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NO. 12

The Two Earliest Copper-plate Inscriptions from Nepal

by

Mahes Raj Pant & Aishvarya Dhar Sharma

Kathmandu
July 1977

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PREFACE

This article is the first original contribution to the Nepal Research Centre's new series of *Miscellaneous Papers*, the first twelve numbers being offprints from the Journal of the NRC.

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

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

WOLFGANG VOIGT

The Two Earliest Copper-plate Inscriptions from Nepal

Mahes Raj Pant & Aishvarya Dhar Sharma

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

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

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

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

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

1. BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI and G. BÜHLER, "Inscriptions from Nepal," *Indian Antiquary*, IX (1880), pp. 163-194.

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

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

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

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

2. For a general description of the palaeography of the period, see HEMARAJ SHAKYA-VANSHIA, *Nepālu Lipi Samigraha* alias *A Collection of Nepalese Alphabets*, 2nd ed. (Kathmandu: Mandas & Sugatadas, V. S. 2013 [1956]) pp. 22-31; HEMARAJ SAKYA, *Varṇa-paricaya* [An Introduction to Alphabets] (Kathmandu: Department of Archaeology and Culture, His Majesty's Government, V. S. 2017 [1960], hereinafter cited as H. SAKYA), pp. 14-15; SHANKAR MAN RAJBANSHI, *Prācīna Lipi Varṇamālā* [The Alphabets of Ancient Scripts] (Kathmandu: Department of Archaeology and Culture, His Majesty's Government, V. S. 2017 [1960]), pp. 18-19; SHANKAR MAN RAJBANSHI, *Prācīna Lipi Vikāśa* [The Evolution of Ancient Scripts] (Kathmandu: Department of Archaeology and Culture, His Majesty's Government, V. S. 2017 [1960], hereinafter cited as S RAJBANSHI), pp. 1-9, 19-20; HEMARAJ SAKYA, *Nepālu Lipi-prakāśa* [A Light on Nepalese Scripts] (Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, V. S. 2030 [1973], hereinafter cited as SAKYA), pp. 45-54, 75, 77-81, 83-85 and SHANKAR MAN RAJBANSHI, "The Evolution of Devanagari Script," *Kailash*, II (1974, hereinafter cited as RAJBANSHI), pp. 26-27, 38-39, 46-50, 52-54, 76-83, 88-91, 99-102, 107-108, 110-111, 115. It is worth remembering here that more than ninety years ago BENDALL tried to classify the palaeography of the period on the basis of limited manuscripts available to him in Cambridge. See CECIL BENDALL, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, with Introductory Notices and Illustrations on the Palaeography and Chronology of Nepal and Bengal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1883).

period do not have the decimal system of writing numbers.³ The same is the case with the documents of the earlier part of the post-Licchavi period,⁴ of which one of the proofs is the present document.

The era of the inscription is Newari Samvat (N. S.) which started on the 20 th October 879.⁵ The era was in official use during the post-Licchavi and Malla periods⁶ which spanned almost nine centuries. In the inscription, only the year, month, fortnight, and lunar day are given, but a weekday is lacking, and the date cannot be verified.

3. For a thorough study of Licchavi numerals, see MAHES RAJ PANT, "Pañ. Bhagavānālā Indrajī, Ai. Śi. Bāburāma Ācārya, ŚrīGuru Pañ. Nayarāja Panta, Ācārya Renihiro Noliharile Garnubhaeko Licchavikālako Añkaviṣayako Aśuddhiko Samśodhana [The Correction of Errors Made by Pundit Bhagwanlal Indrajī, Historian Laureate Baburam Acharya, Revered Guru Pundit Naya Raj Pant, and Dr. Raniero Gnoli and others Concerning Licchavi Period Numerals]," *Itihāsa-samśodhana*, no. 55 (V.S. 2019 [1963]), pp. 12-26; MAHES RAJ PANT, "Licchavikālako Añkaparicaya [An Introduction to Licchavi Period Numerals]," *Itihāsa-samśodhana*, no. 56 (V.S. 2020 [1963]); SHANKAR MAN RAJBANSHI, *Licchavilipi-saṃgraha* [A Collection of Licchavi Characters] (Kathmandu: Bir Library, 2021 [1964]), pp. 82-89. NAYA RAJ PANT, "Vaidika Saṃkhyocāraṇapaddhati ra Tyasaanusārako Licchavikālako Saṃkhyālekhanapaddhati [The Vedic System of Oral Counting and the Licchavi System of Writing Numerals Accordingly]," *Pūrṇimā*, I, no. 4 (V.S. 2021 [1965]), pp. 1-19; NAYA RAJ PANT, "Licchavikālaka Abhilekhamā Päiekā Saṃvatkā Añkakā Pratilipi [Copies of Era Numbers Found in Licchavi Inscriptions]," *Pūrṇimā*, II, no. 1 (V. S. 2022 [1965]), pp. 1-9 and no. 2 (V. S. 2022 [1965]), pp. 1-7; NAYA RAJ PANT, "Licchavikālaka Abhilekhamā Dekhāparekā 55 sammakā Saṃvatkā Añkako Nirṇaya [A Solution to the Numbers Appearing in Licchavi Inscriptions up to Saṃvat 55]," *Pūrṇimā*, II, no. 3 (V.S. 2022 [1965]), pp. 1-7; NAYA RAJ PANT, "Licchavikālaka Abhilekhamā Dekhāparekā 59 sammakā Saṃvatkā Añkako Nirṇaya [A Solution to the Numbers Appearing in Licchavi Inscriptions up to Samvat 59]," *Pūrṇimā*, IV (V. S. 2024 [1967-1968]), pp. 101-106, DHANABAJRA BAJRACHARYA, "Licchavikālaka Abhilekhamā Dekhāparekā Saṃvatkā Añkako Nirṇaya [A Solution to the Era Numbers Appearing in Licchavi inscriptions]," *Pūrṇimā*, V (V. S. 2025 [1968-1969]), pp. 182-189, 273-283 and RAJBANSHI, pp. 111-114.

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

5. F. KIELHORN, "The Epoch of the Newar Era," *Indian Antiquary*, XVII (1888), pp. 246-253.

6. The term Malla period denotes the period between 1380-1769. In 1769 Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha captured Bhaktapur, and Sthiti Malla's line was totally supplanted by the Śāha dynasty.

It is interesting to note here that out of 196 documents⁷ of Licchavi Nepal so far discovered,⁸ all but eight⁹ are stone inscriptions. But, unlike those in contemporary India,¹⁰ none of them are copper-plate inscriptions.

7. Coin legends are excluded here.

8. The hundred-and-ninety Licchavi documents are transliterated and translated with commentaries by DHANABAJRA BAJRACHARYA in his *Licchavikālakā Abhilekha* [Documents of the Licchavi period] (Kathmandu: Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, V.S. 2030 [1973], hereinafter cited as BAJRACHARYA), which is the up-to-date and standard edition of the Licchavi records, excluding coin legends. For other six documents, either discovered after the publication of this work, or omitted there, see MOHAN PRASAD KHANAL, *Madhyakālīna Abhilekha* [Medieval Inscriptions] (Kathmandu: Mohan Prasad Khanal, V.S. 2030 [1973]), inscr. 37, p. 79; HARI RAM JOSHI, *Nepālako Prācīna Abhilekha* [Early Inscriptions of Nepal] (Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, V.S. 2030 [1973]), inscr. 105, pp. 381-382; GAUTAMVAJRA VAJRACHARYA, "Licchavi Inscriptions on Two Bronze Buddha Images" (published as the Appendix to MARY SHEPHERD SLUSSER's "On the Antiquity of Nepalese Metalcraft"), *Archives of Asian Art*, XXIX (1975-1976, hereinafter cited as VAJRACHARYA), p. 93; DHANABAJRA BAJRACHARYA and TEK BAHADUR SHRESTHA, *Nuvakoṣṭako Aitihāsika Rūparekhā* [An Outline of the History of Nuwakot] (Kathmandu: Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, V. S. 2032 [1976], hereinafter cited as BAJRACHARYA and SHRESTHA), "Aitihāsika Sāmagrī [Historical Materials]," doc. 1, pp. 3-4 and THAKURLAL MANANDHAR, "Nepal in the Early Medieval Period: Gleanings from the Bendall Vamśāvalī," *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre*, I. (1977, hereinafter cited as MANANDHAR), pp. 86, 87.

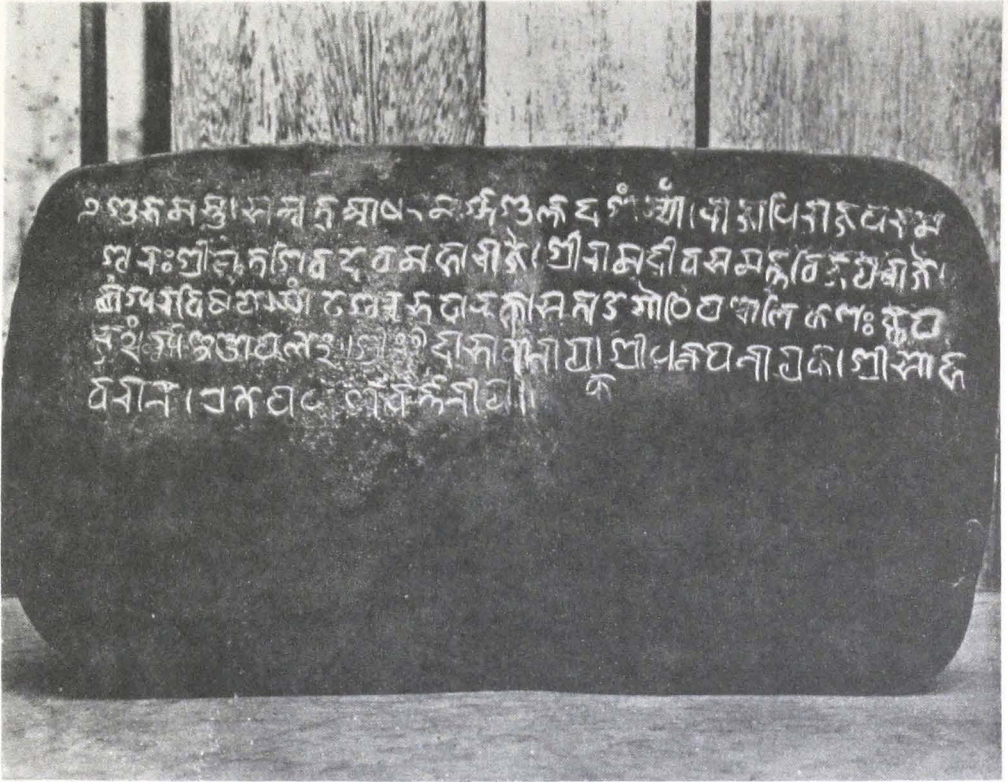
9. For the eight Licchavi documents, which are not on stone, see BAJRACHARYA, doc. 76, pp. 317-319; doc. 166, pp. 587-588; doc. 171, p. 590-591; doc. 189, p. 598; doc. 190, p. 599; VAJRACHARYA, p. 93 and MANANDHAR, pp. 86, 87.

10. For copper-plate inscriptions of contemporary India, see JOHN FAITHFUL FLEET, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors* [*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III*] (Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1963 [Photo Reprint of the original edition published in 1888]), "The Gupta Inscriptions," (hereinafter cited as FLEET), pp. 68-72, 93-109, 112-139, 164-200, 219-221, 231-232, 235-249, 254-257, 282-283, 286-299; DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization, Volume I, From the Sixth Century B. C. to the Sixth Century A. D.* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1942, hereinafter cited as SIRCAR), pp. 262-264, 280-281, 285-287, 324-326, 328-335, 337-340, 342-364, 403-425, 433-448, 456-461; RAJBALI PANDEY, *Historical and Literary Inscriptions* (Varanasi: The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series office, 1962), pp. 90-91, 118-120, 145-149, 166-167 and H. G. SHASTRI *et al.*, "Ghunadā (Khānpar) Plates of the Maitraka King Dharasena II, (Valabhī) Year 217," *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, XXII (1972-1973), pp. 79-83.

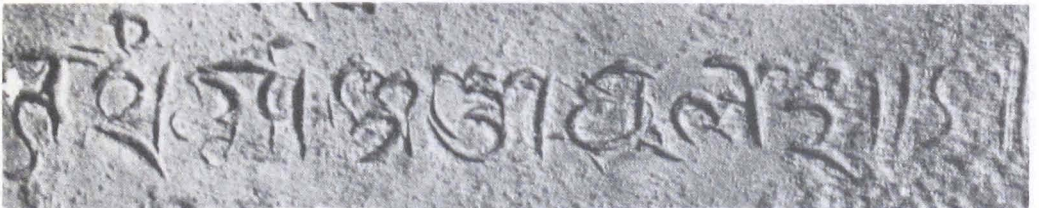
None the less it is known from one stone inscription of Narendradēva dated (Mānadeva) Saṃvat¹¹ 71 (647) that copper was used as one of the engraving materials in Licchavi Nepal.¹²

To the best of our knowledge, until recently the earliest copper-plate inscription discovered in Nepal¹³ was of N. S. 454 (1333) attached to the front wall of the imposing building of *Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa*.¹⁴ The present copper-plate inscription, dated N. S. 221 (1100), has been the earliest copper-plate inscription so far discovered in Nepal, surpassing the older one by more than two centuries and three decades.

11. It was HEMARAJ SHARMA who identified the era used by Amśuvarman and his successors with Mānadeva Saṃvat of 576 on the basis of an unpublished astronomical work known as the *Sumatitantra*. See K. P. JAYASWAL, *Chronology and History of Nepal [From 600 B. C. to 880 A. D.]* (Patna: M. N. Burman & Co., 1937, hereinafter cited as JAYASWAL), pp. 33–38. PETECH furthered this theory utilizing Tibetan sources also in a well documented article. See LUCIANO PETECH, “The Chronology of the Early Inscriptions of Nepal,” *East and West*, XII (1961, hereinafter cited L. PETECH), pp. 227–232. Now DINESH RAJ PANT has proved this theory verifying the date of Amśuvarman’s inscription in Changu, the only Licchavi inscription that has a weekday, which was discovered some four years ago. See DINESH RAJ PANT, “Cāguko Amśuvarmāko Abhilekhako Tithimitiko Gaṇanā [Calculation of the Date of the Changu Inscription of Amśuvarman],” *Pūrṇimā*, IX (V. S. 2032–2034 [1975–1977]), pp. 273–275. The *Sumatitantra*, edited by NAYA RAJ PANT in collaboration with DEVI PRASAD BHANDARI and DINESH RAJ PANT, is now in the press.
12. BAJRACHARYA, doc. 126, pp. 474–478. Strangely enough, the learned commentator has not commented on this rare information derived from the inscription.
13. The copper-plate inscriptions of the Khas rulers, who never ruled from Kathmandu valley, the dynastic seat of the Licchavi and successive dynasties, are ignored here.
14. YOGI NARAHARINATH, “Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapaḥ [Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa],” *Saṃskṛta-sandēśaḥ*, I, no. 6 (V. S. 2010 [1953]), p. 4. For an improved reading, see GAUTAMVAJRA VAJRACHARYA, *Hanūmāṇḍhoka Rājadarabāra* [the Hunumandhoka Royal Palace] (Kathmandu: Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, V. S. 2033 [1976]), doc. 5, p. 196.




Copper-plate Inscription No. 1



Detail of the reengraved third line

TEXT

१. शुभमस्तु¹⁶ । सम्वत् २०० २० १ मार्गशुक्लदशम्यां । राजाधिराजपरमे-
२. श्वरः श्रीमतशिवदेवमहाराजै । श्रीरामदीवसमत्तविजयराजै ।
३. मंग्वरविषये । मांटेश्वरभटारक । सताडे गौठिपञ्चालिकेणः च्छेप
४. र¹⁶ -ग्व एड ओ प ले ०, 16° ॥ श्रीशदाभावो नायक¹⁷ । श्रीधक्नप नायक । श्रीसोह-
५. वराने । एते पधाण वर्तनीय ।

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

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

16a. For this type of *anusvāra* in Indian and Nepalese documents, see GAURISHANKAR HIRACHAND OJHA, *Bhāratīya Prācīna Lipimālā* alias *The Palaeography of India*, 2nd ed. (Ajmer, 1918), pl. XXXIII, XXXV; CECIL BENDALL, "On European Collections of Sanskrit Manuscripts From Nepal: their antiquity and bearing on chronology, history and literature," in *Abhandlungen und Vorträge des Fünften Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses gehalten zu Berlin im September 1881. Zweite Hälfte* [Proceedings and Transactions of the 5th International Oriental Congress Held at Berlin in September 1881, pt. II] (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1882), Taf. II, 2-3, CECIL BENDALL, *A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Research in Nepal and Northern India during the Winter 1884-85* (Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1974 [Photo reprint of the original edition published in 1886], inscription no. IX; HARA PRASAD ŚĀSTRĪ, *A Catalogue of Palm-leaf & Selected Paper MSS. Belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1905, hereinafter cited as ŚĀSTRĪ, vol. I), pl. 3b-10; JAYASWAL, "Leaves of the Sumatitantra" between pages 34-35; S. RAJBANSHI, p. 19; RAJBANSHI, pl. 33 and the No. 2 copper-plate inscription of the present paper. It is worth noting here that Bengali script also contains the letter ०, which is pronounced as the velar nasal ञ. See SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, *The Origin and the Development of the Bengali Language* (Calcutta: Rupa and Co., 1975) pp. XXXII, 363.

17. ञ is below the line. It seems to be omitted by the scribe at first. For the omission in epigraphs and manuscripts, see D. C. SIRCAR, pp. 90-92.

TRANSLATION¹⁸

Let it be auspicious.

In the year 200 (and)¹⁹ 20 (and) 1, on the 10th day of the bright half of Mārga, during the reign of the Supreme King of Kings and Supreme Lord, the Glorious Śivadeva, during the victorious reign of Śrī²⁰ Rāmadeva,²¹ the feudatory, — in *Maṅgvara* district, at *Satāḍu*²² (of) *Jhāmṭeśvara* the worshipful, — Śrī Idā Bhāvo²³ Nāyaka, Śrī Dhaknapa Nāyaka (and) Śrī Sohava Rāne,²⁴ they are to be selected as chiefs by the members of *Goṣṭhī*²⁵ and *Pāñcālī*.²⁶

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

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

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

21. In the original "Rāmadīva." See Commentary I.

22. The meaning of the word is unknown.

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

24. For the word *rāṇaka* prefixed to the personal name in a document of the post-Licchavi period, see D. R. REGMI, *Medieval Nepal, Part I (Early Medieval Period 750-1530 A. D.)* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1965, hereinafter cited as REGMI, pt. I), p. 207, doc. 13. For the word *rāṇaka* suffixed to the personal name in a document of the post-Licchavi period, see LUCIANO PETECH, *Medieval History of Nepal (C. 750 1480)* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958, hereinafter cited as PETECH), pp. 45-46, doc. 2. For the word *rāṇaka*, suffixed to an occupational term in a document of the post-Licchavi period, see PETECH, p. 33.

25. For *goṣṭhī*, see Commentary V.

26. For *pāñcālī*, see Commentary V.

COMMENTARY

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

I

Harṣadeva's last document as the reigning king is dated the 13th day of the bright half of Phālguna, N. S. 217.²⁷ After this, a document is available dated the 24th day of Kārtika, N.S. 220 belonging to "the victorious reign" of *Mahāsāmantā-dhipati Mahāsāmanta* Rāmadeva.²⁸ The third is the present document, which is dated the 10th day of the bright half of Mārga, N.S. 221, and belongs to the reigning period of king Śivadeva and "the victorious reign" of *Sāmanta* Rāmadeva.²⁹ After this, no document is available until the 12th day of the dark half of Āśvina, N.S. 231 when Simhadeva was reigning.³⁰ There is also a document to prove Simhadeva reigning on the 9th day of the bright half of Āśvina, N.S. 234.³¹ A recently discovered document proves that Śivadeva was reigning on the 8th day of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa, N.S. 239.³² A document of the 15th day of the bright half of Caitra, N. S. 240 is avail-

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

28. *Ibid.*, p. 53, doc. 1.

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

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

31. *Ibid.*, doc. 2.

32. *Jātarūpaṅkī* on *Amarakośa* (according to the Catalogue, *Kośa*), Kaiser Library, Kathmandu, MS. no. 560, Colophon: "संवत् २०० ३० ६ श्रावणकृष्णदिवाष्टम्यां राज-
घि(रा)जपरमेश्वरश्रीशिवदेवस्य विजयराजे लिखितेयं टीकेति ॥"

able which proves Simhadeva reigning at that time also.³³ A document dated the 2nd day of the dark half of Prathamāṣāḍha, N.S. 240 belongs to the reigning period of Śivadeva.³⁴ It is proved by a document that Simhadeva was reigning on the 2nd day of Bhādra, N.S. 242.³⁵ Finally, a document is available to prove Śivadeva reigning on the 1st day of the bright half of Jyestha, N.S. 243.³⁶

Now we sum up the above paragraph in the following table in a convenient form:

1. Harṣadeva's last document	N. S. 217	Phālguna Śukla	13.
2. <i>Mahāsāmanta</i> Rāmadeva	N. S. 220	Kārtika	24.
3. Śivadeva together with <i>Sāmanta</i> Rāmadeva	N. S. 221	Mārga Śukla	10.
4. Simhavdeva	N. S. 231	Āśvina Kṛṣṇa	12.
5. Simhadeva	N. S. 234	Āśvina Śukla	9.
6. Śivadeva	N. S. 239	Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa	8.
7. Simhadeva	N. S. 240	Caitra Śukla	15.
8. Śivadeva	N. S. 240	Prathamāṣāḍha Kṛṣṇa	2.
9. Simhadeva	N. S. 242	Bhādra	2.
10. Śivadeva	N. S. 243	Jyestha Śukla	1.

It seems that after Harṣadeva, the central government became weak, and feudatory chiefs, exploiting the opportunity, tried to claim their autonomy. *Mahāsāmanta* Rāmadeva, a high feudatory of one region, claimed his autonomy, adding a high sounding title, *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, to his usual one and was bold enough to ignore his overlord's supremacy over him, as can be seen in the light of the document dated N. S. 220 which is already mentioned. Later, the monarch subdued Rāmadeva, as is attested to by the present copper-plate inscription wherein the king's name is given with full royal titles along with the name of *Sāmanta* Rāmādīva, which is the corrupt form of Rāmadeva of the document of N. S. 220.

According to the earlier chronicles such as the *Gopālarājavamśāvalī*, it was Śivadeva who succeeded Harṣadeva. As already stated, contemporary records of Simhadeva are available to prove him reigning in at least N. S. 231,

33. PETECH, p. 57, doc. 3.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 55, doc. 1.

35. REGMI, pt. I, p. 159, doc. 4.

36. PETECH, p. 55, doc. 2.

234, 240 and 242. It is strange to note here that neither the *Gopālarāja-vaṃśāvalī* nor the *Kaiser Fragment of Vaṃśāvalī* gives his name in their lists of kings. Both of them have placed Sivadeva after Harṣadeva, and after Sivadeva, they have given the name of Indradeva.³⁷

37. *Gopālarājavarṃśāvalī*, National Archives, Kathmandu I. 1583, fol. 24. [CECIL BENDALL, the discoverer of the chronicle, has published some sentences from it in his "Historical Introduction" (hereinafter cited as BENDALL) to ŚĀSTRĪ, vol. 1. Photos of a few folios of the chronicle are published in ŚĀSTRĪ's same volume. The Sanskrit portion of the chronicle from folio 22 b, line 5 to folio 29 a, line 5 has been published in PETECH, pp. 219-224, as Appendix VI. The whole text of the chronicle is published by YOGI NARAHARINATH in his "Gopāla-vaṃśāvalī (571 Varṣa aghi Lekhiyeko Itihāsa) [Gopāla-vaṃśāvalī - A Chronicle Written 571 Years Ago]," in *Himavatsamskr̥ti* I, no. I (V. S. 2016 [1959]), pp. 9-25 and by D. R. REGMI in his *Medieval Nepal, Part III, Source Materials for the History and Culture of Nepal, 740-1768 A. D. (Inscriptions, Chronicles and Diaries, etc.)* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1966, hereinafter cited as REGMI, pt. III), pt. I, pp. 112-157 as Appendix B. We have an unpublished reading of the chronicle deciphered in 1959 by RAMAJI TEVARI *et al.* of the Saṃśōdhana-maṇḍala from a photo (Kaiser Library MS. no. 720) of the original manuscript. Afterwards MAHES RAJ PANT improved the reading in the light of the original manuscript. We would like to give the faithful reading of the relevant passages of the text throughout this paper]: ... राजा श्रीहर्षदेव वर्ष १४ उन्विसति सम्बच्छर सतद्वये परिवर्तमान ॥ राजा श्रीशिवः देव वर्ष २७ मा ७ तेन श्रीपशुपतिभटारकस्य देबुल सुवर्णसंखनी संछादन कृतं ॥ तत कीर्त्तिभगतपुरे बलबलदेवी तप कृत्य नन्दिबन्ध्याय नीता ॥ पनालिका कुप प्वस्करणी थाने स्थाने कृता ॥ चतुर्भूमिक)पञ्चपुरसमयुक्तं श्रीराजगृह सुनिखादितं ॥ तत पश्चात् श्रीपशुपतिभटारकाय रजतपत्र पिण्डिका घटितं पूर्वं दम्भ व्यवहार नास्ति सुवर्णरक्तिका स्तव्य वर्तते ॥ स्वश्रीसिंहाकृति रूप्य दम्भ व्यवहारा कृता ॥ सुवर्णमयी श्रीशिवस्याकृति शिवकाङ्क कृत्यः ॥ पूर्वश्रीशिवदेवस्य परिवारसहितेन जीर्णोधार कृता ॥ जोराजश्रीमहेन्द्रदेवेन योद्यम्बृहत्पुस्करणी खनित्वा ॥ पूर्व कर्षक पन् दम्भाषः । स पुस्करणी खनिते च दम्भैक पन् देय सम्पूर्णं कृतं महेन्द्रसरो नाम देयं तस्य सम्बच्छरो नवः तृयः सतद्वयं माधवशुचिपूर्णं ॥ तस्या द्वि नामः मदनसरो कृता ॥ राजा श्रीइन्द्रदेव वर्ष १५ ॥

The Kaiser Fragment of Vaṃśāvalī, Kaiser Library, Kathmandu MS. no. 171, pp. 4-6 [The whole text of the chronicle is published in PETECH, pp. 213-217 as Appendix V and in Regmi, pt. III, pt. I, pp. 158-163 as Appendix C. We have an unpublished reading of the chronicle established by RAMAJI TEVARI *et al.* in 1959. Afterwards MAHES RAJ PANT improved the reading verifying the original. We would like to give the faithful reading of the passage quoted below: राजा श्रीहर्षदेव वर्ष १६ एकोन(विंश)ति प्रति सम्बत्सरद्वय प्रवर्तमान ॥ राजा श्रीशि(वदेव व)र्ष २७ मास ७ । तेन हि पशुपतिभटारकस्य स्वर्णशृ(खनी)छादनं कृता । ततः किर्त्तिभगतगामे बलदनी प्रबंधा — ता पनालिका कूप पुष्करणी सकलजनानन्द कृता, चतुर्भूमिकं पञ्चपुरसमयुक्तं १ श्रीमत्राराजगृह सुनिखादितं श्रीमत्पशुपतिभटारकस्य रजतपत्र पुनर् घटित, पूर्वं दम्भ व्यवहार नास्ति सुवर्णरक्तिका स्तव्य स्वश्रीसिंहाकृतरूपं दम्भ कृत व्यवहार सुवर्णमयी श्री(शि)वस्याकृति विवकां कृत्य ॥ पूर्वश्रीशिवदेवस्य परिवारसहितेन जीर्णोधारं कृत्य ॥ राजा श्रीइन्द्रदेव, वर्ष १२ ॥

whose reign is confirmed by contemporary records.³⁸ It is not unusual to assume that the *Vamśāvalī*-s omitted Simhadeva's name because omissions are not impossible in these kinds of works. Nevertheless, the *Gopālarāja-vamśāvalī* mentions the name of Śihadeva, which is undoubtedly the prakritized form of Simhadeva,³⁹ at least four times as the father of four illustrious sons,⁴⁰ three of whom successively reigned over Nepal.⁴¹ As noted above, Śivadeva was reigning on the 8th day of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa, N. S. 239, while Simhadeva was reigning on the 15th day of the bright half of Caitra, N. S. 240. It has already been mentioned that Śivadeva was reigning on the 2nd day of the dark half of Prathamā-ṣṭadhā, N. S. 240, while Simhadeva was reigning on the 2nd day of Bhādra N. S. 242. It is strange to find Śivadeva reigning again on the 1st day of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha, N. S. 243, as referred to above. Though overlapping dates of the kings of that period are not new to us⁴², we are not sure of this in the present case because of the lack of documents.⁴³

38. PETECH, pp. 58–59; REGMI, pt. I, pp. 166–168.

39. R. PISCHEL, *Comparative Grammar of the Prākṛit Languages*, trans., SUBHADRA JHA, 2nd ed. (Delhi Varanasi Patna: Motilal Banarasidass: 1965), pp. 71, 188; paragraphs 76, 267.

40. *Gopālarājavamśāvalī* fol. 31: सम्बत् १६६ वेशाखपूर्णास्या विशाखनक्षत्र ध्रुवजोग व्यहस्पिवार मध्यानवेलाया श्रीसीहदेवपरमेश्वरस्य पुत्र श्रीमहेन्द्रदेवस्य जातः ॥ . . . सम्बत् २१६ वेशाखकृष्णपञ्चम्या उत्राषाढनक्षत्र श्रीसीहदेवपरमेश्वरस्य पुत्र श्रीआनन्ददेवस्य जातः ॥ . . . सम्बत् २२८ — शुक्लत्रयोदशी रेवतिनक्षत्रे श्रीसीहदेवपरमेश्वरस्य जात रुद्रदेवस्य जात ॥ . . . सम्बत् २३३ अश्विनिशुक्लतृतीया विषाखनक्षत्र श्रीसीहदेवपरमेश्वरस्य पुत्र श्रीअमृतदेवस्य जात ॥

41. PETECH, pp. 62–70. BHOLA NATH PAUDEL, “Ānandadeva, Rudradeva ra Amṛtadevako Samayamā Eutā Vicāra [An Investigation into the time of Ānandadeva, Rudradeva, and Amṛtadeva],” *Pūrṇimā*, I, no. 3 (V.S. 2021 [1964]), pp. 19–29; REGMI, pt. I, pp. 175–186.

42. REGMI, pt. I, pp. 193–195. DINESH RAJ PANT, “Rājā Nirbhayadeva, Rudradeva, Bhojadeva, Lakṣmīkāmādeva [the Kings Nirbhayadeva, Rudradeva, Bhojadeva, and Lakṣmīkāmādeva],” *Pūrṇimā*, VIII (V. S. 2030–2031 [1973–1975]), pp. 116–131.

43. For a discussion on Śivadeva and Simhadeva, see PETECH, pp. 54–58 and REGMI, pt. I, pp. 158–166.

II

It has been generally assumed and often asserted that "strictly speaking, the name Nepal should be restricted, and was confined in ancient times to the enclosed valley, about 20 miles in length by 15 in breadth, within which Kathmandu, the capital, and many other towns and villages are situated."⁴⁴

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

"Whose imperious commands were fully gratified, by giving all (kinds of) taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeisance, by the frontier-kings of *Samataṣa*, *Ḍavāka*, *Kāmarūpa*, *Nepāla*, *Karṭripura*, and other (countries) . . ."⁴⁵

Of the five frontier kingdoms mentioned in the inscription of Samudra Gupta, *Samataṣa* and *Kāmarūpa* correspond respectively to south-east Bengal and Assam. *Ḍavāka*, the second kingdom of the inscription, is identified with modern Dabok in Nowgang district of Assam. The fifth, *Karṭripura*, has been identified with Kartarpur in Jalandhar district and it comprised roughly the territory of the Katuria Raj of Kumaon, Garhwal, and Rohilkhand.⁴⁶

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

44. VINCENT A. SMITH, *The Early History of India from 600 B. C. to the Muhammadan Conquest*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1914), p. 365.

45. FLEET, p. 14.

46. SIRCAR, p. 258; R. C. MAJUMDAR *et al.*, ed. *The Classical Age [The History and Culture of the Indian People, Volume III]*, 3rd ed. (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1970), p. 8.

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

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

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

48. BAJRACHARYA, doc. 2, pp. 9-30. The words within inverted commas are quoted from the English translation of the inscription made by an anonymous writer from LÉVI's French translation. see D. R. REGMI, *Ancient Nepal* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1960), p. 106. A type-written English translation of SYLVAIN LÉVI's *Le Nepal, Etude Historique d'un Royaume Hindou* [Nepal, Historical Study of a Hindu kingdom], 3 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1905-1908) is in the Kaiser Library, Kathmandu, no. 8

Licchavi inscriptions have been found from Dumja⁴⁹ in the east to Gorkha⁵⁰ in the west. In other words, Licchavi inscriptions are distributed from the Sunkosi to the Daraudi Rivers which are among the river systems of the Kosi and the Gandak respectively.⁵¹ This shows that the kingdom of Nepal in Licchavi times was not confined to Kathmandu valley.

The account of Indian Asia by the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-chuang, who was in India from 630 to 664,⁵² also sheds light on the size of Nepal at

49. BAJRACHARYA, doc. 92, p. 377. The inscription is at the temple of Kuśeśvara which lies at the confluence of the Sunkosi and Rosi Rivers. See MOHAN PRASAD KHANAL, *Abhilekha-saṅkalana* [Collection of Inscriptions] (Lalitpur: Sājhā Prakāśana, V. S. 2028 [1971]), p. 3. According to the current administrative divisions of Nepal, Dumja lies in Sindhuli district, Janakpur Zone. See *Mecēdekhi Mahākālī (Bhāga 2)*, *Madhyamāncala Vikāsa Kṣetra* [From the Mech River to the Mahakali River, Volume II, Central Development Region] (Kathmandu: Department of Information, Ministry of Communications, His Majesty's Government, V. S. 2031 [1975]), p. 216. This fragmentary inscription mentions *Śrīkalahābhīmānin* which was the nickname of Amśuvarman, the sole ruler of Nepal from Mānadeva Saṁvat 29 (605) to 45 (621). For Amśuvarman's nickname, see DHANABAJRA BAJRACHARYA, "Śrīkalahābhīmānī Rājā [The King Śrīkalahābhīmānin]," *Pūrṇimā* I, no. 1 (V. S. 2021 [1964]), pp. 3-7. For Amśuvarman's inscriptions as a sole ruler, See BAJRACHARYA doc. 71-93, pp. 290-379.
50. BAJRACHARYA, doc. 141, pp. 523-526 and doc. 151, pp. 578-579.. The former is at the Goraknath Cave in Gorkha. Though fragmentary, the date and the king's name are preserved in the inscription. It is an edict of Śivadeva II dated (Mānadeva) Saṁvat 122 (698). The latter is located at Hanuman Bhanjyang near the palace in Gorkha. It is also badly damaged and the date is completely removed, but the king's name is preserved. It is an edict of Jayadeva II who reigned over Nepal at least from (Mānadeva) Saṁvat 137 (713) to 157 (733). For Jayadeva II's inscriptions, see BAJRACHARYA, doc. 145-152, pp. 539-581. Gorkha proper, where the Licchavi inscriptions have been discovered, is situated in a hill, which overlooks the Daraudi River.
51. It is interesting to note here that mud-built caityas with inscriptions in the script prevalent in Licchavi times have been discovered at the Lamathada Cave in Jumla in Far Western Nepal. See BAJRACHARYA, doc. 189, p. 598.
52. VINCENT A. SMITH, "The Itinerary of Yuan-Chwang" in THOMAS WATTERS, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. II (Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1961 [Photo reprint of the original edition published in 1905]), pp. 335-342. According to ROSE, who has extensively utilized even Chinese sources analyzing and interpreting Nepal's foreign policy from a historical perspective, Hsuan-chuang visited Kathmandu valley in 637. See LEO E. ROSE, *Nepal Strategy for Survival* (Bombay Calcutta Madras: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 11.

that time. Describing Ni-po-lo (Nepal) the Chinese pilgrim writes, "This country is about 4000 li in circuit, and is situated among the Snowy Mountains."⁵³ One *li* is equivalent to one third of a mile⁵⁴, which is about 0.5364 km. Thus 4000 *li*-s are nearly 2150 km. From this it is quite evident that in the 2nd quarter of the 7th century the length and breadth of Nepal totalled about 1000 km., which is roughly equal to the size of the present Nepal.

Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅgiṅī* gives a graphic account of the Kashmirian king Jayāpīḍa's expedition against Nepal, from which Nepal's extent in the late 8th century can be roughly estimated. According to the account, at first Aramuḍi, the king of Nepal, "retired with his army to a great distance" when Jayāpīḍa "entered his land" and later he defeated Jayāpīḍa by resorting to clever tactics. Jayāpīḍa was taken prisoner and was confined in a very high stone building on the bank of the *Kālagandikā*, after he had marched uninterrupted for a few days in an eastward direction inside the Nepalese territory.⁵⁵ Now it should be noted that Nepal extended far beyond the Kali Gandak where the unchallenged Kashmir army arrived only a few days after it entered the Nepalese territory.

It is quite interesting to note that the kings of the post-Licchavi period reigned at least up to Lamjung which is drained by two of the Seven Gandaks⁵⁶, as is attested to by a Buddhist manuscript copied in N. S. 189

53. SAMUEL BEAL, trans. *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II (Delhi: Oriental Book Reprint Corporation, 1969 [Photo reprint of the original edition published in 1884]), p. 80.

54. *Websters' Third New International Dictionary* (Massachusetts: G. and C. Merriam Company, 1971), p. 1302, col. 2.

55. *Rajatarāṅgiṅī*, IV. 531-546. Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅgiṅī* or *Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, ed. M. A. STEIN, (Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1960 [Photo reprint of the original edition published in 1892]), p. 64. The words within inverted commas are quoted from STEIN's translation of the *Rājatarāṅgiṅī*. See M. A. STEIN, translated with an Introduction, Commentary, and Appendices, *Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṅī, A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, vol. I (Delhi Patna Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1961 [Photo reprint of the original edition published in 1900]), p. 170.

56. Lamjung is watered by the Marsyangdi and Madi Rivers, both are from the Gandak system. See *Mecīdekhi Mahākālī (Bhāga 3) Pāścimāñcala Vikāsa Kṣetra* [From the Mechi River to the Mahakali River, Volume III, Western Development Region] (Kathmandu: Department of Information, Ministry of Communications, His Majesty's Government, V. S. 2031 [1975]), hereinafter cited as MM, vol. III), pp. 173-175.

(1069).⁵⁷ From this it is quite clear that even in the late 11th century the limits of the kingdom of Nepal extended far beyond Kathmandu valley.⁵⁸

Because of having formed the opinion that “the kingdom of Nepal included the valley proper and (at least during long periods) two considerable extensions: the Palamchok district to the East and the Navakoth region to the West”,⁵⁹ PETECH did not even consider post-Licchavi Nepal to have extended up to Lamjung in the west, notwithstanding its early mention as *Lamjugunī*,⁶⁰ which was available to him in the document mentioned above, and failed to identify *Lamjugunī* of the document with the present Lamjung but concluded that “the place cannot be identified”⁶¹

57 *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Nor monastery in Tibet. Colophon [PETECH. pp. 45-46, doc. 2]: सम्बत् १०० ८० ६ — [दिव]से श्रीमच्छङ्करदेवराज्ये श्रीलज्जुगुङ्गे वास्तव्य-गङ्गरानकेन लेखितमिदं ।

It was GAUTAMVAJRA VAJRACHARYA who identified *Lamjugun* of the document with present Lamjung. See GAUTAMVAJRA VAJRACHARYA, “Nevārī Bhāṣāko Tāmaṇa Bhāṣā tathā Limbū Bhāṣasāṅgako Sādṛśya [Similarity of the Newari Language to the Tamang and Limbu Languages],” *Pūrṇimā*, 1, no. 2 (V. S. 2021 [1964]), hereinafter cited as G. VAJRACHARYA, p. 44.

58. TOTRA RAJ PANDEY and NAYA RAJ PANT challenged the widely held views, according to which Nepal was confined Kathmandu valley and neighbouring tracts of land, on the basis of sound historical materials available to them in the late 1940's. See TOTRA RAJ PANDEY and NAYA RAJ PANT, *Nepālako Saṁkṣipta Itihāsa* [Short History of Nepal] (Banaras: Totra Raj Pandey, V. S. 2004 [1947]), “Bhūmikā [Preface],” pp. 1-3. Later NAYA RAJ PANT furthered this theory utilizing more materials in a well documented article. See NAYA RAJ PANT, “Nepāla Śabdako Artha [The Meaning of the Word Nepāla],” *Nepālī Gadya-saṁgraha*, pt. III (Kathmandu: Nepālī Bhāṣā-prakāśinī Samitī, V. S. 2011 [1954]), pp. 142-150. Then DHANABAJRA BAJRACHARYA *et al.* of the Saṁśodhana-maṇḍala accumulated even more materials to prove the vast size of Nepal. See DHANABAJRA BAJRACHARYA, *et al.*, *Itihāsa-saṁśodhanako Pramāṇa-prameya* [The Gist of *Itihāsa-Saṁśodhana*] (Patan: Jagadambā-prakāśana [V. S. 2019 (1962)], “Mūla Bhāga [Main pt.],” pp. 21-28. Afterwards GAUTAMVAJRA VAJRACHARYA added a document from post-Licchavi corpus of documents to this theory. See G. VAJRACHARYA, pp. 43-44. Lastly DHANABAJRA BAJRACHARYA furthered this theory on the basis of more Licchavi documents. See BAJRACHARYA, pp. 27-28, 312-313, 377, 525, 598.

59. PETECH, p. 171.

60. It is quite obvious that *Lamjugunīke* of the document is formed by affixing *kan* (*ka*) to the word *Lamjugunī* and attaching it to the singular number locative.

61. PETECH, p. 46.

III

As in India,⁶² post-Licchavi *Nepālamaṇḍala*, too, was usually divided for administrative purposes into units styled as *viṣaya*-s, which roughly corresponded to the modern districts and were under the administration of feudatories generally designated as *viṣayādhipati*, who were responsible to their overlord residing in Kathmandu valley.

The earliest mention of a *viṣaya* within *Nepālamaṇḍala* in the post-Licchavi period has been found in a record inscribed on the pedestal of a gilt-*répoussé* plaque representing the *Garuḍāsana* form of Viṣṇu which is now in the collection of Jack Zimmerman in New York. According to the inscription, the plaque was dedicated by one Lriṣa in N. S. 124 (1004) in a *Viṣaya* named *Jiglodgama* when Udayadeva was reigning over *Nepālamaṇḍala*⁶³ Now it is difficult for us to locate *Jiglodgama Viṣaya* because we can neither connect it with current place names nor do we know where the sculpture originally was from. This *Viṣaya* is not mentioned in other documents, and the nonavailability of clues makes us helpless in this regard.

Next to *Jiglodgama Viṣaya* what is found in chronological order is *Phallapvinga Viṣaya* mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript of the *Kubjikāmata*. The colophon states that the manuscript was copied for a gentleman living in Kochaku Tole in *Phallapvinga Viṣaya* in N.S. 212 (1092) during the reign of Harṣadeva.⁶⁴

In a later document the *Viṣaya* is spelt as *Phānapīṅga* as attested to by the colophon of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* which was copied for an inhabitant of *Phānapīṅga Viṣaya* in N.S. 285 (1165) when Ānandadeva was reigning.⁶⁵ A record inscribed on a stone water-spout in Ikhapokhari, Pharping, states that the donation of the water-spout was made by an inhabitant of Yavili Tole in the town of *Mahāsāmanta Jetarāma Jīva*, the ruler of *Phanapīṅga Viṣaya*, in N.S.

62. For *Viṣaya* in India, see D. C. SIRCAR, pp. 378-382.

63. PRATAPADITYA PAL, "Three Dated Nepali Bronzes and their Stylistic Significance," *Archives of Asian Arts*, XXV (1971-1972), pp. 58-60; PRATAPADITYA PAL, *The Arts of Nepal, Part I, Sculpture* (Leiden / Köln: E. J. Brill, 1974), p. 33, fig. 30. A passage from the inscription is published in BAJRACHARYA and SHRESTHA, p. 20.

64. PETECH, p. 50, doc. 2; REGMI, pt. I, p. 141, doc. 2. REGMI reads as *Phallapinga*.

65. PETECH, pp. 64-55, doc. 13.

381 (1261) during the victorious reign of Bhīmadeva.⁶⁶ The inscription definitely proves that Pharping was one of the *Viṣaya*-s governed by a feudatory in the post-Licchavi period, and *Phallupviṅga*, *Phānapīṅga*, and *Phanapīṅga* are the same in spite of slight differences in their spellings.

Though *Gaṇḍigulma* is mentioned in also two other documents, dated N. S. 119⁶⁷ (998) and 285⁶⁸ (1165) respectively, its mention as a *Viṣaya* is found so far in only one document. It is the colophon of a manuscript of the Buddhist text *Aṣṣasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāpañjikā* which was copied in *Gaṇḍigulma Viṣaya* in N.S. 213 (1092/1093) during the reign of Harṣadeva.⁶⁹

To PETECH “the place Gaṇḍigulma . . . seems to be located near Patan”,⁷⁰ because “the place Gaṇḍigulmaka is mentioned as Gaṇḍigulmako in an inscription of the year 95 of the Amśuvarman era at Patan”.⁷¹

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

67. PETECH, p. 33. DINESH RAI PANT, “Dvairājya [Joint Rule by Two Kings],” *Pūrnimā*, VIII (V. S. 2030–2031 [1973–1975] , hereinafter cited as D. R. PANT), p. 137.

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

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

70. *Ibid.*

71. PETECH, p. 33. REGMI locates *Gaṇḍigulma* somewhere in Patan following PETECH. But REGMI does not mention PETECH in this regard and inaccurately paraphrases him (REGMI, pt. I, p. 507) : “*Gandigulmaka* is identified, for a stele of the time of Amśuvarman was found in a locality immediately south of the city of Patan said to have been issued from the site of that name. It is likely that *Gaṇḍigulmaka* was the head-quarter of the southern unit of the kingdom of Nepal as it then existed.” The inscription pointed out by REGMI is dated (Mānadeva) Saṁvat 95. It is a quite well-known fact that Amśuvarman’s last inscription is dated (Mānadeva) Saṁvat 45 (BAJRACHARYA doc. 93, pp. 378–379). The inscription mentioned by REGMI undoubtedly was issued from the *Bhadraḍdhivāsabhavana* (BAJRACHARYA, doc. 132, pp. 494–495) which was, of course, the administrative centre of the last years of Narendradeva’s reign (BAJRACHARYA, doc. 132–134, p. 494.

The inscription mentioned by PETECH is badly damaged and the text is hopelessly incomplete. The line where in the *Gaṇḍigulmako* is mentioned reads as follows: “(तां य)येवाङ्गणिगुल्मकोमालिही मासी. . .”.⁷² The meaning of this line is not clear and is debatable.⁷³

In the present state of our knowledge we are not in a position to locate *Gaṇḍigulma* definitely, though we would like to tentatively suggest its locale. It is known from Sanskrit literature that *Gulma* is a kind of outpost⁷⁴ which in modern usage can loosely be termed as police station. It appears to us that *Gaṇḍī* is the short form of the *Gaṇḍakī* or *Gaṇḍikā* – Sanskrit words for the Gandak. The existence of Gulmi district, the eastern boundary of which is the Kali Gandak,⁷⁵ persuades us to conclude that the word *Gulmi* is derived from *Gaṇḍigulma* which seems to have been situated on the bank of the Kali Gandak. Now it is worth noting that Aramudi entrusted *Jayapīḍa* to the hands of trustworthy guards in a very high stone building on the bank of the *Kālagandikā*, as Kalhaṇa tells us.⁷⁶ It seems to us that there was a special *Gulma* on the bank of the Kali Gandak where the Kashmirian king was taken prisoner. Of course, this is a conjecture which requires further proof to be accepted.⁷⁷

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

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

73. JAGADISH CHANDRA REGMI, *Licchavi-saṃskṛti* [Licchavi Culture] (Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, V. S. 2026 [1969], hereinafter cited as J. REGMI), pp. 369–370.

74. DHANABAJRA BAJRACHARYA, “Licchavikālakā Śāsanasambandhī Pāribhāṣika Śabdako Vyākhyā [An Explanation of Administrative Terminologies of the Licchavi period],” *Pūrnimā*, III, no. 2. (V. S. 2023 [1966]), pp. 9–11.

75. MM, Vol. III, p. 718. Gulmi District is in Lumbini Zone in Western Nepal.

76. *Rajatarāṅgiṇī*, IV. 546.

77. DHANABAJRA BAJRACHARYA has identified *Gaṇḍigulma Viṣaya* with the present Gulmi area. However, he has not given any evidence to prove his theory. DHANABAJRA BAJRACHARYA, “Madhykālīna Nepāla [Medieval Nepal],” in *Nepāla Paricaya* [An Introduction to Nepal] (Kirtipur: Curriculum Development Centre, Tribhuvan University, 1976), p. 71. Thus all the conclusions arrived here are our own.

The fifth is *Pannaga* or *Panumga Viṣaya* which will be dealt with in the Commentary of the No. 2 inscription of the present paper.

The last is *Pañcāvatadeśīya Viṣaya* which is found in the colophon of a manuscript entitled *Vṛttasārasaṅgrahadharmaputrikā* which mentions in N. S. 321 (1201) *Pañcāvatadeśīyaviṣayādhipati Rānaka Śrīdharasimha* during the victorious reign of Ari Malla.⁷⁸ The *Viṣaya* named *Pañcāvatadeśīya* cannot be identified unless sufficient data are available.⁷⁹

IV

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

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

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

The inscription provides a clue to the approximate location of *Jhāmteśvara*. It appears to us that the name of the *viṣaya* mentioned in the inscription as *Mamgvara* is the archaic form of Magar, a well-known tribe of mid-western Nepal. Thus it seems that the original location of the inscription was *Magarat*, the native country of the Magars, the clear demarcation of which is beyond our present state of knowledge.⁸⁰

78. REGMI, *Medieval Nepal*, pt. I, p. 207, doc. 13.

79. An elementary study of the *Viṣaya*-s of the post-Licchavi period is done in REGMI, pt. I, pp. 506-508 and BAJRACHARYA and SHRESTHA, pp. 19-21.

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

It is interesting to note here that in his *Varnaratnākara* Jyotirīśvara of Mithilā

As noted above, a document is available dated N. S. 220 (1099) belonging to the “victorious reign” of *Mahāsāmantādhipati Mahāsāmanta Rāmadeva*. It is the colophon of a Buddhist *Dhāraṇī* named *Aryoṣṇīṣavijaya* copied by one Kamalapāṇi in *Dhavalasrota*.⁸¹ As mentioned before, the present document, which is dated N.S. 221 (1100), belongs to the reigning period of king Śiva-deva and “the victorious reign” of *Sāmanta Rāmadeva*. As confirmed already, *Rāmadeva* is no other than *Mahāsāmantādhipati Mahāsāmanta Rāmadeva* of the N. S. 220 document, who tried to be autonomous after Harṣadeva. Mention of *Rāmadeva* as the ruler in the document of N. S. 220 written in *Dhavalasrota* and in the document of N. S. 221 dedicated in *Maṅgvara Viṣaya* reveals the fact that *Dhavalasrota* was under the territorial jurisdiction of *Maṅgvara Viṣaya*.

Again *Dhavalasrota*, rather differently spelt, is seen in the colophon of the well-known Ayurvedic classic *Carakasamhitā* copied in N. S. 303 (1183) in *Dhavalasrotrī* during “the good and victorious reign” of *Mahāsāmanta Ratnadeva*.⁸²

refers to *Yakṣa, Vidyādharā, Gandharva, Kinnara, Goṇḍa, Patagoṇḍa, Śavara, Kirāta, Vavvara, Bhilla, Pukkassa, Pañchāri, Meda, and Maṅgara* as *mleccha* castes. See RADHAKRISHNA CHAUDHARY, *Mithilā in the Age of Vidyāpati (C. 1330–1525 A. D.: A Study in Cultural History)* (Varanasi: Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1976), p. 138. Perhaps, *Maṅgara* of the *Varṇaratnākara* is no other than the Magar tribe which is mainly settled in the northern part of Mithilā in the Nepalese territory.

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

81. PETECH, p. 53, doc. 1. PETECH who publishes the document “for the first time, from a hand-copy kindly supplied by vajrācārya Pūrṇaharṣa of Kathmandu” reads the place name as “Dhavalasro(tra x)mā” and concludes, “written at Dhavalāśrotra.” REGMI who has “verified the date from the copy shown to” him “by Pūrṇaharṣa Vajrācārya, the owner of the ms.,” reads the place name as “dhavalasrottryamā”. See REGMI, pt. I, p. 146. SAKYA and VAIDYA, who have published the document in more detail, read the place name as “धलबसोन्त्यायां.” See SAKYA and VAIDYA, colophon 4, p. 8.

82. PETECH p. 72, doc. 1. PETECH reads the place name as *Dhavalāśrotryām* which seems to be the singular number locative of the incorrect word *Dhavalasrotrī*. REGMI has published the place name as *Dhavalasrotyam*. See REGMI, I, p. 192.

Lastly, *Dhavalasrota* is seen in the colophon of a manuscript of *Kriyākālaguṇottara* copied in N.S. 304 (1184), some 14 months later than the manuscript of the *Carakasamhitā* mentioned above, in *Dhavalasrotapura* during "the reign" of the same *Mahāsāmanta* Ratnadeva, but is corruptly spelt as *Ratnādīva*.⁸³

In this context it is worth remembering that the Magars are mainly settled in the western and southern flanks of the Dhaulagiri-massif.⁸⁴ As proved already, *Dhavalasrota* of the documents of the post-Licchavi period was situated in the *Viṣaya Maṅgyara* which seems to be the archaic form of *Magar*. Thus the place name *Dhavalasrota* apparently is connected with *Dhavalagiri*, the standardized spelling of Dhaulagiri. We, therefore, roughly

83. ŚĀSTRĪ reads the place name as धवलस्रोतपुरे [HARA PRASAD ŚĀSTRĪ, *A Catalogue of Palm-leaf & Selected Paper MSS. Belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, Vol. II (Calcutta: 1915, hereinafter cited as ŚĀSTRĪ, vol. II) p. 85, while PETECH reads as *Dhavalasrotapure* (PETECH, p. 72, doc. 2) and REGMI publishes the place name as *Dhavalasrotapura* (REGMI, pt. I, p. 192).

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

Kulālikāmnāye Kubjikāmatam (according to the Catalogue, *Kubjikā Tantra*), Kaiser Library, Kathmandu, MS. no. 57. colophon: "अद्येह नेपालविषये ववलासान्निकाया महासामन्तरत्नदेवराज्ये श्रीकाश्मीराचर्यश्रीतेजसिबस — व्यसोमवा — कण्ण — श्रीश्रीपुस्तकसहस्रत्रय सार्द्धं लिखितं । लेखक भोगनमिति ॥ ॥ मंगल महाश्री ॥ ॥"

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

84. TONI HAGEN, *Nepal, the Kingdom in Himalayas* (Berne: Kummerly & Frey, 1961), p. 68.

locate *Dhavalasrota* in the lap of Dhaulagiri in spite of ŚĀSTRĪ,⁸⁵ PETECH,⁸⁶ and REGMI,⁸⁷ who have identified *Dhavalasrota* with Dhulikhel outside Kathmandu valley, south-east of Banepa.⁸⁷

It is quite interesting to note that *Rāṇaka*, a popular feudatory title of medieval India,⁸⁸ is prefixed to the name of a *Viṣayādhipati* of Nepal, ruling in N. S. 321 (1190) in an unidentified *Viṣaya* named Pañcāvatadeśiya.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the *Rāṇaka* or its derivative-ending personal names, or the word *Rāṇaka* suffixed to the occupational term mentioned in the post-Licchavi documents which are originally from western Nepal⁹⁰, traditionally known as *Magarat* i. e. the native country of the Magar, suggests that the persons bearing the word *Rāṇaka* in their names may be the Magars, one of whose main clans is Rana.⁹¹

85. ŚĀSTRĪ. vol. II, p. 85.

86. PETECH, pp. 53, 72.

87. REGMI, pt. I, p. 508.

87a. However, it is quite interesting to note here that BENDALL is "inclined to think that" Ratnadeva of Dhavalasrotapura "must have been a local raja, or a king of western Nepal." See BENDALL, p. 8.

88. D. C. SIRCAR. pp. 342-343, 371-372.

89. REGMI. pt. I, p. 207, doc. 13.

90. One *Gaṅgarāṇaka* is mentioned in a document dated N. S. 189 written in Lamjung (note 57 of the present paper). One *Sohavarāne* is mentioned in the present inscription dated N.S. 221 issued from *Maṅgvera Viṣaya*. One *Suvarṅakāru Rāṇaka* is mentioned in a document dated N. S. 119 written in Gaṅḍigulma (D. R. PANT, p. 137) which seems to be located in Gulmi on the bank of the Kali Gandak in Mid-western Nepal (Commentary III of the present paper).

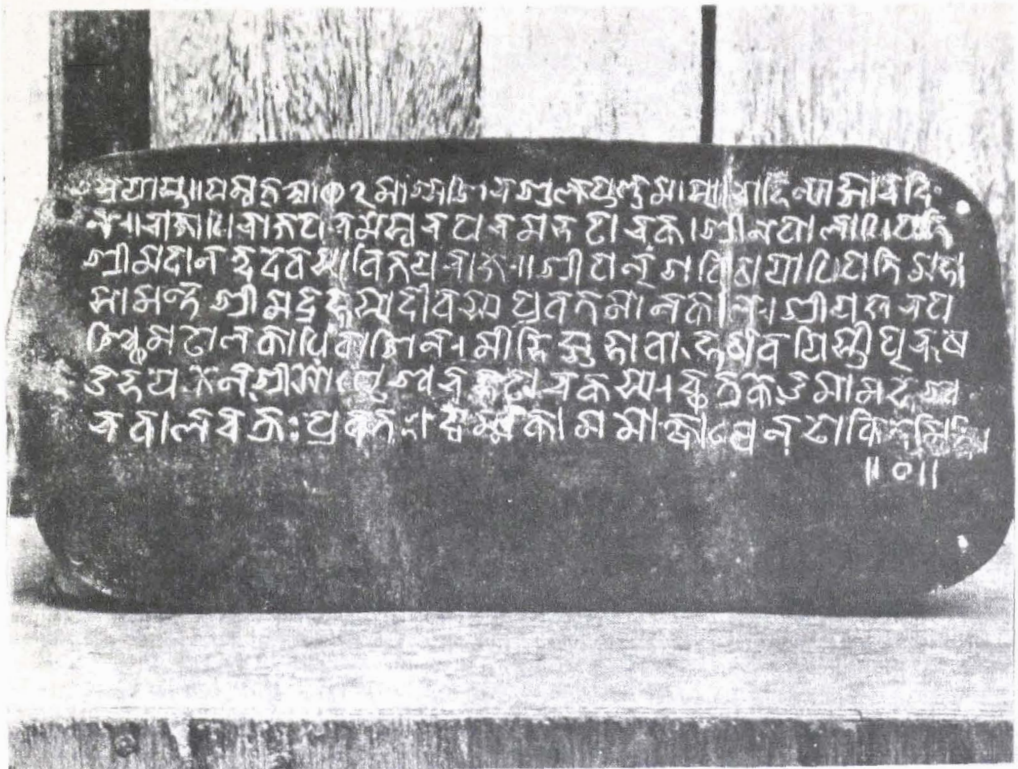
91. BRIAN H. HODGSON, *Essays on the Languages Literature and Religion of Tibet and Nepal* (New Delhi: Mañjuśrī Publishing House, 1972 [Photo reprint of the original edition published in 1874]), pt. II, p. 43.

V

Two institutions, *Goṣṭhī* and *Pāñcālī*, have played important roles in the life of the Nepalese people from Licchavi times onwards. The former, now known as *Guthi*, represents the religious and charitable land endowments of the country,⁹² and the latter which flourished as *Panchayat*, is the core of the present political system.⁹³

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

92. For a scholarly study of of the Licchavi *goṣṭhī*-s, see DHANABAJRA BAJRACHARYA, "Licchavikālako Laukika Jīvanamā Goṣṭhīko Sthāna [The Role of the *Goṣṭhī* in Licchavi Social Life]," *Pūrṇimā* IV (2024 [1967-1968]), pp. 1-6. For a scholarly presentation of the *Guthi* institution, see MAHESH C. REGMI, *Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal, Volume IV, Religious and Charitalale Land Endowments: Guthi Tenure* (Berkeley : Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1968). For a short account of the *Guthi* system, see REGMI pt. I, pp. 706-709.
93. For a scholarly study of the Licchavi *Pāñcālī*-s, see DHANABAJRA BAJRACHARYA, "Licchavikālamā Caleko Pāñcālī (Pāñcāyata)śāsanapaddhatiko Paricaya [An Introduction to the Pāñcālī (Panchayat) System of Government in Licchavi Times]," *Pūrṇimā*, III, no. 4 (V. S. 2023 [1967]), pp. 1-16. JAGADISH CHANDRA REGMI has studied the *Pāñcālī* system in the light of contemporary Indian documents. See J. REGMI, pp. 414-421. D. R. REGMI's account of Licchavi *Pāñcālī*-s is more or less the translation of BAJRACHARYA's paper, though he does not mention BAJRACHARYA. See D. R. REGMI, *Ancient Nepal*, 3rd ed. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969), pp. 250-257. For a glimpse of the Panchayat System in the Malla period, see Saṁśodhana-maṇḍala, "Mallakālako Rājakājama Prajā Pāñcako Sthāna [The Role of Panchas in Malla Polity]," *The Nepal Samachar*, March 2, 1962, p. 3; March 9, 1962, p. 4. For a book-length study of the Panchayat system from Licchavi times onwards, see U. N. SINHA, *Development of Panchayats in Nepal* (Aligarh Allahabad Patna: P. C. Dvadash Shreni & Company (Pvt.) Ltd., n. d.).



Copper-plate Inscription No. 2

NO. 2 – COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF N. S. 282

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The copper-plate is nearly oblong, as the previous one is, but is a little bit smaller. It measures 17.6×8.5 cm. and is about 0.5 cm. thick and weighs about 115 g. The record consists of full seven lines⁹⁴ and covers more than half of the plate. The average number of characters in a line is 23, while the average size of the characters is about 0.7×0.5 cm. Unlike the previous one, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation and can be deciphered well, though the plate has small cracks in two places. The characters are well engraved but they are not so deeply cut as the previous one, and some of the characters do not show through the reverse side of the plate.

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

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

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

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

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


TEXT

१. स्नेयोस्तु^{१५} ॥ सम्बत् २०० ८० २ मार्गशिरशुक्लपुण्यमास्या रोहिण्याङ्गारदि-
२. ने-॥^{१६} राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभटारक । श्रीनेपालाधिपति
३. श्रीमदानन्ददेवस्य विजयराजे -॥ श्रीपनुंगविषयाधिपतिमहा-
४. सामन्तश्रीमद्रहस्यदीवस्य प्रवर्तमानकाले -। श्रीयखरप-
५. रिच्छमतोलकाधिवाशिन -। मीभिङ्गु भावो^{१७} हर्षवयि स्त्रीपुरुष
६. उभयकेन श्रीक्राण्टेश्वरभटारकस्य -। च्छत्रके उमामहेश्व-
७. र बालचक्रः प्रवत् ०^{१८} ॥ इर्मकाममोत्ताथेन ढोकितमिति ।
॥ ० ॥

TRANSLATION

Let it be auspicious.

In the year 200 (and) 80 (and) 2, on the 15th day of bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa, Tuesday, Rohiṇī asterism, during the victorious reign of the Supreme King of Kings, Supreme Lord, Most Venerable, Ruler of Śrī Nepāla, the Glorious Ānandadeva, during the moving forward time of the Ruler of Śrī Panuṅga district, High Feudatory, the Glorious Rahasyadeva.,^{१७} Mībhiṅgu^{१८}

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

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

96a. For this type of punctuation in Nepalese documents, see ŚĀSTRĪ, I, pls. 4-6, H. SHAKYA, pp. 13, 14, SAKYA, p. 84, AISHVARYA DHAR SHARMA, "Three Unpublished Inscriptions Concerning the Devabhājūs of Patan," *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre*, I (1977), pp. 131-132, 134-135, 136-137.

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

97. In the original Rahasyadīva, See Commentary.

98. This seems to be a personal name of Newari origin.

Bhāvo and Harṣa Vayi⁹⁹ both the husband and wife, inhabitants of the western block¹⁰⁰ of *Yakhara*,¹⁰¹ consecrated the image of *Umā-Maheśvara* (with *bālacakra*¹⁰² in the temple¹⁰³ of Śrī *Jhāmṭeśvara* the worshipful. (It is) offered for the sake of righteousness, worldly pleasure, and salvation.

COMMENTARY

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

It should be noted here that the locale of *Jhāmṭeśvara* was under the territorial jurisdiction of *Maṅgvara Viṣaya* in 1100, as known from the copper-plate

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

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

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

102. No meaning of the word is known. Perhaps the compound word *bālacakra* means a group of children. Here the word *bālacakra*, mentioned after the word *Umā-Maheśvara*, may represent *Skanda* and *Gaṇeśa*. For the presentation of *Skanda* and *Gaṇeśa* in the *Umā-Maheśvara* image, see T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II (Varanasi Delhi: Indological Book House, 1971 [Photo reprint of the original edition published in 1916]), pp. 132-141, Appendix B, pp. 71-72.

103. In the original *Chatraka*. *Chatraka* is a parasol-shaped temple in honour of Śiva. See MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages* (Delhi Patna Varanasi: Motilal Banarasidass, 1963 [Photo Reprint of the 1899 edition]). p. 404, column 2.

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