṇa has ten hands, and is flanked by Śrī and Lakṣmī on the right and left respectively on separate bases. Śrī and Lakṣmī are eight handed and look exactly the same as the figures in Mūlchoks except for their hands. The figure of Kṛṣṇa set up by king Pratāpa in NS 769 in a temple called Chyasingdeval in Kathmandu is accompanied by Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā.

The Bālagopāla image is lying just neglected in the Dathu temple of Rāṇipokhari. The figure of child Kṛṣṇa of an age hardly able to walk is shown by the sculptor in a crawling pose. The child is walking on his knees, with his right hand slightly raised. The images chased on a black sand stone, which matches with the normal colour of the Lord. The childish face of the figure is much evident. The figure wears the necklace, wristbands and anklets. But there are no specific features of the image.

Some of the Viṣṇu images in the 17-18 centuries are related to incarnations. A smaller image of Viṣṇu standing on a lion supporting flat cot-like slab of stone is kept on a niche of a newly repaired wall in a section of the now delapidated fort of Kīrtipur. This is also a configured image with a common base of lotus slightly raising from the stone slab. The figure of Viṣṇu is exactly the version of the 17th century large image, in addition to other ornaments he also wears a long garland extending up to the knee, which was added to the general order of ornamentations in this age. But

this kind of garland came to be added to the Viṣṇu figure not until the end of the 17th century. This image has one especial feature. Here Lakṣmī is not a satellite but she appears as Viṣṇu's companion as Umā appears in Umā-Maheśvara image of the period. Garuḍa's location remains as in the Harigaon image, but now he is kneeling with folded hands, and wearing capelike wings and the sculptor has made him in the likeness of the Maruṭol image (see below).

We have separate images of Kṛṣṇa, Lakṣmī and Balarāma, each with its own base, and ground plan with rims and halo of flames. These are two handed figures, Kṛṣṇa with discus and conch, Balarāma with a rod and plough, and Lakṣmī just showing her palms in *abhayamudrā*. The modelling is rich, the artist has been able to show the chest, abdomen and waistline all in clear outline. Although they wear the long garland, the outline is not disturbed by the ornaments. The crown and its band are all of the old type so that the images share many features of the earlier images. The round fleshy arms have added to the beauty of the physical structure. Balarāma is protected by a 7 snake-head canopy, and he does not have a halo.

The Śiva-Pārvatī images are also popular but they have changed their character. The image is no longer the *Kailāśa* scene. In this period Śiva and Pārvatī are either standing or sitting together on a plain ground. In a sitting posture Pārvatī sits on the left lap of the Lord who puts his left hand on her left shoulder across the neck. We have 3 images of this type (1) in a temple at the summit of Kīrtipur, (2) in a dilapidated surrounding at the western extremity of the royal courtyard of Bhatgaon and (3) on the ruins of the old temple in Saugaltol, Patan. They have a similar piece of ground with rims emitting flames of simple scrolls. The figures are standing in the Bhatgaon and Kīrtipur temples while in Patan they are squatting. In the Bhatgaon stele the figures each have two hands. They seem to be also standing cross legged,

The pedestal is of lotus design supporting the bull and the lion, the former in his turn supports Śiva and the latter supports Pārvatī. The figures have all other ornaments of the age, but not a crown and also no halo, instead they wear uncombed hairs or Jaṭā with a diadem. In the Kīrtipur piece of stone the figures are definitely superior from artistic point of view. The Bhaktapur images are stolid, the ornaments arrest the outline and the face in each is haggard, probably poor craftsmanship had to do with it. In contrast, the figures of the Kīrtipur temple look better. The lotus scroll in all ramification supporting the base in design is excellently executed, and such is the way the central part is shown going up to form a whole lotus base on which the figures of 4 handed Śiva and 2 handed Pārvatī stand that one is impressed with the superior skill of the sculptor. The carriers, the bull and the lion, set against the rim which itself is so beautifully designed with bifurcated flames that they draw our immediate attention the apparel is so finely set that they do not arrest the movement of lines. There are so many folds across the thighs so intricately ordered to rise parallel to the coil of the garland at the region. The diaphanous skirt in the figure of Pārvatī and a similar *dhoti* in the person of Śiva are so wonderfully fitted. The way the artist has made a scroll of the end piece flowing at the rim on each side is admirable. The crown is set on a beautifully chiselled head where every structural part is so symmetrically composed.

We do not know the age of the Kīrtipur image, but the Bhaktapur stele according to an inscription is made in NS 787 (=1667 A.D.). Possibly the former is older, and so might be the Śiva-Pārvatī image of Patan. The latter in all estimate ranks as a fine piece of art of our period. It maintains the 2 tier pedestal of the earlier Śiva family image. The lower pedestal is the base of the whole stele, it is double lotus row as the design, while the upper one is smaller in size to contain half of each of the persons of Pārvatī and Śiva. The additional figures of the carriers, the bull and the lion touched

the upper tier each at the margin. The position of Nandi might be compared with that of his counterpart in the Kobahāl stele. Śiva is seated on *lalitāsana* pose, and he places his right leg on the right hind back of the *vāhana*, while Pārvatī sitting on his lap to the left puts her left leg straight on the back of the lion. Pārvatī presses herself against the right front so that this is invisible while only the trident rises behind her head. Both Śiva and Pārvatī are heavily ornamented, all those seen in the images of the earlier period are there; the figures wear a long garland also but Śiva has it one of human skulls, the snake coils round his neck to form a short garland in addition, the end of the drapery flows to the brim forming a swan's shape, and the *dhoti* travels up to the knee; Pārvatī has a skirt of the same length, but it is not diaphanous, last of all the crown with beaks and crest as well as richly engraved tying band is also elaborate in both. Physically, the rounded shoulder, arms and legs are maintained but the modelling in the chest and abdomen is not skilfully done, but the breast and waist do appear distinct. The facial expression is one of harmony; the incised line of eye brows, closed thick lids, prominent nose, small mouth and fleshy cheeks,—all tend to add to the beauty and grace of the totality of countenance.

There is one more Śiva-Pārvatī image in Patan. This is enshrined in a small temple of Ikhalkhu quarter of Patan. The central figures have their satellites, so it might resemble closely the *Śivapārivāra* image of the 14th century. But in the present stele Śiva-Pārvatī are just as they appear in the Nhugatol image.

The ten handed image of Nṛṭyanātha¹² set against the background of a foliage appearing as rims in two lines is a masterpiece of stone work. The Lord is performing his dance under a grove. The enclosure seems to have been made by two plants rising on two sides from a common stone base. It is a

12 In the possession of the Darbar Library.

dancing image. The Lord stands in *tribhaṅga* pose with one leg put on the bull and another held by the right upper hand in squatting posture to touch the left knee. There are 3 other accompanying images of smaller size, who are all divine because of the halo and crown. There is only one figure on the right set against the base of the spout or creeper. Probably this is Bhairava and he is dancing to the tune playing a double drum. Two more figures on the left one playing a double drum by his hands also are in the act of dancing. The Lord's right upper hand is raised, and so is his trident and the normal hand is set in *abhayamudrā* holding a rosary. He is wearing a *dhoti* in the fashion of a skirt, but as his right leg is raised, the fleshy right leg up to the foot is visible, while the end keeps the left leg covered. Everything is inseparably linked to the dance. He wears a crown with a star at the centre and flat rectangular earring in 2 tiers appearing like a bunch. The headed necklace is of 2 rounds, and each wrist has a bangle. It is an image full of motion and vivacity. The Lord is engaged in cosmic dance, and experiencing profound joy. There is an atmosphere of fearlessness all around. The weapons are rested, but the whole attitude is so vibrant of emotion that it cannot but be victorious joy attained to cosmic dance, the Lord on defeating and quelling the evils is to experience the joy and express it through his dance.

The Śiva *ardhanārīśvara* image like Mādhava of Rāṇipokhārī brings out the many aspects of iconography of the earlier period. The rounded arms (however not the shoulder) the broad chest with one side showing plumb breast, face beautifully chased to look male on one side and female on the other left, prominent nose, closed eyes, ridgelike brows, the crown showing special design at the centre and eartubs, the left one of the shape of a full blown flower, the simple ornaments in the arms and chest—everything adds to the majesty of the figure. The outline of the figure is clear. The background of the stone is plain, and so is the halo. The

rim is one of flames. The image is a configuration of 3 figures who occupy the lotus bases which appear to be stemming from one plant, the stalks of which are spread with leaves all over the surface on the pedestal. In spite of these qualities of the figure it, however, lacks motion as the stiff legs would show it.

Stylistically the image would belong to the earlier period, but otherwise it is of the 17th century A. D. Lack of date prevents us from determining its actual age.

There are several Lokeśvara images of the 17th century and three such images in Syengu area are dated, one of which was executed in the likeness of the Sigha image in NS 796. This image is characterised by the following features: plain background, 2 satellite female deities, a simple rectangular pedestal without lotus or any kind of design so supporting the lotus visible on the right, but on the left it rises from behind the satellite's stone rim through the base and straight to the elbow and across it and upwards, columnal round limbs and columnal torso, the bending at the elbow and knees is superficial and does not tend to give motion to the body, the figure is elongated but not attenuated and with all its roundness the body is rather swelled up and sturdy little sloping from the chest to the waist line unlike as we find in the earlier image, which again is an indication of stiffness. The drapery and ornaments are quite similar except that the armlets are worn near the joints and wristlets are like 2 or 3 strings joining together rather than a band or a chord. The face has a resemblance to that of the Siga Lokeśvara, but the smile, cheer and expression are not clearly reflected. The crown on the simple niche bears a figure of Amitābha, but it is not also an ornamented headgear, the artistic look is absent not the hand below the crown is so prominently displayed; as for the different structure parts of the face the outline is not well defined and hence all the difference between the two. Most of all it is the difference in the frame of the eyes which

has considerably affected the general appearance of the later day figure. In the image of 796 the eyebrow is not thick and is not raised, because of the thin lid when the eyes lowered appear half closed the small eye may indicate an aspect of Mongol influence but it is not as bow shaped and with this the figure loses its usual repose and calm. The earrings are of the usual type worn by Bodhisatva images but a significant omission is that of sacred thread which is either imperceptible being lost in the apparel or the artist had failed to introduce. One more contrasting feature is the flower at the top with its petal fully turned aside; it is not the blooming lotus just opened, which appears in the previous images.

Another image of Lokeśvara in the same area is executed on the same pattern though it is not as elongated and swelled up in body as the one we have described, comparatively there is less stiffness in the body standing on the lotus pedestal, slight reclination on the left hip, the figure has rounded shoulders and arms, the fleshy legs as well as the chest to waist structure are all sloping—there is definitely a quality of tension as found in earlier images. We have no inscribed date on this image. But placing of ornaments and drapery in the way it is done must push the date forward to the early 17th century. This image of Lokeśvara is lying in the compound of Syengu. The figure of Jaṭadhārilokeśvara with the braid of hair mounting on the head can also be compared favourably with Padmapaṇī of 796. It is elongated and this without sloping structural parts, ornaments and drapery have the same arrangements. The hands stretch close to the knee, the palm of the right hand is kept open in *abhayamudrā*, while the other is turned palm down, but both hold the slender stalks of a creeper, which throw up and flowering cops the creepers go up along the slope of the hand. The flowers are printed. Of all the features the face shows beauty; well chased and perfectly symmetrical, and closed eyes, upper lid thin but enough to give the closure a sense of meditation, and small mouth and chin.

Images of Buddha Śākyamuni, the five celestial Buddhas, Bodhisatva Maitreya and Mañjuśrī are also important. In many *vihāras* one or the other image is enshrined, some with dates. One of the colossal sitting image on the eastern foot of the Svayambhu hill is that of Akṣobhya set up in NS 757. The images of the Buddhist Trinity in Lhoñdega of Kīrtipur belong to the late 17th century. We have also a panel sculptured on a stone showing a scene of Buddha attaining his arhathood after he had conquered the Māra and his hordes. The writing on the pedestal shows the dated figure 781. Buddha is seated on *vajrāsana* with his right hand touching the earth. All around him are figures of Māra's attendants. There is a vacant space on the right corner of the central image. The figure of Śākyamuni is sculptured on the same pattern as the Lokeśvara Padmapāṇi, but in the likeness of mendicant without being given ornaments etc. His countenance is calm in spite of general shortcoming of the image. The hair is done in the old style, and the drapery of a *dhoti*, covering the lower part up to the knee, and half thrown over the left shoulder makes the squatting figure look like the Buddha image of the earlier period.

The Vairochana *Maṇḍala* erected in NS 781 has 3 tiers, the lowest of which is the base which has 9 inscribed lines. The first is the *Maṇḍala* itself with Vairochana at the centre flanked by a figure of Tārā on each side who is again accompanied by Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara on the right and Sarasvatī on the left. The whole space is the *torāṇa* of the stele which has flamed rims. The middle part of the stone has a 6 handed image of a female deity at the centre seated on a *lalitāsana* pose accompanied by 4 other deities one at each corner.

Large and small images of other Buddhist deities are also available. But we might not deal with them for the reason that a common art form had dominated all these icons. We have the trinity image of the 17th century, which is however artistically designed.

We may also introduce the large Akṣobhya image of the Syengu in Vajrāsana pose, and with *bhūmisparsamudrā* but with the palm exposed. The drapery covers the entire lower body up to ankles and the abdomen and left part of the chest and shoulder. The six incised lines each after an interspace of half inch or so show the pattern of the mendicant's dress. The first division across the chest is a finely engraved tape falling also as the last on the ankle part. The modelling of the face, hands and chest is very poor; everything looks so stiff, and the sloping to the abdominal zone is done without giving it the appearance of plastic movement, in short the torso is rigid and lacks movement.

The idea of thick eye brows and upper lids for the half closed is not translated, similarly the small mouth spacious cheek regions shows void, and lifelessness. In its totality the image lacks the vigour of the old arts, and the image retains its massiveness in size without the grandeur and majesty of art. The Buddha wears his mendicant's coiffure as well as *uṣṇiṣa* over it. Such colossal Buddha images were not produced prior to the 17th century, while we have two more of the 18th century.

The Mukhaliṅgas of the two temples, one in Bhatgaon palace courtyard and another in Kathmandu are important for us, because we know for certain that these were set up in 16-17 centuries. The *mukhas* or the faces with the two hands are made on the model of the Paśupatinātha *liṅga* of Deopatan. The four heads except the southern one are crowned elaborately and the ornaments in the ears and necklace of three strings are worn in the traditional manner. Here also we come across a very beautiful face of the Lord, large forehead, prominent nose, small mouth, closed eyes, thick upper lid incised thick line of brows, the *mūdrās* of the hands are *abhaya* and *vyākhyāna*. The head on the southern side has mitre instead of crown. Generally this is regarded as Bodhisatva like hair arrangement.

Sarasvatī in *lalitāsana* playing a string instrument *linā* has a beautiful face, it is the tune with the style of her apparel, pose and the attitude of a musician playing an instrument. Mahiṣāsoramardinī in defferent poses—all eight Mātṛkā deities in the temples of Kumārichok of Bhatgaon are shown in the act of killing the demon. The early 17th century Garuḍabāhini Goddess in a temple in Harigaon and the Durgā images set up by Jitāmitramalla in Bhatgaon palace's Kumārichok also deserve mention. Along with these are the Ugrachaṇḍā image of Bhūpatindra set up in 826 on the palace gate. Lastly, the Lakṣmī-Pārvatī figure of the Dathu Temple of Rāṇipokhārī is also sufficiently attractive.

In all these the multitude of heads and hands renders the figure stodgy, yet looking at the images we cannot but be impressed by their beautiful faces and their pose whether in the act of dancing or killing a demon which gives motion to the body. What we have to remember here while we examine such images is the fact that the artist has to conform in that relation wholly to traditional concepts of the form and execute the same on the ground in accordance with the canon of art. So forms apart, these images have to be viewed from the artistic point of view. We have several images of Durgā with a single head but with 8 or 10 or 12 or 16 or even more hands, and in the same attitude is expressed, whatever the number of faces or hands, each has a finely worked out modelling.

Of course, not all images are alike not all are equally graceful. In particular we have to note that even the best of them could not be as favourably compared with similar images of the earlier period. In spite of charming countenance and spiritual attitude the lower parts of the image are being heavily ornamented as well as draped, which rendered the legs to lack movement whatever the pose of the figure. Again, even when drapery did not intervene the space in the abdomen where it was so designed, the modelling betrayed

imperfection. But leaving aside these, some of the images have retained their beauty and majesty. Regarding the character of the images we notice that there are two groups, one of which shows figures of the Goddess in the act of killing the buffalo demon. The other is a simple image. There are diverse ways of representing the scene of killing the demon. Usually the image has the standing Goddess killing the demon on the right side. She strikes him with her right hand or hands, and treads on him by her left foot. The demon fights against her in this background. And he with raised head, and about to pull the sword from the sheath looks undaunted. The Goddess places the right foot on the lower back of her carrier lion who is about to spring upon the demon confronting face to face. The demon being the king of the nether world wears a diadem found generally on Bhairava's head. In some the demon appears in a human body with a buffalo head. In others he has buffalo's body and a human head. In the latter scene a buffalo head is placed on the dias close to the waist of the demon figure which appears in the image as a concave dark space. Under a circular canopy, a part of which protects her head within a wider span of a *torana* the eight handed Goddess puts her left foot (bent at the knee) on the forehead of the buffalo catching also his tail by the left normal hand. There are small figures of standing two handed Gaṇeśa, and another deity as well as the lion, the last just visible through his head, all on the right side of her astride right leg treading on the pedestal. Because of the *ālidha* pose both legs are quite apart in this posture. In a plain ground the figure of the Goddess has a circular halo, she wears a crown flat circular earrings, besides a necklace, a large garland which extends up to the thighs. The face is extremely beautiful, modelling of the structure parts being excellently done and further below the rising breasts the waist and the abdomen are in fine order. The skirt worn up to the ankle is stretched wide between the separated legs and small folds. The pedestal

shows small sitted images of devotees who were responsible for the sculpture. The image on examination can be attributed to the early 17th century. One of the images in the famous temple of Kīrtipur is designed exactly the same way. Here also the buffalo is being pierced by the Devī's trident.

In the Paśupati area there is an image of Maḥiṣamardini enshrined in a niche of a wall before the western gate. Here the youthful and charming Daṣabhujā (10 handed) Devī catches hold of the demon's hair pressed against her right leg, he is kneeling down, and the trident from another hand of the Devī is piercing his back. One leg of the Goddess is treading on the demon's back, and this is not visible, while with the left leg on the foot she has totally vanquished the demon who is supported by two other human figures with a sword in hand. The Goddess is without a skirt. The image is another beautiful sculpture depicting the scene of the killing of demon. Produced in the late 17th century is the five headed 18 handed image in the Kumārichok of Bhatgaon and this was set up by king Jitāmitramalla in NS 802. In NS 826 king Bhūpatīndramalla set up on the steps of his palace gate a large size image of the Goddess (Vajrāsānā). Both these images are similarly designed. The stele in the Kumārichok one of several has the centre and oval space with flamy rims, where the four headed crown and heavily ornamented deity appears deriving a peculiar joy in her feat as she drives girdling swords from two sides into two demoniac figures. The Goddess is in the usual pose and she is also directing her trident against the chest of Maḥiṣāsura in human face and himself drawing his sword from the sheath, and again the lion confronting him separated by a buffalo head. The demon wears a diadem and all other ornaments as well as a long skirt. The Devī looks beautiful with her crown and earrings, 6 string wristlets and eyes closed, the face with prominent nose, brows and lids well incised to proportionate thickness.

The face of Ugrachandā is more beautiful. The image is modelled richly, the crown with the crest and well designed ear flag and rings for the lobes add to the charm. She wears a waist belt and loin cloth richly engraved to the knee. In addition to all these, she wears a long garland of human skulls. The pedestal of double lotus design turned to opposite directions top-bottom is reminiscent of its earlier counterpart. A beautiful image with a 16 handed figure of the Goddess in the act of killing a demon lies in a temple in the interior of the city of Bhatgaon. The image was set up by king Raṇajītamalla in NS 852. The image is so excellently designed that it reflects the high craftsmanship which Nepal could boast of at even so late a time in the 18th century. The crowned Goddess with the usual earrings, necklace and chain and waist belt from which flows her skirt is in the common pose while she appears in the act of killing. The stele with a summit and circular rim of flames is designed in two stages above a very simple base. The Goddess in her youth full of charms, is directing her gaze downwards to the scene below: By her normal hands she is throwing the noose round the neck of the two demons on each side, who are sitting with one leg kneeling another raised but bent at the knee to fall to the ground; one of her hands is used to thrust a pointed *barchhi* into the chest of the demon king who is holding his sword about to un-sheath, the lion on whose back the deity rest her right leg confronts him, the left is his animal's torso, hind legs and tail; it appears that the artist wants to show the central figure of the demon with his upper body to be emerging out of the buffalo's other half but the joining looks odd, the head of the buffalo below him follows the old pattern. We have two more images of this class. Treading on Garuḍa and Nandi the six headed deity in Rāṇipokhārī also wearing a long garland and in a dancing pose is remarkably beautiful. We might compare this image of deity with similar description enshrined in a temple in Harigaon, who however rides

Garuḍa with his cape, and sitting legs raised up. These and other one headed images of the contemporary age do not present the Maḥiṣāsura-vadha scene. The details however, might not be important.

Before we take up the Sarasvatī image of the time under review let us see how Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī looked like in the 14th century.

Belonging to the 14th century is the Lakṣmī image of Banepā sculptured on a polished stone. The flame and dot rims are similar to the images of the age. The pedestal is two-tier lotus. The image fills the space between the rims as in such arrangement. The three peaked crown tied to the beaded diadem and small chain is not as elaborate, but they look quite akin to those worn by other Lakṣmī images of the time. The two-band star dominated armlet, three-band wristlet and the four-band *mekhalā* or belt—all beaded are in line with such ornaments in Lakṣmī images of the type. Above all the skirt flowing from the abdomen to the ankles, and a piece of it thrown over the left shoulder through left abdominal part is full of print marks within a rectangular space. The pattern adopted show from top to bottom 4 petal fan-like design and scalloped square alternately. The *mekhalā* appears below the navel thus exposing that part. But the breasts full look like being planted. Lakṣmī holds a lotus stalk by her left hand, which coils up the arm in a serpentine way touching the rim where the open flower is visible. Lakṣmī's image is without a halo.

The image of Sarasvatī situated in a temple at Harigaon (Kathmandu) must also belong to the same period. Within a delicately worked 3 unit rim (of which the last is broader and in line with the designs of other steles) the crowned image with four hands, two lower hands placed on lotus bloom, and standing on a round 2-tier lotus base, is a masterpiece of art. The crown has in addition two more peaks sideways but not as high. The crown rests on a special place

jutting down from the enclosure. The ornaments though elaborate do not look heavy.

Particulars are: a beaded chain around the neck, another thin lace long enough to stem into two lines between the breasts which are ball-like, the plain belt. One characteristic of the image is that the space below the waist-line is all filled. This is due to the lotus stalk which has grown thick and scroll like.

Four handed Sarasvatī of the 14th century is also seen in a small temple in Sasukhel, Patan. She is standing like the image in Harigaon. Unlike the latter her image is elongated and thin. She also wears heavier ornaments more in the lower body.

In the 16-17 centuries we do not notice standing images of Sarasvatī.

The image of Sarasvatī in *Lalitāsana* pose is found all over the Valley in the 17th century. One such image in its best is lying in a shrine in a locality in Kathmandu called Gairidhārā. The pedestal is two tiered, the upper of lotus at two levels and the lower plain, the latter shows one image of dancing Gaṇeśa on the surface. A small lotus base similarly designed rises from the left right corner of the second level to accommodate the right foot of the deity who has lowered her lower leg. It does not seem how, but in the figure the ornaments are removed from the joints. The anklet is also touching the ankle and is confined to the immediate space around. The round sloping shoulders and hands are richly modelled. The fingers playing on *vīṇā* are wonderfully arranged and a delicacy is evident. The face is wonderful with closed eyes, and graceful expression in the mood of the players for complete absorption is amply reflected.

Gaṇeśa images are available since the early 15th century. We have an image of NS 573 in Banepā. The elephant headed God is squatting with the feet crossing at the ankles, fingers extending a little down on the base, the base of two

tiers, the lower with lotus design and the upper with the snake coil.

The ground is plain with, of course, the flamed rims and a small canopy of snakes at the top under which the three peaked crown rests on the elephant head, the band tying the crown is horizontal and rounded and the deity wears it a very minute part of the head appears uncovered below it. His eyes are open. Thin incised lines drawn in a circular fashion meet at the root of the trunk, these are eye brows but because of a lack of depression at the point the ankle is missing; the surface between the eye and the eye is the lid, no thickness is visible; teeth are in sight on both sides of the trunk which shoots down taking a slant to the left and coiling to rest, mouth upwards, on the left hand which holds a ball (*Laddoo* or *modaka*). It is a six handed image wearing a small beaded necklace and a garland of snakes, the large belly a little fallen to rest on the thigh, ears flappy and large with crescent-sun design of an ornament above. Gaṇeśa has also on his lower legs below the knee a kind of covering for a certain position, and this is done in symmetry, the normal right hand holds a radish, and other hands the usual emblems.

In Patan close to the temple of Kumbheśvara another image of Gaṇeśa of exactly the same type appears in a small shrine. In this image there is a canopy of seven snakes and Gaṇeśa has 12 hands. Although no date is available on the pedestal, the resemblance with the Nālā Gaṇeśa might prove to be both contemporary images. The carrier mouse is missing in both the images.

In the 17th century the image of Gaṇeśa is accompanied by his Śakti who stands by his left. He has 16 hands; he is also protected by a canopy of eight hoods of snakes. In this image the pattern of representation is different. This is a standing image. Gaṇeśa has his two handed Śakti pressed against his left chest, and she is standing cross legged on the lotus base which rises above the level of the lion throne.

Gaṇeśa himself in a majestic pose, legs wide apart, treads on the back of his carrier mouse on each side. He wears a sacred thread of a snake, a long garland and *dhoti* for lower part of the body, the fold of which is lowered of the space between the thighs and a crown like the one worn by the Viṣṇu image of Chāngu. The stele with the exception of a narrow rim of flames is totally occupied by one image. The Śakti in her graceful swing of body looks like one of the Lakṣmī figures of Naksāl. Gaṇeśa is holding his *Laddoo* in a normal left hand which appears from behind the figure of the Śakti on her abdomen, and this is removed from the deity's trunk which descends with a slant to her right arm with the nostril coiled up.

Mahākāla and Bhairava images of the 16th and 17th centuries are available in a large number. The Kālabhairava image of the palace square in Kathmandu is a colossal figure standing. It must be about 10-12 feet in height and covers a very wide space on stone. Eight handed and with a little protruding belly he wears a diadem apparently seeming to be fixed on two sides at the shoulder and then a long garland of human skulls, and garland of snakes of medium length, and one band thick wristlets and armlets of the snakes coil as well as thin anklets showing oval lines in the two feet treading upon the *Vetāla* lying prostrate on his back. Holding Śaivite emblems along with the discus and three human heads (left middle hand), Kālabhairava has a fearful countenance set on a tremendously stout body. What is more, he has earrings and bangles of snakes.

We have more images of Bhairava. Some of them just busts on wood. Many images on stone are undated. But we have an image in a temple in Patan of 878, which shows some new features. This is one of the two images erected, on the steps of the Umā-Maheśvara temple to the south-west of the Mangalbazāra. This image shows dancing Bhairava playing a triple drum called *paintākhīm* with his two hands, the right

normal about to strike the central one, while the left is striking the left side. It is a four handed image whose two other hands, the right upper and the left upper, hold a double drum and trident respectively. The whole figure and the two-line rims with a flower design with the lotus pedestal are sculptured on one stone. His figure except the belly part of it now covered by the drum is also similar. But no snake appears in the chest or ear and there is a part of a beaded chain appearing in the former and a flat circular ornament for the ears leaning against the halo of similar design as the background. The head of the Bhairava shows a wig, the curls of which seem flowing; the diadem or *mukuṭa* is worn to above the forehead; its sides are affixed to the ears which have flat round coin-like rings. This Bhairava appears with all ornaments, a long garland of human heads, anklets, etc, in the same way as the black Bhairava, round shoulders, round and sloping arms, but not so well chased face but even otherwise with eyes small and puffed up cheeks it is not a fine shape; however it reflects the leisure mood of an artist even to a little extent. Unlike this image, the one in the museum presents a beautiful face. Here he is about to strike the central drum of the *pañtākhīm* with his left hand while the right hand is also not yet on the drum. The fingers are arranged in an artistic manner; this adds to the refinement and grace of the image. Similarly the pose of fingers of the dancing legs, one erect on heels, and another on fingers is also different. The pedestal which is about 2 inches in height is all lotus design with a dotted margin. The rim of the stele is of bifurcated flames, while that of the halo is of single flames.

Mahākāla images are found generally with two or four hands. The Vajrakāla images are popular. We have a small image in a niche of a *Chaitya* in Khvā-Bahi, Patan, set up in NS 640. Another image of also small size has the date NS 781. The latter is lying in the courtyard of the Syengu *Chaitya*. These are 2 handed, one hand (left) holds

a skull cup and another (right) holds *vajra* placed on it. The stick is held on the left placed against the chest with the help of the arm bent at the elbow. The ornaments at the arm, wrist, ankle, waist and neck are snake bands showing both the head and tail, but those of the image of 781 has also a chain necklace besides these. Both images were the garland of human skulls right up to the knee. But a *Paujeb*, a kind of string round the foot up to the fingers, appears in the latter image, and not in that of 640. A fold in the usual fashion of a string carrying a ringing bell-like object appear between the thighs. In the former this is a thin fold which is seen from the convivial part below the bulging belly. The fatty thighs are without a drapery and they almost touch; but in the latter they are kept separate and there is also worn a wide loin cloth covering the entire space so that the strings with bells appear below near the ankles. The image of Khvā Bahā is very neatly executed on a lime stone within a simple enclosure, and on a small lotus base over a plain design of a pedestal. The crown it wears is of the old type but with a wide tying band seen from the 3 sides but accompanied by pendants using for ear ornaments. The Syengu image has a crown with a band but somewhat dissimilar. More than that it rests its toe and fingers on the *Vetāla* sculptured on the stone in the likeness of the figure in the Kālabhairava image. The *Vetāla* raised his knees slightly up unlike the figure in Kālabhairava. Likewise, a new feature is that of 2 Tārā figures appearing on each side of the *Vetāla*. Four handed Gaṇeśa on the right and two handed Bhairava on the left are seated above the figure of Tārā. Further, while, the Khvā-Bahā figure has his small mouth, which is closed, and he assumes the look of a Bodhisatva, the other Mahākāla has his moustache and mouth open to show canine teeth but smile as well. Unlike the Bhairava figures, these are short legged the whole of the lower body is dwarfed and as a result the artistic symmetry is marred, although iconometrically this was not an unusual trait in such icons. The Mahākāla

images seem to rise in proportion out of low altitude of the lower limbs.

The Kṛṣṇa Mandir and Bhandārkhāl panels: Low relief panels on the frieze of the two storeys of *Kṛṣṇa mandir* in Patan depicting scenes of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* are wonderfully preserved. The *Rāmāyaṇa* panel starts from the scene of the birth of Rāma. This is followed by the scene where Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa accompany the sage Viśvāmitra to the forest which is depicted by scenes of trees, huts, and deer. More vivid scenes follow such as Mantharā talking to Kaikeyī and then Daśaratha dying when Rāma takes leave of him. Poignant scenes of Dandakāraṇya are the next in succession. We may not cite more of them. In the scenes of *Mahābhārata* the prominence is given to Kṛṣṇa, and the five Pāṇḍavas. The panels depict all important stages to a final situation, the fighting scene in the *Mahābhārata* panel presents warriors on foot and chariot. The character and particular incidence are noted in writing. The individuals may be recognised by their costume as it happens in the painted illustrations. The Bhandārkhāl cloakroom of Patan has also richly sculptured images and relief panels. The standing Viśvarūpa and Lakṣmī are wonderfully cut on stone. The panels show a rural scene where cows are grazing with their calves and are being milked. There is also a scene where pipers are playing their instruments, and antelopes are being chased by a bear. There is a sage seated under a tree with his disciples giving a discourse to the king seated on a high pedestal accompanied by the standing figures of his retinue.

Here we come to the end of our discourse on iconography on stone. I do not think it is essential for us to add more images for the purpose, the reader will by now have sufficient information about the stone art of the late middle ages.

We are now closing our writing on iconography on stones, and lastly we might refer to a few more other images of 17 century such as, e. g. Nṛsiṃha, Hanumāna, Bhairava and

Mahākāla. We have two images of Nṛsimha, one in the Kathmandu palace enshrined by king Pratāpa in 793, and another in Bhatgaon by king Bhūpatīndramalla in 818.

There are four handed Hanumāna images, one each at the gate of the Royal Palace in the three cities. Let us give a brief description of the images in Bhatgaon. Both Nṛsimha and Hanumāna images occupy lotus pedestals, they are sculptured on a plain ground with the rims of flames. The ornaments are those worn by deities of the contemporary period. The demon Hiraṇya Kasipu is also ornamented like the Lord he also wears royal ornaments including crested anklets. Nṛsimha wears wide plate-like bangles in his two hands. Nṛsimha lets out parts of entrails, while he pierces by his finger-nails the demon's abdomen. Hanumāna has no such feat but he is more richly decorated, his waist line is full of ornaments, and so are his knees and lower legs. The head dress is just a diadem but extending on sides up to the neck. They are circular discs planted at regular intervals. The band tying the diadem is beaded.

Engraving on stone: By engraving we mean not the work of a chisel but one of yet smaller cutter used solely to carve on the smooth surface. We have particularly in view images and designs on the stone, which appear either at the top of the stele with inscriptions or as it is in the case of the Kṛṣṇa *mandir* and other stone building over the fake doorways. The top of the stele or doorframe is mostly arcaded and the space of engraved designs or symbols lies between the double or single ornamental piece. Animals or flowers or emblems alternate or supplement, for example, there are flowery designs on the two Bhatgaon steles of Yakṣamalla. And Garuḍa image with the beak and capewings on the stele of Nārāyaṇa in Harigaon (NS 635). We intend at this stage to take into consideration only a few engraved figures. These are variously, the lions on the Rāṇīpokhārī stele of Pratāpamalla (NS 790) and finally the Narasiṃhapur stele of Rājya-

prakāśamalla (d. NS 871), which shows the incarnate of Viṣṇu, embracing Lakṣmī by his left hand.

By the engraving on stone like the metallic engraving on coins the artist intended to present his object through just fine contours, and as we find in the Pharping stele of Rājya-prakāśa the achievement was no small considering the quality of the image produced. Within the flame rimmed enclosure the lion headed Lord, four handed, holding the classical emblems and wearing a diadem reigns supreme and seated on the left lap is Lakṣmī, two handed wearing bangles, and circular flower-like earrings. She wears a diadem on the head, and the upper portion of the skirt is thrown over the left shoulder through the breast while the lower body is all covered but thinly. The formation of fingers—the *mudrās*, is Lakṣmī's usual one, Viṣṇu himself has an imposing appearance, quaint but ferocious, wears a long garland reaching the feet. Outside the enclosure are seated two images; one on the left in royal dress, resting against a pillow, and another on the right, which is Garuḍa in the usual pose, with cape-like wings and a round cap. Both Garuḍa and the royal personage are looking towards the deity with folded hands. The whole engraving looks like a sketch without colours but very much vivid.

The objects engraved on stones as well as the many flowery and geometrical pattern are some intricate and some simple, but all appear in the nature of finally drawn lines in a sketch. All these are rich and variegated, and stand as a distinct expression of a craftsmanship allied to sculpture but yet retaining its individuality in which our artists had attained a high degree of proficiency.

We might briefly describe a few more examples of engraved stones. The picturesque design on the stele of the Nārāyaṇa temple built by Viṣṇusimha in the Darbar square, Patan, has the central figure of Garuḍa with a cape-like wing and folded hands seated on *vimāna* over a flowery surface; other particulars are, the Sun and crescent, each group at the

top, a large *chakra*, and sword with wreath to the left and to the right two figures; of other weapons one is wreathed and another just arcaded by a simple line. An elaborate design on the stele of Purandarasiṃha with Sarasvatī *chakra* flanked by a conch and dagger each surrounded by wreath on the right and left respectively, and below on sides the Sun rising over a crescent (d. NS 710) is sufficiently attractive. A sword flanked by wreaths on the Taleju stele of Pratāpamalla, (NS 761) should be treated as a simple device adopted in contrast to the flamboyant ones of other steles. One stele of Pratāpamalla shows a sacred vessel flanked by two elephants dropping water over it by their trunks. The whole device is simple yet its elegance is so evident.

Stone Pillars: Stone work in Nepal has closely followed developments in India. The Lichhavis popularised the conception of an all prevalent deity, Śiva or Viṣṇu, who in abstract stood for anything, great and large, and was reduced in concrete to a beautifully shaped massive monolith or image. Such was the pillar of Chāngu Nārāyaṇa. The uppermost portion with the Garuḍa originally shaped has now given place to a disc and lotus. The lower portion consisting of the shaft and the summit, is, however, unchanged which gives us an idea of the simplicity and elegance of the ancient sculpture. The lower part of the shaft is square but the upper one is octagonal while the summit is round. We have also the conventional lotus on a pillar at Harigaon and it appears that the stone pillars of the later period could retain the same elegant and dignified expression because of a common art influence working in Nepal through the ages.

The following stone pillar works should be particularly noticed (1) the Garuḍa pillar set up by Siddhinarasiṃha in front of the temple of Lord Kṛṣṇa in NS 757, (2) the Taleju and Degutale pillars of Pratāpamalla dated NS 784 and 790 respectively, (3) Pārthivendramalla's Taleju pillar of NS 802, (4) King Yoganarendramalla's pillar in the Darbar square, Patan and (5) King Bhūpatīndramalla's pillar in Bhatgaon

Palace square. The no. 1 pillar above supports a gilt copper image of Garuḍa with a human face. All others support statuary images of the royal personages.

The statues of kings and commoners have received much attention. Superimposed on the lotus capital of the pillars the statuary images might be seated on a throne or without it. Describing the Darbar square pillar of Bhatgaon, Percy Brown says: 'No fanciful figure this, but a dignified portrait, sufficiently conventional to suit its purpose, a model of sculpturesque statuary. Kneeling in an easy and natural attitude and with clasped hands, from the height of his monumental pillar this ruler looks down serenely on the city that he governed. The well proportioned stone pillar, some 40 ft. in height with its simple square shaft, stands firmly on a solid stone base above the flagged pavement. The shaft expands into a capital, necessarily large to accommodate the figure. There is a wealth of symbolism in this superstructure, and also much historical interest, as the same element, such as the distinctive form of lotus petals, and the shape of the capital generally.....It represents, in the treatment of the lotus, the qualities of purity and divine birth, while the serpent below is the emblem of eternity. Then comes the lion throne, with one of the royal beasts supporting each other, and between them imitated in the metal, falls an imperial carpet. Before the figure of the king lies his sword, and protecting him is the golden umbrella with its finial.'

Sylvain Levi suggests that the architecture of pillar in our age follows the tradition begun since the early Lichhavi period. The four faced shaft lotus capital representing a fully blown lotus, and the kneeling figure on it with folded hands, as well as 'the elegance of proportions and the dignity of expression' are common to the pillars in general and again to quote Levi 'often in more recent times, the pillar erected in front of a temple bears an image in gilt copper of the royal founder, kneeling and praying, with his face turned towards the temple.'

I think that all the pillars we have noticed here were built of the same style and bear similar standard of workmanship. These 40 to 50 feet high stone pillars are of the same thickness, and show similar designs up to the capital. The stone seems to be of a common type and brought from the same place. The shaft is square in form, and this is a common feature of all the pillars. Their length varies from 40 feet to 50 feet their thickness is about the same, about 96-104 inches. But the entablature varies in shape from one pillar to another. The portion approaching the capital is in some pillars simple in appearance but in others there are elaborately worked out designs. In Pratāpa's Degutale pillar the elaborate work is more visible. At the bottom there is a round jar with a bunch of leaves. The portion occupied by the jar is nearly 18". Above this is a rectangle of a span of 6" but there are more of a smaller span. Then comes a space of about the same span which shows suspended ball-like emblems. Again there is a larger rectangle, the ball space, and a foot of space for the rounded part of the stone. The last is just beneath, the round band with a margin raised to 1", over which is placed the capital, but this is like a pan overturned and the surface of the brim shows heads of lions in symmetrical arrangement all around. The capital itself may be lotus-like as in the case of Bhūpatīndramalla's palace and Pārthivendramalla's Taleju pillars. The Taleju pillar set up by Pratāpamalla in NS 784 shows a budding flower. Most of these capitals bear statuary groups of royal personages. The principal figure, the king is represented in a much larger size than others which are miniatures in comparison. In some cases wives, the queen and concubine (Yogendramalla's pillar) and in others these accompanied by the queen mothers more concubines and son or sons (Pārthivendramalla's Taleju pillar) only sons appear on the capital of Pratāpa's Taleju pillar. His queen and sons form the satellite images in the group superimposed on the capital of the Degutale pillar. The art aspect of the metal statues has been already described. We

therefore proceed to consider the 15-18th century art on stones.

Representation of animals in art form: Although in ancient period the artist works on stones and wood carving animals conforming to nature, his images of animals became conventional and stereotyped in the middle ages, and they ceased to have much to do with their natural form and shape. The difference is noticed by looking into the images of the bull and lion on the top of the steles of the Lichhavi period and comparing them with what appear to us in our period as guard animals in monasteries and temples. The lions and the elephants are the common animals whose images figure as guard in temple doors. There are also bulls and griffins as well as horses. The Śiva temple has invariably a bull as guard. But lions are commonly found as guard animals. In the Buddhist monasteries and temples of the female deities they are the only animal guards. The guard animals whatever they might be are in different postures, sitting or standing but mostly standing on the terrace of the platform. We have recounted other animals as we described the architectural setting of the temples. It appears that some animals like griffins as well as human figure representation were conceived more in mythological background. But there were others which were not mythological but existed in reality, although they differed in appearance from their real counterparts.

Elephants, lions, horses are the three animals we can describe. Elephants are placed on guard as door-keepers in the Viśvanātha temple of Siddhinarasimha (Patan), Nyatpola Devi temple of Bhūpatīndramalla (Bhatgaon) and in the Umā-Maheśvara temple of Kīrtipur. There is a famous elephant in Rāñīpokhārī carrying the effigies of Pratāpamalla and his sons. The elephants in the Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa temple of the Palace Square in Patan are sitting, but those in other temples are standing. All these are life-size images varying between 6 to 10 feet in general, the tallest being that of Rāñī-

pokhārī, which should be about 14-16 feet in height. The elephants of the temples of the Patan Viśveśvara and Kīrtipur Śiva-Pārvatī temples are treading dwarfed human figures with turbans on the head by their front paws. The right figure lies on back, while the left one is seen lying on the left side. The faces of both are visible. On the neck is the driver turbaned, and looking important. All the elephants wear ornaments including a necklace tied to a bell, and some appear chained. But the grandest elephant of all is the one carrying King Pratāpamalla. It impresses us by its massive built and displaying a variety of ornaments.

The image of Garuḍa in the Maru Square has a human face and wears a cape-like wing. This is in line with the Garuḍa sculpture seen in the images of Viṣṇu. The Maru image surpasses all in beauty, the face looks serene and absorbed with folded hands, the right leg kneeling and left raised but again bent at the knee to fall on the pedestal. The image is wearing a *coiffeur* arranged like a round turban with 3 bright stars on the *mukuṭa* and flower-like rings on the lobes of the ears, beaded two-tier necklace and the garland of a snake around the neck, simple band of 3 rounds on the arm and wristlets showing a crest the image of Garuḍa embodies the best in the art traditions of Nepal. It is like the earlier Viṣṇu and Lokeśvara images in form and shape. Admiring the two pieces of art the Rāñipokhārī elephant and the Maruṭol Garuḍa says Sylvain Levi: The animal caparisoned, adorned with little bells, carries three persons on its back, the king in front, and behind him two minor personages; also the very beautiful statue of Garuḍa on the great square of Kathmandu, one of the masterpieces of Nepalese art so harmonious is the setting of the lines, so happy are the proportions and dignified is the expression.

In our estimate of the elephant images we notice one thing more and this is the fact of their appearing closer to the elephant species as it exists in nature. Unlike other

representation all the elephant images have been sculptured in their natural shape and form.

The most important assortment of animals is seen in the Nyātpola temple of Bhatgaon, which we have already written in a different context—the elephants, lions and griffins. The Devī temple of the Palace Square in Bhatgaon has dogs, boars, horses, camels and rhinoceroses on the steps of the staircase. The images, however, look grotesque and lack vivacity and animation.

After elephants the lions come in the picture and in number they beat all. The lion images have deviated from their normal shape. Some lions are given wings, unlike others and they are just assuming normal leonine appearance. Ordinarily the picture shows the lion seated on the hind with the front legs erect. Mouth open they dimly suggest act of roaring, but their appearance is not animated. The lions without exception wear ornaments, a chain like or beaded necklace suspending a bell, and on head a finial-like object with raised top. The lion had become a consecrated deity.

Bulls appear in some of the Śiva temples in Bhatgaon. The animal is also placed on a pedestal in front of the main gate (western) of the temples of Paśupatinātha and the Patan Kumbheśvara. The former was set up in NS 795, and the latter, one of gilt copper in NS 852. The bulls in Jagatprakāśa's Bhavānī Śaṅkara temple in Bhatgaon Palace Square are standing, but those in the famous Paśupatinātha and Kumbheśvara temples are squatting with the head turned towards the door. The portrayal of the bull on these images conforms to their normal shape and form. The bull Nandi on whose back Lord Śiva rests in the *Parivāra* image (with the head visible) in the precursor of the later images.

Painting

A description of the art of painting as it had developed in the period, 10-14 centuries, has been given in pages 617-27 of the preceding volume.

All that we have said by way of appreciation of the art of painting of the earlier ages will equally apply to the works of the subsequent centuries. The style has remained the same with more or less the same technique holding ground, even if some aspects of the art had suffered in course of time.

In the early middle ages we had to deal mostly with the miniatures of hieratic importance, practically nothing of secular art had come to notice. The miniatures were all images of one deity or another, there were panels on wood cover, but these also represented scenes connected with the worship of the deity e. g. the two scenes in the wood cover of the ms. *Śivadharma*.

It so happens that the Śaivite deities were painted only on the wooden covers, while Buddhist deities found their place on the leaves as well as on the cover, the panels all on the latter. This practice was common for painters throughout the middle ages.

As for iconography it is evident that the art of painting adopted Tāntric influence much earlier than other forms of arts. In the many illustrations that we find in the texts of the period there are numerous painted figures of grotesque looking deities, which were chased on stone about a century or two later.

In considering the painting of the age we shall have to consider, (1) the miniatures in manuscripts as well as on wood covers, (2) the scrolls called *Paubā* or *Prabhāmaṇḍala* and (3) the frescoes of the 17th century more particularly in the Kumārīchok, Mūlchok and Bhairavachok of the royal palace of Bhatgaon.

The following manuscripts can be taken to provide specimen illustrations of the time, (1) *Pañcharakṣā* of 613 (Nepal Museum N. 16/128) with pictures of Akṣobha, Ratna-sambhava, Amoghasiddhi and the five Pañcharakṣā Goddesses, (2) *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* of 672 (Nepal Museum N. 212) with pictures of 5 celestial Buddhas, Prajñāpāramitā upon the wooden covers, (3) *Pañcharakṣā* of 783 (Museum N. 16/105)

with 4 pictures on the leaves, Śākyamuni, Bhairava, a *Chaitya* and a stone depicting performance of *homa*, (4) *Pañcharakṣā* of 696 with the four pictures of Bhairava on the covers (DLC. I. 1104); (5) *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* of 814 with a figure of Lokeśvara in red colour (Nat. Lib.) painted on a leaf.

(6) *Pañcharakṣādhāraṇī* of 773 (Darb. Lib. Cat. IV. 887) with the pictures of white Gaṇeśa and two female deities on a thick paper cover of black colour;

(7) *Harivaṁśa* of 814 (in the possession of Chandraman Maskay) with scenes of *Kṛṣṇacharita* from his birth to the death of Kaṁśa;

(8) *Kāraṇḍavyuha* of 825 with pictures on leaves of Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā (in my possession);

(9) *Pañcharakṣā* of 842 with the pictures of 5 Goddesses (in my possession);

(10) Undated but probably 17th century leaves with illustrations of Vajravīra Mahākāla, Grahamāṭṛkā, Pratyangira (in my possession).

(11) A *Thyāsapu* with illustrations of Buddhist deities of Mahāyāna of 678, five Buddhas, Lokeśvara and white Tarā.

(12) *Hitopadeśa* of 514 (DLC).

(13) *Malayagandhini Nāṭakam* of Bhūpatīndramalla with page to page illustrations of religious (Govt. Nat. Lib.) themes.

In our estimate of the art we shall have also in mind the few scrolls given below which extend in age from the early 16th century to some time at the end of the period.

(1) *Paubā* of 607 with the union image of (by courtesy of Stella Kramrisch) Mahāsamvara his Śakti.

(2) *Paubā* of Vajradhātveśvarī in Musée Guimet with date figure 608.

(3) *Paubā* depicting the Maṇḍala of Amitābha painted in NS 800 (Nepal Museum).

(4) The *Paubā* of NS 837 giving a maṇḍala of Dīpaṅkara and scenes of episodes in his life round the central image (Boston Museum, U.S.A.)

I do not think that it is possible for me to deal with the illustrations piece by piece. This is outside the scope of the present work. What we need to do here is to define the main trends in the art of painting current in the 15th-17th century as expressed through the many pictures on the leaves, wood covers, *paubās* and walls as earlier pointed out.

The art of painting had kept pace with sculpture and carving on wood in regard to the style of composition; only the medium was different in painting. The painter worked on the canvas which he prepared either on a paper or palm leaves or coarse cloth (*paubā*) or plastered walls (frescoe). A mixture of chalk and glue was applied on the canvas and the application pressed again and again with a conch-shell prepared the ground which was overlaid with coating. The glue he made was prepared out of fish, and he used the brush which was made of goat's hair (in the absence of squirrel which is not seen in the Valley). The varnish to apply after the picture in colour was finished came out of the white of an egg and water mixed together.

The colours were different but the common of them were black, white, yellow and red produced out of natural objects such as earth of a particular hue and charcoal, to which a reference has been already made. A combination of 2 or 3 such colours again gave a variety which came to be applied when the artist had to prepare works requiring more than four colours.

We shall first take up the few examples of Śaivite deities on wood cover. I have a hand written copy of *Saptaśati* written in Maithilī script in Kathmandu probably in the early 16th century (the date line is missing) which has in wood covers 4 standing and sitting (*lalitāsana*) images of the Mātṛkā Goddesses. One of the standing images is that of Mahisāsūramardinī with 16 hands while others are those of Kālī (in black colour) with eight hands and wearing a garland of human skulls. The one in *lalitāsana* is Kaumārī with

eight hands seated on a pair of peacocks. The other images are seated on one and two lions respectively and are equipped with eight and sixteen hands. Except Kālī and another deity in yellow colour, all are given bright red colour. All these five Goddesses wear similar diadems with *Karṇaphula* (earflowers) and *Karṇapataka* (earflaps) attached they have blouse with half sleeve and skirts of different colours with different kinds of flowery designs or bunches stamped at intervals. The ornaments including the long garland are just the same which appeared in the stone images of the deities concerned. Kālī wears a piece of tiger skin round her lower abdomen. The side figures on one piece of cover are Gaṇeśa and Bhairava to the right and left respectively, who wear the *dhoti* extending up to the knee with a long fold streaming lower down between the thighs. In the other cover three male and three female devotees on the right and left respectively are sitting in different poses. On the front the male figure is standing and all of them in dancing dress of the time, turban, skirt, trousers for the male, and blouse, *sāri* and *dupattā* for the female.

The *Pañcharakṣā* in the Durbar Library (I. 1104) has two sets of illustrations on the two wooden covers, one set illustrated on the inner side of the first plank (the front side is blank) and the other set one on each side of the plank coming at the end. The first set has five pictures in brilliant colour varnished and made glittering with gold dust. The images are those of Śrīchaṇḍā (white), Śrīchaṇḍāvatī (black), Śrīatichāṇḍī (red) and Śrīchaṇḍikā (brilliant red) respectively. In the red, green or bluish background again the sixteen handed images appear, each standing one foot placed on the lion and another on the back of the buffalo demon (with head and upper body of a man and lower body waistwards down of a breast). The deities though with different names look similar in appearance, though in a few detail special traits are also visible. The whole illustration represents the killer of Mahiṣāsura in fine images. In these images the diadem, ornaments, the

half blouse, the skirt all are quite similar to those of the *Suptaśatī* figure. The diadem however, differs. The crown was designed either to appear as an ornament of crests, an ornament which exposes hairs to view outside or it might be a sort of a headgear of the 13-14 century or it might be a decorated plank raised over the head and sideways up to the ears.

In the figures we have above described we also notice common facial expression, the same attitude, the upper and lower body covered by the blouse and skirt respectively, in similar fashion, and the open feet with the enlargement of a chain as a common device of an auklet and the whole suggesting sprightly attitude.

The end cover shows on both sides pictures, 4 on each outside: (1) blue Bhairava with two hands holding a stick and noose, (2) red Bhairava with two hands holding a lotus and noose; in both the right hand is raised up to strike; (3) Bhairava in dim red colours with his śakti in *Yabyum* pose, he has six hands, the normal two holding a trident and cup, the female is ugly looking, her hair is dishevelled; Bhairava wears a garland of human skulls, the union image treads on 2 *vetālas* and lastly, Vajrabhairava in ordinary pose as well as raising up left hand and wearing a piece of cloth which streamed through the shoulders from behind the neck.

Inside: the side figures of (1) Bhairava in blue colour with two hands, of which the right is raised up, (2) the second from the right is also Bhairava in light red colour, two hands and again right one is raised up, the latter wears a garland of human skulls; (3) the *puruṣa-śakti* image in lotus *āsana*, the male in red colour and the female in grey to the left, the former embraces her by his left hand. The *padmāsana* is excellently drawn, the feet placed on the thigh, and the *dhoti* drawn to the ankles. With hands placed on the lap the male also holds between them the sacred vessel. His body unlike that of the female is also beautifully shaped. His face has a fine modelling. A kind of tiara or coronate worn on the

forehead adds grace to the appearance. The Bhairavas are fierce looking. They are 3 eyed, one eye placed on the forehead. They are in a dancing pose, with legs quite apart and they stand on finger's end on the *vetāla* lying prostrate one foot placed on the head and another on the left girding up their loins with tiger skin, thus they exhibit intense movement and ferociousness. They wear a *mukuṭa* as different from a crown or coronate as the ornament for the head; this being a sort of masklike wearing material covering a part of the forehead and upwards as well as the ears on both sides and leaving open the face in particular. To add, these have their own enclosure and ground with rims of bifurcated flames following the design of stele. All these are Buddhist deities.

The *vetāla* is of different colours varying from figure to figure. He is lying on his chest, but has turned his head to look up. He is naked and has long hairs plaited into a lock.

Painted in NS 776 (=1656 A. D.) are the three pictures on the black paper cover of the ms. *Pañcharakṣādhāraṇī*. These pictures are the figures of the white Gaṇeśa flanked by the two goddesses, one red coloured (right) and another of white colour (left). The common ground on which these are drawn is of sky blue colour and green hills set against it and also the inter space between figures is filled with hills rising in summit. Each deity has her or his background with a brim and halo, the former with a small rim; the red Devī is within a blue circle, Gaṇeśa and other Devī are within red circles each. Each of them is seated on a lotus ground. The red coloured Devī is ten handed and is standing with legs apart. Gaṇeśa is seated on hips with legs stretched forward to tread each on a mouse of blue colour. He is four handed wears a *dhoti* of red colour up to the knee, a skirt ash green in colour with half sleeve blouse up to the breast exposing the whole of the abdomen, a sacred thread of red snake and necklace. He holds a *laddoo* in his left lower hand, to which the trunk is directed. Gaṇeśa is pot

bellied. Gaṇeśa is also blessed with a small oval like lotus porched. Both the Goddesses have five mouths and ten hands. The right top hand of the white Goddesses is bent at the elbow and raised up while the top left is just raised, she is on *Padmāsana* and the red skirt is beautifully set in fold along the legs to rest on the lap. The red Devī has one more cover in light green colour over the red skirt for the region between the waist and the knee. This is a novel feature of the dress in these images. The ornaments are common, the long garland appears in all the three figures, the coronate is also of the common pattern.

We have marked the figures of the five Buddhas, Bodhisatvas, Tārās while we listed the manuscripts. They belong to different periods from 613 to 773. I compared these figures with some figures painted on the leaves of a *Thyāsapu* in my possession which shows a date figure 677. It consists of Buddha figures in nine miniatures. These are variously of Grahamātrkā, Vasudhārā, Prajñāpāramitā, Śvetatārā, Śvetalokanātha, Raktalokanātha, and five celestial Buddhas. All the pictures are painted in a common pattern: the 2 or 3 tier pedestal, halo, rim and background, colours varying from illustration to illustration in conformity to the requirement as prescribed by the canons of art.

The figures are all in *vajrāsana* except the two of Lokanātha, who are standing. The five celestial Buddhas have certain features in common. The two-tier red rim, blue aureole and ground, and lotus pedestal with red bottom and pink top are the same. But Amoghasiddhi has white ground. Their bodily colours are different and conform to the traditional standard. Each wears a drapery of his own colour; even ornaments including the crown bear the same hue.

Āryatārā in *lalitāsana* pose, and in the white colour with a white skirt bearing multi-colour lines and dots interspersing in symmetrical order. The border of the skirt is red, and the arrangement shows that it has been a dividing line between the two halves of the lower body from the navel to the

ankles. Tārā holds the lotus stalk on the side by her right hand, the same showing 3 petals of flowers atop. There is another lotus rising from her left, but this just touches her elbow at the bending point. The left hand fingers form *vyākhyāna mūdrā*. The white coloured Lokanātha is eight handed with normal two hands, the red one, however, looks like a child. It appears that while holding the lotus flower with its stalk by both hands the figure in red is alone to lay a claim to his being Padmapāṇī. Lotus is just one of the objects carried by the other Lokanātha in one of his hands.

The child in the face of red Lokanātha conforms to the report of the Tibetan monk Dharmasvāmin. The child's corporal frame is also recognised by his short legs cramped on the lower part of the figure. The ornaments are also alike, only the colour differs from image to image. The headgear is a horizontal band on which are erected \geq short pointed crests. The loops and locks of hairs on the head can be observed as if they were a summit of a temple. The earrings, armlets, bracelets, necklace and chains, waistband, and anklets are such as those we have already described. The long garland is there invariably. The drapery is about the same, the scarf streaming through both the shoulders to the arms or chest, the *dhoti* worn short up to the knees in both legs or the female skirt covering the whole of lower body except the two feet in the *vajrāsana* worn long to the ankles a stray collection of leaves containing a *dhāraṇī* of Goddess Mārīchī, (d. 773) in which a picture of the deity on the centre of a leaf is painted flanked by lines of letters. All the pieces are in my possession. Mahāmārīchī with six hands is seated on white lotus on the bluish background with a red halo she enjoys all the attributes of the Goddess of that name. With the right normal hand beckoning to be fearless and the right upper teaching the doctrine she wears in addition to the usual costume, a long scarf descending from the shoulder to the knee in a zigzag course and to the pedestal; there is also a red piece of cloth skirting her blue garment

across the line of knee and the legs merging in the background near the buttock. Three headed, the front head expresses an attitude of attention on a certain object, the central crest rises above others with the raised lock of the hair adding beauty to the ornamentation of that part. Mārīchi is supreme in her demeanour. We might compare her with Prajñāpāramitā painted on a leaf in another manuscript.¹³ The white Prajñāpāramitā four handed with the two normal hands brought together but not closed in a particular formation of *mūdrā* sits on a two-tier green white base. She has red skirt and another piece of green cloth round the waist, both flowing in plaits to the surface of the seat; the scarf which she wears is long enough to flow round about the elbow ascending and descending the raised hands. Besides the green halo and the richly coronate placed on the front line of the head she also wears a crest on the locked up hair which rises above the headgear. The top of the miniature shows deep blue water and branches of trees with leaves and fruits, the rims show glittering flames of gold.

The red Lokeśvara in ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* of 814 is attended by 2 monks, one in red *dhoti* and another in white. The figure of Lokeśvara is standing on a lotus with white top and green bottom, by the side of the lotus pedestal are two human figures, one each, the figure on the left is red coloured and naked but for the loin cloth, while on the right the colour of the man is pink, and he wears a white shawl-like garment for the upper body and green *dhoti* for the lower. The God figure has a thin scarf flowing over the shoulders to the chest. He has however youthful face.

Before we proceed to compare the qualities of the miniatures, we might describe also in brief some of the figures of deities painted in the manuscripts of the late 17th century A.D. and early 18th century just when the Sino-Tibetan art influence had entered Nepal.

13 Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha in my possession.

The figure of Lokeśvara painted on a leaf of Guṇakāraṇḍa vyūha of 825 within his purple ground also showing glittering flames of gold and blue halo, white body holding a white blooming lotus with its green leaves and stalk, and wearing a *dhoti* short on his knees stands on a *tribhaṅga* pose. Under a tree, of which green twigs rising on all 3 sides beside the rim the dancing Bodhisatva is treading on a small base with a green rim and supported by a lotus pedestal of certain roundness. His scarf is very long, it flows from behind the neck to arms and to thighs upto the knees and streaming in coil, and fold to rise above and touch the tree. The deity is richly ornamented, he is also painted in the legs in a succession of colours. Like the deity Prajñāpāramitā he wears a glittering coronet and a bell-like finial on top of his knotted hair.

The *Pañcharakṣā* figures appear in their traditional costume and pose. They have ornaments in common with the images of the age. They are all on *Vajrāsana* or adamantine sitting posture and are all 3 headed except Mahaśāhasrapramardinī who has four heads. The extra faces are seen just on their sides; and no torso other than the normal one is visible. The crown is extending a little on the sides to embrace the very small part which constitute the extra heads supervened. The extra heads have each colour different from one another and from the normal one. The ordinary colour for the five deities are, blue, green, white, red, and yellow. All the Goddesses eight handed except Mahāsītavatī who has six hands. The common emblems these deities carry in the hands are, arrow, bow, sword and bolt.

So far we were presenting the religious art expressed through portraits of divinities. Panels came in a category by themselves. There are panels as those on stones of the life of Kṛṣṇa, Rāma, Buddha and others.

After the panels came the scrolls and frescoes. Both these were concerned as much with portraiture of divinities as with panels depicting scenes from the life of the deified

heroes and Bodhisatvas and also of the various rituals undergone by the donors and their relations.

The panels of *Kaṁsa-vadha* i. e. killing of Kaṁsa by Kṛṣṇa painted on the two wood covers of a copy of *Hari-vamśa* written in NS 814 for the minister of Bhatgaon are secular representation of a religious story. There are several scenes right from the birth of Kṛṣṇa to his killing of Kaṁsa. They are depicted on a background divided into 3 separate colours, black at the top, greenish at the bottom and red between the two; white and crimson patches of cloud float here and there in the uppermost region. The scenes are birth of Kṛṣṇa in the prison which is guarded, Vasudeva and Devaki rejoice, Vasudeva with Kṛṣṇa in his arms sets out for Bṛndāvana, there is a heavy rain, he is protected by a snake who spreads his hood to throw as a canopy, Jamunā is in spate but dries to give way; in the house of Nanda there is another baby—she is a girl, the visitor seeks Jaśodā's consent to let him have the girl for the boy, Vasudeva leaves his son there and takes away the girl, he is now together with his wife, Kaṁsa snatches the baby girl, Vasudeva intercedes to save her, Kaṁsa strikes her against a stone platform, she slips from his hand and is seen up in the sky—eight handed Māyā in full fledged *Devī's* attire and ornaments, she is sitting on the cloud. All these are shown in the upper wood cover. In the second panel of scenes are killing of Vakāsura the heron demon who came to kill Kṛṣṇa; killing of Putanā the child Kṛṣṇa is sucking her breast, mother Jaśodā pulls him back; killing of Nāga Kāliya; Kṛṣṇa holds the hill *Govardhana* on his right hand and gives protection to the rain stricken people of Gokula; Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma proceed to Mathurā and killed the elephant of Kaṁśa who came to strangulate him; Kṛṣṇa enters the palace, he challenges Kaṁśa, there is a fight in the balcony at the top, and in the hall of the bottom storey where he is killed.¹⁴

14 In the possession of National Library, Kathmandu.

Kṛṣṇa is in green colour while Balarama is white, Kaṁsa and his followers are yellow coloured, Vasudeva is red, the dress pattern is the same but of different colours. The women wear half sleeve blouse and full skirt, the men *dhoti* up to the knee, there is a thin shawl-like cover for the upper part of the body, the women wear *dopaṭṭā* as well as cover their head in part with the upper end of the skirt. The dress of Kaṁsa and his guard, however, consists of a skirt like *Jāmā*, half sleeve waist long skirt, a long piece of loin cloth with three folds running along the two legs and between a headgear of the type generally put on by the Bhairava. All the adult males wear thin beards and moustache, the beard in the Moghul fashion. The Mahāmāyā's picture has a close resemblance to a female deity of the 17th century on stone in costume, ornaments are colour. Houses are shown on single room single storey pattern with two pillars, a protruding balcony and sloping roof supporting a balcony or another tier of a small roof. The palace of Kaṁsa is, however, otherwise designed. It has a room adjoining a big hall supporting a balcony which adjoins another room under the open roof with enclosure used as balcony; there is a sloping roof supported by beams attached to the wall of the upper storey. The costumes and the architecture of the house might more conform to classical conception of the background of the events but there are local elements mixed with them. From art point of view the panel might go into the class of secular cum religious pictures.

We rarely come across illustrations depicting secular themes. But there is a copy of the famous Sanskrit work, *Hitopadeśa*, which has illustrations presenting on many leaves moral teaching stories of birds and beasts in a very fascinating manner. There are white pigeons on a tree, a red horse in its pose of vanity challenging the beasts, spotted tigers and ferocious lions in search of prey, coloured cat thrusting his paw into a bird's hole on a tree to ransack the nest, a horned deer and a crow tied in friendship, a jackal

feigning friendship to the deer taking to a green field to graze. Where the owner casts a net to ensnare him; four cheats out to deprive a Brāhmaṇa of his possession of goat by impressing him that it was a dog and not the beast he desired it to be.

Brilliant colours as background, decorated trees and greenaries and flowery designs and colourful beasts and birds the former with their raised necks and the latter crested in a variety of colours are the attractions of the *Hitopadeśa* painting. Sometimes a leaf or half of it, and sometimes just an oblong space on a side are used as canvas. Scroll works on the background at the top supplemented by designs of peacock wings as spreading branches on a slender pole-like trunk of a tree throw a canopy over the scene of enactment underneath. The demarcation is done by the tree rising in a straight line and colours and designs are mixed freely to enhance the effectiveness of the representation. Each scene is an apartment with its own colour background and canopy if there are more than two scenes or more on a leaf and if these are not trisected by lines. Six leaves at the end of one of the three separate volumes give horses in a varieties of colours and pose while presenting a general theme of animals.

Paubās: The *Prabhamaṇḍalas* (painted scrolls) for the devotees are hung on the wall of a private chapel or room. The painted scrolls add to the religious environment of the place and they are substitutes for frescoes. The illustration is a central deity round whom are placed subordinate divinities on niches. The scroll has two sections to represent celestial beings and human beings, the lower being reserved for the latter with whom figure the donors and his or her relations. However, if the career of the deity or the episodes had to be painted in scenes, the place was to be yielded for the purpose, while the donors were pushed to the corner. We may give details of some *Paubās* to compare the scroll painting of the late 15th century with the same art of the 17th century. The *maṇḍala* is a very complicated pattern.

The arrangement is a circle within a square which touches on sides the lines of the square but retains much space at the top and bottom.

The *Paubās* of dates as early as 607 (=1487 A.D.), 608 (1488) and 624 (=1504) are available to us. I have with me photographs, of these three *Paubās*. These are *maṇḍalas* of different deities (1) of Mahāsaṃvara (through the courtesy of Stella Kramrisch) (2) of Dharmadhātveśvarī (Musée Guimet, Paris) and of Vasudhārā (British Museum). There is one more *Paubā* of 624 in British Museum, and this has the *maṇḍala* of Amoghasiddhi. We may not describe all of them here for want of space. One of these has been well presented in the journal of Indian Society of Art, I, 1933, Pl 29, Pl. XXXIX, XI, by the noted authority on Indian arts, Stella Kramrisch.

Vasudhārā is seated on *lalitāsana* pose at the centre, she is six-armed and yellow coloured. Above at the top of the *Paubās* are seated five celestial Buddhas. But at the uppermost level outside the actual *maṇḍala* are scenes from the ten evil states and similarly at the bottom end there are other divinities and scenes. Four gates at the centre of each side of the outer square, and scenes in oblong compartment are in particularly noticeable. These scenes bring out in focus the social life of the people including the rituals. The figures of deities are drawn in the same pattern, Vasudhārā with her elaborate crown, and beautiful face, and flamboyant skirt and all other divinities on the niches and scenes in all their varieties present a riot of colour.

In the *maṇḍala* of Mahāsaṃvara in the *Paubā* of 607 the God is in union with the Goddess (in red colour) stands on the pedestal in *ālīdha* pose. The rim of the oval ground is full of scrolls each like a flame. The God has eight main hands and 68 additional. The latter are in 2 tiers forming a circle within a circle. The two normal hands of the God hold a bell and a thunderbolt and these clasp the Goddess. The God has 17 heads in 5 tiers, 5, 5, 3, 3, 1, the uppermost

head is in black colour. The central face of the first row is half blue (right) and half green (left). In the union the Goddess raises forward her right hand with a *vajra* holding the male by her left hand from the back; only half of his face is visible, the mouth kissing the mouth of the central face of the male figure; the thighs of the female are clasped across the waist of the male, and the male places his hands on her hips. The ground is plain, and at each side skull cups and four naked divine figures occupy the space. There are more divinities and scenes in the upper two sections and bottom of the *maṇḍala*. These might be elaborated.

As far as the period, 16-17 centuries, is concerned we may produce as specimen two scrolls, one of 800 and another of 837. The first is a *maṇḍala* of the celestial Buddha Amitābha who is sitting on the adamantine posture holding a vessel between his two hands on the lap. His seat is a round structure. There are 3 deities on the niches above him, Prajñāpāramitā, Buddha and Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara—The Buddhist trinity and below him Amoghapāśa. All these satellite deities have their own ground structure and halo. There are also monks by his side. The devotees in various poses, and act of performing their part of the rituals look on.

The second *Paubā* of 837 depicts the story of *Piṇḍapātrāvadāna* round the *maṇḍala* of Dīpaṅkara who is seated on the *āsana* supported by elephants and lions as symbols of sovereignty. The Buddha Dīpaṅkara is one of the 24 earthly Buddhas. The top of the *maṇḍala* is occupied by the five celestial Buddhas seated on their cloudy *maṇḍala* all in their usual pose and colour. The image of Buddha Dīpaṅkara is painted with the red halo and a ground of the same colour but is also surrounded on the outer periphery by the *torana* and pilasters supporting a 3 tier umbrella of diminishing proportions and a summit. On the pilasters are drawn the pictures of a horseman, a ram, a lion, and a monk on each side. Now come the various scenes of stages in the life of

Dīpaṅkara. The narrative part of the scroll is interesting and informative as a story and art and social history.

Frescoes: Frescoes come to view on some parts of the walls of the inner courtyards in the royal palace of Bhatgaon. These have come in much damaged form, though quite a substantial portion of the wall where pictures are painted are yet maintained. Apart from the wall images of the 8 Mātṛkās, and of Jayapṛakāśamalla being preserved on the top floor of the Kumārī temple in Kathmandu, the Bhatgaon frescoes are the only relics of the kind handed to us as a legacy of the Malla rulers. The Mātṛkā figures are all in glittering colours each with their emblems and seated on the traditional carrier. The costume and ornaments bear the imprint of such style as prevailed in the age. The form follows the usual model. The Mātṛkā deities are in a sprightly pose dancing while killing the buffalo headed demon.

The frescoes in the courtyards of the Bhatgaon palace are panels giving stories of *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* as well as from *Devīmahātmya*. In the Bhairavachok we notice on the western wall the Mother Goddess fighting on both sides the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha. In the same panel the demon buffalo is killed by the Goddess in the encounter. The costume, the ornaments, the animals used and the houses and palaces painted are exactly like those of the *Paubā*. A two wheeled chariot drawn by a horse or horses is seen carrying the deity who is throwing arrows at the enemy. Divinities, deified heroes and demons appear in succession or engaged in an endeavour some from opposite sides and some as partners in a common cause.

As we examine these miniatures we notice that the influence of the Eastern school was being exercised and our painting to a great extent bore the imprint of it. Before me there are miniatures from certain mss. of the 14th century, and these are the figures we have already dealt with in the Part I of the volume. Some of the figures represent deities of the manuscripts we had just cited. A comparison of the

miniatures of the two periods may show that ages, notwithstanding they look just the same, both share in common the principal features of an exquisite and highly sensuous art. The Nepalese artist modelled his image both by the depth of colour and line or without such device just managed to paint. But modelling and one such expert and rich at that was the order of the day.

The miniature pieces we have presented above were all portraits and so here we are concerned more with portraiture than anything else; modelling is vital to them. Our portraits are also not just portraits. They are of divine likeness; they carry with them a ground plan of a stone or a niche with pedestal, enclosure, halo and supporting deities or attendants, etc., the same which were also attributes of Nepalese sculpture. It has been rightly said that the two branches of art are interrelated and progressed under identical stylistic influence. The modelling has to embrace all these in a totality. Perhaps this was done within limits. The artist was guided by the canons of art in all his ventures, but he had also scope enough for the play of colours, lines and composition in his own way and he could exercise his imagination,

To shape his model what he could not do was to break iconometrical stipulations about the image. In his own best the painter produced the miniature portraits in 16-17 centuries, which reveal the same steady and vigorous lines as the works of the earlier centuries. The handling of colour in its variety and depth expressed through the image in its full costume and ornament imparts vibrance and freshness. Right from the simple Buddha images to the grotesque figures emanating from the Tāntric conception of spirit—all paintings share this quality. Many headed, many handed divinity also in their excited look exhibit vigour and freshness, whatever be the defect in the images looked from other angles of vision. This is really an example as the excellent performance of the artist was concerned.

The miniature portraits of divinities reveal the most delicate kind of drawing and brush work. The variety of ornaments and drapery must have involved minute attention. The flesh over the body so made by ministration of colour is the result of modelling. The elaborate design and scroll work of some of ground painting in some shows conscious handling of the materials.

Coming to the general pattern of the picture we find that the figures are drawn in the three dimensional scheme as they show the sides through the ears, but the front is more focussed. If it is not a portrait then the profile alone was visible as we find it in the *Karṁsavadha* and *Paubā* panels.

But divinities when figuring singly were seen on three sides. Thus they stood as a distinct category of painting, which was also different from human portraits which were invariably profiles.

While drawing a picture the artist adopted physical traits in conformity to the recommendations of classical texts on iconography. Thus the eye brows were shaped like bows and eyes as lotus or fish. The text wrote how structurally these should be defined. Eyes were generally open, but whether open or closed the shape of the eye lashes could differ.

I have in my possession a hand copy of an old text on iconography and iconometry. This is composed partly in Sanskrit and partly in Newari, the latter probably coming as explanatory notes. In a passage this text lays down the rule among so many others about the shape of the eyes and brows in painting and sculpture or 'in any visual art. The rule commends the traditional bow-like brow and lotus shaped eyes. But it also says that the shape might not be the same in all attitudes. Sometimes the brows might run on a straight line, and just a slanting line below it again might serve for an eye lash.

In many cases lashes expressed through a line are designed to form the eye, which might be open or closed as the artist

models it. For example, Goddesses Pratisarā (ms. of 825) has closed her eyes, and this is expressed by a thinner line of the upper eye lash without anything else for the composition of the eye. In some painting the pupil of the eye is removed to the corner. There is a conscious attempt to make all that is visible in that angle. Graceful and charming as far as iconography permitted—all the portraits look alike for the arrangement of different structural patterns whatever be the sect they are associated with. The face has a square like contour but the horizontal forehead has a larger line than the chin which however gives its iconometrical shape. The eyes are drawn in black line shaped as a lotus with a narrow opening and there is a dot to pass as a mark for the pupil, the lashes being represented by the lines; the brows in thick line are set apart or drawn closer and curved near the bridge which does not show depression so that the nose is prominent and straight but in some painting brows end in a straight line instead of being curved. This is markedly seen in the two illustrations of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* of 825, the curvature is marked in the *Pañcharakṣā* of 848 but this should not be taken as a deviation, rather it is seen that the practice had continued since long and paintings of the 14th century follow it; the brows in relation to the eyes are drawn high as if they are closed or half closed, and the lid is defined by a wider space between the upper eye lash and brow. This kind of space is seen since the 14th century. The lid is the test of modelling, and is the result of the delicate brush work. But the lid is not thick in the absence of ridge like brows. However, the placing of dot in the narrow opening of the eye showed if it was closed, half closed or opened. Modelling also plays its part in giving flesh to the chest and round shoulders and arms which in no case appear lean or without flesh unless so desired in original conceptions as happens while depicting the Goddess Chāmuṇḍā. All these attributes are commonly found in all the portraits of divinities. The mouth is small

and closed, the chin is prominent, the bosom in a female divinity is shown by a circle in black but this is firm and its plumbness as in sculpture of the latter years remains. The neck is longer than what we would see in an image. But most of the physical features have struck to. These were traditional. The artist experimented with a variety of colours, primary or otherwise and this is evident from the flamboyant dress, the female skirt, the male *dhoti*, scarf (*uttariya*), all described in appropriate places. The colours used generally were yellow, white, red, crimson red, green, blue, blue green, green blue, purple, rose and orange (yellow & mikado), gold dust as colour was used in ornaments whenever the artist wanted it. Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā of the ms. of 825 have their glittering crown, and other ornaments. Sometimes the simple yellow of the earth of that colour is used for that purpose, as for example in the pictures of the 5 deities in the *Pañcharakṣā* ms. of 848, as well as Buddhas, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi in my *Thyāsapu*. The *dhoti* was always worn short up to the knee—all the Buddhas in the *Thyāsapu* wear *dhoti* like this. This kind of lower garment for the women was also called *dhoti* but was worn like skirt up to the ankles. In the ms. *Pañcharakṣādhāraṇī* of 773 the two Goddesses wear skirts up to the knee, we find here both a standing and a sitting image. Other female figures in whatever posture wear skirt long. The *dhoti* of Lokeśvara image of 825 (ms. Guṇakāraṇḍayyūha) is worn short above the knees. The *dhoti* or scarf did also descend apiece in a fold between the thighs as we find it in stones, and we have pointed it out whenever this has been adopted. The scarf has a traditional pattern, and as we have often pointed out the practice of decorating by means of scarf is found in the 16-17 centuries. Our pictures of Prajñāpāramitā and Lokeśvara present the scarf in a very elaborate form. This is not the thin piece of cloth going round the neck and hanging on sides through shoulders and arms. In the figure of Prajñāpāramitā it goes from beneath the bent hand and back above to the wrist and

again underneath to the waist and then being tucked underneath squatting thigh it goes upwards in a scroll flow on both sides. In the image of Lokeśvara because it is a standing figure it flows along the leg to take the same course ; the folds stream into flow. We have already suggested that in respect of the ground, halo and pedestal the pattern followed the stone image of the period. But colours were different between tiers as well as from one deity to another. The waistband is often employed to gird up the *dhoti*, and it is decorated in various ways.

All the deities have vermilion mark on their forehead. Among the ornaments the crown has a special significance. We have already described the types used by the many figures painted in the manuscripts of our period. Again, it is the crown in each of the images of Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā, which attracts our attention by its rich design, although there is not much of colour scheme. Supervened on the horizontal band are five crests, three grouped together on the forehead and one each side. The crest is shaped like a *sinamu* with a round base. The entire structure is overlaid with gold dust. Sometimes the crest is not as wide, but the arrangement of tiara or crown whatever we call it in other figures is more crests in ascending and descending order, the central being the highest. This kind of *kīrita* or coronet is different from the crown used by Bhairava, which is another variety, adopted in painting in the images of Tāntric and Purāṇic deities more particularly the Mātrikās.

The necklace, chain, pearl decorate the chest up to various lengths. The bands or bangles such as armlets and wristlets are there. The wristlets in some cases are not bands or coils but several bands stuck together flanked by two thicker ones. This variety is known as *mu*, and is found in the pictures of the 16-17 centuries and not earlier. The band might be one or two or even three. The most colourful decoration of the figure of 16-17 centuries is a long garland which came up to the knee.

The hair style of the divine figures could be treated as a special category confined to them. The coiffure raised on the forehead behind the coronet but exposed from the uncovered space is the general pattern, which is visible in the 14th century picture of Vasudhārā another divinities on the wood cover of the ms. *Pañcharakṣā*. The style continued as late as the early part of the 18th century. Our figure of Prajñāpāramitā of 825 (ms. *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*) has a beautiful hair style matched by none, of course, in the same pattern. The lock of hair is arranged in a way to be placed above the tiara; this is topped by a gilt bell-like ornament. The mass of the hair and rising above it the lock and on top the simple ornamental pinnacle sets a marking pattern with the headgear and the beautiful countenance and body of the Goddess—the black colour of the hairs contrasted with gilt tiara in the front adds beauty and charm to the graceful figure. Another arrangement of hair and this is more common in female divine figures, is the one we find in the Marichi figure of 773 painted on a *dhāraṇī* ms. in my possession, which has been already referred to. In this figure the lock is arranged as a back support of the crest, while a line of the hair on the forehead is to similarly appear in relation to the horizontal band. The beaded necklace is what might be recognised as one of pearls. The garland is not of one pattern, it differs from figure to figure in its form. Sometimes it is like a loose thread or a piece of cloth. But in more cases it is a garland of flowers fully blooming. This is seen in the images of Pañcharakṣā deities and Maḥiṣāsura-mardīnī and other female divinities of the Śaivite origin. Some of the panels giving religious themes, more in particular the *Bhāgavata* and *Harivaṁśa*, have the treatment of divine and human attitude in colours.

There are panels dealing with celestial scenes. The ground in these scenes considerably differs from that of a scene where the representation is earthly. The artist has to show heavenly environment, of course, in the conventional pattern while

executing such a ground on his canvas. We might observe the features partially in the portraits of divinity. Floating of objects without support is the main point of recognition. The sky, the clouds, birds etc. are the ingredients in a simple miniature portraits of divinity.

One of the very early panels on wood covers dating 517 *Nepāla samvat* (ms. *Aśvāyurveda*) shows the Sun God and Moon God on their chariots and two celestial nymphs or *Apsarā* offering garlands to the deities. The *Apsarās* are floating on clouds holding garland by their hands. The belief that the celestial beings are light enough to fly in the air has been translated here in proper setting.

The sky represented in the *Kaṁsavadha* panel is of blue ground and clouds float here and there, and this is the true representation of a sky on an ordinary normal day. In this setting the artist has shown knowledge of facts. The red tiles on the roof also is representation of a factual structure. The *Govardhana* scene with the green hill suggests his originality of conception.

We shall talk more of this panel a little later. Meanwhile let us take the *Hitopadeśa* of 714 (=1594 A. D.), which gives us stories of jackals, lions, deer, crows etc. in pictures but in that strain also talks of human beings involved with them in various situations. At the same time we can discern how men and women looked like, and what were their forms and shape as drawn by the artist.

The compartmentalization of scenes is more commonly followed. But often two or more scenes are introduced in one compartment, resulting in confusion, which is a drawback of the artist revealed in such works. Although he drew fine figures and no less perfect to commended model; his panels do not show as high a skill as should have been displayed in the rendering of the situations in the panels.

In the same compartment are mixed two scenes the d/ pretending to have been dead flees when the owner of the f

gathers his net and tries to catch him, the jackal is watching him, but there is another scene mixed, the field owner throws a stick which hits the jackal—one more, the painter had unsuccessfully tried to achieve both the objective of showing the deer caught in the net and then its release, the jackal watching on both the occasions, but being hit at the later. The amalgam has made confusion worse confounded. Similarly in the several compartments showing scenes of the four cheats and the Brāhmaṇa there are mixed situations e. g. the Brāhmaṇa meeting a *thug* and dispensing with him and accosting another, putting the goat over his shoulder, putting it aground—all done and undone, there is a confusion as to tax the discerning eye of the looker, and finally disappoint him as to the grasp of the facts related through the illustrations. Yet the stories as told in the pictures are interesting and scenes are vibrant, and their emotional content is rich. Because it is the work of 1594 A. D., we may as well know how secular themes were presented in colours and through so many other attitude, costumes and ornaments of men and women as they appear in stories. This was the time when Rajasthan painting had not reached Nepal and the local painter was unaware of the style.

We do not get portraits here but just panels, from which we may get our knowledge of the facts concerned. The countenance is drawn in the same manner as the divine portraits, but the presence of moustache separated the humans from the category of divines. The few leaves of the text are devoted to the king, his sons and the author Viṣṇuśarmā who had preached knowledge to the princes on their father's order. The king and princes are in red colour, while the Brāhmaṇa is in white. The former wear coronate of the type which has a thick supporting crest. The hair is done in a manner which places the plaits above the coronate. They wear a half-sleeve skirt extending up to the thigh. Instead of an ornamental waist band the device is to tie a piece of cloth wide enough to cover a bigger portion, and with

another piece of smaller again tied like a band above it. This is followed in the lower body by a *dhoti* worn short up to the mid thigh. If the figure is that of Brāhmaṇa, he does not wear a short, but he has a beard, which is again suggestive. The scene of the teacher accosting his pupils is lively; the figures seem to speak dialogues.

The *Harivaṁśa* panel is a story of the killing of Kaṁsa by Lord Kṛṣṇa as was said earlier. In our review we have already described the dress, ornaments and house scheme of the panel. The artist does not appear very much to care for correctness in reproducing the object even drawn by himself. For example the prison house is differently designed in two situations. The balcony, the roof, and the trellis on the base look alike. The Nepali *kausi* (roof used as balcony) supplants the elaborate windowed structure, and the Rajput-Moghul style four pillared dome also is gone; we have also no trace of the guard. The face is just a profile as in most other cases; the aquiline nose, oblique eye brows, thin lines of the eye running parallel to them but meeting at an angle on the bridge of the nose and pupil removed towards the nose. The *lahāṅgā* or more appropriately *jāmā* in local language of Jaśodā is reminiscent of Rajput style as well as of the practice of wearing such skirt just not long before. The hair is arranged in a fashion which allows lock to stream to the back, and while covering the head, a border line of hair is left and this is exposed to spectators. It does not seem that the painter has made attempt to make a distinction between faces, but the figure might be recognised by dress and attitude. A new kind of tiara is worn by Vasudeva. This is like a modern crown with a band and crest on the four sides. By looking at the panel one can confidently suggest that the Rajasthani school of painting had wrought its influence in the making of the picture, which means that by the end of the century the style was already inspiring the Nepalese artists.

More Rajasthani influence in respect of style of painting both line and colour schemes, as well as the embellishments of the portraits is seen in other painted materials of the period.

This is evident from the panels on the wood covers of the hand written copies of *Bhāgavata* and allied *Purāṇic* texts. We have also several illustrations in the dramatic works copied or written by the rulers. One such copy of the dramatic text composed by Bhūpatīndramalla and written for him has on leaves portraits, scenes of worship, figures of Viṣṇu, Umā-Maheśa and scenes of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legends, of their fun and frolics in Gokul or Vṛndāvana, such as the Holi, the *Jhulā*. Rādhā with her jug in the pond and Kṛṣṇa playing his flute trying to persuade her etc, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā talking privately seated on a cot and many more scenes answer to the Purāṇic account of the legends. There are figures of the 10 incarnations of Viṣṇu, the figure of Buddha also included and an image of Śiva in his *Ardhanārīśvara* (half male-half female) image standing in *ālīdha* pose on the bull and lion flanked by the king's portrait on the right side and his son is on the left: the image of Lakṣmī-Umā in the *alīdha* pose standing on Garuḍa and Swan flanked by the queen and the female member of the royal family; image of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇ where Nārāyaṇa is flanked by Lakṣmī and Garuḍa—all standing, Garuḍa has a human face and many others. The *Paubā* of 837 with the *maṇḍala* of Dīpaṅkara offers one more material for fascinating study of the social life of the day. As the inscription shows the panel tells the story of Dīpaṅkara Buddhas as given in *Piṇḍapatrāvadāna*. The Buddha with aureole accompanied by the monks, appears in different scenes. Then kings, queens, ministers, praying monkeys presenting jackfruit to the Buddha, his preaching to the deity in a gathering, his acceptance of dust from a boy's hand, the gift made by the king etc, all scenes come before us. We have in this panel the structure of a *vihāra* and a temple, and a part of the palace and dwelling houses. Here we also

see the Nepalese basket called *Khamu* carried in a pair suspended from a pole placed over the carrier's shoulders through the neck.

The panels and pictures whether painted on the leaves of the *Malayagandhīnīnāṭakam* or the *Paubā* aforesaid are coeval and as we have noted in the above paragraph they give quite a similar picture of the painted art and all it conveys in terms of objects throwing light on some aspects of the social life of the people.

The divine figures of Kṛṣṇa, Lakṣmī-Pārvatī and Ardhanariśvara are characterised by linear decoration and by the particular costume for the lower part of the body and long garland; both found in the sculpture of the period. Coming to the human figures the Rajasthani influence is more obvious. Apart from the straight and prominent nose we notice the hair style, the decoration of the plaits with flowers and arrangement of drapery over the head appear quite on the model of the figures drawn in Rajputana of the contemporary period. Let us take the *Harivaṃśa* panel once again, The two royal women have decorated their coiffures with a bunch of flowers tucked into the upper plait, and a garland to go round the lock piled behind. This decoration comes only when the head is not covered with a scarf. When the latter decoration is employed, the head without the face is hidden while the scarf appeared in fold above the neck. The scarf is allowed to flow like a streamer left to touch the region below the waist from the front and the back. It appears that the female figure with the head covered by a scarf or end piece of a *sāri* is always a divine being in human form. The shrine of the *vihāra* looks exactly as it stands today in two storeys with a sloping roof and supervening as a tower a small *hermika* topped by sloping roofs bearing a pinnacle; the house structure was as it is found in an earlier panel e. g., the *Harivaṃśa*.

But the dress pattern as well as attitudes and gestures of men and women are so well drawn in the *Paubā* of 837. It

is again the inspiration of the Rajput style but set on a local background what we see in the panel is the folk medium as well as traditionally handed hieratic art got together in the style. The aquiline nose—straight, long and prominent otherwise, the eyes lotus shaped, small mouth, are the general features of the face. The turban in different shapes from crown shaped to one band like, multiple tiered as well as a skull cap rising to a pyramidal shape, the long cloak like skirt (*aṅgarakhā*) the tight trouser (*suruvā*) the cloth piece tied as a belt (*jani*), pearl necklace and lastly the fibre shoes—all appear as male attire. We see women with a full blouse for the upper body under the diaphanous scarf and a skirt as lower garment, which is however not diaphanous. The women leave their head open decorating their coiffure with flowers in different ways. The peasant carrier also with his *khamu* dressed elegantly showing head without cap and with a braid of hair arranged to a nicety. All these are of brilliant and flamboyant, not of one colour, but of several colours. Men and women—well dressed, and smart pass before us as on a moving screen while we witness the panorama of the various episodes in the life of Buddha Dīpaṅkara. There are poignant scenes such as the one when the lean monkey falls into a deep well as he follows the Lord. The monkey's devotion to the Lord is amply expressed when he offers his only means of sustenance for the hour, the jack-fruit to the latter. Then there is the boy who spontaneously offers a handful of dust to the Lord. The boy was playing and when he confronted the Lord advancing towards him, he did not have anything else to offer. But it was a dust of love and gratitude the boy had offered. Both the monkey and the boy were moved by devotion. So the Lord blessed them. The blessing scene on both the occasions is full of expressions of pathos and devotion combined, which was executed in harmonizing curvilinear pattern. In other scenes also the characters are equally animated. When we look at the women who have been talking to one another pointing at the

men forward. Their gesture is so expressive of their curiosity. As in common with the best work of Rajasthani style the various scenes in the panel are conceptual, the theme is painted clearly that it easily makes appeal to popular imagination. The female figure in the panel are graceful and elegant in their poses. The Jyāpu carrier with his smart dress and hair style is full of movement.

The works of Rajasthani style are commented upon by Dr. Coomaraswamy in the following words: 'sensitive, reticent, and tender, it perfectly reflects the self-control and sweet serenity of Indian life, and the definitely theocratic and aristocratic organization of Indian society.' (Rajput painting, Oxford 1916, p. 4).

I have no doubt that whatever be the extent of Rajasthani influence in the panel of the *Paubā*, it had absorbed the best as far as the same was in keeping with its traditional art form. Realism of Rajasthani school was everywhere evident in the many scenes. The contours are well defined so that the forms become harmonized with colour. The nice arrangement of composition, the delicate drawing, the fresh colour are further qualities of the style, but the Nepalese art was already imbued with his qualities. But all this had appeared in a new setting inspired by Rajasthani style.

The portraiture in Nepal of our period was also influenced by Rajasthani school. Unlike the metallic statuary art, these show some kind of difference in identity but actual likeness was not possible. We have before us portrait of Siddhinarasimhamalla, Pratāpamalla, Pārthivendramalla, and kings of the later period. The portraits are all profiles in the usual attire wearing ornaments and weapons like shield and sword.

We have here ended our description of the art and architecture of Nepal as they had developed during the period of 250 years up till the mid-18th century. We may now add a few paragraphs as conclusive observation on the subject.

It appears from the many works of art and architecture dated and undated both, that the 16-17th centuries had seen.

the climax of cultural activity in Nepal specially in the field of art and architecture.

As suggested earlier the old Nepalese style of art inspired by the Eastern school known as the Pāla school continued to influence the iconography of our period. But in details there were deviations from the strict observance of the canons of Pāla art tending to create varieties. There might also be fluctuations in the standard of achievement. But the continuity of tradition was maintained and their essentials did not alter. This is evident from the fact that the images of the period broadly bear resemblance to those of the earlier ages; in fact a distinction can be made only in point of details.

But details are sometimes dominant enough to impart such characteristics to the images, which make them a distinct category by themselves.

The new dispensation must have affected some aspects of these details.

One fact more. There was no change in technique nor the skill had suffered so much as to impair the core of the style of art. If the standard had fallen sometime or other it was because the artist had thought to introduce burdening embellishments or was over confident to ignore the subtleties of craftsmanship.

The flourishing of Nepalese art and architecture in the 17th century had cast its influence both in India and Tibet. We have already seen (Vide, Part I,) how the Nepalese art and architectural style had infiltrated into Tibet, and dominated the many creations of the period, such as the *stūpas*, temples, frescoes, scrolls and painted leaves of manuscripts.

The existence of two temples of the Nepalese style in Kerala (S. India) the *Tiruvanĵ Śiva* temple, 2. *Trichur Vadamunātha* temple which are said to have been built in the 16th century suggest that the influence of temple architecture had travelled so far as South India.

Kerala was probably the only area where Hindu culture in some form or other was not being suppressed by the Muslims, and it was for this reason that the style of the temple architecture from Nepal had a ready acceptance in that part of South India notwithstanding the distance intervening between the two countries.

We might digress a little further to describe Tibet-Nepal relation visavis the art and architecture. Prof. Tucci reproduces quite a good number of scrolls (painted scrolls II, pp. 331-47) of Tibet framed on Nepalese art style. We have also drawn attention to the activities of the Nepalese artists in Tibet in the first part of the present volume.

The Land of the snows received the Nepalese artists as representatives of the Eastern school of arts. In fact, Tibet derived not only the inspiration and technique of art through the Nepalese medium but also the artists themselves.

This was never true of any other time than the 16-17 centuries. Nepalese influence was felt in Tibet so much in this period and I think that this was greater than ever before. But in the 18th century Chinese art influence in Tibet was most dominant as a corollary to China's military domination over Tibet. In the time following Nepal also received art influence from China.

Finally, the field of art and architecture was always self-sufficient both for technique and materials. All artists were Nepalese. All art materials were Nepalese products. In any art all raw materials whether clay or colour or metal came from within Nepal the artist did not only do his modelling but also worked a foundry. As for the experience the artist gained, it is enough to say that he belonged to a professional caste of artist.

The sculptors and metal workers were the Bades who also specialised in miniature and *Paubā* painting. As priests hieratic art was his specialized calling; the modellers and sculptors are called Nevās as distinct from other Bades. The Puñ or Chittrakāra caste men painted the walls and not

a little time ago they also prepared *Paubās* and pictures of the deities. As the caste of Puñ is placed much lower in the caste hierarchy than the Bades—it was probable that they were engaged in drawing and painting pictures of Śaivite deities. While the Bades following their old tradition of painting in the monasteries continued to work with deities of Buddhist fold. The Nevā Bades who are now solely occupied with sculpture and moulding were engaged in painting until the mid 19th century A.D.

APPENDIX I

ACCOUNT OF THE JOURNEY TO NEPAL BY CONTEMPORARY FOREIGN TRAVELLERS

Now we have come to the end of our volume. But before it is closed, let me quote relevant passages from the observations of contemporary foreign visitors about their experience of the journey they made to Nepal. It is hoped that although outside the scope of the immediate objective defined, this will tend to provide a fill up to the gap in the knowledge of an aspect of the subject, to which we have made frequent allusions. Even otherwise, while we talked of the visitors, it was essential to have talked of the places traversed by them en route and of things seen that would throw some light on the condition of the people inhabiting such areas. To make the account brief we have quoted only three persons whose observations the historians have attested as correct. We start with Father D'Andrade who wrote in 1628 from his camp in west Tibet.

“The king of this place (of Caparangue i. e. Chaprang) has three or four goldsmiths, natives of the country separated from here by two months of marching and subjugated to two kings, each one individually more powerful than this one, but of the same religion. I gave these goldsmiths some silver to make a cross, according to a model I showed them, they assured me that many of the same pattern were to be found in their natieland, and that different sizes were made in wood and in various metals. They were usually placed in the temples, and for five days in the year they were planted on the public roads, where the people came in crowds to adore them, throw flowers and light up a great number

of lamps. These crosses were named in their tongue "Indor".¹

Let us now come to what Father Grueber said about this country thirty four years later :

"Here is one of the customs of 'Nepal', when a man drinks from the same cup as a woman to honour her, other persons, men or women give them three times to drink of 'chā' (tea) or of wine, and while they drink, place on the edge of the cup three small lumps of butter; the drinkers take these out and place them on their forehead. There is still another custom in this kingdom of monstrous cruelty; if a sick man is approaching death and leaves no hope of recovery, they carry him out of the house into the field, he is thrown in a ditch already full of moribunds; he remains there exposed to the weather, without pity nor piety, he is left to die and his corpse is thrown to the birds of prey, to the wolves, dogs and similar animals. They are convinced that the unique monument of a glorious death, is to obtain a sepulchre in the stomachs of living beasts. The women of this kingdom are so horrible as to resemble veritable demons rather than human beings; as a matter of fact owing to a religious thought, they never wash themselves with water, but rub themselves well with an oil of very offensive smell; besides they smell with a rancid odour; and with the addition of the oil one can hardly take them for human beings, but for ghouls." Father Grueber's description probably applied to the Bhotia settlers of the Nepal-Tibet border.

Tavernier was the first man to collect intimate and exact details about the state of commerce between India and Tibet through Nepal. He writes to say "At five or six leagues from beyond Gorrochepoar (Gorakhpur) one enters the grounds of the Rājā of 'Nepal' which extend to the frontiers of the kingdom of Boutan (Tibet). This prince is a vassal of

1 C. Wessels, Op. cit., pp. 43-68.

the great Mogul and sends him yearly an elephant as a tribute. He resides in the town of 'Nepal' whence he takes his name. His trade and his wealth are well known." From the indigenous informers Tavernier gathered some information about the religious beliefs which distinguish the mountain populations from those of the plains "Beyond the Ganges slightly in the direction of the "Naugrocot' mountains, there are two or three kings who, alike their people, believe neither in God nor in the devil. Their Brahmans have a certain book which contains their beliefs and which is really filled up with moon shine (nonsense), the author of which, 'Bandon' gives no reason" (vide ante).

The next account is that of Father Desideri who had visited Nepal in early January of 1722. Although he stayed there for a fortnight, he gives an intimate account of the social and political condition of the Valley of Nepal as a foreigner could know within that time.²

"During the journey from Kutti to Kathmandu one crosses an iron chain bridge such as I have described before. The road skirted frightful precipices, and we climbed mountains by holes just large enough to put one's toe into, cut out of the rock like a staircase. At one place a chasm was crossed by a long plant only the width of a man's foot, while the wooden bridges over large rivers flowing in the deep valleys swayed and oscillated most alarmingly. During the last days we ascended and descended one mountain after another, but they are not so bare as in Tibet, there is grass and the pleasant shade of trees. Here it is of course impossible to ride, but easy to find men who will carry you. They have leather straps across the shoulders and forehead attached to a board about two hands in length and one in width. On

2 Father Ippolito Desideri. Account of the Kingdom of Tibet. 1931. BK IV, Chapter I, p. 312 (Departure from Lhasa, arrival in Nepal) edited by Fillippo De Fileppi with an Introduction by C. Wassels.

this one sits with legs hanging down, and arms round the man's neck. Father Felice, although old and tired, insisted on walking with me until at last I persuaded him to be carried, but he was so tall and heavy that it was difficult to find men who would carry him, so the poor Father suffered much.

We arrived at Kathmandu on the twenty-seventh of December, where the very Reverend Capuchin Fathers received me with much charity, and kept me in their hospice with great kindness for nearly a month. The kingdom of Nepal owes no allegiance to any foreign power, but it divided among three kinglets who reside in the three principal cities; the first at Kathmandu; the second at Badgao (Bhatgaon), the third at Patan. The kinglet of Kathmandu is not a native of the country, he must be a Rajeput (Rajput) a pagan nation of Mogol between Suret and Agra. His chief wife must be of the same nation in order that their son may inherit. Although his kingdom is small, he has great riches and lives in great state. The petty king who was on the throne when I was in Tibet and passed through Nepal, gained much territory and riches because he inherited Patan from the kinglet who died without an heir. The kinglet of Badgao also is obliged to pay him a small tribute. The present (?) ruler of Kathmandu was a child when he came to the throne, and his mother, together with the ministers and courtiers, plundered public treasury. As soon as he came of age and discovered what had happened he imprisoned the queen and punished her accomplices. When in due time his chief wife had a male child, on discovering that the Neuars (Newars) as the natives of Nepal were called, knowing the succession was now assured were plotting to murder him, he ordered the little boy to be killed and had no more intercourse with his chief wife for fear she should have another son. He also dismissed his Neuar attendants and took men from Hindustan, chiefly Muhammedans, into his service. Furious at seeing their plan thus frustrated, the Neuars rose, invaded the palace, tried to force the kinglet to take his chief wife again into favour, and

to dismiss all foreigners from his service. Now by Nepalese law persons living in the royal palace even any who touched the walls with their hands, enjoyed the right of sanctuary and absolute immunity from any danger; nevertheless the Neuars killed, almost in the presence of the prince, several foreigners and Muhammedans. Another time they sent a deadly poison wrapped in certain aromatic and lonic leaves much used in some parts of India, where they are called betel, in Mogol their name is *Pān*. The Muhammedans exposed the treachery and the kinglet sent for a goat which fell dead after eating a few leaves. The miscreants were punished, but for too leniency, with perpetual banishment. At last the successive rebellions of the Neuars so afflicted the young and robust king, that he died of anxiety and worry.

The old kinglet of Badgao was also rich and a very capable man. He had always refused to pay tribute to the ruler of Kathmandu but at last forced, not only to pay but to give more, after spending large sums in war. During the short time I was at Badgao their ruler twice sent for me, showed me much honour, and when I left, gave a letter to the king of Bitia (Bettiah), whose kingdom I was to traverse; he also gave me an escort to protect me until I had crossed the uninhabited mountains.

The chief people in Nepal, after the petty king, are the Guru and the Pardan (Pradhāna). The former are priests and spiritual directors, but are allowed to marry and are not numerous. Every kinglet has his special Guru, to whom he turns for advice. The Pardan are ministers, officers of the law and nobles. The rest are merchants whose business is in Nepal or who have dealings with Tibet or Mogol,³

“These Neuars are active, intelligent, and very industrious, clever at engraving and melting metal, but unstable, turbulent and traitorous. They are of medium height, dark skinned

3 Desideri, Op. cit., Chapter II, pp. 314-17 ff (Kingdom of Nepal).

and generally well made, but nearly all bear deceit written on their faces, so that any one knowing these countries, would pick out a Neuar from among a thousand Indians. They are cowardly, mean and avaricious, spend little on their food, and dirty in their habits. They wear a woollen or cotton jacket reaching to the knees and long trousers down to their ankles, a red cap on their head, and slippers on their feet; when it rains men and women go barefooted. Nobles, and even the king himself, make no use of saddles, but sit on the horse's bare back with their legs hanging down, or at most have a horse-rug. Rice is their principal food, either cooked or crushed and roasted; the latter serves as bread and as a relish. If they eat meat it is generally buffalo. They drink water and a nasty liquor made of a certain millet which grows in this country and is the staple food of the very poor. A kind of beer is also made from wheat or rice, and drink arac distilled from raw sugar. Much rice is grown as well as wheat, sugarcane, vegetables, and fruits. The houses of several floors are well built, and the streets in the town are well laid out and paved with baked bricks set on end. They are very superstitious in all things, futile observers, and utter heathens. The same differences in rank exist as what in India is called Zat, from the Portuguese castes, what we call tribe or caste. Thus some belong to the royal caste, though they do not reign; others to the Brammans (Brahmins) or priests; others again to the grave-diggers who are not permitted to do any other work, and to the fisherman caste, which is considered the lowest and most infamous of all. The language is peculiar to that country, but their writing rather resembles that of Bengala and the abstruse characters used in Mogol only by Brammans. They write on paper with an iron style and know nothing of printing, but have numerous manuscript books. False Gods are worshipped by them, such as Ram, Mahadeo (Mahadeva), Brumma (Brahmah), Viscnu (Vishnu), Bod (Buddha), Bavani (Bhavāni), and many more. At a

certain quarter of the moon they offer an infinite number of sacrifices to the Goddess Bavani of sheep, goats, and buffaloes, which they allow to rot, and then eat with great devotion as precious relics. On that day the number of animals slaughtered in the whole kingdom amounts to many millions. The many temples to their idols are generally small, save the magnificent ones to Bavani at Kathmandu and at Sangu, a town not very far from Kathmandu. They believe in metempsychosis to an even greater extent than the Tibetans, as they hold that souls not only migrate into animals, but into plants and other vegetables. Corpses are not buried, but burnt, and wives often elect to be burnt with the dead body of their husbands. The common people have an intense dislike of persons belonging to a different religion, specially of Christians, on account of the severity with which Pagans are treated at Goa. Although so many animals of all kinds are killed for sacrifices and food, yet the people treat them with the greatest consideration; they are not made to work, as everything is carried by men. To their false Gods they offer horses and oxen; but instead of killing them they let them loose to go where they will. The beasts wander about the fields and do much damage to rice, wheat, and other cereals; for they belong to Deuta (as the Gods are called) and may not be driven off or disturbed; also this people have a most superstitious veneration for cows.

“If a Neuar leaves the country and goes, for instance, to Tibet or Mogol, or has any intercourse with other Pagans, he is looked upon as contaminated, and when he returns to Nepal may not even approach his relations until he has undergone purification by bathing for forty days in cow’s urine, drinking it, and eating cowdung occasionally. Whether caused by compassion for all living creatures or by lack of courage, their behaviour in war is most ridiculous and fantastic. When two armies meet they launch every sort of abuse at one another, and if few shots are fired, and no one is hurt, the attacked army retires to a fortress, of which

there are many, resembling our country dovecotes. But if a man is killed or wounded, the army which has suffered begs for peace, and sends a dishevelled and half-clothed woman who weeps, beats her breast and implores mercy, the cessation of such carnage, and such shedding of human blood. The victorious army then dictates terms to the vanquished and war ends.

“As to their marriages the law is that every man must marry a woman of his own caste or tribe; for instance, a Brahman must wed a Brahman girl; a swineherd, a girl who tends pigs, and so on. Otherwise they lose grade and caste. They are not restricted to one wife, but have as many as they can afford to maintain. For a widow to remarry is considered disgraceful and almost infamous.

It is not very cold in winter or as hot in summer as in Mogol. The kingdom of Nepal is not large, one can go from one end to the other in a few days, part of it is flat, open country, but the principal part is mountainous, the mountains however are well wooded and pleasant. The chief products are wheat, rice, a certain black millet, vegetables, and various kinds of fruit such as prickly pears, pineapples, lemons, and oranges.

The city of Kathmandu, situated on a plain is large, and it contains many hundred thousand inhabitants and has a few handsome buildings. There is much commerce in this place, as many Tibetans and Heathens from Hindustan come there to trade, and merchants from Cascimir have offices and shops in the town outside the principal gate is a large pond with flights of steps and banks sloping down to the water. In the centre is a tall column standing on the magnificent pedestal under which, according to what the people say, a former king buried a very considerable treasure. There are many pyramids or towers for the extent of two miles on the plain near the pond dedicated to their Gods. The air is heavy, as it is in Patan, and not healthy because of the great humidity.

The city of Patan is about three miles from Kathmandu, also standing on a plain, and has several hundred thousand inhabitants. Badgao stands on a hill some six or seven miles from Kathmandu, the air is much better, and with its fine houses and well laid out streets it is a much gayer and more beautiful city than the other two; it has several hundred thousand inhabitants who are engaged in trade. A few other towns are surrounded with walls, all the rest are poor villages consisting of huts. The kinglets occasionally hunt elephants which are tamed and used on state ceremonies. Rhinoceros are scarce; when captured they are kept in the palaces. The rhinoceros is exactly what you see pictured in books of travel in India, especially in one by Monsieur Tavernier, a Frenchman. All three Nepalese kinglets coin money, but of very debased silver. The larger coins are called Mander-mali, in common parlance Mohor (Mohar), and are worth half a Mogol rupee, or two of our paoli. The smaller money, of purer silver, are succhi, worth half a mohor, and Dam, one hundred and twenty eight of which go to make one mohor, or Mander-mali. The Mohor are very popular in Third Thibet, where they are called Pe-Trangh. The rupee of Mogol is generally used in Nepal in large dealings, where it is worth two Mander-mali. Although the country is so small and the people so unwarlike, it would not be easy to conquer owing to the very high mountains which surround it and the extremely bad and precipitous roads along which no large army could pass.

Desideri left Kathmandu on January 14th, 1722 and then shifted to Bhatgaon. He left Bhatgaon on the 20th on his way to Patan. He closes his account thus:⁴

“For some days we ascended and descended high mountains, meeting very few inhabitants until we arrived on a plain where the kingdom of Nepal ends and that of Bitia begins. I have already said that for many months in the

4 Desideri, *Op. cit.*, Chapter 3, pp. 319 f (From Nepal to Ganges).

year this road is impassable, being deadly. Anyone daring to take this journey at that time is liable to catch a disease called *Ol* by the natives. This *Ol* is a sort of influenza which prevails in the plains and the valleys through which one is obliged to pass; it is less virulent in the day-time, but pestilential at night or when asleep; being caused by the great heat and humidity. In these valleys the Parbettia (Pravatiyas, inhabitants of Bettiah), as the inhabitants of these mountains are called, sow rice, so the fields are always full of stagnant water at least a hand breadth deep. Also the water draining off the mountains collects in pools and putrifies, from whence noxious vapours rise in the summer and hang about the valleys, so the air is pestilential. The malady is generally fatal; if the man survives he never recovers his health. It is true that the men who carry the mail from Nepal to Pattna, and from Pattna to Nepal, are obliged to pass at all seasons, but they know the short cuts, avoid the valleys, and spend the nights on the mountains. They also know certain secret remedies and a drink called Bang water in which dried leaves either of hemp or of some similar plant have been soaked. It is greenish in colour and very refreshing, but makes men stupid and drunk. Many die on the way although they are all natives of these mountains and live for a few months every year in the valleys. You will therefore understand why I passed some months at Kutti, thus interrupting my journey.

“I now take up my narration again. Having crossed the mountains and dismissed the escort given us by the kinglet of Badgao, we arrived at a place in the plain called Paos (Posse in Giorgi), (Posse) belonging to the king of Bitia. There we encountered the first Ciocchi-dar (Chokidar) who was satisfied with small sum, thanks to our letter of introduction to the king of Bitia. We met with much trouble as we proceeded further as everyone wanted money, and if it was refused they prevented us from going on or from turning back. If you give a good present to one of these Ciocchi-dars, you are lost. The news spreads and the next Ciocchi-dar

asks for more than you gave to the last, and so on from bad to worse. On the way we came to two wide rivers; the first we crossed on the backs of men, the second in a boat. In both places when we landed the Ciocchi-dar appeared and the second demanded more than the first, with many threats, which was alarming in so solitary a place. If you show courage they fall upon you; if fear, they assault you, if you show them you possess nothing they say; "ransom your life which is in our hands." In both places we had hard work to satisfy these hungry mastiffs with cake. In others we got through by engaging armed men, so that they might think we were under the protection of the king or of a minister, or else we paid a guide to lead us by some by-path. We crossed another wide river by boat ere reaching Massi (Maisi), and were at once taken to the custom office in the public square where everything is minutely examined; though you may have nought but misery and rags they suck your blood. In short, you cannot walk a step without meeting these rapacious harpies. Both the Revd. Capuchin Father and I were so miserably clad that we ought to have excited compassion in any feeling heart. I leave to you to imagine what would happen to persons travelling with any commodities. I cannot refrain from describing what happened to us after leaving Messi. You must know that Messi is a large, populous, and rich city, subject to the Emperor of Mogol, with considerable commerce and very fertile soil in the neighbourhood. The mountains which divide this province from the kingdom of Bitia are infested by bands of robbers well armed and fortified. They descend from their fastnesses, scour the plain and the roads to Messi and Derbabca (Darbhanga), which also leads to Settli, and even kill travellers. Besides barbarous Ciocchi-dars, robbers and assassins one is exposed to the attack of tigers and other ferocious beasts.

Father Marc

Marc is the last authority we quote. But Marc did not

visit Nepal. He arrived in India at a time when the Nepal valley was under siege. Marc collected his information while in Bettia. He wrote:⁵

“Besides the kingdom of Nepal is subject during the whole year, to epidemics of smallpox or measles, in indigenous tongue “sizila”. To prevent the contagion from spreading into Tibet, the Governor of the neighbouring province takes drastic measures; because the disease once introduced, plays ravages in this population which is not naturally subjected to it.

“All along the route one sees monkeys, peacocks, parrots, doves, and green pigeons and other birds that please the eyes and mitigate the difficulties of the road. One should take care not to kill monkeys; to kill a monkey is a sacrilege, likewise in the killing of a cow; to expiate for its death, the life and blood of the murderer must be given.”

Then Father Marc proceeds to describe the three principalities of Nepal proper. He stated, “There were three dynasties: ‘Patan’, ‘Batga’⁶ and ‘Kathmandu.’ The three kings reign each on their own territory proper; but they hate one another so intensely that they continually wage war and bear implacable enmity to one another. The tradesmen and other travellers who arrive from Hindustan in crossing through ‘Khua’⁷ with the intention of going to ‘Batgas’ are warned by the ‘Pardan’ (Pardhana), who is the mayor, to proceed towards ‘Patan.’ The people of Patan hope to “carry on” in this way during war time and protect public security and the entry of taxes. Between Khua and Batgas the road is an easy and comfortable one, through charming hills.”

Father Marc traces another itinerary which also leads to Nepal, but starting from Bettia. He says, “One travels towards the N.E.: for three days one travels through a region

⁵ Levi, I, pp. 124-25. Italiani Missionari etc. Vol. II, Parts III and IV for details and observations of many others.

Desideri, Op. cit., ‘From Nepal to the Ganges’.

⁶ Bhatgaon.

of tall grasses, which is the lair of tigers, bears, rhinoceroses and bisons. No large roads are met with, but tracks which are hardly recognizable. One reaches at last the foot of the hills where stands a small mountain fort called "Parsa" which is in the forests; it is there that travellers must pay the revenue. From Parsa still more forests have to be crossed and 'Bisciacor' (Bhichhākhorī) is reached in the evening, which stands at the place where a stream comes down the mountain sides; the night is spent here to be safe from tigers; to this effect great fires are lighted and a sharp look-out is kept. The mountains begin from there. A halt is made at "Etonda" on the second night, where ends the kingdom of "Macnampur," which one leaves on the right. It is there that in 1763, the army of Casmalican proceeding furtively for the conquest of Nepal, mistook one road for the other. At Etonda they went to the right, found themselves in Macnampur, assailed one of three fortresses which defend Macnampur. They could not capture it because one man only and two women who were in it defended themselves valiantly. With stones only they compelled 10,000 men to retire. Two days later five more men and a month after another five men entered the fort. Then these twelve men alone made a night sortie, fell on the Musulman outposts and killed a thousand persons; others threw themselves in precipices to such an extent that the army of Casmalican lost on that night 6,000 persons of the bravest and was compelled to fall back on the following day, without any harm befalling them from these people; they assured them that if they evacuated the mountains within three days, well and good, but if they delayed any further, nobody would escape, because they would close the defiles and massacre them all.

"From Bettia to Nepal, the journey takes eight days. (Father Marc traces in detail the dangers of malaria which

7 Khokna, a village south of Patan only 2 miles further.

8 Mir Kasim Khan.

makes the crossing of the Terrai impossible from mid-March to mid-November). From "Etonda" which consists of a few hutments for the protection of the said spot and whence commences the kingdom of Nepal, in pursuing the journey, there is no other path than that of the bed of a stream which comes from the north and flows to the west; this stream, or rather this ditch which runs in and out of the lofty hills, is only two feet wide in the dry season; at other seasons, it is impracticable. It is filled with rocks and large stones which fall down daily from the heights above; the waters are very rapid. A whole day must be spent in the bed of this stream crossing and recrossing it thirty five times. At the end of the stream one climbs a mountain in the midst of which stands the first spot of Nepal, called "Bimpedi" and on the summit of the said mountain stands another fort called "Siasapani" where flows a very cool and limpid stream, which the people have named "Eau de plomb" (lead water). Then ascending and descending for two days the last spot of the mountains is reached, named "Tambacani" (copper mines in considerable quantities, a strong and difficult place to cross and well fortified to attentively observe the travellers; the position is such that ten men can easily repulse with stones 20,000 other men. After crossing several more small mountains well covered with trees the Valley of Nepal extends to the view."

The road from Hindustan to Nepal has, since the days of the Capuchin been fairly often travelled over by Europeans; the road from Nepal to Tibet has remained on the contrary, obstinately closed to Europeans since the passage of the missionaries. The informations they have left behind on this part of the track are then particularly precious and deserve to be gathered carefully. It is Georgi's compilation which has embodied the essential portion; the notes borrowed by Father Marc from the diary of Father Tranquille have only passable interest.

“From “Kathmandu” to Sanku,” XII. One thousand paces. All those who wish to travel from Hindustan to Tibet, must perforce pass by “Sanku” (“Thus Sanku is the bone of contention between the kings of Nepal,” says Father Cassien). From “Sanku” to “Langur” and then to Kuti.

APPENDIX II

*Statement of Father Emanuel Freyer, Agra,
April, 26, 1717, pp. 360 61.*

“Having established Father Hyppolitus at Lassa, on the sixteenth day of April, in the year of our Redemption 1716, after travelling for fortytwo days, I arrived finally in Nepal, where I found five Capuchins, and remained with them five months. One of them died, leaving only four, one of whom was Father Domenico da Fano, the Prefect of the Mission of Thibet. But during that time Nepal, which consists of three cities each ruled independently by a petty king, was scourged by a terrible plague ; in less than three months the number of corpses burnt was close on to twenty thousand.

Not only was the country scourged by the plague, but also by rebellion ; the people rose against the king and expelled him with ignominy, and even broke into his Palace and put to death seven of his servants. Now the Devil (a sinner from the beginning and for ever gnawed by livid envy) saw in these events a chance for himself, so provoked those Pagans to attack the Fathers. But truly an Angel protected us, for whether from a fall of rain in the night, or whether from their greed to rob the houses of the dead, those people were miraculously prevented from harming us. Their pretext for hating the Fathers (whom they also described as “Mogols”) was their monk’s robe. I must here explain that when the Fathers arrived in Pattena they were dressed in the dark coloured robe of Capuchins. Later, however, Cazino, the Inquisitor of the Law of the Mussulmans conceived a friendship for Frey Felix, the superior of the Capuchins, and one day begged him as a favour to discard the dark coloured robe of his order and to dress instead in blue. At the same time he handed the Father some pieces of cotton, saying to him affably: “Cut this stuff into robes and give them to

be sewn". So the Capuchin Fathers, who were full of joy at the change, were soon dressed in blue. But it happened that later, when the plague broke out in Nepal, those people took it into their heads to blame the colour of the Capuchins' dress, declaring that the blue was offensive to the gods and had roused their fury to such an extent that they had broken the bridge that goes from Bengala to Lanca (for such is the name of an imaginary Ceilam at the bottom of the waters rather their Elysian Fields), and that the souls of the dead, not finding the bridge, were obliged to return, and vented their rage on the living by killing them. In short, to appease the wrath of the gods it was necessary to remove the cause, or in other words to kill the Capuchin Fathers.

The Capuchins meanwhile decided on a wise action ; they hurried to a shop and bought some white stuff, and hired some tailors, and in less time than it takes me to tell you they were all of them clothed in white in the Nepal style. When the people saw them in white they exclaimed: "Ah, now you are dressed as you ought to be ; you are not Mogols any more, but are people of Nepal like ourselves".

APPENDIX III (ENGLISH)

Coins

Most of the coins of the Malla period have been described by Walsh in his article written in 1908 A. D. to which reference has been made on different occasions, but upto date (1960) more coins of historical importance have come to our notice, and some of these are helpful in adding to our information of regnal dates and historical personalities.

In the following pages we describe all such coins as are not given by E. H. Walsh. Except a few all of them are illustrated here. Similarly we have given their measurement and weight in grammes.

The coins in circulation were of a denomination, 1 mohar = 2 Sukā or Suki, each carrying the exchange value of 2-2 anna pieces. There were also pieces of unstamped copper lump each of the value of a *paisā*, such 32 *paisās* making a mohar. The Capuchin Missionaries also found Moghul rupees in circulation. The Svayambhu inscription of 878 talks of *Sāhi tānkā* referring to this coin. The exchange ratio between the two was, 1 (*śāhi tānkā*): 2 (mohars). But as we have seen, some Nepalese rulers issued their own double mohar coins.

The weight of the mohar coin was exactly half of the Moghul coin, i.e. 128 grains against 256 grains. We shall, however, show the weight of our coins in grammes.

In all cases the coin weight was derived from the weight of gold and silver. In this connection we may refer to the Svayambhu stone inscription of 878, which mentions of lump in different weights like *dhārni*, *tolā* and *māsā*. The measurement of weight was as follows 12 *māsā* : 1 *tolā*, and 200 *tolās* : 1 *dhārni*.

Ordinarily every coin is dotted at the margin. The marginal dots in a great many cases appear to form a chain of

outer circle. But some have dots completely effaced, and merged in line of the circle immediately close to it. Where dots are preserved, the two appear prominently as two circles.

All coins illustrated here are from the private collection of Kesari Raj Pande, Ministry of Education, Nepal unless otherwise stated.

(1) An undated coin of Mahendramalla, a double mohar (in the possession of Viṣṇudhoj).

This seems to be the earliest specimen of coins of the period, which resembles the Khilzi coinage illustrated in Landon (figs. 3 and 4). According to him the illustration belongs to an age earlier to Lakṣmīnarasimha whose coin figures both in his and Walsh's articles.

The present coin is much simpler in design. There is nothing like the so-called Arabic legend and other emblems as are to be found in the coins of Lakṣmīnarasimha Siddhinarasimha and other rulers keeping to that tradition. In this respect this coin resembles much closely on both sides the design of the obverse of the coin of Śivasimha (Landon, 3 and 4).

As for particulars, the edge is not dotted and there are in its place small eye-shaped figures (petals) all around ; instead of one circle around, we have two, the outer closely following the inner ; at the centre a small circle contains within it emblems as follows, in the obverse, a trident resting on a lotus stalk on both sides, and in the reverse, a thunder bolt (*vajra*) and marks like a crooked line on either side.

The legend covering the entire space outside the central circle is half in the obverse, *Śrīmat Kāṣṭamaṇḍapasvādhipati*, and the rest half in the reverse *Śrī Śrī Jaya Mahendramalla devasya*.

There is no date figure.

(2) A coin of Sivasimha, a double mohar

Weight: 10·375 gms. Measurement : 3 cms.

Design: On both sides a circle in the centre—with a

trident on the one and double drum on the other. In the outer circle on the reverse side we have a *khadga* on the top, At the same place on the obverse there is the name of the king, *Śrī Śrī Śiva Sim* with two crescents but no date figures anywhere. The coin has the look of the illustration No. III in Percival Landon's Appendix XXV to the Volume on Nepal.

(3) A $\frac{1}{4}$ piece of a mohar in the name of Rūpamatī Devī, Pratāpamalla's wife, with her designation of Bihāri Rāja-kanyā, the Princess of Bihar identified with Koch-Behār.

Weight: 1.3225 gms. Measurement: 1.7 cms.

Obverse: The design is slightly different. Two crescents which stand at the top in Walsh's illustration (2 of PL, III) are on two sides of the top portion of the trident, which stand on a surface not plain enough.

There are five dot flowers, two in the middle and three in the periphery on the ground just as in Walsh's illustration. The legend around the trident group reads (above) *Rupamatī Devī*.

Reverse: In two lines of the so-called Arabic or Persian characters with floral ground but not so flowery as in Walsh's specimen. There is no crescent and star as in Walsh's. The legend reads: *Bihāri* (above) *Rājakanyā* (middle). At the bottom there stands the date figure 769.

(4) $\frac{1}{2}$ mohar coin of Mahīpatendramalladeva.

Weight 2.3 gms. Measurement 2.1 cm.

The obverse has a square at the centre with the legend *Śrī Ja* on two sides at the upper ends. The middle figure of the square looks like a conch shell. Around the lines of the square there is a circularly projecting geometrical pattern at every side. The reverse has only one geometrical figure inside the outer circle, which has in the legend from left to the right *te ndra ma lla deva* in the descending and then the ascending order.

(5) A square mohar of Pārthivendramalla.¹

The design of the background is simple on both sides and not flowery as in Pratāpamalla's square coin. Obverse: The legend is spread round a *khadga* flanked by wreaths, from left to right, *Śrī Pā rthi ve ndra ma la*.

Reverse: The remaining part of the legend spreads round with letters *rā jya la kṣmī de vī ma hā rā nī*.

Both obverse and reverse have semi-circular moon on each side of the top at the corner. There is no date.

(6) A half mohar coin of Ṛddhilakṣmī Rājeśvarī with date 808. The coin is of a simple design, the legend is spread in the space inside the circle ; in the obverse, *Śrī 2 Ṛdhi la kṣmi rā je* and in the reverse *śva rī de vī* and date at the bottom 808. The uppermost portion in the reverse has a sun between *śva* and *rī* and above moon on each corner. There is a mark in obverse between *rī* and *dhi*.

(7) A mohar coin of Bhūpālendramalla,² design same as Nos. 1 and 3 of Walsh PL. III, coins of Nṛpendra and Pārthivendra respectively. This is described and illustrated in Landon's book.

Weight: 5·385 gms. Measurement: 2·6 cms.

Obverse: Imitation Persian or Arabic characters in two lines ; sun with spreading rays with *Śrī* on each side in the upper portion ; in the central division there is a trident occupying the centre flanked by letters *ja* and *ya* in the corners of the space and 'bhū and pā' on the immediate right and left ; and *le* and *nndra* in the bottom corners. And then at the lowest division *ma* and *lla*: In the intervening space in the two divisions, bunches of flowers—all with stalks, appear here and there.

Reverse: Design same as in the obverse ; imitation Persian characters in two lines, bunches of flowers—all with

1 Landon. n. 10. p. 324.

2 In the possession of the Archaeological Department, Nepal.

stalks here and there, at the top portion there are 3 bunches and the letters *La* and *kṣmī* in between them ; in the centre, a sword and wreath and above, the crescent, the legend is spread *na* and *ra* on two corners and *ya* and *na* just above the Persian line, flowery field, in general and flowers with stalk at bottom space where we have the date 808. The legend *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa* is not to be found in the coins available in Walsh's book but this is given by Landon. *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa* is the name of the Chief Minister of Kathmandu in the reign of Bhūpālendramalla. *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa* is the only Minister in Nepal of the medieval age to have been honoured by the inscription of his name in the legend of a mohar coin (not illustrated).

(8) Another coin of Bhūpāendra with *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa* dated NS. 809.

Weight: 5.449 gms. Measurement: 2.6 cms.

Obverse: The design is very much the same as that of Walsh's No. 4 of PL. III, which we have described as No. 4. But the central circle is octagonal like the reverse of No. 12 of PL. III in Walsh. There is a trident with two crescents as in Walsh's No. 4 of PL. III, but the three bunches of five dot flowers standing in a triangular dimension at bottom of the trident is a new thing. The legend around the trident group is from above *Śrī 2* at the top and *Ja bhū le ma* on the right and *ya pā ndra* and *lla* on the left proceeding in order from left to right. The eight petals of the outer circle has the legend *Nepāleśvara rājendra*. The outer circle is scalloped and bent to touch the octagon at eight points.

Reverse: We have here the same kind of octagon at the centre with sword and wreath, with two to three dots it makes a bunch of flowers on both sides.

The legend in three lines from left to right on both sides of the trident group is *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa*, date figure at bottom 809 ; the outer circle scalloped in eight lotus petals consists of eight symbolic designs of *Aṣṭamaṅgala*.

(9) Another mohar coin of Vīra Bhūpālendramalla described by Walsh, but he reads the date wrongly as 812 instead of 820.

Weight: 5·440 gms. Measurement: 2·6 cms.

Design similar to figure 4 of PL. III of Walsh with difference in legend.

Reverse: A central circle curved in spherical fashion at eight points, each curved place looks like a diameter, the octagon is scalloped to connect these the round circle is designed to look like a bunch of eight leaves, each leaf standing on the curve. Each leaf is exactly a circle like the shape in Walsh's above ; everywhere between circles of petal there is a bunch of flowers covered by the equal lines forming an angle just above the device. The legend in the petals is *ndra chuḍāmaṇisamrāṭ*, and inside the central circle, with sword and wreath, *Śrī Śrī Kavī*. The date at the bottom in the same circle is 820.

Obverse: Within a central circle there is a trident standing on a line of three dots and two crescents left and right, and the legend around the trident is spread *Śrī Śrī Bhūpā-lendra* ; round a scalloped circle divided in eight lotus petals but not of square shape as in Walsh's illustration, each is formed by two lines on the inner circle and joining the outer one at opposite directions ; there is a bunch of flowers between each two petals below the line of the outermost circle. In the eight petals the legend spreads *Girindra rājendra*.

(9a) $\frac{1}{4}$ mohar coin of Jayalakṣmī. (Archaeological Department).

The obverse has at the centre a circle within which a trident rests. The four crownlike figures contain the legend *Śrī Ja na nī* from left to right. The reverse again within a central circle with protruding sides has a *kalaśa* with petals, while outside, spreads the legend *Jaya la kṣmī devī*, *Ja ya* placed at the top separated by a bunch of dots, then *la kṣmī* on two

sides and *devī* lower down. At the bottom is inscribed the date figure 866.

(10) A mohar coin of Jyotiprakāśamalla. *

Weight: 5.580 gms. Measurement: 2.8 cms.

Obverse: Design, same as in figure 15 of PL. IV of Walsh ; central portion, within circle a trident and the legend *Śrī Śrī Jyotiprakāśamalla* in round circle in eight petals (the *Aṣṭamaṅgala*) ; each petal is separated from the other by three dots above the confluence and one below.

Reverse: Centre, within a circle a sword and wreath, legend around the same *Śrī Śrī Mahīpatendra* and date prominently engraved 866 around, in eight leaves the legend *Nepālesvara rājendra* ; the placing of the leaf is as it is in the obverse. Only the shape is slightly different.

Jyotiprakāśa, a stop gap sovereign of Kathmandu, during the exile of his father was born on 857 *Āśvina śukla amāvāsyā*. According to the *Thyāsapu* 'this year the *Navarātra* was set up in Kathmandu after 16 *ghaṭi* had elapsed and before 18, when there was *Dhanu lagna*, Patan celebrated the occasion after 9 *ghaṭi* had passed before 13 at *vichhā lagna*, this day at 21 *ghaṭi* was born Jagalakṣmī's son (*Thyāsapu F*). His *Busakhā* (hair cutting) was performed on *Samvat 858 Āśāḍha śukla 10 svāti, śukravāra*.

A mohar coin of Jayaparakāśamalla with date figure 870 is with Paul W. Rose in Washington (U. S. A.) Perhaps this coin was issued to mark Jayaparakāśa's restoration to the throne.

(11) A double mohar coin of Siddhinarasiṃhamalla without date. The legend is spread on two sides: on one side within a small circle at the centre *Śrī Śrī*, on the other side *Si ddhi na ra* with a rebuss of a lion, but there is no circle at the centre, instead the rebuss is placed within a diagram of two squares crossing to form eight specified places, while the letters are inscribed on the space to the immediate right of it.

Weight: 10·3495 gms. Measurement: 8·1 cm.

The design is that of the double mohar coin illustrated by Landon (nos. 2 and 3). The so-called Arabic legend is slightly different in our coin. We do not also notice any device like *khadga* or *dvāra*. The thick marginal dots are so arranged to form a circle by themselves.

There is another piece of mohar struck by Siddhinara-siṃha in his name with the design as in Walsh, PL. V. 1, but with date 759 (not illustrated here).

(12) A half mohar coin of Śrīnivāsamalla. The marginal dots show a circle of their own. The obverse shows inside an outer circle, another at the centre; a small square is interposed within an outer square the lines of the minor square being drawn from the centre of the lines of the outer one. A *khadga* flanked on each side by unknown symbols occupies the centre of the minor square. The legend is spread outside the outer square, *Śrī Ni* on two sides at the upper part *vā ma* to the right and *sa lla* to the left at the bottom.

Weight: 1·3175 Measurement: 1·3175.

The four triangles made by the inner square in contact with the outer one each has a flower like pattern of 3 dots forming a triangle. Similarly the space in the circle outside the outer circle, where the legend appears, is interspersed with dots and stalk like crooked lines.

The reverse looks more ornamental but everything is contained within a circle. The legend is *Karuṇāmaya*, which is spread like this: *Śrī* at the top flanked by two crescents, at the centre there is a flower with eight leaves, and this is again flanked by *ka* and *ru* on the left and right, *ya*, at the bottom stands amidst two bunch-like dot groups and above corner *na* and *ma* are placed on the right and left side respectively.

(13) A mohar coin of Yoganarendramalla with Jaya-lakṣmī.

Weight: 5·4290 gms. Measurement: 2·6 cm.

We have coins with Yogalakṣmī, Pratapalakṣmī and Narendralakṣmī. The coin with Jayalakṣmī is not given by Walsh.

On a superficial observation this looks exactly like the illustration in Walsh (8 of PL. V).

The obverse is exactly the same. According to Walsh, "Small square inscribed within a larger, round these, two intersecting squares ; in the central square, a sword, and surrounding 'Loka' in the first line and 'nātha' in second line ; in the outer square surrounding the same Śrī Śrī Śrī and a bunch of flowers ; within the figures of the intersecting squares, a bunch of flowers above and crescent and Moon just beneath the same ; the legend in the various geometrical space Śrī Śrī Yoganarendramalla deva ; outside the figure, the qualifying part of the legend Saṅgītārṇavapāraga'".

The reverse is a figure of intersecting three triangles just as the one of the above. Lines are very slightly bent ; "In central octagon a *stūpa* like vase for offering and wreath and conch shell and mace and Sun and Moon to the left and right of the same". The title appears in the position as in the 8 of PL. V of Walsh outside the triangular space. The legend within the various triangles reads Śrī Śrī Jayalakṣmīdevī. The last is a new feature.

The date figure 805 is placed along with the word 'chūḍāmaṇī' respectively.

(14) A mohar coin of Yoganarendramalla with Yogalakṣmī.

Weight: 5.3785 gms. Measurement: 2.53 cms.

Though similar in many respects to those of Śrīnivāśamalla illustrated in Walsh (4 of PL. V) and Landon (No. 9) this has certain new features. Coins of this ruler in Walsh are dissimilar to the present one. The date is 805.

Similarities are: the obverse is a cross triangle, within the hexagon just at the centre we have a sword (*khadga*) and wreath (*āvaraṇa*) ; the legend Śrī Śrī Lokanātha occupying

the entire hexagon is a new feature, and there are scollopes connecting the various triangles. The name of the ruler features in the six triangles of the cross and spaces formed adjacent of letters in the outer circle ; the placing of letters is also peculiar to this piece of coin. Further, we have on the top *Śrī Śrī* and 'ja' in the triangle above the hexagon ; in the upper two triangles 'ya' on the left and 'yo' right. In the outer space of the middle sector the alphabets are 'ga' left and 'na' right ; the three remaining triangles left, right and bottom have 'rendra' in small characters respectively ; 'ma' and 'lla' occupy the outer space beyond these in the bottom division.

Reverse: The design same as in the reverse of the above noted coins, central circle inside a square (*bhūpura*), a *Dwāra* (line divided and projected outside to look like a gate) at each side ; within the central circle a mirror and a toilet casket and between them elephant goad (*aṅkuśa*) standing on an unusual symbol. the bottom of the same is covered by the date figure 805 the four corners of the square have moon and sun to the left and right above, and two letters 'kṣmī' and 'de' below in the same position left and right ; the four *dwāras* have 'yo' top 'ga' (left) 'la' (right) and 'vi' (bottom). This coin is very much different from the one with *Yogalakṣmī* in Walsh's book (7 of PL. V).

(15) A *suki* (half mohar) of Yoganarendramalla ; the design in the obverse is the same as the coin of Nṛpendramalla (Walsh, III. 1) the legend in three lines, *Śrī Śrī Ja ya yoga na re ndra malla*, the reverse has a simple square within a circle, with legend *Yo ga la kṣmī de vī* in three lines, the *stūpa* like mirror holds a position all through at the middle in between the two letters ; the date just below the line of the square in 805.

Weight: 2.6266 gms. Measurement: 2.1 cms.

(16) A quarter mohar of Narendralakṣmī with Yoganarendramalla. The obverse with two cross triangles has the

legend *Śrī Śrī Yoga na re ndra ma lla Śrī Lokanātha*. The reverse contains *Śrī Na re ndra la kṣmī* within a scollope.

Weight: 1·291 gms. Measurement: 1·8 cms.

(17) A mohar coin of Lokaprakāśamalla dated 826 described by Walsh (n. 62 Malla coins) but not illustrated. According to Walsh it weighs 82·5 grains, and its diameter is 1·02 inch. Walsh reads the date 827 but it must be 826 as the last figure is undoubtedly 6.

Weight: 5·573 gms. Measurement: 2·5 cms.

The obverse has a square, with smaller square inscribed diagonally, and in centre there is a third square containing sword with wreath. The legend is scattered; outside the outer square touching the circle on the fringe. We have 'Lo' and 'śa' to the right and 'kā' and 'ma' to the left, within the outer square 'ja' and 'de' to the right and 'ya' and 'va' to the left; then in the second square, *Śrī Śrī* and 'pra', 'kā' and 'la' from right to the left in the four directions. The date at bottom outside the line of the outer square is 826. Above we notice a Sun to the left and crescent to the right with a bunch of flowers in the middle.

In the reverse, two interlaced equilateral triangles, and at the centre there is a scalloped compartment containing a trident supported by two other small symbols. The legend is scattered over the entire space both inside and outside the triangles. The legend *Karuṇāmaya* and *Yogamaiī* are the names of the deity and the queen mother respectively.

It may appear from the above that we have a different coin from the one described in Walsh. But it is possible that Walsh described the coin without its intimate study. In describing the coin he seems to have followed V. Smith (COIMC, I. p. 288), whose description is reproduced in the book. V. Smith only lists the coin and does not produce the illustration.

According to the very reliable source of the *Thyāsapu B* Lokaprakāśa was crowned king on *Kārtika kṛṣṇa ekādaśī* pra

dyādaśī after 15 days of the death of Yoganarendramalla. He died on *Āśvina kṛṣṇa śaṣṭī*. and was succeeded by Indramalla who was crowned on the 13th of the same fortnight after a week of his predecessor's death.

There is a gap of 15 days between the dates of the death of Yoganarendramalla and of succession of Lokaprakāśa. Similarly there is a week of interregnum between Lokaprakāśa's death and the crowning of Indramalla. The chronicle suggests that on each of these occasions Kathmandu tried to intervene in Patan and capture the throne. But this was frustrated by the intervention of King Bhūpatīndramalla of Bhatgaon, continuous troubles on account of Kathmandu had prevented instantaneous succession in both the cases.

(18) A $\frac{1}{4}$ mohar coin of Indramalla.

Weight: 1.191 gms. Measurement: 1.7 cms.

The obverse: The dot marks are effaced. The extra space within the circle is divided into four crown-like diagrams surrounding a rectangle. The top diagram contains the letters, *Śrī Śrī* (on the right) *ja* on the left *ya ndra* and the bottom *ma la*.

The reverse: Arabic imitation lines as in the coins of Viṣṇumalla, the legend in the upper portion *Śrī Śrī* and *nā tha* at the bottom, while the space between the lines has a *chakra*, and a small coil surrounded by eight dots flanked by *Lo ka*.

(19) A $\frac{1}{4}$ mohar coin of Purandaramalla.

Weight: 1.3689 gms. Measurement: 1.9 cms.

The obverse has two intersecting triangles. The legend is spread in the smaller triangles from right to left, *Pu ra nda ra ma lla*. The reverse is exactly as in the coin of Yoganarendramalla. The date in the reverse is within the circle at the middle and reads 826. Purandaramalla is identified with Indramalla.

(20) A mohar of Vīranarasimhamalla.

Weight: 5.4585 gms. Measurement: 2.5 cms.

Obverse: The design looks slightly different from 7 of PL. III. of Walsh (coins of Vīra Mahendramalla). We have a trident inside the circle at the centre with date figure 829 ; legend clearly reads *Śrī Śrī Vīra Nara simha malla deva* struck in the petals made by four scollopes around the circle, which are in turn scolloped in the same way.

Reverse: The design appears exactly the same as in the above of Walsh. For details in the centre: in circle, sword and wreath and Sun and Moon, and below a triangular shaped branch of a tree in two ; around, in eight scolloped petals forming outer and inner columns and over a flowered ground (this is not found in 7 of Walsh), the legend *Śrī Śrī Lokanātha sahā* (aid of Lokanātha) occurs unlike the coin given in Walsh, this does not bear the name of Yogamatī.

(21) An undated $\frac{1}{4}$ mohar coin of Rājyeśvarīdevī in simple design.

Weight: 1.35 gms. Measurement: 1.7 cms.

Inside the circle there is a four side projected circles. The legend is divided *Śrī Śrī* at the top on two sides of the upper projection, and *de vī* in the lower. Inside the pattern of the circle the letters stand in the order of *rā* (top), *jye* (right), *śva* (left) and *rī* (bottom). The obverse has a small circle at the centre with a trident, and a circle again with 5 petals which from left to right contain the legends *Śrī Śrī Taleju* respectively.

The legend *Taleju* appears also in the coin of Yoganarendramalla, but there it is *Taleju sahāya*.

(22) A $\frac{1}{4}$ mohar coin of Rddhinarasimhamalla (in the possession of Archaeological Department, Govt. of Nepal).

The obverse has a triangle, each angular point touching the circle the latter again closely surrounded by the circle of dots. The triangle has a sword, the blade of which is flanked by wreaths. At angular corners are inscribed the letters *na* at the right, *ra* at the left, and *sim* at the bottom. Outside the triangle the space at the top has *Śrī* flanked by two

bunches of 3 dots each. The right has *R* and the left *dhi* with similar bunches.

The reverse has a central circle with a bunch of eight dots, round one, and around this, in four petals are inscribed *Śrī* at the top, *na* at the bottom, *Lo* on the right and *ka* on the left. Three dots placed in a triangular form decorate the four eye-shaped spaces in between the other circle and the triangle.

Reverse: The design appears exactly the same as in the above of Walsh. For details in the centre: in circle, sword and wreath and sun and moon, and below, a triangular shaped branch of a tree in two; around, in eight scalloped petals forming outer and inner columns and over a flowered ground (this is not found in 7 of Walsh), the legend *Śrī Śrī Lokanātha sahā* (aid of Lokanātha) occurs and unlike in the coin given in Walsh, this does not bear the name of *Yogamatī*.

(23) A mohar coin of Yogaparakāśamalla dated 842.

The obverse is exactly the same as that of Walsh, VI, 3. In the reverse only the centre is different in the sense that the inner is a circle instead of an octagon, but the symbolic representation is the same. (This coin is also given by P. Landon, n. 11),

(24) A $\frac{1}{4}$ mohar of Yogaparakāśamalla.

Weight: 1.305 gms. Measurement: 1.7 cms.

The obverse within a circle has the name of the ruler. The space is intersected by two straight lines, one for the upper part which is smaller, and above which is inscribed *Śrī* flanked by the sun (left) and the moon (right) and another, a larger one, touching the two sides of the circle has below it the date figure 842.

On the space in between the two lines are inscribed in two lines on two sides of a trident *Jaya prakā* to the right, and *Yoga sama* to the left.

The reverse in 6 petals has the legend *Śrī Śrī Loka nā tha*

read from left to right, the same placed round a circle in which is the central position is occupied by a sword, the blade thrust into a bunch of flowers. The placing of sword is not straight, but sideways. There is a stalk with a leaf and flower on the left side and on the right two loops.

(25) A mohar coin of Viṣṇumalla dated 849.

Weight : 5.462 gms. Measurement : 2.7 cms.

The obverse of this piece is exactly the same as that of Landon's No. 13 and Walsh's PL. VI, 5 ; centre circle with date figure 849 at bottom and a trident between *Śrī Śrī* ; in between this and outer circle four petals containing certain symbols and legend ; the first contains *Jaya* with the umbrella in between the second has *Viṣṇu* with a mace in between ; in the third, there is '*malla*' with a bunch of flowers in between and the fourth '*deva*' with a *charka* in between. The reverse has the following particulars peculiar to this piece : the circle is divided as in the piece shown by Landon and Walsh by two lines of the so-called Arabic imitation. But in the top division there is the legend *Śrī Śrī* with the sun placed above the crescent and this occurs on each side unlike in Landon where there is a sun between two *Śrī*, the second line is also differently shaped with no jutting above towards the left as in Landon and its right is also curved to form a hook ; the middle space is encircled by two scollops which traversed up forming another scollope though smaller. There are two bunches of flowers hanging and between a sword inside there is the wreath ; the wreath also unlike in Landon touches at two points below three dot flower beds ; the legend is *Śrī Ka* to the left of the sword group and '*ruṇā*' to the right ; '*maya*' is in the bottom with another bunch of flowers in between ; the ground is flowery.

(26) Another mohar of Viṣṇumalla.

Weight : 5.45 gms. Measurement : 2.6 cms.

The obverse is just the same as above. Only the reverse is somewhat different. The top presents three bunches

of flowers below *Śrī Śrī* unlike in the above, and the alphabets stand between two crescents. Small flowery designs near the top of the wreath in the middle portion is an additional feature. The scollope ends with the middle space. There are no curvatures separating the space of the legend from the sword arrangement as in the above. The last portion is in no way dissimilar.

(27) Yet one more mohar coin of Viṣṇumalla.

Weight: 5.45 gms. Measurement: 2.6 cms.

The obverse is practically the same as in all the coins of Viṣṇumalla except in the coin of 851 (Walsh V. 4). Regarding the reverse side of our coin, although some features are common to this coin and Walsh's V. 5. Yet in the present coin the plant design on the sides of *na ya* at the bottom were a realistic look with the stalk leaf. Also unlike the lower so-called Arabic character (straight line) is not hooked but extends a little further up parallel with the flowery design.

(28) A coin of Viṣṇumalla.

Weight: 1.298 gms. Measurement: 1.7 cms.

The obverse has the same appearance as the above n. with the legend *Śrī Viṣṇumalladeva* and the date figure 849, the arrangement also being quite similar. The reverse also not very much different presents the eight petals round a circle at the centre. The legend in 6 petals reads from left to right *Śrī Śrī Lokanātha*. The central circle has a *khadga* or dagger flanked by a wreath on each side, the top having a crescent on both sides and two loops rise along with the wreaths.

(29) A mohar coin of Rājyaparakāśamalla.

Obverse: Central circle with cross triangles with Sun and Moon above and a trident at the centre with lotus petals and flowers on the ground at three places; the lowest subsidiary triangle contains a *kalāśa*; the subsidiary triangles

contain respectively *Śrī Harasiddhi*. The date figure outside this triangle is 8 on the left and 65 on the right. The outer scalloped circle divided in eight by eight straight lines connecting the inner circle at respective points contains *Śrī Śrī Rājyaparakāśamalla*.

The reverse is exactly the same as that of 8, PL. VI of Walsh inside, a scalloped circle, in eight curves with sword and wreath and two footprints on sides and the legend around *Śrī Śrī Lokanātha*, while outside, *Śrī Śrī Vīra Yoganarendramalla*.

(30) A quarter mohar coin of Rājyaparakāśamalla.

Weight: 1.250 gms. Measurement: 1.7 cms.

The obverse within a circle has the legend round a trident, *Śrī 2 Rā*, at the top *Jya kā ma* to the right and *pra śa lla* to the left and the date figure 865 at the bottom.

The reverse has an inner circle with a sword and on two sides of it flowery wreaths. The outer space has the legend *Śrī Śrī Lokanātha* in the six petals.

(31) A quarter mohar coin of Rājyaparakāśamalla.

Weight: 1.223 gms. Measurement: 1.7 cms.

In the obverse at the centre the geometrical pattern is a triangle with a trident flanked by two crescents on two sides above corner, and the legends are inscribed on the space outside; at the top *Śrī 2 Rā*, right *jya ka ma*, left side *pra śa lla*, and bottom 865. The reverse has also a central circle with a sword flanked by wreaths, and crescents at the upper corner, while the legend in six petals reads *Śrī Śrī Lokanātha*.

(32) A mohar coin of Raṇajitamalla for Patan.

Measurement: 2.8 cms. Weight: 5.4644 gms.

Obverse: This side differs much from the No. 4 of PL. II of Walsh, another coin of Raṇajita.

At the centre within a square the legend *Śrī Śrī Śrī Karuṇāmaya* with date figure 882; around, four scallopes con-

necting the four corners of the square on straight lines ; and also at the centre of each side of the square, a small scollope ; but these are not connected ; the legend spreading over the entire area covered by both scollopes forms *Śrī Śrī Jaya Raṇajitamalla deva*.

The stamp of the royal seal on the copper plate inscription of the Patan Darbar is the same as the above.

Reverse: The design exactly is the same as in 4 of PL. II of Walsh. (The coin of Lakṣmīnarasiṃha and Raṇajitamalla). It has features much in common with the traditional shape and design of Bhatgaon coinage.

Within the central circle a trident is resting on lotus and above. a sword and wreath appear just as in 3 and 4 of PL. II of Walsh, the coins of Bhūpatīndramalla and Raṇajitamalla.

According to Walsh this was the design of the coins made for Tibet.

(33) A mohar coin of Dalamardana Śāha of Patan.

Weight: 5.4845 gms. Measurement: 2.8 cms.

The design of the obverse is different from that of the one illustrated in Walsh, but the reverse looks exactly the same. The obverse is divided by two straight lines (unlike the bent lines of the usual coins) in exactly the same traditional special relationship: above the Sun and Moon with the legend *Śrī Śrī Da* in between the two; at the centre, a trident with the rest of the alphabets of the name in two lines on both sides of the trident; the arrangement in first line 'la' 'ma' on the left and 'rda' 'na' on the right and second line 'sāha' and 'deve' in the same way; at bottom, two bunches of flowers and in between these the date figure 884.

(34) A mohar coin of Tejanarasimhamalla of Patan.

Weight: 5.2828 gms. Measurement: 2.70 cms.

Obverse: Design same as in No. 8, IV of Walsh, the coin of Yoganarendramalla, but with difference in particulars; a small square within a larger square and round

these; two still larger intersecting squares; in the centre square a trident standing on a lion with the tail raised as in others; above, outside the triangle formed by the squares the Sun and Moon and in the triangle a bunch of flowers.

The legend over flowery designs is *Śrī Śrī Jāya Tejanara* rebuss of a lion as aforesaid to fill the word 'simha' and then comes 'malla-deva'; also in other remaining triangular space we have *Śrī Śrī Vira Yoganarendramalla*.

Reverse: Without any lines except one towards the end; this is joined on the left with another serpent like line. This line arrangement is exactly like that of No. 12 of PL. II of Walsb.

At the centre a sword and wreath and on each side, symbolic signs of foot-print; three small leaves on the left, and a conch shell on the right; flowery ground; the legend is *Śrī Śrī* (outside the periphery of the line) *Śrī Lokanātha*, dated 885 at bottom outside the line.

(35) A quarter mohar of Jagatprakāśamalla: the design is simple; the obverse within a circle has a finial (*kalaśa*) in the centre, the legend being *Śrī Śrī Jaya Jagatprakāśamalla*; the reverse equally simple is intersected by two lines, the legend *Chandraśekhara Siṅg* occurs in the first space, the last space contains Sam. 782.

Weight: 1.378 gms. Measurement: 1.2 cms.

(36) A quarter mohar of simple design is the name of *Śrī Śrī Sumati Ja* (obverse) and 'ya' *Jitāmitramalla* (reverse)³.

A $\frac{1}{4}$ mohar coin of Jitāmitramalla (in the possession of Archaeological Department, Government of Nepal).

The obverse of the coin has the legend within a circle *Śrī Śrī*, and the reverse also within a circle *Ji tā mi tra malla*.

(37) A half mohar coin of Bhūpatīndramalla, with Samvat 816 Bhā va 11.

Measurement: 2.1 cms. Weight: 2.572 gms,

3 In the possession of Robert Michand, Maine (U. S. A.)

It is a simple coin. The obverse has a *Sarasvatī Yantra* and the legend *Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhū pa tī ndra ma la deva* spreads in the different triangles formed, and *Śrī Śrī* lie exactly in the middle.

Reverse: Within the circle there is a triangle which has a jar supervened on two layers of pedestal at the upper position and a Moon on each side at the lower position. Outside the triangle in the spaces at the left, the legend *Samvat 816*, at the right and *Bhādra va 11* at the bottom written upside down.

(38) A mohar coin of Bhūpatīndramalla with short *tī* unlike (other coins which have *tī*).

Measurement: 2·6 cms. Weight 5·512 gms.

The design is the same as in Walsh (II. 2).

(39) A mohar of Raṇajitamalla as different from the above in regard to the placing of date figures. The coin has almost the same design as that of Walsh II.3 both in the obverse and reverse. Only in the date figures 4 and 2 are a little differently drawn. In the inner circle of the reverse we have a trident supported by E like symbols on both sides.

The silver *Dām* coins called *phasañ pu* were current, and we have such coins in the name of Bhūpālendramalla, Bhāskaramalla, Mahīndramalla and others. The letters inscribed on the tiny silver leaves of round shape was *Śrī Bhūpāla*, *Śrī Bhāskara*, *Śrī Mahendra*, etc. respectively.

APPENDIX IV

Postscript

The Thyāsapu H : As the book was going through the print at the last stage, we got hold of an original source material written in rolling and attached leaves which we call here the *Thyāsapu H*.¹

The *Thyāsapu H* gives records of events between 749 and 835 (=1629-1716 A.D.) in several leaves. There are also stray notes of the events of the earlier or latter dates. The events are mostly birth occasions of various individuals, kings, princes and ministers and others, occasions of their death, sacrificial offering and in a few cases occurrences political in nature. The noting is accompanied by a *kuṇḍali* in many instances. Many of these records find mention also in the *Thyāsapu A, B* and our chronicle, but some throw light on events which have been obscure so far. It was, however, in terms of chronology we learn new facts and details occur only in one or two places.

All the information about the dates of the birth of Siddhinarasiṃhamalla, Śrīnivāsamalla, Yoganarendramalla, Nṛpendramalla's son, Bhāskaramalla, Yoganarendramalla's son (by his married wife) and Raṇajitamalla are verified by various sources we have already given. Such is also the case with the reports of the death noted with dates of Jagatprakāśamalla and Yoganarendramalla. One entry, this about the birth of king Pratāpa's father, 718 *Vaiśākha śukla* is wrong. The Oṭu stone inscription of 711 calls him the ruler of Kathmandu. Probably the scribe has committed a mistake in noting the year which should be 708. We also find that the ceremonial crowning of king Yoganendra is correctly noted, and this is supported by other sources.

1. The *Thyāsapu H* is now acquired by the Bir Library.

But this kind of noting is not important for our purpose. We shall therefore take up the translation into English of all those few passages which give us fresh information on the obscure events of the period. We shall here also take a note of the fact that the information generally is about the birth and death of kings and princes.

Birth of Siddhinarasiṃhamalla: On *Samvat Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī pra navamī bharuṇi gaṇḍa bṛhaspativāra mīnā-lagna simhāṃśake Śrī 2 Hariharasiṃha Varmāna* begot Siddhinarasiṃhamalla by his married wife.

Birth of Jagatprakāśa: *Samvat 759 Kārtika kṛṣṇa amāvāsya* etc. On this day was born Śrī Śrī Nareśamalla's son.

Birth of Yogamatī: On *Samvat 805 (=1685 A.D.) Śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa 8 budhavāra*, etc. was born Yoganarendramalla's first daughter Yogamatī.

Yogamatī was 20 years old when his father died, and she called upon to run the affairs of state as regent.

Crowning of Lokaprakāśa: *Kārtika śukla II budhavāra* Yoganarendramalla died, 33 women were burnt to death, the same night, the queen mother and king of Kathmandu reached Patan, after four days of the death the people of Kathmandu wanted to take away Lokaprakāśa, and thereupon ensued a severe catastrophe, gods of Buga and other palaces were angry and as a result all joined hands to beat the men of Kathmandu, they were caught while fleeing, quite a number of them were killed ; all this happened to those of Kathmandu on the day of *Pūrnimā*, five days later queen mother of Kathmandu returned home with her son. After this, Lokaprakāśamalla was crowned on *Kārtika kṛṣṇa 11 bṛhaspativāra*, etc.

Crowning of Indramalla: King Lokaprakāśa died of an attack of small-pox on *Āśvina kṛṣṇa 6 pra 7 budhavāra* of the year 826. Next day, people collecting, Indramalla was declared king ; this very day Lokaprakāśamalla's body was taken to the *ghāṭ* for cremation ; the *deva* was just eight years old.

We do not know to whom the word *deva* referred. If it applied to Indramalla we shall have to revise our estimate of Bhāgyavatī who figures in the coin of Indramalla. Although marriage during one's infancy was not unknown in the royal family it would be absurd to say that as wife of the king Bhāgyavatī was a powerful person in the court of Indramalla, if she was not already an adult at the time of marriage. But an adult wife to an infant is ruled out as impracticable, unconventional and against *Śāstric* injunction. There is also the problem of weighing the evidence against the statement of *Mudāvatiḥaraṇanāṭakam*.

Yogamatī mother of Lokaprakāśa was born in 805, so if the expression was used with reference to Lokaprakāśa, she must have given birth to him while she was 13 years old. This is not improbable for during the time she lived, a woman was married and became mother at an early age. But we are to consider here other facts in the light of available source materials before we make a conclusive statement in this connection. The drama *Mudāvatiḥaraṇanāṭaka* for one throws light on a few obscure points connected with Indramalla's earlier career, and I think I should briefly deal with its relevant data at this stage.

In this 3-act play the author, one Baladeva of Brāhmaṇa caste narrates the story of the princess Mudāvati being rescued by Prince Śrīvatsa from the hands of the demon Kujambha. Perhaps this is an old theme, but the writer narrates incidents as if Mudāvati was no other than Bhāgyavatī and Indramalla is identified with Śrīvatsa. The father of the girl is Rājā Viduratha, a chieftain of Champapur (Chapagaon, 4 miles south east of Patan), while Śrīvatsa was the son of another chieftain Rājā Bhenandana of Sati-gal. The scene of the drama is Champapur, its forest and its ponds where lived the demons and snakes. The deity of the area popularly known as Vajravārāhī blesses the party on the occasion of killing the demon. Thus whatever be the

identity of the characters in respect of time the setting was local and contemporary. The story can just be allegorical.

The drama was composed in 828 and as the author mentions it, the King ruling in the area was Indramalla who is mentioned several times as the husband of Bhāgyavatī. Once *nṛpati* Vīranarasimha is also mentioned. All this, however, will not have any relevance to Indramalla's age. But Indramalla was the son of Śrīnivāsa's second daughter and it is possible that Bhāgyavatī's parents or relations might have been of help in placing him on the throne.

He definitely owed his throne to Bhāgyavatī's connections. But how this was achieved nobody knows. In the absence of further information we are not aware of the date of his birth nor of his age at the time of crowning. The reference to Vīranarasimha is also not helpful. But he might be a relation of Indramalla. That he was known to the author is clear from the passage where his name figures. Because he is addressed as *nṛpati*, he was surely related to the Royal family.

Information about religious occasions: Under date 784 the *Thyāsapu* goes to note occurrences regarding the many festivals of the year. We shall quote one or two occurrences: *Chaitra kṛṣṇa amāvasyā*, this day the Sun rise, people took bath in Mātātīrtha.

Samvat 784 Chaitra śukla pratipadā, this day Motirāja kept this in writing; At Sun rise Śrī 3 cho-bahara, God of cho-baha, took bath; *Chaitra śukla navamī* is *Rāmanavamī*. On the *Ekādaśī* the *yātrā* was performed—a buffalo was killed.

This is the first reference to the Lokeśvara of cho-baha in an authentic record.

Following the passage we have above translated there are others which mentioned in particular the festivals of season.

GLOSSARY

Buddhamargi	... a follower of Buddhism
Sivamargi	... a follower of Saivism
Rāma	... the hero of the epic Rāmāyaṇa
Hanumāna	... the monkey God who acted as loyal soldier of Rāma
Guru	... teacher
Bhotia	... inhabitant of Bhot
Jāmā	... frock worn to the anklet
mūdrā	... formation of fingers of hand
gātā	... cover of the ms. book
tapasyā	... penance
dipadāna	... offering of light
dhūpadāna	... offering of incense
Sugatavamsavatarini	... born of the scion of a Buddhist
Ekthari	... having only one subcaste
Guthiyar	... entrusted with the management of Guthi property

The reader is requested to read the section on the time system in Part II Ch. IV for the many terms he may come across in connection with any statement about the day and other astronomical elements of an event.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ABORI** *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
- Bendall, History** C. Bendall, *A History of Nepāl and surrounding Kingdoms (1000-1600)*, in JASB, LXXII (1903), pp. 1-32 ; reprinted as Historical Introduction at the beginning of CPMDN, I.
- Bendall, Journey** C. Bendall, *A Journey to Nepal and Northern India*, Cambridge, 1886.
- BLI** Bhagwanlal Indraji, *Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal*, Translated by G. Buhler, Bombay, 1885. This contains at the end his article on 'Some Considerations on the History of Nepal' earlier published IA, XIII, 1884.
- The Blue Annals** *Bod-kyi yul-der chos-dañ chos-smra-ba Jiltar byun ba'i rimpa Deb-ther snon-po or in short Deb-ther snon-po.* This was composed by Gos-lo-tsa-ba gzon-nu-dpal (1392-1481 A.D.). Translated by George N. Roerich, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, Part I, 1949 and Part II, 1953.
- BSOAS** Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, XX (1957), Furer—Hamendorf, the Interrelations of Caste and Ethnic groups in Nepal.

- CAI *Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.*
- CBMC C. Bendall, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, 1883.*
- CMI V. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1906.*
- CPMDN H. P. Sastri, *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected paper Manuscripts belonging to the Darbar Library, Nepal, 2 Vols. Calcutta 1905 and 1916.*
- CSBM C. Bendall, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum, London, 1903.*
- CSMASB H. P. Shastri (et alii), *A descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 1. ff. Calcutta, 1917 ff. (the latest volumes out are XIV of 1955 and XI of 1957).*
- CSMBM C. Bendall, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum. London, 1902.*
- CSMIO A. B. Keith, *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, Vol. II, Oxford, 1935.*
- Darb. Lib. Cat. or
DLC *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Darbar Library, Kathmandu in four volumes (not published).*
- DNI H. C. Ray: *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1931, Vol. I, Ch. IV, pp. 185-234.

- EI** *Epigraphica Indica.*
EHD *Early History of Deccan*, Edited by G. Yazdani, Vol. I & II, 1960.
Gnoli R. Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters* (Series Orientale, Rome, X, 2), Rome 1956.
GI (CII) *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum III*, London 1888, edited by J. F. Fleet (Gupta Inscriptions).
HCI Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vols. IV, V, VI.
IHQ *Indian Historical Quarterly.*
IA *Indian Antiquity.*
Italiani Missionari, etc. *Il Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*, 7 Parts, edited by L. Petech (in Italian) Rome, 1953.
J. As *Journal Asiatique.*
JASB *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JBORS and JBRS *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, afterwards *Journal of the Bihar Research Society.*

ERRATA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Lines</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
18	32	deities of names	names of deities
24	15	It	it
34	22	stella	stele
38	7	from	to
48	8	We	we
59	24	stella	stele
61	1	ṭhākure	ṭhākura
69	18	stpua	stupa
69	footnote	धूल	धूत
77	footnote 57	ती	श्री
77	footnote 58	stella	stele
80	25	prohibited	prevented
86	15 & 16	were...Brahmanas	delete
92	24	&	and
92	26	Māgha	Mārga
92	34	malla was only a month	malla was only 2 years and a month
93	17	Mahārājādhirāja Nṛpendra	Mahārājādhirāja; Nṛpendra
94	25	verified	verified the date
95	19	Taleju Pillar	Taleju Copper Plate
96	32	openly this says.	openly; this says:
73	28	father	Father
93	16	Matripatendra	Mahīpatendra
97	3	Nṛpendra the events	Nṛpendra, the events
97	32	stella	stele
101	12	stella	stele
108	28	784	791
113	9	setting up to the images	setting up the images
113	10	lunar	Solar
114	24	the day at night	the day and at night
116	36	of death of the	of the death of Nṛpendra
119	12	stella	stele
119	17	stella	stele
118	footnote	as Ratnamalla, follows	as follows Ratnamalla,

<i>Page</i>	<i>Lines</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
126	footnote 81	South west No. 1	south part of West No. 1
128	31	Lakṣmīnarasiṁha	Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa
128	2	stained	strained
129	20	Kathmandu tried	Kathmandu ruler tried
129	30	Patan he was	Patan that he was
130	17	referred	refused
130	9	frustrateary	frustrate any
131	23	source	sources
132	5	cast-entry	last entry
133	6	It	If it
133	27	to give the	to give her the
133	27	brothers	brother
134	4	chief queen)	(chief queen)
140	31	which states.	which states :
145	15	cattle	battle
145	32	802	808
150	footnote 89a	Bārabise	Kāping
150	„	2	36
150	„ line 3	Bārabise occupies	A little further north Bārabise
152	25	made	delete
153	15	have been possessed	have possessed
155	34	name	home
162	34	Rupees	mohar
164	14	on	in
164	24	The ceremony was	The ceremony Bhuvana- lakṣmī performed was
164	24	Talegu	Taleju
165	15	somewhat	suggested
169	8	of the repairing	of the occasion of repairing
169	21	stella,	stela
172	14	At Pimbahil with	at Pimbahil there is also a stele with
177	19	had a new king	had each a new king
180	footnote 115	उथयजुयात्रो	उथयजुयात्रो
183	23	of 855	of <i>Phālgūṇa</i> of 855
187	15	an	on
190	13	Sametime	Sometime
196	22	he	Jayaprakāśa
197	4	and would	and he would
199	20	thouh	though

<i>Page</i>	<i>Lines</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
200	24	age as Patan	age Patan
207	footnote 14	stella	stele
222	10	7th	8th
222	26	conched	couched
228	15	stella	stele
228	20	The	the
228	29	passed	paved
229	14	taken by	taken care of by
234	22	deeds are	deeds but none are
238	26	<i>patrikā</i>	<i>paṭṭikā</i>
240	21	Rs.	<i>mohar</i>
240	29	east country	last country
249	14	Desideri	Cassino
250	34	of	or
251	7	lacking	lack
260	30	Lahnibrumāyām	Lalitabrumāyām
265	31	plam	palm
265	5	although in practice the	Although the Patan
271	31	as his Pratapa	as his son Pratāpa
274	28	to	in
277	13	more than	more valuable than
278	7	investigation	instigation
281	30	that a wicked	that wicked
281	31	repulsed, on	repulsed, and on
285	5	their	his
286	29	one summoned	one was summoned
288	footnote	ग्रह	ग्रउ
289	2	Ugha	Ujhā
289	2	These	these
289	26	temple in	temple regulations in
292	30	none	some
294	31	seige	siege
294	32	While	while
296	6	There	These
299	23	stella	stele
302	28	and a strong	and he felt a strong
303	29	on	one
305	9	place Gāmarāyatā	pace to Gāmarāyatā reaching
307	13	stella	stele
307	16	stella	stele

<i>Page</i>	<i>Lines</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
312	12	to	the
319	27	11 a combined	11 there was a combined
323	3	fight	flight
326	13	scot free whatever	scotfree. But whatever
326	31	he	it
332	7	Morang who has	Morang are
332	7	made	met
335	19	its	his
338	1	removed	removal
338	6	age of 40	age of 39-40
341	9	the day	the 15th day
344	15	But appears	But it appears
345	1	name spelt	name is spelt
345	20	wishes	wishes; she
345	20	pushing up	push him up
346	9	been collapsed	been accepted had collapsed
346	16	for some	for sometime
347	21	epithets	epithets occur
351	7	rupees	<i>mohars</i>
352	30	Rs.	<i>mohars</i>
352	35	as of its	as its
353	20	Rs.	<i>mohars</i>
355	5	Rs.	<i>mohars</i>
355	8	rupees	<i>mohars</i>
358	16	rupees	<i>mohars</i>
359	5	Patan	Patan says:
359	17	Kirtipur, dated	Kirtipur, is dated
359	28	stella	stela
359	32	<i>br̥haspativasare)</i>	<i>br̥haspativāsare)</i> is also available
368	24	<i>Śaka naṣṭa</i>	<i>Śaka 1689 naṣṭa</i>
371	7	the all	the small
371	8	locked	lacked
374	31	how	now
379		Hṛddhinarasiṃhamalla (NS 853-37)	Hṛddhinarasiṃhamalla (NS 835-37)
383	15	rupees	<i>mohars</i>
387	27	district	district or two
388	32	W. W.	N. W.
389	34	only thing	only to think
390	6	Patan	Patna

<i>Page</i>	<i>Lines</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
394	12	own	our
394	28	life	line
399	26	that	what
400	27	796	794
401	35	which	while
402	22	had no least	had least
406	3	803	802
406	32	As literature	As men of literature
407	t2	and have	and we have
414	13	fullscape	fullscap
419	30	Rājāmahārānis	Badāmahārānis
425	24	Talegu	Taleju
429	7	snipped	snapped
429	18	ploples	peoples
429	32	to be	to the
430	2	which every	whichever
430	35	Jitāmitra's	Jagatprakāśa's
431	7	them friendly	them were friendly
436	20	little	title
439	26	Taleju and	Taleju and make her
457	19	incumbence	incumbent
459	15	VIII	vIII
459	17	VIII	vIII
461	29	while	while they
462	5	Kathmandu to	Kathmandu and he was pleased
462	11	emergence	emergency
462	27	beseiged	besieged
466	6	his	its
467	28	rulers while	rulers and this is that while
474	16	1744	1717 A. D.
477	2	caves	caves
477	29	abhor sins	abhorred sins
477	34	so justice	So here again
481	1	preside the	preside over the
484	14	punishment	punishments
490	24	princes participated	princes the former partici- pated
490	32	Even	even
490	33	comity	party
492	22	has	had

<i>Page</i>	<i>Lines</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
493	23	these political	political
495	22	and potatoes	and sweet potatoes
496	29	Pālung. of rivers	Pālung and of rivers
497	8	was to be	was not to be
497	30	trovers	troves
498	19	London	Landon
502	6	‡	‡
502	16	on important	on this important
505	28	mention Karsa	mention 2 <i>karṣa</i>
513	19	condition secret	condition that a secret
516	5	lentilor	lentil or
532	27	show	shows
532	34	1706 A. D says	1706 A. D. however says
533	4	as early	as early as
533	7	dam, of	dam, 1/64 of
535	27	facilities	facilitate
536	18	skin over	skin cover
536	18	was examined	was once again examined
541	8	lands	lanes
544	34	or just	or it might even mean just
546	25	spot actually	spot was actually
546	30	Thambubol	Thambutol
548	4	773	772
554	11	had indifferent	had adopted names in different
555	11	Hari	Hara
556	14	VIII	vlll
558	9	where	were
558	12	appears	appear
564	1	was area	was the area
564	34	818	822
577	24	elements had	elements which had
584	14	Vol	verses
586	23	of the	of the deities
591	6	jutling	jutting
591	28	being all	being almost all
592	4	casteman	castemen
592	19	this	his
592	30	feet	fact
593	11	Grins	handed
604	13	since the	since then the

Page	Lines	Incorrect	Correct
616	19	plays, among	plays, and among
626	footnote line 3	back his	back to his
635	6	1767 A. D.	1769 A. D.
635	16	reflex	reflects
637	21	confident	confidence
638	1		<i>Dance Entertainments:</i>
648	26	two	three
648	26	bronze	clay plaster
658	13	cythe	scythe
670	7	refers	refer
686	30	892	802
703	5	<i>itali</i>	Keṭṭu Kalyānam
705	28	ends	begins
718	22	<i>Kusunda</i>	<i>Sukundā</i>
733	8	headmen	headman
737	20	guthi	guthi keepers
762	28	on	one
764	8	Jaladhāri	Jaṭadhāri
765	34	extent	extant
765	36	These	There
779	8	There also	There are also
782	19	light	tight
784	6	uspend	suspend
818	4	may	in any
834	4	voracity	veracity
836	f. n. 326	Nepal	Bengal
866	17	south-east	south-west
872	6	is always	is not always
873	21	balcony lies	balcony which lies
877	28	show	show pieces
879	27	lost a	lost is a
881	16	is at	is maintained at
886	22	Patan, however	Patan, has however
890	14	raides	raised
891	17	and	and there is
896	9	Chanks	Chauks
903	12	civic	chariot
914	12	were	wear
914	22	Parasvati	Pārvati
916	2	ankle	ankle and in the

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
917	1	multiples	multiplied
918	22	maids Garuda	maids, Garuda
920	34	a jug	a jug, a
933	22	Mongoloid a large	Mongoloid and a large
925	34	does not also	does. It does not
933	21	knee	ankle
934	20	poses	posed
934	25	relics	relief
939	12	bell	belt
945	3	black sand stone	black stone
949	17	headed	beaded
950	31	not	nor
951	6	looses	loses
954	1	<i>linā</i>	<i>vinā</i>
977	2	<i>Suptasatī</i>	<i>Saptasatī</i>
982	27	Goddesses eight	Goddesses are eight
984	10	between a	between and then a
985	2	graze. Where	graze, where
989	20	lives	lines
992	5	struck	stuck
994	5	another	and other
1003	8	visavis	<i>vis a vis</i>
1009	12	for	far
1009	12	leniency	leniently
1022	21	help	half
1024	21	Reserve	Reverse
1040	footnote	Robert Michand	Robert Michau
1043	7		Samvat 726
1045	27	tool	took

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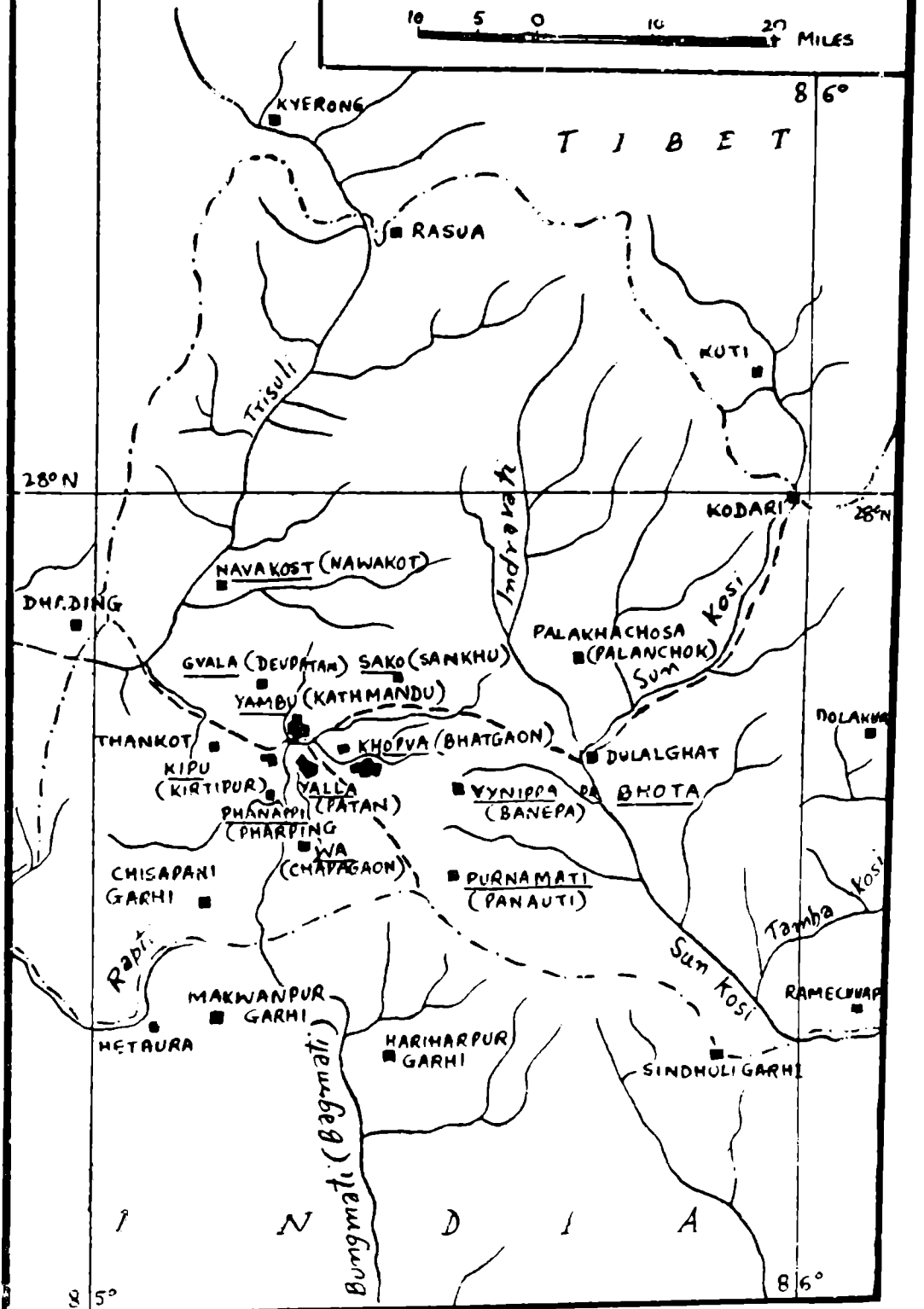
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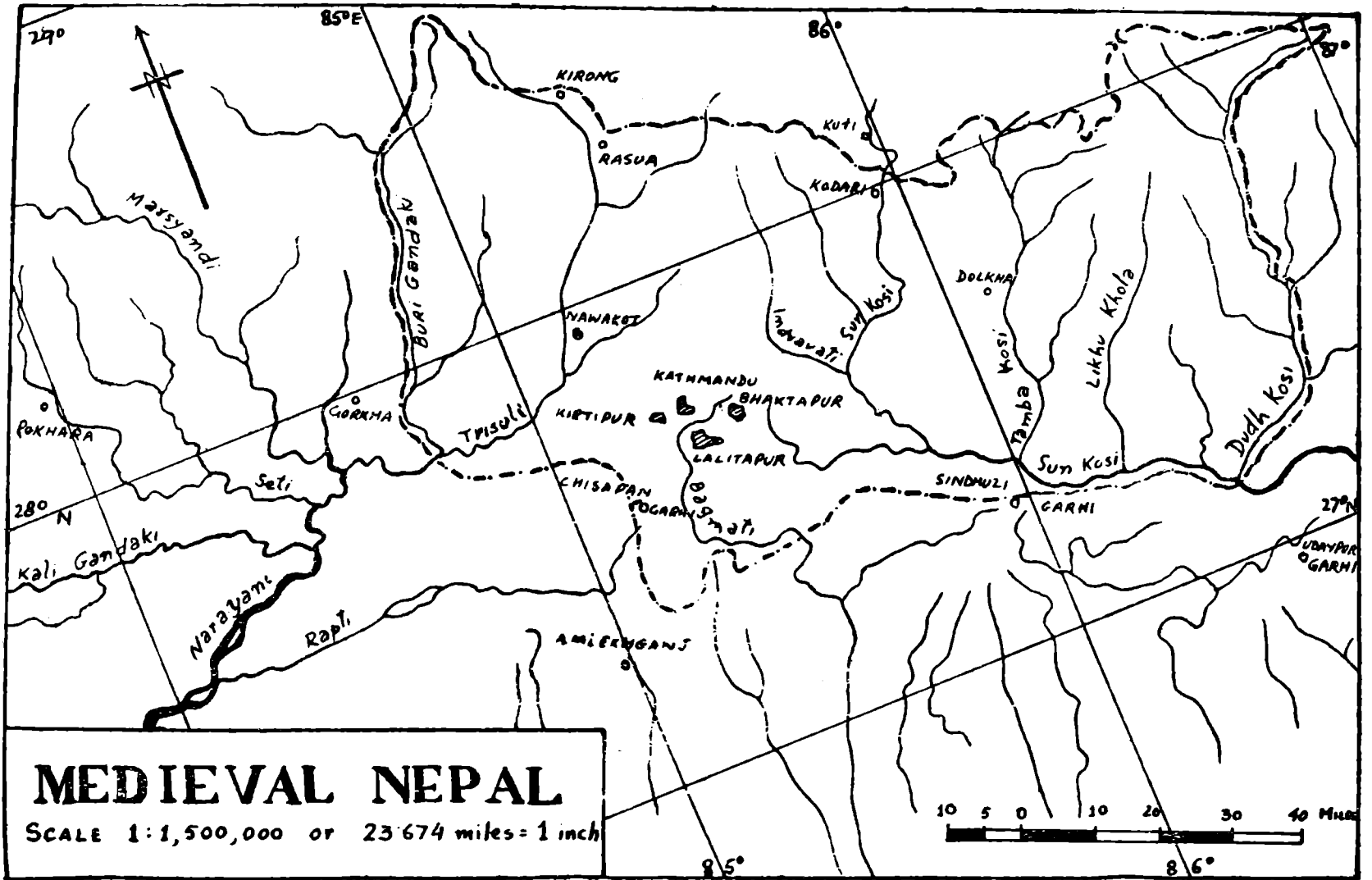
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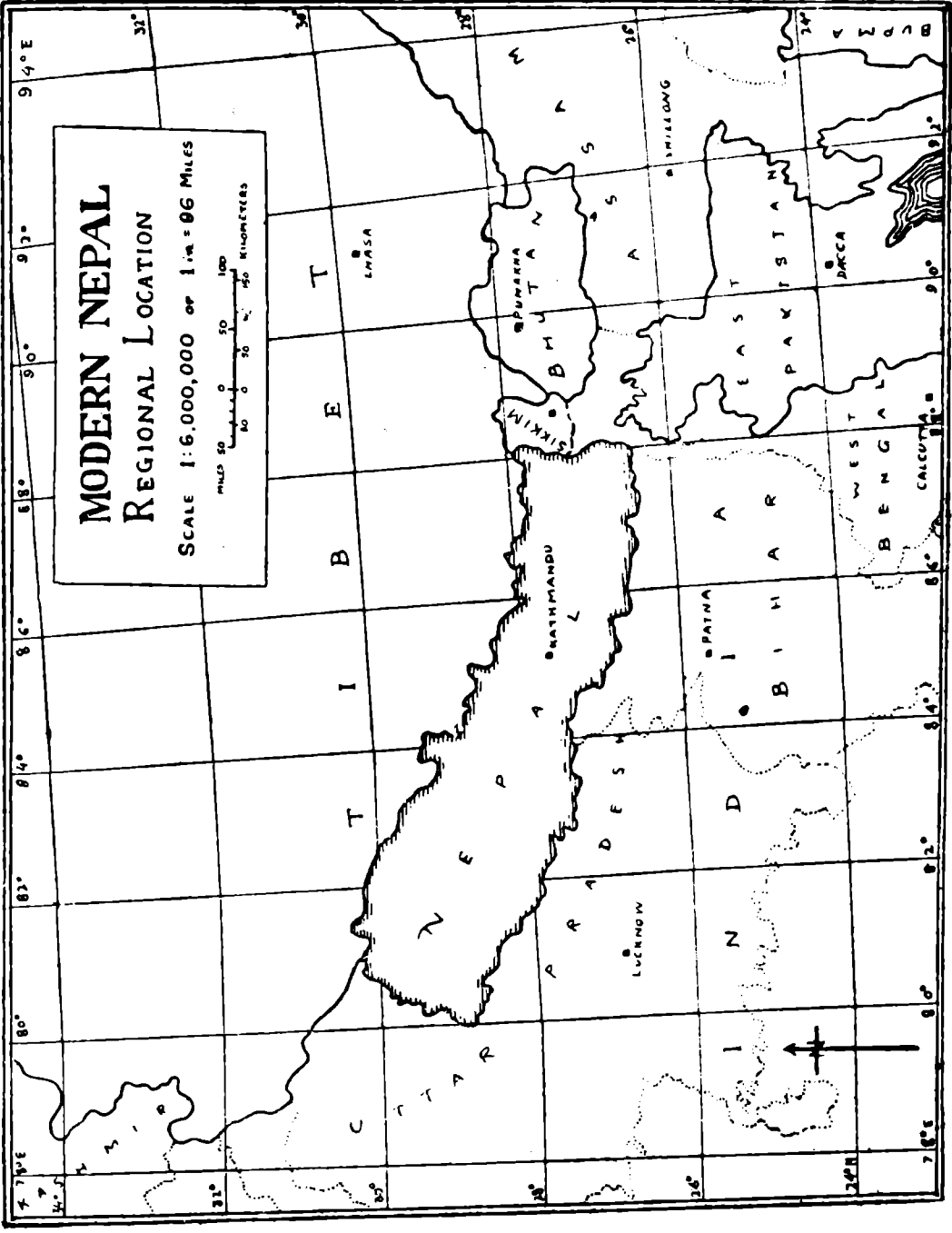
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Medieval Names Underlined>

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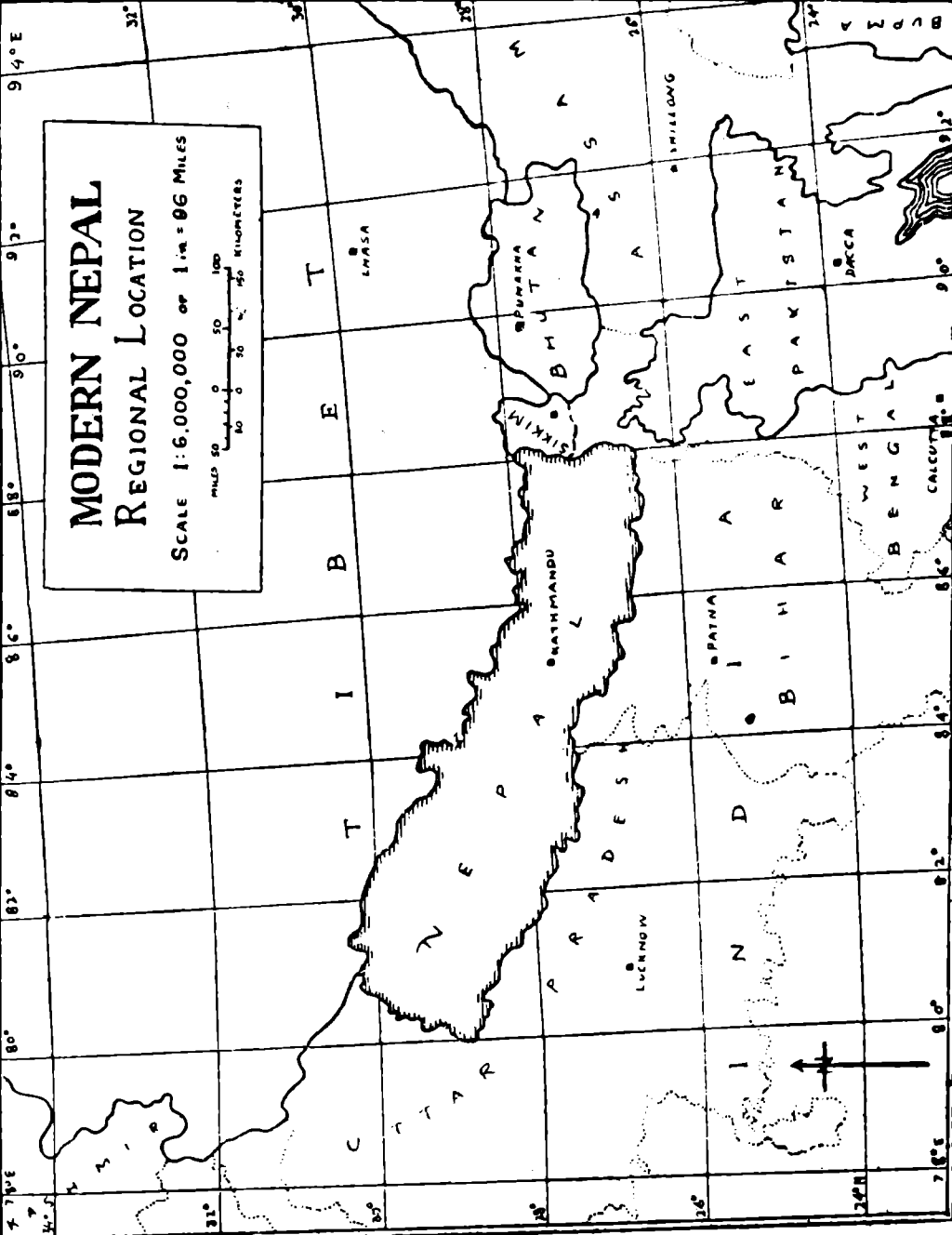


MODERN NEPAL
REGIONAL LOCATION
SCALE 1:6,000,000 or 1" = 96 MILES

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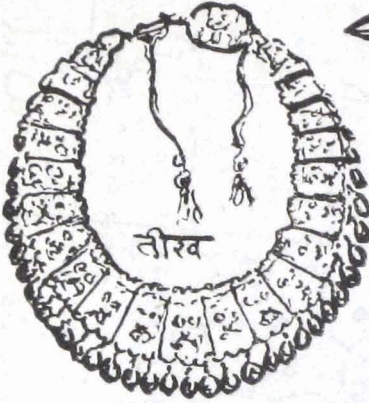
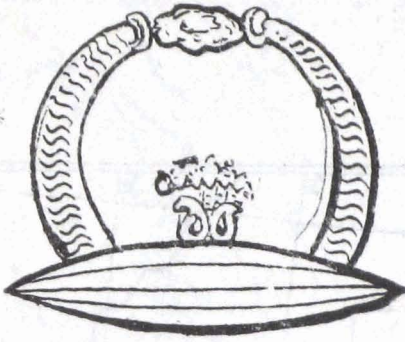
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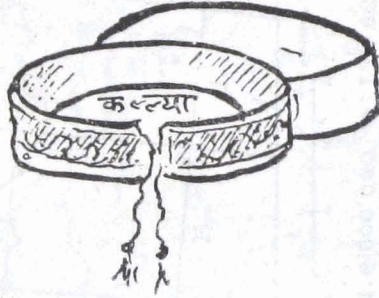
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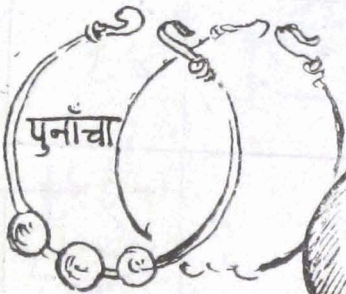
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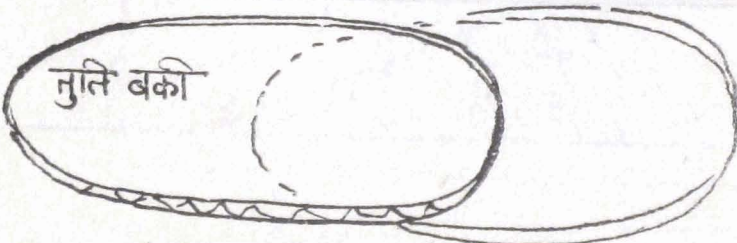


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नुति बकी



King Pratapamalla, Kathmandu



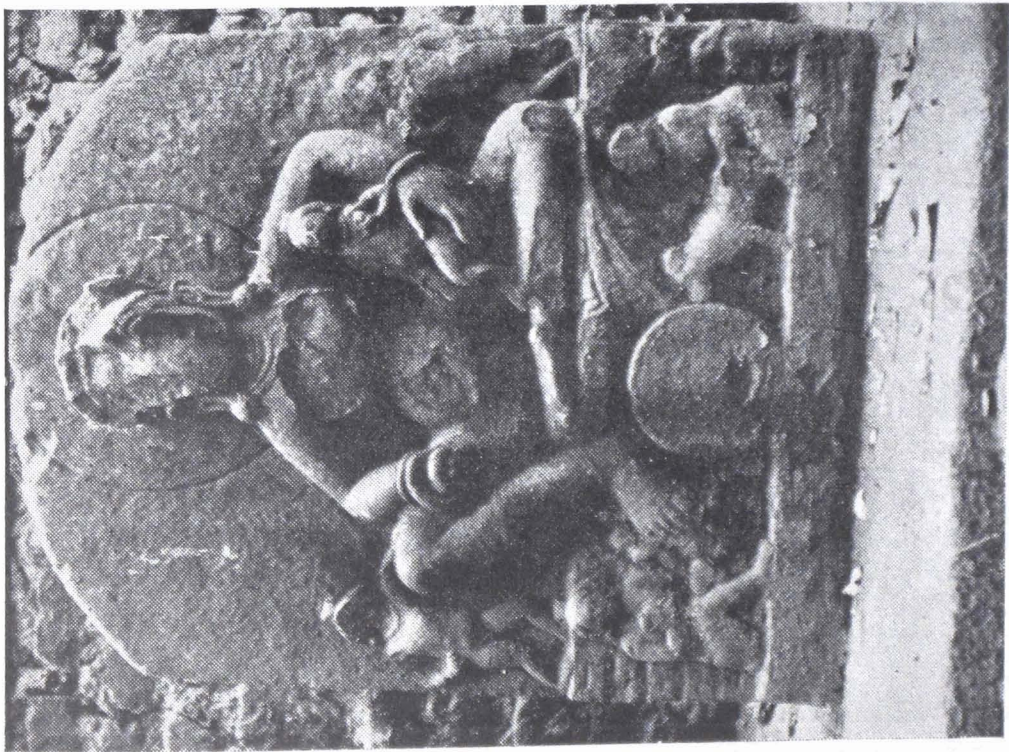
King Jayasthitimalla



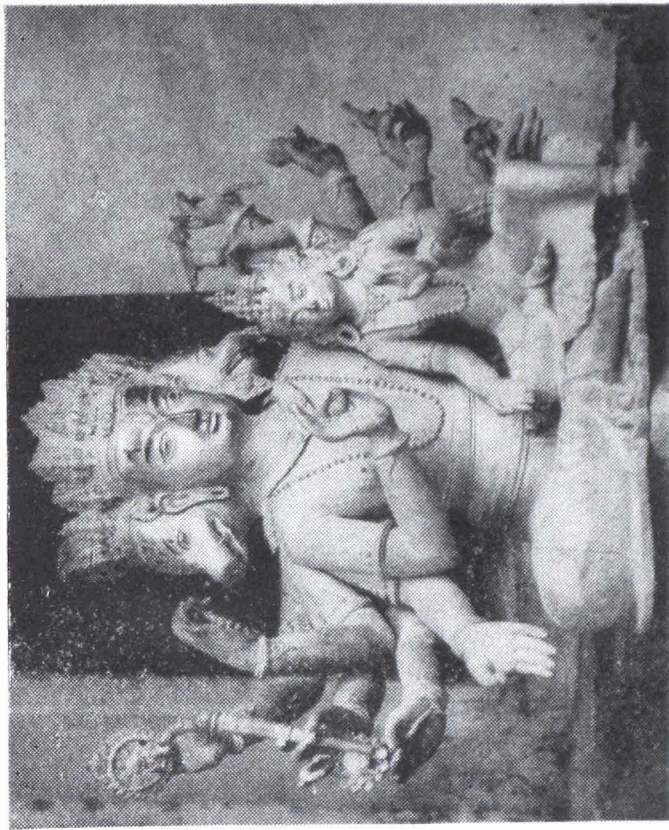
King Siddhinarasimhamalla, Patan



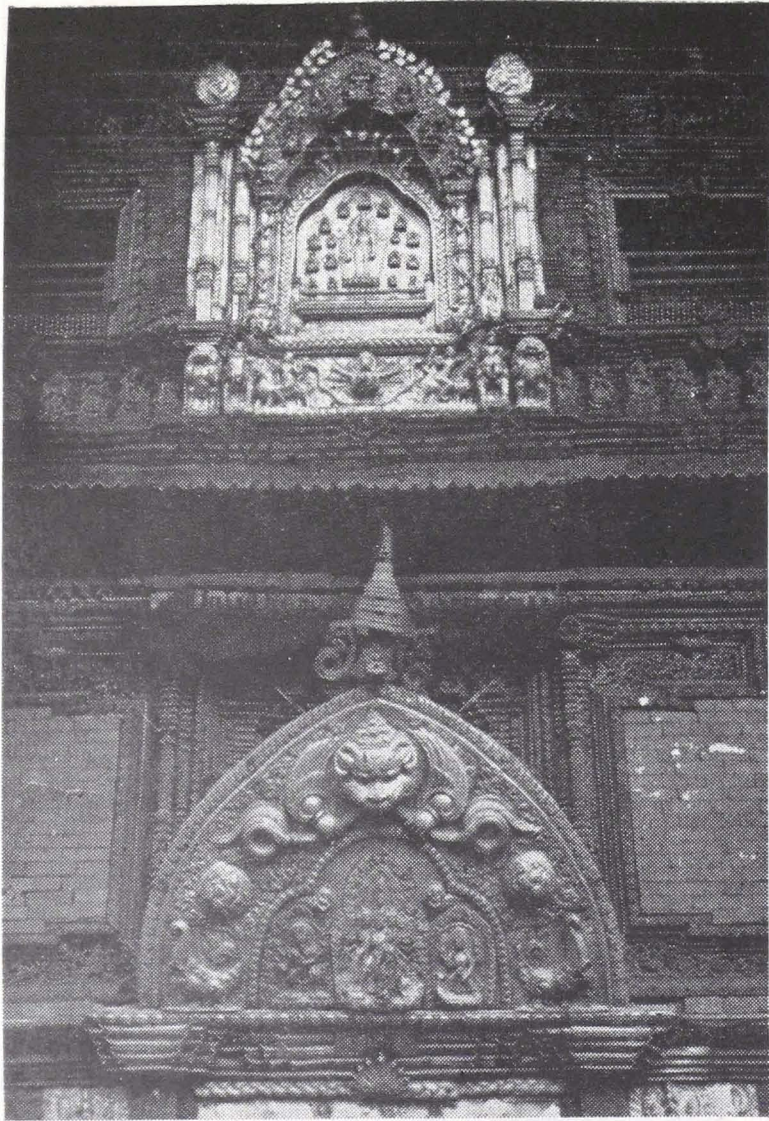
King Parthivendramalla, Kathmandu



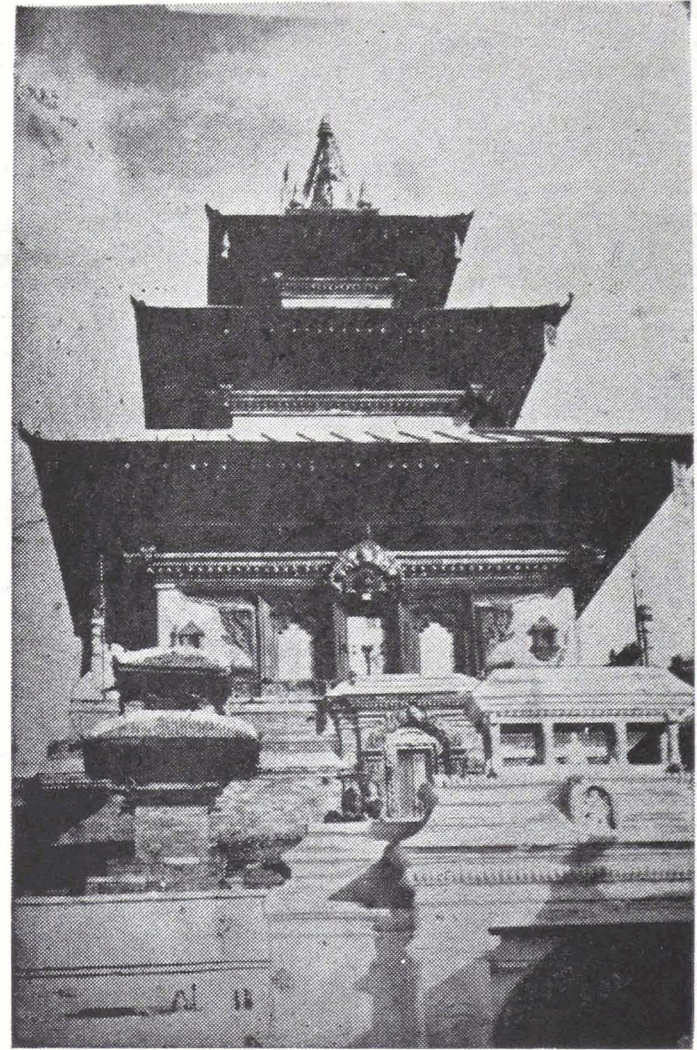
Hariti, Patan, 14th century A.D.



A stone image, Swayambhu, 15th century A.D.



Front View, Royal Palace, Patan. 17th century A.D.



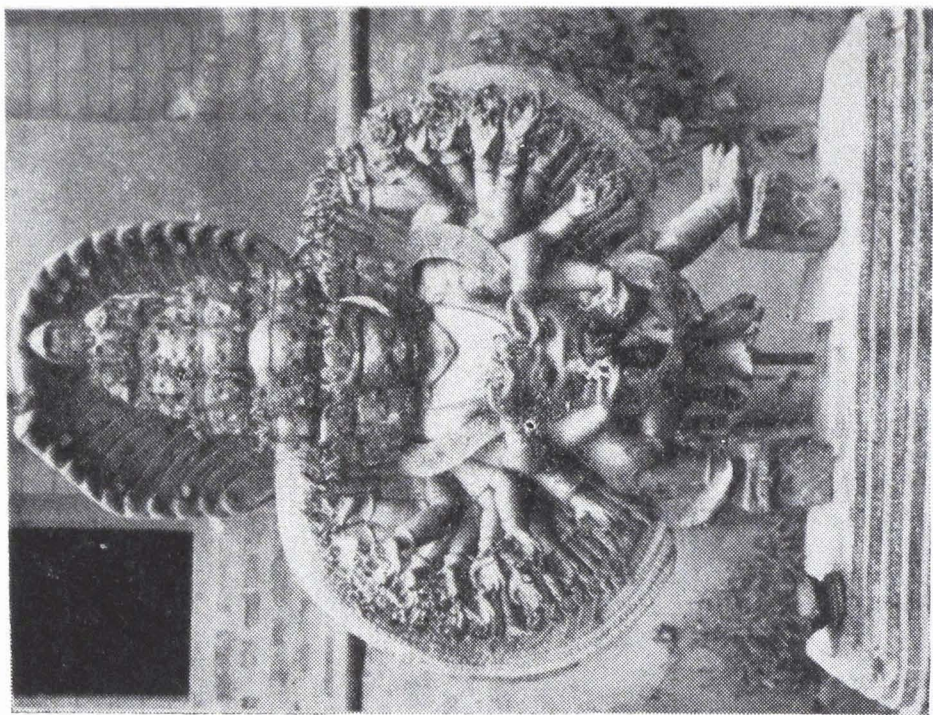
Taleju Temple, Kathmandu. 17th century A.D.



Dvarasri, Patan, Late 16 century.



Aksobhya Buddha, Swayambhu. 1637 A.D.



Visvarupa in bronze, Kathmandu, 1657 A.D.



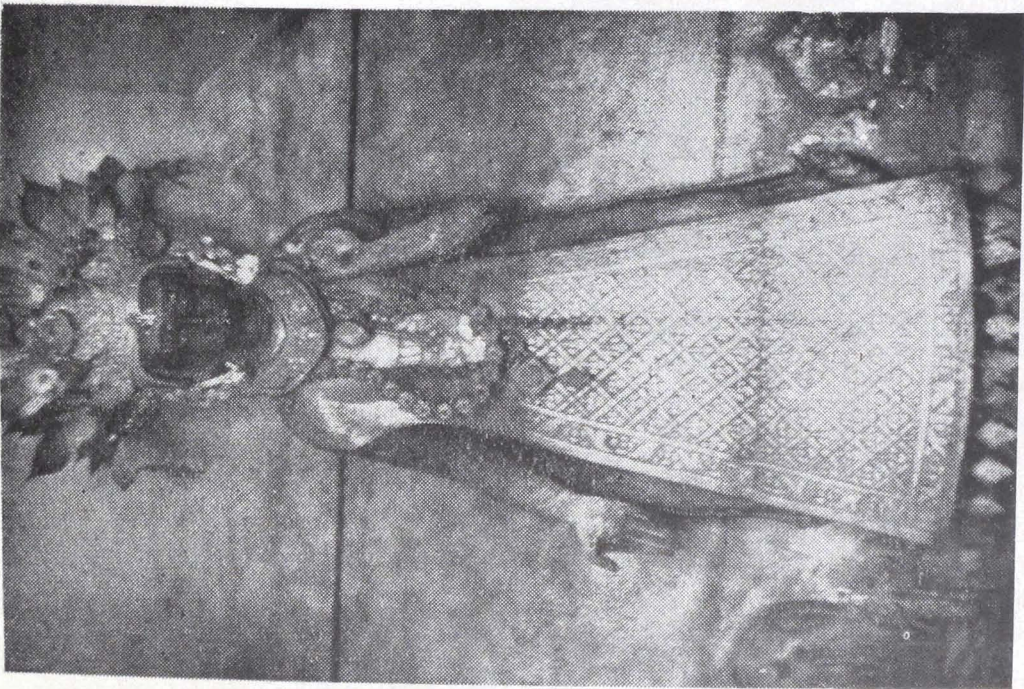
Golden water conduit in Sundari chok, 17th century A.D.



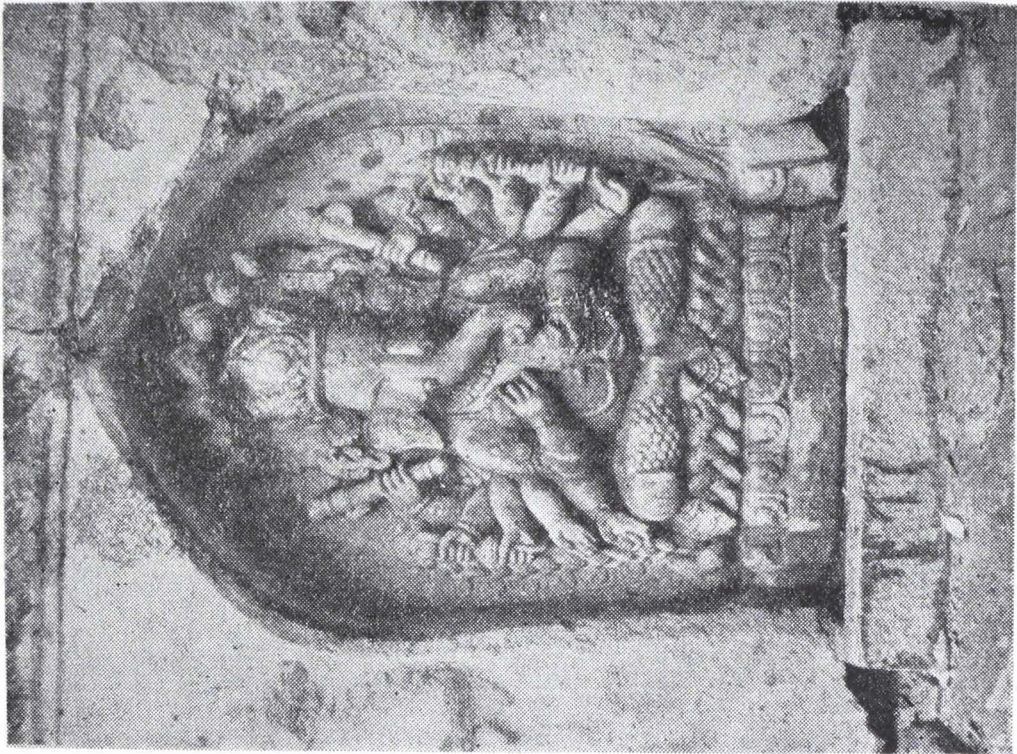
Laksmi Narayana, 10th to 15th century A.D.



Stone Image 10th to 15th century A.D.



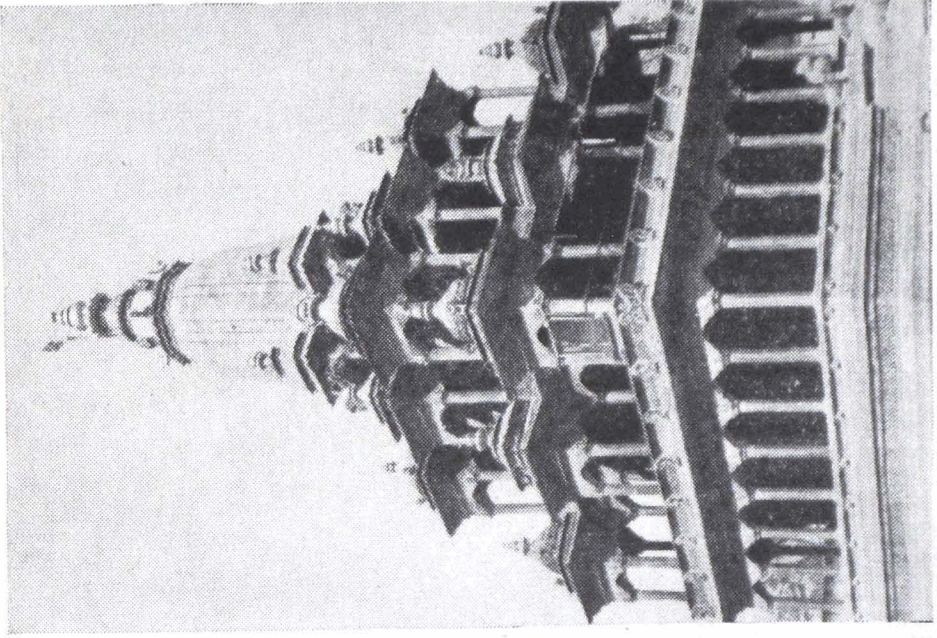
Bronze Image 10th to 15th century A.D.



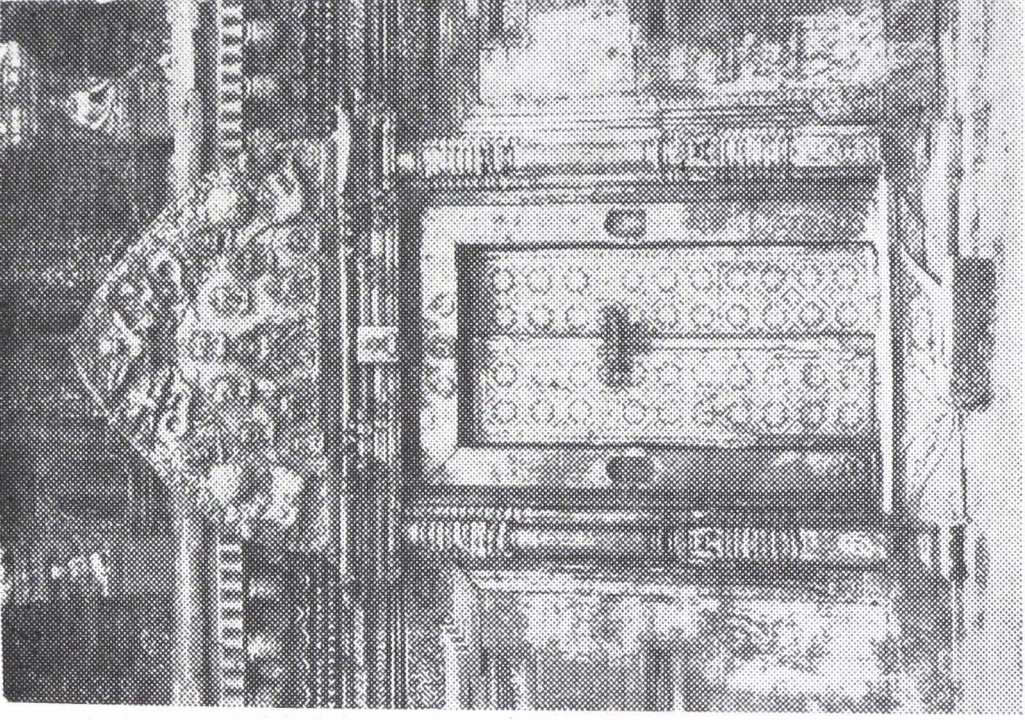
Ganesa, 15th century A.D.



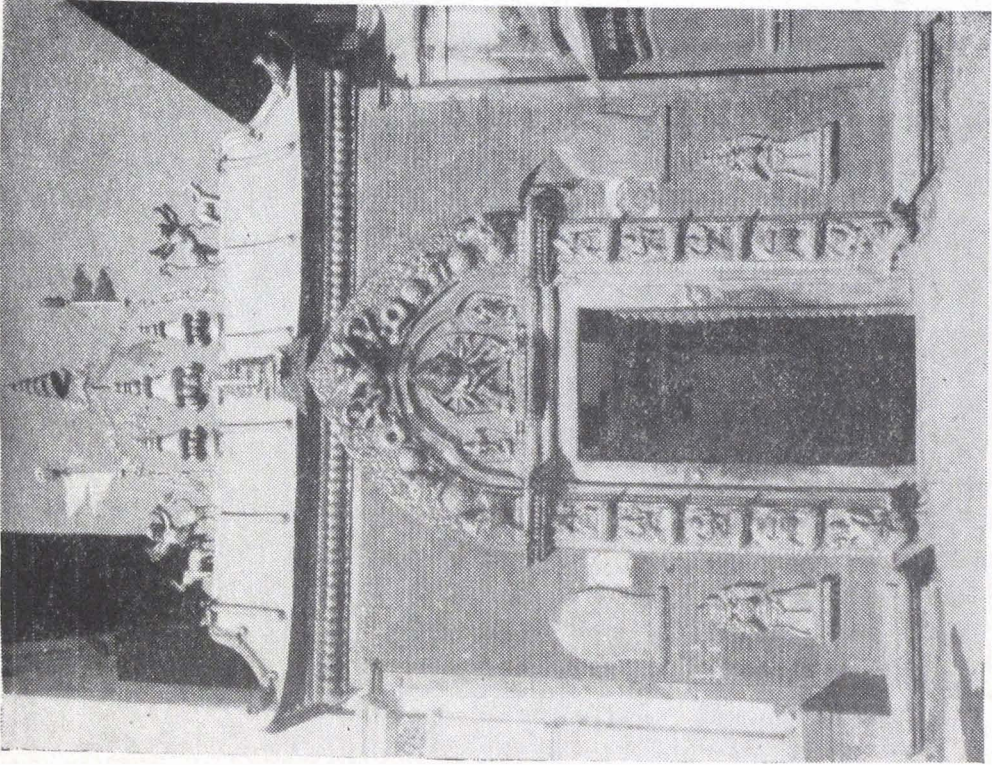
Dipankara Buddha (Museum) 17th century A.D.



Temple of Krishna, Patan. 17th century A.D.



The door of Taleju Temple, Patan. 17th century A.D.



The Golden Gate, Bhatgaon. Mid 18th century A.D.



1



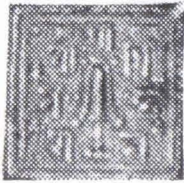
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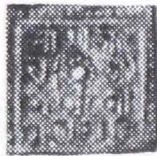
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4



5



9



8



9A



A few samples of coins of the Medieval Nepal



Dancing Bhairava
Mid. 18th century A.D.

