

NEPAL

Historical Study of a Hindu Kingdom

by
Sylvain Levi

Compiled from
Ancient Nepal
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NEPAL

Historical Study of A Hindu Kingdom

by Sylvain Levi

Volume I.

INTRODUCTION

The name of Nepal is not unknown, even outside the narrow circle of erudites. The charm of the Himalayas, [has reflected itself so to speak, on the Hindu kingdom which the great chain shelters, Gaurisankar and the other giant peaks that impart dizziness to the imagination of school boys, evoke to the memory the image of Nepal, stretched out on the map at the feet of these colossus, Between Tibet to the North, and British India that squeezes her to the South East, and West, the Kingdom of Nepal occupies little room Nepal properly speaking would occupy even less. The local practice, in accordance with the tradition, reserves exclusively the denomination of Nepal to an oblong valley, situated in the very heart of the country, half-way to burning Hindustan and the lofty frozen plateaus, laughing, fertile, populated, acquired from old, to civilization and which has never ceased exercising a predominance over the rough surrounding mountains. It is the story of this humble valley, that I have attempted to retrace here.

Must I excuse myself for having consecrated so much effort on so restricted a subject. I do not think so. A chain of facts that are inter-linked, whatever be its apparent aim, is better than the distraction of a curious mind. It awakens memory and brings it creative imagination. If the destinies of the human race, are not a vain game of hazard, if there exist scrupulous or inscrupulous laws that govern them, the history of one human community interests the whole of humanity since it brings to light the hidden precepts and projects under the confused mass of events. It is the unknown, always dangerous, that draws back; if one succeeds in discovering, how a forlorn valley has peopled itself with inhabitants, has organized itself, has policed itself, how the worships, the languages, the institutions have by degrees transformed themselves, the study develops into greater interest on the Hindu domain. India, in her whole, is a world without history: she created herself gods, doctrines, laws, sciences, arts, but she has not divulged

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the secret of their formation or of their metamorphosis. One must be well initiated in Indian ways to know at the expense of what patient toil, the learned men of Europe have established far distant connecting links in the obscurity of an almost impenetrable past; what strange combinations of heteroclitic date have enabled to edify a tottering chronology, even now thoroughly incomplete.

Civilized nations have preoccupied themselves in general, by conveying a durable remembrance to posterity; organised in community, they have directly extended to the group the distinctive sentiments of the individual. They have desired to decipher the mystery of their origin and to survive in the future. The priests, the poets, the erudites have offered themselves to this very powerful need. The Chinese have their annals, as the Greeks have Herodote and the Jews their Bible. India has nothing.

The exception is so singular that it has, at the very outset caused surprise and given rise to interpretations. One has especially alleged as a decisive argument, the transcendental indifference of the Hindu feeling penetrated by universal vanity, the Hindu surveys with superb disdain the illusive course of phenomena; to better humble the human smallness his legends and his cosmogonies drown the years and the centuries into incommensurable periods that involve the imagination in the throes of a vertigo. The sentiment is exact: but in India as elsewhere, the highest doctrines have had to adapt themselves to the incurable failings of humanity. The commemorative inscriptions and panegyrics carved out of stone that are strewn over India, prove that from an early date, kings and other distinguished individuals have safe-guarded themselves against being forgotten. The long and pompous genealogies that frequently serve as a preliminary to royal deeds even show that the chanceries were setting up in their archives an official history of the dyna-

sty. But the political administration of India condemned these crude materials as they were most likely to disappear and end with fatal results. If contented peoples had no history, then anarchy also had none, and India had exhausted herself in perpetual anarchy. Foreign invasions and internal rivalry have never ceased to overthrow the order of things. Sometimes, at long intervals, a genius would rise and knead in his strong hands the amorphous mass of kingdoms and principalities, and make of India an empire, but the work perishes with the workman: the empire gets dislocated and the self-made soldiery proceed in the work of her dismembrment into states of lesser importance. Too large to adapt herself to a monarchy, India is wanting in natural divisions that would assure her of a stable partition; hegemony wanders haphazardly over the stretch of this vast territory and travels from the Indus to the Ganges, from the Ganges to the Deccan. Capitals spring up, shine with effulgence and go out; marts, warehouses and sea-ports of the day before, are deserted, empty and forgotten on the morrow. From time to time a surge passes over this upheaval and gradually breaks all in its fall. Alexander enters the Punjab and the distant Ganges shakes off the yoke of its powerful rulers; the English land on the coast and the Mogul empire is shaken. India which is imagined as ordinarily absorbed in her marvellous dream and separated from the rest of the world, is in reality a vulgar prey on which rushes the cupidity of the fascinated universe. The Vedic Aryans, the Persians under Darius, then the Greeks and the Scythians, and the Huns, and the Arabs, and the Afghans, and the Turks, and the Moguls, and the Europeans unchained in emulation; Portuguese, Dutch, French, English; the history of India is almost totally blended with the history of her conquerors.

If India, by the abuse of her instability, was condemned to be deprived of a political

history, she could at least have acquired a religious one. Buddhism nearly gave her that one. Born from a vigorous personality which a mythical disguise could not effectively mask, propagated by a succession of patriarchs, regulated by councils, patronized by illustrious sovereigns, the Church of Buddha reminds herself of the stages of her growing greatness; having appeared and having been published in the course of time, she did not hope for a stunning eternity. She fixed her duration to a definite period and eager to lead men to salvation, she measured with sadness, centuries travelled over, and centuries still open before her. The Buddhist priests, solitary in their convents, contemplated, without doubt, the storms of the world, alike deceiving mirages of universal nothingness; however, as members of a community answerable for its interests, they carefully kept the register of donations and of privileges granted by the favour of kings. The church had her annals; the convent had her diary. But a sweeping tempest swept away Buddhism, the monasteries and the monks together with their literature and traditions. To left alone and face to face with invading Islam, opposed to the fanaticism of the conqueror, the resources of his Indiscernible suppieness; he disdained history which contradicted his ideals and gainsaid his beliefs, he created himself heroes to suit his taste and sheltered with them in the past of legends.

Three countries only have cherished the memory of their real past: due South, Ceylon, surrounded by the sea, due North, Kashmere and Nepal in the mountains. All three have a common character in contrast with India: nature has traced them a well defined horizon, that the Geye can compass without being able to overcome. Separated from India, they can never mingle with her, and persue their destinies by themselves, surrounded by a fatal circle.

Ceylon, ancient and always flourishing metropolifim of Buddhism, grew proud of a continuous chronicle which covers over two thousand years; from the time that the son of Emperor Asoka came to erect the first monastery, about 250 before the christian era, his monks have not ceased to range methodically in didactic poetry, the annals of the Singhalese Church. Their exactitude submitted to the control of Greeks and Chinese has succeeded brilliantly in the double test. But Ceylon is a world little set apart; her politics, which sometimes express the truth, separates, even to-day, Ceylon from the Empire, Anglo-Indian, to reconnect her immediately to the British crown. The peninsula belongs to Rama, the hero of the Brahmins, but the island, subdued by his weapons for a short time, never the less remains to his antagonist, the demon Ravana. The maritime routes of the East that open out like a fan around her, have poured in all the races of the world, Arabs, Persians, Malay and African negroes and white men from Europe and yellow men from China. India stretches towards her almost to touching point, but what an India dark India, dravidian India, where Brahminism has always had to divide the empire with the indigenous religions, with Buddhism, with Islam, with the christians under saint Thomas, with the jesuits under Madoure. Ceylon is an annexation of India, she is not a province, less even a reduced image.

Kashmere, which is inland, acts like a pendant to the great island. The mountains surround her but do not imprison her. Possible defiles connect her with Tibet at Kachger at the villeys of pamiir, accessible passes alope down to the Punjab, towards this historical threshold of India, where all the invaders have had to pitch their first battle. Ceylon, is the advanced sentinel at the crossways of the Indian ocean, Kashmere penetrates like an angle under the pressure of India, to the very heart of Asia. But, welded to India, she shares her

destinies; conquered, like her, by the Turks of Kaniska and the Huns of Mihira Kula, she pursues like her, a period of splendour and of might between the Vth. and the Xth Century, then, exhausted, by her struggles against the barbarians of the west, she succumbs to the efforts of Islam. A chronicle composed in the XIth century, alone reminds one to-day, of the glories of the past; but it has sufficed to make these immortal. The Sanskrit literature that the kings of Kashmere had protected and often even studied has worthily repaid their good offices; the Raja-tarangini of the poet Kalhana has saved their names and exploits from oblivion. Others have wished later on, to take up the threads again, and pursue the work of Kalhana, but the interest of the subjects had vanished. Kashmere had escaped the Hindu genius and was no more but an obscure annexation of Mohammedan India. If Nepal has a history, alike Kashmere and Ceylon, her history is a very modest one. Entrenched between her glaciers and her impenetrable forests isolated like an undefined dominion between Hindustan and Tibet, she has never known the refined civilization of Kashmerean courts, or the opulent activity of the great Buddhistic island. Her annals do not remind one either of Mahavamsa pali, or of the Sanskrit Raja-tarangini, their very shape betray their contrast; they consist in dynastic lists (Vamsavalis) combined with the lists of endowments and royal donations; the compilers who have gathered and founded them, have not attempted to raise them above the dignity of a literary work. The usual language sufficed them, they had chosen to speak in the half-Tibetian of the Nevars or the Aryan dialect of Hinduised Nepalese. Their narratives, poor and usually meagre, dwell, with complaisance only on miracles and prodigies. It only swells into details at the mythical period and at the modern period. The strength of recent souvenirs only is able to withstand the dazzling brilliancy of the legendary past.

Heroes and gods cradled by popular belief move from century to century, always truer and more real, proportional, as each generation gives it, its soul and its faith. One sees them, one feels them everywhere present; man is the blind instrument of their wills and caprices. The revolution of 1768 which gave Nepal to the Ghurkas is only, to the chroniclers, but the sequel of a treaty first arranged in heaven. History propagated in this way is reduced to a pious epic, mounted on an apparatus of suspicious chronology. Science, happily has at its disposal other ways to control and complete the tradition. The epigraphy already substantial and which dates back from the Vth. century; the ancient manuscripts, numerous in Nepal where the climate has better preserved them than in India; the literature of local origin; the narrations of pilgrims and of Chinese envoys, the informations taken from the history and from the Indian literatures, in short the enquiries gathered by European travellers, Since the XVIIth century.

All these documents of various ages, origins, languages, sentiments, once compared, criticised and co-ordinated, make up a harmonious setting where the attention can easily encompass the destinies of an Asiatic tribe, subdued by contact with India during a period of duration of at least twenty centuries. From the earliest of times Nepal was a lake; the water that comes down from the neighbouring summits, is gathered in captivity at the feet of the mountain that surround it. But a divine sword forces a breach; the Valley empties itself, the soil dries up; the first intruders arrive. They come from the North led by Marjusri, the hero of Buddhistic sagacity who holds sway in China and who still manifests himself to-day under the guise of the Son of Heaven. The mythical age opens then; the imagination of Nepalese story-tellers had no difficulty in peopling this distant past, abandoned wholly

to their fantasy; but their inventions, apart from reality, which inspire them in spite of themselves result only in reproducing the history in a sort of symbolic prelude. The dynasties that they relate emerge one from a Chinese world, another from the oriental Himalaya, another from India. After myriads of years in which the legendary gods and heroes occupy the scene personages of the most modern type suddenly make their entry. A hermit, the patron and eponym of Nepal, instals on the throne simple shepherds. It is history which commences or at least historical times. The Gopals, the Abhiras represent the first pastors who ventured with their flock on the grassy and lonely slopes of the mountains. Their names, though being given in Sanskrit, must not make an illusion; forerunners of the Gurungs and of the Bhotiyas who live now in the higher alps of the Gurkha Kingdom, they came like them from the Tibetan plateaus. Picturesque accounts gathered from the neighbourhood of Nepal show that the herdsmen of old were forced by reason of snow and ice, to remain on the other slope; but one amongst them in searching for a lost sheep wandered in the snows surmounted a mountain pass and discovered a new verdant and fertile world. He returned, with the glad news which spread from place to place; a multitude of conquistadors ventured then on road to the south.

The tribe of Nevars who took possession of Nepal, belonged to a race of men whom nature stamped with a bold hand, accustomed to heights, thought impracticable, exposed to the glacial rigours of a long winter, but swept by a vivifying breeze cheered up by a smiling summer, removed from the trade of the world confined in their horizon as well as in their ambitions associating the pleasures of a nomadic life with the rustic pleasures, of a sedentary life, these herdsmen of a boundless Arcadia mingled kindness to barbarism eclogue to ferocity; boisterous mirth, frank and jovial

gaiety; they play about like children, dream like wise men and strike like brutes. Bands of plunderers under a ringleader, armed, drilled by a genius, Buddha's doctrine has also turned out monks, savants and philosophers. Their dialect indistinct and rough has however, adapted itself quite readily to poetry to science and to abstruse speculations. Born and sprung up from this robust stump, the bough Nevar, the one nearest to India, was the first to flourish.

Never had foremost to triumph over an imminent peril to the East the shepherds of Nepal a parent tribe, had occupied the basin of the seven kosis; spread over this vast territory, which nature herself had cut up in narrow valleys by high mountain barriers, the tribe of Kiratas had broken up into principalities; but weary perhaps of exhaustion in fruitless rivalry guided perhaps by the wisdom of neighbouring India, they organised themselves in confederacy, alike the Mallas or the Vrijis of Aryan country, and powerful by their union, they created an empire which overflowed on the southern plain, spread towards the sea to the Ganges delta, and left its remembrance in Hindu Epic whilst to the west their expansion and triumphal progress wrested out Nepal from the shepherd Kings. The Vamsavali records a long list of Kirata Kings whose barbarous names seem to bear the stamp of authenticity. It is during the course of this period that Buddha firstly, and then the Emperor Asoka, visited Nepal. Taken literally, the two facts are at least doubtful, if not improbable: they express, however, a portion of the truth. Buddhism was born at the feet of the Nepalese mountains and at the opening of routes which led from Nepal to the plains, to the limits of the Aryan sphere; The proximity of the Himalaya has perhaps tempted the first apostles, eager to propagate the works of salvation. And later on, about 250 before J. C. when Asoka undertook his pious pilgrimage to holy places,

holy places, his route, still recognisable by the pillars he erected, guided him at least in that mixed region where the Nepalese highlander meets the Hindu from the plains.

Supported by the power of the great Buddhist emperor, or only by his own zeal, the missionary of Buddhism has taken root in Nepal. India followed him there. Under the influence of the new religion, illustrious families attempted to connect themselves, really or fictitiously, to the Buddhist novelty of India. One, amongst them acquired such reputation, as to overthrow the kiratas, about a century after the christian era, and to create a dynasty which survived nearly eight centuries. The descendants of Kiratas pretended having sprung up from the clan Licchavi who held sway at the time of Buddha, over the wealthy town of Vaisali and who still existed in the most glorious names of the Indian aristocracy. Nepal under the Licchavi regime, united with the scheme of Hindu states but without pledging her independence. The most powerful of Gupta emperors, sovereign of nearly the whole of India, inscribes Nepal among those kingdoms beyond the borders, that maintain with him friendly relations. In short, at the beginning of the VIth century, real history commences with the epigraphy. The first document known, shows India's civilisation attaining her full bloom. The literary tongue, Sanskrit, which reaches at that period the classical perfection in India of brahmans, is handled without difficulty, in the heart of the mountains, by learned poets, by the fashionable, by the dainty, in the employment of the court or by ordinary laymen. Buddhism and Brahmanism, long separated and rivals in India, penetrate and almost mingle in Nepal. The monks had consecrated to the religion of Buddhas, the hill of Svayambhu, they had erected a sanctuary of antique shape which tradition dates back to Emperor Asoka; scattered in the valley hemi-

spheres of earth and brick built on the elementary style of primitive monuments of Indian Buddhism testify to the date already distant of the country's conversion. Siva and Visnu had fixed their abode on two other heights. Siva, the known associate of Himalayan retreats and summits, is adored here under the name of Pasupati. Master of cattle, and this vocabulary, happily adapted at first to a population of herdsmen and afterwards imposed by a long usage, indicates even to-day, the god as well as the protector of the dynasty and the patron of Nepal. Visnu popularly called Narayana is less intimately connected than his competitor, with the life of the country. Around them lesser divinities, partly common to the Bonyes and to the Brahmans, had their temples, and their priests, and their faithful. Hereditary royalty would be transmitted from father to son; the king's power would extend outside the valley, to the east and to the west; but a restless feudalism, indocile, would subdue to almost nothingness the royal domain and the authority of the sovereign. There were no large towns as yet, the villages, where the cultivators and tradesmen gathered, only bore indigenous names purely Nevars. The inscriptions and the chronicle allow one to follow the development of Nepal up to the VIIIth. century where she reaches her apogee. Fortune seems then to suddenly widen the political horizon of this little Kingdom. Drilled and disciplined by one or those leaders of men that central Asia now and then produces, the Tibetan tribes unite; srate is created, organised, which threatens at its very birth the old Chinese colossus. China on the other hand reminded by her the aggressors, of the "western Countries" which She had almost forgotten. Since the Huns, attempts by the fervour of her pilgrims and the adroitness of her manderins, to force her way to India. India, herself on the North, united for a while under the Empire of a learned and curious monarch, answers China's call and attempts to break the cordon of barbarians which close

her frontiers, to the North-west the Tekins Turcs are masters, on the verge of being overthrown by the Arabs.

Nepal seems to promise an easy way across, to this commerce of nations. She is the uniting thought of the two worlds. India has converted and civilised her. Tibet who speaks her dialect, reckons her as one of her vassals; but subjugated Nepal has given a queen to her conquerors. A Nepalese prince sits on the throne of Lhasa; fervent Buddhist, she installs in her palace her gods, her priests and her holy books. Clotilde has once again converted clovis; the barbarous king surrounds himself with monks, learns theology after his battles. Chinese ambassadors, sent towards India, pass through Tibet, suspend their Journey at Nepal and become official guests enticed by the political fortune of Tibet, Nepal is influenced considerably by China; she sends her messengers and presents; an army of Nepalese soldiers even descend to the plains of India to avenge an insult she suffered. Chinese monks came to settle down learn and perish in the monasteries of Nepal.

This intensity of exchange, promoted a surprising prosperity. Old royal dwellings that were too poor or stingy were discarded, palaces sprang up that sheltered with the King a Court of dignitaries; the convents and temples grow handsome wealthy and increased; sculpture and paintings decorated works of architecture. Nepal's art astonish the refined Chinese themselves. Towns are built; capitels emerge from the earth, one after the other. Science encouraged, and sustained by liberal donations, flourishes; Royalty gives the example: Amsuvarman composes a Sanskrit grammar. In the convents learned monks multiply and increase the copies of holy scriptures and canonical treaties, diverting themselves in their austere work by paintings and finely executed

miniatures.

But the resources of Nepal are not sufficient for her needs, deprived of the reform which swept over her, she falls in decay (or degenerates). India has ere long returned to anarchy; Tibet and China in the throes of perpetual struggles exhaust each other mutually. Tired of a vasselage which falsified her destinies, Nepal rose in arms, and struggled against her Tibetan chieftains; distracted by diverse influences that pretended to prevail, the kingdom splits up, crumbles up and sinks in a feudal chaos, The Licchavis disappear, swept away by the turmoil. A clear and precise date emerges from this fog and is inscribed on the portal of a new period. The year 830 of J. C. inaugurates Nepal's era.

For a long time already, Nepai had been initiated by India in the usage of a local era. The ambition of the Indian chiefs, Emperors and petty kings went so far as to create an era proper which perpetuated their memory; the use of a distinct era was held as a symbol of independence, of proud and free might; it was like a national emblem, carrying the blazon of a dynasty. Amongst all these difficulties, in which struggles the history of India, the multiplicity of eras is an element of inextricable confusion. A number of kings often waver in the chronology, at the mercy of the time awaiting a decisive synchronism. The Guptas who dominate the Indian history for a hundred and fifty years, were still pulled about fifteen years ago, between the 1st and 6th. century of the christian era. Even the origin of the most popular eras escape the historian; we can still ignore the circumstances that gave birth in 57 B.C. to the Vikrama era, and in 78 A. C. to the Saka era, as well scattered, however, in contemporary India, as in the India of the middle ages. The Licchavis of Nepal had founded or introduced into the valley, an era which appears, if my calculations are correct, from the

year 111 J.C. at the beginning of the VIIIth century, they must have accepted as a mark of servitude, the era of Tibetan conquerors. The year 880 officially describes the rupture of the bond of vassalage. Nepal escapes from Tibet which is torn by religious upheavals and a new dynasty is substituted for the Licchavis: the Mallas.

The Mallas, alike the Licchavis, are the heirs, more or less legitimate of an antique name, consecrated by the biography of Buddha. At the time the chieftain lived, the mallas formed a confederacy of tribes, as yet little advanced in civilisation; it is on their territory that the founders of the two great schismatic doctrines, Buddha and Jina, had come to die. Later on they disappeared from history, absorbed in the Magadha Empire or driven back to the mountains. They appear in Nepal on the first of the country's epigraphic monuments; their name is retraced later on in other inscriptions of the Licchavis. Established outside and to the west of the valley, they refuse to recognize the authority of the Nepalese dynasty and appear even to impose on them, sometimes, a sort of retribution.

Rulers of Nepal in their turn, the mallas introduced a kind of feudal federation which reminds one of the constitution of ancient Mallas. At the end of the XIth, century (1097 J.C.), a sudden shock announced to the little valley, the breaking up of neighbouring India and peesage of future revolution; under cover of the disorder provoked, from the Indus to the Ganges, by the Mohammedan invasion, a Hindu devout and an orthodox, native of Deccan, enters fully armed in Nepal and occupies the throne, which he bequeaths to his descendants. But the conquest is premature; the new dynasty reigns only by name, Anarchy is complete; each borough has its chief who is opposed to the monarch; the capitals have their provincial kings. The rivalry of convents

add to the rivalry of parties. A prince of the mountains, supported by the Brahmanic faction believes the times ripe; predecessor of the Ghurkas, he attacks palpa in Nepal, occupies it, but thinking himself too weak to hold it, retires precipitately. In spite of successive defeats, his repeated efforts testify to the continuous growing interest of the Brahmins.

In 1324 a third attempt succeeded in installing a Brahmanic dynasty in Nepal; the conqueror Hari sinha Deva, victim of the muslimans who had chased him from Tirhout, searches in the mountains, a refuge and a compensation. He brings with him an academy of Brahmanic jurists whom he protects and who is ardently busy in Codifying the traditions which is in danger of disappearing under the Islam triumph. The subtle intricacies of the Brahmanic organisation, spread and gained ground, but it was set reserved in store to the Mallas, who were better qualified for this role, to work out a harmonious conciliation between the local custom and the exigancies of the Brahmins. In the second half of the XIVth. century Jaya Sthiti Malla, assisted by the Hindu doctors, outlines clearly the rules of the social and religious organisation. The whole population is divided into two classes running in accordance with the two churches; the faithful of Hindu gods are subdued by the strict rules of the Brahmanic castes, the followers of Buddhistic divinities are divided into professional groups, according to casts. Laws, the salient of points in which disclose the scrupulous method of the Hindu genius, stipulate the details in dress, of the house, of functions allotted to each of the groups. A well established reform for a system of weights and measures also gives evidence of the economical transformation of Nepal.

The work of Jaya sthiti, Malla, restores to Nepal a durable stability and prepares her for a period of prosperity. Circumstances are

propitious. The religious zeal of the Mongul khouililai khan, saved Tibet from anarchy, given power to the Lamas enriched and multiplied the convents, restored the studies and reanimated the commercial activity. The dynasty of the Ming, which succeeds to the mogols in china, retakes the traditions of the Huns and the T'ang, binds its fortune to Buddhism, dreams of uniting under its protection the scattered members of the Church, Its ambassadors travel by the great roads of Asia; Nepal exchanges missions and presents with the imperial court; the king of Nepal, taken for a Lama by error, receives this title, the investiture of china. The king yaksa, the Malla, compels to obedience the vassals and the refractory rivals and reestablishes for a while, unity; but this charlemagne ends up like Louis the Debonnaire; be it either by parental weakness or by an avowal of rinability, he shares his empire between his sons. The small valley became the permanent seat of three kingdom, and the battle ground of three dynasties.

This ambition to excel, is at first glorious and prolific. Bhatgaun, the creation of the Mallas, beautifies herself with splendid monuments erected by a dynasty of builders; her palaces and her temples were the splendours and the porwesses of the Nepalese art. Kathmandu grew proud of his king poets, the literary men, and even of her polyglots; one amongst them which covers the slabs of the town, with its lucubrations, outlines on the facades of his palace, two french words; AUTOMNE LHIVERT (Autumn Winter) in 1654, patan, the metropolis of Buddhism and the stronghold of faith, has a mystical king, who lives as an ascetic and disappears one day under the anonymous garb of a religions mendicant. This is the time when Europe first hears about Nepali, as in the days of the fabueous Manjusri, the passages allowing communications, open out in the North. A jesuit the P. of Andrada,

gathered the first news in Tibet in the year 1626, in 1662, two heroes in thier work of asiatic exploration, the P. Orueber and the P. Dorville leaving pekin for India, cross Nepal. At the same period the Frenchman Taveriner who visits the states of the great Mogul as a keen tradesman, enquiries abot the road that leads from India to central Asia. Offered as a spoil at the same, time, to the two forces of European Expansion, Nepal evades the tradesmen and succumbs to the missionary. But the jesuits who discovered her, find themselves frustrated by the ill-will of the pope. The Friars take up the responsibility they establish in Nepal and in Tibet, missions that were no less charitable then that were fruitless. The P Horace della penna, alone, who died at patan in 1745 deserves a homage from science. Expelled from the country after a sejour of sixty years, the Friars carry away the satisfaction in the knowledge that they had destroyed thousands of ancient manuscripts.

The departure of the Friare is the counter-stroks of a revolution which crowns and accomplishes in a short time the slow and tortuous work of centuries. The kingdoms of the Mallas have all three perished at the same time, exhausted by their quarrels and perpetual wars, undermined by internal disputes by the undiscipline of an aristocracy jealous of its rights and liberties, by the underhanded ways of the Brahmans The Ghurkas are the masters of Nepal. Spring up from a little village perched up-on the mountains of the west, and which has given them their name, they pretend to be the natives of India, proper legitimate descendants of the ancient ksatriyas, equals of the most authentic Rajput. However, their traditions cannot dissimulate their real origin which is also betrayed in the lines of their face. These proud representatives of integral Brahmanism were born of a reprobate cross-breeding; some of them are issues of Brahmanic adventures

others of Rajput adventures, which the musulman conquest had ejected out of India and who had come in search of fortune in the mountains. The refugees, contracted with the indigenous girls, irregular unions; the children who were born claimed and obtained in society a rank worthy of parental blood, but which India more scrupulous refused to acknowledge. Helped by their adversaries dissensions, the Ghurkas have, however, triumphed only after bitter struggles; the honour of the success, was due to their chief, Prithi Narayan, a crafty politician, a valiant soldier, and a far-seeing tactician, cautious in the working out of his plans, stubborn in executing them, dispassionately barbarous or generous after mature deliberation. The capture of Kirtipour characterises his method; installed on its perpendicular rock and defended with bravery, the town repels the assaults of the Ghurkas. Insensible to failures, Prithi Narayan raises the siege, returns the following year, besieges the town again, fails again, and does not discourage. Treason surrenders him the place which force could not capture. He published an amnesty, disarms the inhabitants, and regardless of age or sex, cuts their lips and noses off. Europe who had partly to pay the costs of victory, furnished the means. The British troops of the company who flaunted their victorious banner through Bengal and the country of Avadha, taught the Ghurka king, the value of discipline, while European merchants supplied him with fire-arms which decided success.

In their irresistible enthusiasm, the Ghurkas, era long, extended their domination beyond the valley, to the frontiers that nature had imposed to her expansion. From kali to sikkim, from the Terrai to the Tibetan passes, the autonomous, tributary and vassal principalities, are incorporated in the Ghurka kingdom. Frank or disloyal, the Ghurka excels over his adversaries in perfidy as well as in strength. Overcome by his triumphs, the conqueror even covets Tibet.

The plunder of hoarded treasures in the convents, promises an honest reward to the crusade of Brabmanism against Heresy. But China, the queen sovereign and protectress of the lamas is alarmed at the unknown neighbour just sprung up; she takes energetic measures, gathers an army, drives the Ghurkas out of Tibet and persues them in their own territory; then exhausted by her effort and satisfied at the lesson she had taught, is contended to impose on the vanquished a submission of mere form. Nepal enrolled as a vassal state, undertakes to solemnly despatch every five years, a tribute to the Emperor who is the incarnation of the divine manjucris.

Reminded of their exact strength, the Ghurkas avoided open rupture henceforth with her two powerful neighbours, the Chinese at the North, and the English of the South; they now rely on their diplomacy and ruse to compensate for the weakness of their forces, and dreams to embroil China and Great Britain in a struggle annihilating both. Disgusted with the Ghurka's bad faith and intrigue, England declares war on her in 1814; two years of campaign equally honorable and glorious to both, and also equally marked out by disastrous failures, brought the British to the gates of Nepal. The treaty signed at Segowlie in 1816 outlines between the two states a wall defined frontier and regulates Nepal's relations abroad; Nepal undertakes not to take in her employment any British Subject, or any Subject from a European or American state without the consent of the British Government; a representative of the British Government had to reside near the Nepalese court.

In order to obtain these moderate concessions on the onehand and to abide by them, on the other, English and Ghurkas faught a murderous and disastrous war, with the same obstinacy, for a period of two years. England

on account of her trade wished to open out the road of central Asia which Taveriner had foreseen; the Ghurkas were in no way less determined to do away with strangers. An unfortunate incident had from the very start awakend the Ghurkas' suspicions: while they were pursuing their conquest of Nepal, the English, called to help, by the Mallas, attempted a military diversion; but the climate of the Terrai and the difficulty of the mountains compelled them to beat a retreat. Prithvi Narayan as monarch of his country hastened to expel the christian missionaries and the Hindu tradesmen who could have provoked an English intervention. However, in 1792, when the Chinese invasion threatened the Ghurkas in their very capital, the successors of Prithvi Narayan searched for help from the English side, and, to entice them, they proposed to negotiate with them a treaty of commerce; then, alarmed at the step undertaken which threatened the integrity of their independence, they hastened to conclude peace with China. Colonel Kirkpatrick the Company's envoy arrived too late in Nepal; He was received with scornful indifference, and withdrew from the place after a sojourn of two months. He brought back a magnificent collection of notes on the country's geography, history, antiquities religion, agriculture, commerce and institutions, which notes later on written down by a stranger's hand, were published in 1811.

Kirkpatrick inaugurated in Nepal, a new phase of European Expansion. Apostleship zeal had at first brought in to the Himalayas who were solely occupied in preaching and the missionaries extending their doctrine which was hidden from profane curiosity. Modern politics takes footing in Nepal with kirkpatrick and is inspired by the commercial ambition and the spirit of enterprise ennobled, and made prolific by the co-operation of all the human knowledge and skill. In 1802, the English attempted at finding new circumstances to enable

them to install a resident in Nepal; the attempt fails again but it managed to last a year; Hamilton who accompanied the resident, took up again and extended the researches of Kirkpatrick; his relation published in 1818 throws a new light on the country so little known. In short, after the treaty of 1816, the British residentship is definitely established; from 1820 Hodgson is appointed. During a career of twenty five years, which career is entirely developed in Nepal, Brian Houghton Hodgson, explores with the same pleasure, the same divination, the same patience; he is a grammarian geographer othnographer geologist, botanist, zoologist, archaeologist, jurist, philosopher, theologian; everywhere he constitutes, everywhere he surpasses in landable deeds. French Indianism cannot forget that without the discovered materials by Hodgson and generously placed at the service of erudition, the great and learned Burunouf would not have composed his admirable introduction to the history of Indian Buddhism. The name of Hodgson remains indisselubly found with the science of Nepal. Recently only (1877) a doctor of the embassy, Dr. Wright, in perpetuating the noble tradition of British officials at the service of India, has enriched the library of Cambridge with a treasure of ancient manuscripts, especially Buddhistic, and has made the local chronicle, the Vansaval easily accessible to learned Europeans, by an English translation.

The conditions of the treaty of Segowlic, in accordance with the prudent distrust of the Ghurkas, reserved almost Exclusively to the personnel of the British residence, the study of Nepal on the soil itself. Apart from the Resident, his assistant and the doctor, no European was allowed to enter Nepal and even less to settle down there. Besides, the Resident himself is compelled to abide by certain unpleasent conditions in life; he lives, outside the town and at a distance from the capital,

in an enclosure reserved for him, under the protection of a company of British sepoy, and under the surveillance of a Nepalese outpost deputed to prevent the access of all natives not in possession of a permit from the Darbar; his ramblings always under the surveillance and protection of a Ghurka soldier, are confined to the boundary of the valley; his official relations with the Darbar were limited to a periodical exchange of ceremonial visits and to the discussion of current affairs.

Outside these official guests, admitted and suffered against one's will, a few rare privileged, who were fortunate not to intimidate the susceptibilities either of the English nor of the Ghurkas, obtained a temporary permit of sojourn. It is especially on scientific men that his honorable advantage falls. "The tradesman, says a Ghurka proverb, brings the Bible, the Bible brings the bayonet" The great European power and the small Asiatic kingdom come to understand and proclaim the neutrality of science, which belongs to the whole of humanity. Englishmen, Russians, German, Frenchmen were authorised to study or to undertake researches on Nepalese territory, of ancient monuments which the climate of the mountains and the political or religious institutions of the country had preserved against all other causes of destruction that raged in India proper. As early as six years ago, the Ghurka's government gave a new proof of the kind interest she was turning towards science, by authorising in the Terai, archaeological investigations which led to the discovery of Kapilavastu, the ancient cradle of Buddha

These individual concessions, always granted knowingly after a minute enquiry and controlled by a strict surveillance, did not infringe on the principle of deliberate isolation which the Ghurka government followed with secular fidelity. Since the double test of the Chinese war and the English war, the Ghurkas acquainted with their real strength, mapped out them-

selves as a programme to maintain the independence of their country and to reserve themselves for a more favourable future. They did not relinquish the thought of conquering Tibet, which the great war of 1856 testifies; As conquerors of Tibet, they obtained more from her, than they had lost in the war against the English; following the example of European nations in the far East, they exacted a concession of territory from Lhasa and installed a diplomatic agent entrusted to represent the interests of Nepalese residents, as well as to take notice of local affairs and intrigues. On the side of India, one can guess their underhanded machinations against the British power, but they were not betrayed; In 1857 when the mutiny of the sepoy threatened the fall of the British regime, they placed at the service of the Governor-General nearly ten thousand fighting men who contributed towards quelling the rebellion. Their loyalty or at least their clear foresight, earned them for payment several of the rich districts of the Terai, which they had lost in 1815.

It is particularly within their frontiers since the conquest that they spent their energy. The organisation of a new empire had taken up the greater portion of it; the intrigues of the palace had consumed the rest. By virtue of an inexorable law which weighs on the Asiatic dynasties, the heirs of Prithvi Narayan, are connected more to pathology than to history; they are degenerates of various types, nervous, irritable, sanguinary impulsive, alcoholic, erotic and idiots; a long series of minorities, leaves the child king in the dreadful hands of an uncle of a mother, or of a minister jealous of the throne and interested in prolonging the child's complete exhaustion, by precocious debaucheries. The idle king becomes the mayor of the palace. Two tribes, the Thapas and the pandeys have fought for the real authority; both showed worthy signs of exercising it. Damodar paudey and his father Amar Singh are reckoned amongst the military glories of the Ghurkas, with

whom however, bravery is a commonplace thing. Since the beginning of the XIXth. century the Thapas had succeeded in maintaining the power almost uninterruptedly. Bhim Sen (Bhimasena) supports himself for thirty years in the functions of prime minister; having suddenly fallen in disgrace, he was thrown in irons and cut his own throat in prison. His nephew, Jang Bahadur, is much more fortunate: he is the hero of modern Nepal, the ideal of the new-mannered

Gurkhas; the literature and the press have popularized his adventures and prowesses, even in the west. Brave as much as cunning with a quick eye, a mind of acute discernment, always on his guard and master of himself, Expert in the ways of men and beasts, hunter without rival of games, matchless rider, he lulls the adversary to sleep or disconcerts him, strikes without scruple, the derisive stroke and faces the enemy everywhere at the same time. If necessary, he pirouettes on horse-back on a plank over an abyss, he spends a day hanging with his shrivelled nails to the wall of a well, follows the tiger in the tall grasses, strikes down with a weapon shot, his competitors in power, or delivers them to be slaughtered by a frantic soldiery. He fears not to wound the prejudices of the caste so rigorous with the Gurkas, or to leave a covered post, vacant; he travels to Europe, is "the lion of the London season and of the Paris season and returns to Nepal with his prestige doubled. By prudence, he does not usurp the throne; he is prime minister, dictator; he confers on himself the title of maharaja, plays the comedy of abdication to test his associates and attendants and to recognize his forces, he re-appears more powerful than ever. After him the dictatorship evades his direct descendants and passes to nephews, by a bloody family drama. The actual prime-minister, Chandra Sham Sher Jang Rana Bahadur, succeeded his two brothers Bir Sham Sher and Deva Sham Sher, one dead and the other deposed. He bears the titles of maharaja, prime-minister and marshal of Nepal. The king,

Prithvi Vira Vikrama Shah bears the title of Adhiraja (Vulgarly. Dhiraj); he lives confined in his palace, given up to women and to drink, exhibited like an unconscious doll on days of great ceremony.

This despotic administration which concentrates all the powers in the hands of the maharaja, perfects and rectifies itself by a singular institution in which is manifested the old feudal spirit. All the expenses of the state, from the maharaja to the humblest are borne annually. Each autumn, a commission designated by the king, revises the list of all employments, expels those who are incapable, the indigene, the suspicious, provides for all the posts, disbands the class and chooses amongst the Ghurka candidates, soldiers called out to serve in the army. The Ghurkas as a matter of fact by taste and dignity allow the subdued Nevars to follow other professions. He is only born to carry arms and to fulfil the duties of the state. His most modest ambition is to receive as a relief one of the morsels of ground (or soil) which the state concedes to the soldiers in its service. To satisfy so many desperate cravings, the Ghurka Darbar has had to recourse to the ingenuous proceeding of annual rotation which curbs the spirit of those in earnest and allows to exclude others. The red seal of the king is essential to invest the maharaja as well as the ordinary soldier in order to defend his power constantly threatened, and to prevent a blind caprice of the royal ogre. The maharaja takes pains to furnish at his leisure, the house of the sovereign, gives him his creatures for servants, his dough-ters or his kinswomen for wives. But to betide him, if a rival of the seraglio baffles his calculations or loosens from his interest at the critical hour of the yearly signature, the favourite of the king.

In spite of the revolutions in the palace and of the struggles of different parties, the Ghurka

ka administration uninterruptedly pursues the work of re-organisation. The conquest creates a difficult situation. On the heights, a Himalayan tribe, of Indian mixture is brought into existence by the Brahmans who had taught it their dialect, inculcated their prejudices, prescribed their institutions, their ceremonies and their divinities and that is well adapted to the use of arms, but incapable of existing otherwise than by war and raids; below we find a nation already formed, an amalgamation of races foreign to India, born in the same cradle in the mountains of the north, hardly penetrated by the Brahman, that passes as the conversion of a spurious Hinduism, but is still faithful to the beliefs, laws, and practices of Indian Buddhism, which India had already renounced. Initiated by the monks and learned men to the literary language of Aryan India. Sanskrit, the race is connected in their true custom to idioms of Tibetan origin charmed by the arts of peace, of culture, of pomps and religious festivals, but is ungovernable and restless by that love for freedom and frivolity. The Ghurka's iron hand suppressed every opposition. The new monarch had no occasion to quell any revolt. Examples of drastic nature taught the vanquished, from one end of the kingdom to the other, the fundamental laws of the Ghurka administration. In the political domain they were taught servile obedience to the Ghurkas who were the sole holders of power and in the social domain, the respect of the cow and of the Brahman, sacred and intangible creatures. The coarse shepherds of the Alps who drove their cattle with the whip, and the Nevars of the valley who loved to relish the succulent viands, were taught to honour the symbol of the victorious orthodox. Buddhism wavering between two titles, as a doctrine of heresy, and as the notional church of the Nevars, lost its influence and its privileges. The convents and the temples found themselves denuded of their properties, deprived of accumulated donations

that served as a means of subsistence; impoverished and neglected, they deteriorated: the Buddhist Pundits compelled to subsist from the alms of a community reduced the indigence, stopped recruiting and instructing students. Public favours which were reserved to the faithful of Hinduism, brought to the Brahmanic gods more adherents, which predication would not have sufficed to convert. The dialect of the Nevars and their congeners of other valleys had to give place to the Ghurka language, the khas or parbatiya, born like the Ghurkas themselves from a union between the Himalayan and Hindu elements, gradually invaded by the Hindi of the plains to the detriment of the indigence of the soil, and hawked about in most secluded districts by the administration and the army. The Nevar corporations already regulated according to the Hindu way by the counsellors of Jaya Sthiti, the Malla, were assimilated to the orthodox castes and subdued like them to the jurisdiction of a Brahmanic priest.

The victory of the Ghurkas completed the annexation of Nepal to Brahmanic India. Populated by races anti-Aryan, converted and civilised by the Indian Buddhism, conquered and swallowed up by Hindu Brahmanism, Nepal had already travelled through the first three stages of Indian history. Having been included rather late in the cycle of events, she has yet to know the last phase, which she foresees from now, but where India is busily engaged from a long time: The struggle against Islam and the intrusion of Europe. It is there exactly the original feature and particular interest of Nepal's history. Ceylon and India stopped in the stage of Buddhism and made to devote by the preponderating forces of foreign influences; Kashmere is India herself. Nepal is India in the course of her making on a territory as conveniently restricted as a laboratory, the observer can easily encompass the chain of facts which modern India has drawn

from primitive India. He understands by what means a handful of Aryans, carried by an adventurous march to the Punjab, and come in contact with a multitude of barbarians, managed to subjugate her, tame her, make her docile, organise her and propagate her dialect with such success that three fourths of India speak today Aryan Idioms; one amongst them, Hindi, is spoken by more than eighty million men. Religion has played the essential part in this progress. Brahmanism first protected the Aryan integrity, and allowed full play to the heretics. The magical formalism of the worship had been instrumental from the beginning in the birth of a sacerdotal caste in which hereditary notions were handed over from the fathers to the sons. The growing pretensions of the clergy were the cause of the feudal aristocracy uniting for the defence of their threatened power. Imitation worked the rest. A net-work of castes came into existence consecrated by the priest, and secluded by the barrier of ritual sanctity.

However, on the confines of the elected group, a bold interloper destroyed the dream of solitude; adventurers, spongers, pirates, pioneers came to mingle their ideas of emancipation and to connect by an unreliable chain the Aryan to the aborigines. Towards the Vth century before the Christian era, when Brahmanic expansion had already penetrated by more than half the valley of the Ganges, the Himalayan "Piemont" skirted the orthodoxical communities, it is there that Buddha and Jina conceived the magnanimous and bold dream of a doctrine of salvation extended to all men, irrespective of birth. Their predication received with enthusiasm by ardent disciples, raised up missionaries impatient to enlighten and deliver souls. The political revolutions of India served their zeal. Powerful growing states, called for enlarged religious bodies. After the passage of Alexander, the first emperor who reigned over the whole of India, was also the first patron of Buddhism. Pursuing her career, the Church of Buddha

spreads beyond India, catechises the Greeks of Bactriana, enrolls a Menander in the lists of her Saints swallows up the Scythians who came down the Pamir, preaches to these coarse plunderers words of kindness and charity, wins to her interests their king Faniska who opens central Asia to the work of their missionaries; China, Korea, Japan, Indo-China, the Indian archipelago and Tibet, listen to the sublime truths from India and strengthen their faith with the holy scriptures and legends which India sends them.

But while she triumphs outside India, Buddhism within draws, falls back in retreat and expires in India. Brahmanism surges up behind the off-spring whom she disavows and benefits by the legacy. She claimed those common gods whom Buddhism had borrowed from her, for the secular prestige of her caste; depositary of supernatural sagacity and power. Lords, chieftains, kings, acclaim her with good-will, almost with favour; she serves the purpose of a counterpoise and of a safeguard. The convents of Buddhism, continuously enriched by pious donations, powerful by their long existence, their stability, their hierarchy, masters of the souls as well as of vast domains, hold in check the lay authority and threaten to annihilate her. The Brahman is less dreadful. He has not contracted any vow or engagement; he is free, independent, isolated; he mingles with the century, makes no new orders, and does not live in community. But this solitary being happens to be a patient workman, and sure of a methodical task which goes through centuries. Brought into existence by a long past of ancestors, all subdued to the same doctrines and practices, modelled by a traditional education, well behaved in his social ways by the prohibitions of wine and women, the Brahman, incarnates an ideal reform. He does not dream of human fraternity, or of universal salvation; he only aims at supremacy, and to gain that end he needs the system of castes, his person is holy

in unison with his institutions, his belief, his doctrines.

Driven by chance or by the necessities of life on the territory of the barbarians, the Brahman at the very first, consecrates his new domain. The doctors of orthodoxy have vainly attempted to outline, like a moat around the Aryans, narrow confines wherein are enclosed the ritual sanctity; the frontiers have always advanced from the Punjab to the Ganges, from the Ganges to the sea; the Aryan country ended up by mingling with India. Modern jurists do not exact, as a guarantee but the presence of the black antelope in liberty; and the black antelope still awaits the Hindu-Buffon to come and determine her. Complaisant zoology allows a wide scope to the casoists. In 1854, in the thick of a war against Tibet, the official interpreter of Brahmanic law in Nepal, had to declare himself, owing to state reasons on the nature of the yak, authentic ox, first cousin to the cow, 'bos grunniens' of naturalists; he boldly arraigns him in the family of the stags, the now hungry Ghurka soldiers could without scruple kill the animal and nourish themselves.

The territory annexed, religion follows. The Brahmanic pantheon, always accessible, willingly welcomes like warm guests, some of them, less patronised are eager for a venturesome adoption and swell the congested ranks of the divine plebs; others, better favoured, are keen, though not wholehearted in the higher divinities: The stone, the fetich, the image, consecrated by the local religion are recognised as the incarnation of the Hindu deities and their legends piously recollected serve the purpose of enriching the literature of edifying accounts and miracles. The pilgrims are moved to restlessness; merchants, quacks, beggars, vagabonds, and ascetics who incessantly thread across India in quest of fairs, of credulous souls, of alms or of grave meditations, are all imbibed

in orthodoxy and ever ready to scandalise one another in the infringement of the good rules. Stirred up by more frequent interchanges, the imitation of India now works up rapidly; the indigenous dynasty does not content itself with suspicious ancestries which once satisfied its pride. It attempts to equalise itself with the princes of India. The Brahman, always conciliating, knows how to graft the extrinsic branch on the old stump of the races of the sun and moon. He only requests as the price of this enhancement, a faithful obedience to the laws of the caste. A slave to its greatness and ambitious also to consecrate it by worthy alliances, the royal family extends the pledges of its orthodoxy, and secludes itself behind approved barriers. Having commenced from the top, the reform spreads from place to place, the Brahman, realist, plays the winning game on the selfish sentiments of humanity and on its pride, disdain and taste of distinctions. Group by group, the community divides itself into castes, at first professional and satisfied by an hierarchy which allows everybody to disdain inferiors. The struggle is won from the very start. From the day that the gods of Nepal demanded the rights and privileges of the Brahmans, they abdicated and thereby exposed themselves to a downfall; the divine right, does not entertain the idea of exchange, if the Brahmans were admitted to reign, they must reign alone. The event justified it. The western countries haunted by their prejudices and the memories of their history, have been contented in general, to explain the annihilation of Indian Buddhism by imaginary persecutions. No document or positive proof had ever attested to these, Whether in their interested rivalry, the priests and the Brahmans have had recourse to violence, one can hardly equitably doubt, and the legends of the two countries do not attempt at an elucidation. Often in their accounts, a controversy of doctrine, ends up in the expulsion of the vanquished. But these incidents have never taken up the character of a me tho-

dical and systematic persecution. The Hindu mind opposed itself to it. The political state would not have permitted it. Sufferance or fanaticism are conceptions unknown to India. The Hindu believes readily in all the gods; his faith, like his reason, is large enough to embrace the contradictions. He has his preferences but his prudence treats with caution those divinites he ignores and takes care not to unloosen them against him. Besides, India indefinitely sliced up about the xth. century, lent herself less than ever to common measures against a church. The conscious will that we love to consider by pride, as the means of history, only played a moderate roll in the catastrophe of Buddhism. Buddhism disappeared from India when she lost, her right to exist. Her convents and her missions had penetrated, bound the whole of India, and had her initiated to unity by faith and by the clergy: They were able to create an universal community, the church of the four cardinal points. Their work stopped there, their discipline, uniform and severe, could only suit the monks; the lay society too supple and too diverse, escaped them. To prepare a new progress, Brahmanism was essential, undulating like the Hindu world and liable to all transformations, unchangeable only in a social Doctrine alike Buddhism in her monastic Doctrine. It was through her that India, was to realise her social unity. Buddhism it is true could still render to India another service on the eve of a new invasion. For ten centuries she had the glory to stop, soften, appeare and to absorb the barbarous conquerors. But the new-comers did not resemble their predecessors. They came neither from the elegant Hellenism, nor from the credulous Steppes. They came out from fierce Arabia, soldiers of jealous god who would not suffer a rival: At the first shock, Persia and Turkestan alarmed had abjured their old beliefs; the advanced posts of Buddhism had capitulated, the convents were set fire to, the monks, were dispersed, and the church of Buddhism had

vanished. In order to resist this furious onslaught Brahmanism needed a stronger bulwark. The rage of Islam spent itself in vain against and unseizable adversary, whose chief was without cohesion and invincible by His army's very dispersion. She was even going to serve them, increase their prestige and their strength. The hatred of the stranger in which exalts the pride of the Brahman was about to awaken India to a conscience, obscure and rudimentary, it is true, of the national unity.

Already under the auspices of Aryan religions, learned India had realised linguistic unity; Sanscrit, drawn from Aryan dialects, elaborated by grammatical schools, reserved at first to Brahmanic orthodoxy, had been adopted or usurped by all the churches, and extended to ordinary literature had imposed itself to the chancelleries as an official language and had created in the chaos of dialects in India an universal means of communication between learned men and "honest people". Of a firm determination and of a delicate art, it had propagated in all the communities of India a common idea of reasoning, sentiment and of beauty. Side by side with the sanscrit of other tongues, sprung out like it from the same Aryan stump, but which did not pretend like it to "perfection" had proceeded leisurely amongst the people, uprooted the idioms of the greater half of India and nourished of the Aryan sap, but born and grown up on the Hindu soil, they were naturally adapted to serve as a connecting link between the victorious Aryans and the subdued Indigenes.

In this manner, the Aryan talent manifests itself, in the history of Nepal as well as in the general history of India, as the essential means for progress, and Brahmanism as the most authentic and most accomplished medium of Ayrian talent. But its work is hardly completed when the Brahman sees the growth of

competitors who pretend to take it up and spread it. Other Aryans, disowned and forgotten parents, arrive from the extreme points of the West, bearing as a sign of recognition, after a separation so often secular, their language, first brother of Sanscrit, and their feverish thirst for conquest. Impassive India has already seen them quarrel amongst themselves with arms the right to spread the benefits of their civilisation. Nepal who is behindhand escapes them once again, but she has not long to await them. The triumph of Brahmanism foretells the near crisis. Already the English are installed as protectors more than as neighbours on the frontiers of the south, east and west. To act as a counterpoise to them, to Ghurkha relied on suzerain China, whom he thought all powerful. Were not the ambassadors sent every five years to Peking travelling for nine months without interruption on the domains of the son of Heaven? But the latter events, closely followed at Kathmandu, have shaken China's prestige. The decadence of the central Empire seems to open to Nepal the coveted route to Lhasa, as an outlet to allow the flow of the congestion of her military forces. As a soldier and nothing else but a soldier the Ghurka conqueror suffocates in his circle of mountains. The insufficient quantity of soil does not suffice to the maintenance of a population entirely agricultural, and always armed on a war footing. As a devoted subject to his motherland clerical and as a friend of Nepal, the Englishman, Hodgkin preoccupied himself from 1830 with a threatening danger to British peace; he proposed as a remedy to recruit the Ghurka soldiers as mercenaries to the service of India; his advices given attention to, have rewarded the English with these magnificent regiments who alone can compete with the bravery and endurance of the formidable sikha. But a contingent of hardly 15000/ men recruited under the British banner, does not relieve entirely the troubles of Nepal and prepares perhaps another

er peril: Whatever was the result of the tested loyalty of these mercenaries they remained, like the swiss of old, faithful firstly to their motherland. They returned to their country, after the term of their service, drilled into the discipline and tactics of Europe, having learnt to read, write calculate, measure and build embankments, and re-inforced the Ghurka troupes with a precious supplement.

With them, with the armament and the munitions, which the Nepalese arsenals were unceasingly turning out, the plunder of Tibet would not have been impossible, in spite of the formidable impediments which nature had erected.

But in default of the weakened Chinese, another power, Russia, Who re-builds the Empire of the Moguls, undertakes the responsibility of watching over the Great-Lama. The old division of the two Buddistic Churches, re-appears in Asia, manifested by the action of European politics: to the South, England, mistress of ceylon, holds Burma under her direct authority, siam under her influence, the two great annexes of the church grew dim; to the North, Russia reunites under her domination or protection, the dispersed fragments of the church of Lama, connected with the Grand Vehicle; already, under the Mogul tents the great Catherine passes for the incarnation of the goddess Tara, and the czar for a Bodhisattra. The least movement of the Ghurkas shakes up Russia and may provoke in Tibet an intervention which England wishes to avoid at all cost. Tibet penetrated by the Russians, England would be compelled to lay hands immediately on Nepal, to safeguard at least her frontier. Would she outrun the events, give in to the pressing invitations of the exalted Jingo party and yield to the temptation of enlarging by a conquest, her Hindu domain? One is allowed to doubt. Nepal has not the means to pay for conquest "The Game was not worth the candle"

expressly declares a man familiar with Nepal—Dr Wright. The country only derives importance by her mountain passes as the outlet for direct commerce between Hindustan and central Asia; but the business of Tibet, poor and scattered, does promise but the meagre profits to the tradesmen, and the day has not yet arrived when European Industry will exploit the precious metals buried in Tibetan soil.

The independence of Nepal is thus partly connected to the ingenities of European politics; she partly relies on the discretion of her Governments. The kindred of the sham sher who holds the real power, has remained staunch to the traditions of Jang Bahadur and of Bhimsen Thapa; it has known how to preserve the integrity of the country by an attitude of prudent reserve, waived aside the stranger without repulsing him brutally, insulated the kingdom without isolating itself. The actual Maharaja, like his elders, reads and talks English, receives the newspapers which is brought to him from the British frontier by a courier, comes down to India whenever necessary and pays visit to the viceroy. He takes an interest in European affairs, speaks without embarrassment of the Emperor William and of the revenge. Conscious of his duties as chief and as a Ghurka, he spends days on the manoeuvring grounds in drilling his troops, administers justice, and controls the administration. But a peace tragedy, of the nature Nepal had so often seen, can suddenly bring into power those extremely in favour of isolation, hostile to people as well as to ideas from outside, stubborn with unruly pride and insulting disdain. A war outside, a revolution inside and it is perhaps the undoing of the last independent state of India.

Having come to Nepal in 1898 in the research of antiquities and of Buddhistic manuscripts, I immediately felt the unexpected interest of the drama which was being enacted. Familiar by my studies with India's past, I thought I

could watch her resuscitate in this duel of races, languages and religion which a lost valley in the Himalaya shelters. Before the uncertain hour of probable denouement, I thought it opportune to set up in a common narrative, the singular destinies of this corner of earth wherein is re-enacted on a reduced scale the general destinies of India. The history of Nepal thus conceived appears to me less as a local monography than as a prelude to that general history of India which discourages the best-willed, by its compass and its deficiencies but which would be unjust and grievous to neglect. To see the problems that the study of a simple valley lays out and partly resolves, one guesses that which is promised in the study of a vast country, populated by two hundred million men, cradle of a primitive civilization, soil of the election of a religious sentiment and coveted treasure by all the conquerors. I broached my task as a philologist, by the examination of inscriptions, texts and manuscripts, but I would have failed in my purpose, had I not looked up into the past, right on to the present, which is the logical and real prolongation: the division of mass of time in successive ancient, modern contemporary periods, however arbitrary it may be can in certain cases justify itself by practical or pedagogical reasons. On the Indian domain where literature has by aesthetical principles preserved so few memories of the real life the isolated past from the present remains an undecipherable enigma. I had to look up the works of my predecessors; the names of Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, Hodgson, Oldfield wright, Bendall will appear nearly on every page, my book is in its greater whole a methodical index of their works, completed, by new discoveries and controlled in a weak measure by my own observations. Two months spent in Nepal in the company of indigenous pundits have given me the sensation of the local life, but I have not been able to undertake there and then a deep enquiry. Admitted as an archaeologist to the country I would have abused the hospitality

in outgoing the programme agreed on, and fault would not have been excusable profit; I have spoken of the insurmountable difficulties which paralyzed the much awakened curiosity of the traveller. It pleased me to reciprocate by a loyalty without reserve to well-wishing confidence of the Darbar. My diary of the voyage which I have reproduced in its slightly defaced form, will complete perhaps, like a succession of instantaneous photographs, the impression which slowly appear from the accumulated

materials. The reader will grasp, noted here and there, the minute details of the Nepalese life, as it appears to the philologist in mission, whose profession allows him to frequent particularly princes and pundits, stopped on the threshold of society, by the formidable prejudices of the caste, but who from outside, observes with passion, the march past of men and things, alike the animated commentary of forgotten ages.

to be Continued



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या २१४

कात्तिक २०२९ श्रावण २०३०

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(Continued)

N E P A L

The kingdom

by Sylvain Levi

Nepal is an independent kingdom situated to the North of India, on the southern slope of the Himalayas; She consists in a narrow band of territory which runs parallel to the chain. She measures about 800 Kilometres in length and an average of 160 kilometres in width. She extends from 78° to 86° of longitude East, comes in contact in the South East 26° 25' of latitude North, and goes beyond 30° at her extremity in the North—West. She is included between the British possessions Sikkim and Tibet. Since the treaty of Segowlie (1816) and the convention of 1860, the boundary between Nepal and British India follows in the west the course of the Kali, to the south the Hillocks of "Gres" (Sandstone) parallel to the Himalaya and the marshy lands of the Terrai cut out in three sections, in the East the stream of the Mechi and the lofty peaks of Singalila which border on Sikkim. In the North, the frontier of Tibet, almost unknown, seems fairly badly defined; it loses itself in the inaccessible solitudes of glaciers and only takes a definite outline in the neighbourhood of the passes, now running without and now running within the Tibetan plateau as the case may be.

In spite of the revolutions and conquests which have upset the neighbouring countries, India and Tibet, Nepal has remained for many centuries almost unchangeable in her traditional limits. Nature herself had outlined them cle-

ar and sharp. In the North the Himalayas straightens up her colossal mass, crowned with giant peaks. The few passes which cross the mountain and which scale over the plateau of Tibet, are only passable from May to September; snow obstructs them seven months in the year, and the traveller who ventures in the right season even then runs a thousand risks. The avalanche threatens him, the precipice awaits him; he is compelled to cling on to rocks, to hang on the taut ropes over abysses, to ascend heights of 4000 to 5000 metres. In the south on the borders of Hindustan, the low lying lands of the Terrai, are still more dreadful; the waters coming down the neighbouring slopes are held up and stagnate in their basin of clay at the foot of the mountains; these waters are laden with putrified vegetable matter. Deadly malaria is prevalent in the damp atmosphere, nine months in the year, from March to November, and drives away man, as well as the Hindu of the plains and the mountaineer of Nepal; in winter the herds of the neighbouring districts are sent to graze on the rich grass; but when the spring sets in the jungle is roamed by wild beasts. Only a few scattered groups of cursed races, last vestiges of humanity, have been able to live in this country of pestilence and death. Behind the terrai, nature has prepared other defensive lines: an endless forest of sal is connected with the Hillocks of Gres and covers the slopes; the tall trunks of the vigorous trees

spring up from the whitish and dusty soil and under their opaque umbrage swarm at their ease, elephants, tigers and rhinoceroses; man only makes an appearance in the cold season to hunt, or to cut down the valuable wood. Between the "Hillocks of Gres" and the first risings of the Himalaya, the ground bends back and runs into valleys parallel to the chain; the altitude varies between 700 and 800 metres; malaria ravages the place and contaminates the air. Temporary villages and garrisons take up their position from November to March; at the inevitable time, they all flee from the "Aoul" the deadly fever.

Beyond the valley of the Dhouns and the Maris, the mountain suddenly and abruptly springs up and rises in tiers upon tiers of powerful steps to the bulwarks of ice which shuts out the horizon. At first sight it seems a formidable chaos of summits, Plateaus, valleys, without unity arrangement or system. Nepal is still only a geographical region, defined by natural boundaries. A close observation brings out into prominence, out of this inspiring and stupendous mass, the harmonious frame work of a real organism. The innumerable streams which flow down haphazardly in this mountainous labyrinth, divide into three great basins which resemble one another. A gushing torrent, whose source springs up from the Tibetan heights cuts by erosion, the line of the giant peaks, penetrates into Nepal, and gathers a portion of the local drainage. At the foot of the Hillocks of Sandstone it encounters a fan of tributaries too slow flowing to cut themselves a passage, absorbs them, crosses the defile, then the Terrai, and flows out majestically into the plains in fertilising sheets of water. In the west, the Karnali or Kauriala, whose streams run side by side with those of the Ghara or Sutlej enters Nepal by the Takla Khar or Yari pass, or Sarda on British soil, takes then the name of Gogra and carries to the Ganges all the waters that flow between the Nandadevi (7820 metres) and the

Dhaulagiri (8180 metres): The seven tributaries of the Gandaki spread out between the Dhaulagiri and the Gosainthan (8059 metres.) The Tirsuli, the most eastern, is also the most voluminous, she flows out of Tibet through the Kirong pass, and swelled up by six other rivers her sisters by name and sacredness, crosses the hills at Tribeni Ghat to flow into the Ganges in front of Patna. The whole of Eastern Nepal, from Gosainthan to Kanchanjanga (8581) metres over 28000 feet) pours her waters in seven tributaries of the Kusi; two of them derive their sources in Tibet the Botia Kusi, which enters Nepal by the Kusi pass, and the Arun which drains a large basin on the Tibetan plateau before entering Nepal by the Hatia pass. Brought under control in one bed, the seven kusi fall in cataracts from the "Hillocks of Gres" into the plain and pursue their impetuous course in a net work of capricious arms, to their confluence with the Ganges. Between the region of the seven Gandakis and the region of the seven kusi is a basin of moderate size and small drainage but of original aspect. The Bagmati (Vagmati) which gathers up the waters, does not flow out of the chain proper; she derives her source half-way between the lofty Himalayas and the "Hillocks of Gres" from the folds of a buttress which overhangs the right bank of the malamchi kusi and the left bank of the Tirsuli Gandaki, escapes getting mingled with her powerful neighbours, and carries herself to the Ganges, the tribute of the sacred waters. Hardly at birth the Bagmati flows through a spacious valley twenty five Kilometres long by sixteen kilometres large, unruffled like the plain, but surrounded on all sides by mountain walls of 2500-3000 metres; only one narrow breach, open in the south, allows an outlet to the higher waters. Fertile and sparkling, the foster valley shelters without encumbrance, three hundred thousand inhabitants, a prosperous capital, two large towns, populous boroughs, large villages, plantations,

fields, and groves. The altitude of 1300 to 1400 metres, is too high for Aoul, too low for snow; in winter the breeze blows salubrious, without a sting; in summer the neighbouring forests and the glaciers beyond allay the tropical heat; the average temperature fluctuates between 10° (This is centigrade) in January and 25° in July, without marked daily variations. Fertile, clear and tortuous streams cut into the alluvial soil and often deepen their beds and enlarge them too much. Rice copiously watered gives splendid crops the other cereals leave nothing to wish for. The orange tree, the pine apple tree and the banana tree give delicious fruits. The simple and agreeable life tends to refine the mind. In the south, the barriers that close the approach to the armies of India allow the passage by a slow and sure infiltration, the benefits of the Hindu civilization, of the arts, literatures' religious and of the soil order. In the north, two passes, one practicable even to horses open the easiest way and the most frequented one between India and Lhasa. To the East and to the west, easy defiles lead to the lateral valley of the Gandakis and the kuis. It is here that the contrast is sharp; mountainous districts, deep valleys wild defiles, steep slopes with practically no soil, where water flows in torrents and destroys without irrigating; in summer, the aoul afflicts the shallow waters, in winter the snow covers the higher grounds. The aboriginal population dispersed at random with the scanty cultivations, lives in hovels, often in half nomadic fashion. The towns clinging to the mountain sides are mere struggling villages with a market and a castle-stronghold. An oppressive feudalism partitions the country. The basin of the Karnali is the territory of the twenty two Rajas (Baisi Raj); the seven-Gandakis is the territory of the twenty four Rajas (chauhisi Raj). The semi-barbarous tribes of the seven-Kuis have only a rudimentary organisation of the Clans. The central valley was naturally designated to be the seat of hegemony. The power that prevails is sure to obtrude, by

the superiority of its resources the chaotic and undisciplined mass of neighbouring principalities. He can at leisure extend towards the east and the west, as far as the nature of the soil, the necessities of revictualling and the difficulties of communications will allow. These boundaries have practically, remained unchanged and the attempts by the Gurkhas at the beginning of the XIXth century, to absorb Sikkim on the one hand and kumaon on the other have failed. The valley and the kingdom are so closely solidary that the same name has served the purpose of designating them both; but official procedure which is more precise, distinguishes them; it gives to the kingdom the name of Ghorkha Raj "kingdom of the Gurkhas" and in unison with the local custom exclusively reserves to the valley the designation of Nepal. Outside Nepal properly speaking, the country is known on hearsay; never has the European visited the mountainous regions which extend to the east and west of the central valley. But a look cast on the map of the kingdom, as it has been drawn up by the trigonometrical service of India, reveals the state of actual knowledge. Vast spaces are left blank. The series of altitudes that are marked out indicate the summits that have been measured by calculation by careful sighting from the British territory; the capricious lines, in which are gradually arrange at problematic distances, names and localities, denote the information gathered by the Anglo Indian spy system by the help of Hindu Pundits whom it employed as secret agents' or as recruited mercenaries in the British regiments. The past of these confused regions is not better known than the soil itself; archaeology, epigraphy have still to be created; the scanty informations so far gathered come from suspicious indigenes and from tardy documents. The valley all one, visited, observed and studied for a century, belongs to science.

The valley of Nepal

The valley of Nepal (Nepala) opens out

half-way between the plains of Hindustan and the high summits of the Himalayas. She assumes the shape of a fairly regular oval, elongated in the same direction as the chain. The great axle, from East to West measures almost twenty five kilometres; Small axle, from north to South almost sixteen kilometres. The Northern slopes support themselves against the transversal ridge of the Himalaya projected by Gosainthan (7714 metres) and which culminates in the Dayabhang or Jibjibia (7244 metres) at an equal distance from the defiles of Kirong and kuti, between the waters of the kosis and those of the Gandakis. Once upon a time a vast lake covered, so they say, the whole valley the intervention of a divinity opened a breach and an outlet to the waters, and given the soil to man. The aspect of Nepal explains the legend. The mountains, rising around in an enclosed circle even conceal the narrow defile which allows the escape in the south of the local drainage. Their summits compared to the giants of the Himalayas, have only a modest altitude of 2000 to 3000 metres. A thick vegetation covers them to the pinnacles. European trees and especially the oak rise up in tiers above the tropical trees, Mount Manichur (Manicuda) occupies the north-eastern extremity of the valley. A chain Sheopuri (Civapuri) of 2500 metres in height, and thence to mount kokni of kukani; behind this curtain are unexplored valleys which are crowned in the distance by the white line of snow and ice. The imposing mass of Nagarjun (Nagarjuna) rises up in front of kokni towards the west/ south-west. The depression which lies between offers a convenient passage between Nepal and the valley of Nauakot (Navakuta) her natural annexe. In the west, the Dhochok, a range of undulating hills which does not attain the height of 1800 metres, connects the lesser western chain of the Nagarjun to the breastwork of the Chandragiri (Chandragiri). The tributaries of the Tirsuli Gandaki which come down its western slopes, open a second means of communication between Naya-

kot and Nepal. The Chandragiri rises in steep slopes at the south-western corner of the valley the road to India crosses its escarpments, traverses the line of summits at a short distance from the pinnacle (a little less than 2500 metres) and comes down again the Southern slopes at the village of chitlaung, in the valley of the "Small-Nepal". The Chandragiri is welded towards the South-East, to the Champadevi (Campadevi). The lateral valley which runs alongside their opposite southern slopes has often been visited by European travellers up to the close of the XVIIIth century; their unanimous testimony bears to the conclusion of it being a narrow, painful and miserable gorge. Between Champadevi and mount Mahabharat (Mahabharata opens out the breach of Kotpal (or Kotval) only cleft in this vast wall of mountains and just large enough to allow the flow of the river Bagmati. The Mahabharat if in itself only a buttress of the Phulchok. The Phulchok is the highest of pinnacles that overlook the valley; Its altitude is exactly 3000 metres. In short, on the Eastern side, mount Mahadeopokhei (Mahadevapuskarini) stretches out between Phulchok and Mahadeo-pokhri leads the way from Eastern Nepal to the Valley of Banepa, which historical remembrances, directly associate, like Nayakot, to the history of Nepal.

The valley of Nepal (seen from Chagu-Narayana). The Bagmati (Vagmati) gathers all the waters that come down these slopes to irrigate Nepal. It rises on the Northern slopes of the Sheopuri, flows at first in a deep gorge between the sheapuri and the Manichur, falls in cascades in the valley, meanders; then swollen up by numerous tributaries, the torrent becomes a river, forces a passage for the first time at the foot of the hills on which stands chobb-ar, takes a direction towards the southern rising of the valley, finds an outlet and escapes through the Kotpal breach and then penetrates

an entirely unknown region, which contradictory reports have represented now as impracticable and now as easily accessible; it reaches the 'Hillocks of Ganges' at Hariharpur, crosses the Terrai, flows into British territory, drags its now slackened waters through irregular canals and falls into the Ganges below stream at Monghyr, mingles with the tributaries of the Gandaki and the Kosi.

The principal Nepalese tributary of the Bagmati is the Bitsnumati (Visnumati) which rises on the southern flank of the Sheopury, follows fairly evenly the foot of the mountains and pours out into the Bagmati nearly in the centre of the valley. The other streams are only humble brooklets during the dry season; their religious importance compels their mention: On the right bank the Dhobi-Khola and the Taklu-ucha, on the left bank the Manhaura (Manohara or the Maumati (Manimati) which rises in mount Manichur, the Hanmati (Hanumati) which rises in the Mahadeopokhari and the Nikhu which comes from the Phulchok.

All these streams are characteristic of one another; rising outside the region of snows, fed by tributaries, they suddenly increase in volume in the rainy weather; the brooklet of the day before then becomes a gushing torrent which easily cuts itself a vast bed in the alluvial soil. In the course of time the bed, continually deepened, takes the aspect of a drain banked on both banks by high walls. Once the rainy season is over, there remains only a ribbon of water lost in the sands. The Bagmati alone flows plentifully throughout the year and its gushing and loud waters have earned it the title "The Talkative".

On this fertile land, humanity swarms. Defiles suddenly disclose the valley and the surprised gaze contemplates an immense garden made picturesque by gay little buildings. In and out of the sparkling fields and leafy gro-

ves, hamlets, boroughs and towns spread their roofs with upturned corners overlooked by the tapering pyramids of the wooden temples with their dazzling golden arrows. The charm of the scenery is unforgettable. The Capuchin missionaries of the XVIIIth century show signs of their wonderment. The P. Marco Della Tomba, who has not visited the country but who gathered informations and impressions from his associates writes: "after crossing other small mountains covered with trees, one finds the valley of Nepal, "Valley bellissima" (The grandest of valleys) which seems at first sight, of gold, with all its golden pagodas and palaces The Valley benefits by a mild and salubrious breeze; she abounds with all kinds of victuals; one finds nearly every fruit that is common to Europe.¹ A century early, the jesuit Grueber was just brief in a practical way; "Nepal abounds in all things that are necessary for the sustenance of life" On a surface of 700 square kilometres, the population approaches 500000 souls², or otherwise a density of 700 inhabitants persquare kilometre. In a region without industry. One half of the Population lives, gathered together in the towns and boroughs; the other half is dispersed in innumerable hamlets, which it would be fastidious and vain to attempt to enumerate.

The chief town of Nepal is Kathmandu, seat of the Government and the capital of the kingdom. Kathmandu is not the most ancient town of Nepal; without alluding to anterior capitals which have disappeared, Patan surpasses in antiquity her triumphant rival. Tradition fixes the creation of Kathmandu in the year 3824 after the Kali-Yuga- 724 J.C.) and this seems plausible. On a certain day, according to the chronicle, is the king Gunakama was fasting in honour of Maha-Laxmi, the goddess appeared to him in a dream and directed him to build a town at the junction of the Vishnumati and the Vagmati, on a spot which the presence of numerous divinities had already consecrated. The

town was to have the curved form of the "Khadga", the cimeter which the sanguinary Devi brandished in one of her multiple hands against her terrific adversaries⁸; the town was to contain 18000 houses and every day a business transaction of 100000 rupees was to take place. The new town received at first the name of Kanti-Pura "Town of Grace"⁹ She suffered from the long period of feudal anarchy which Nepal underwent in the middle ages, and formed for many centuries a sort of oligarchical, federation, alike the celebrated Vaicali in the time of Buddha.

Twelve nobles (Thakuries) wielded the power in the title of rajas. Ratna Malla took possession of the town at the end of the XVth century, owing to the magical power of a prescription which he had disloyally learnt of his father and especially owing to an unscrupulous perfidy; won the chief official of the Thakuris ('Kaji', cady) on his side, had them poisoned in the course of a banquet, assassinated his accomplice and proclaimed himself king. He created the dynasty Malla of Kathmandou, and which lasted till the Gurkas conquest. A century after Ratna Malla, under the reign of Laksmi Nara-Sinha Malla, a miraculous erection sprang up in the capital. An ordinary individual had recognized, in the crowd which followed the procession of Matsyendra Natha, the Tree-of-Wishes (Kalpavrksha) in person come down as a vulgar idler to admire the spectacle; he sprang on the divine visitor, maintained him a prisoner and asked for ransom a singular favour; his admission was to construct with one tree only a shelter for wandering monks. The Tree-of-Wishes gave his word and stood by it; with the wood of one tree alone, they were able to build a spacious edifice, which is still in existence and remains dedicated to her original use; it stands in the neighbourhood of elegant temples which face the Darbar along a paved road which leads to the Bitsnumati. The justifiable fame of this miraculous outhouse gave the town a change

of name; they called her ever since then, (Kastha-Mandap Market place of wood) in Sanscrit in colloquial language Kathmandu, which the Europeans have made into Cadmendu (Grueber) Kathmandu, (Kirkpatrick) Kathmandu (Hamilton), etc. outside the Indian language, the town is designated under quite different names. The Nevars call her Yin (-daise), after Kirkpatrick; Tinya, after Bhagvanlal⁵; the Tibetans according to Georgi, Jang-bu-or Ja-he.

I ignore the real equivalent of Ja-he; Jang-bu is only an altered transcription of Yam-pu "name of Nepal's ancient capital, also applied in the use of Eastern Tibet to Kathmandu"⁶ It is this name that the Chinese have transcribed by Yang pou⁷. Kathmandu is also known in Tibetan under the name of Kho bom.⁸ Besides Jaschke mentions as a periphrase sometimes employed instead of Kho-bom. Klui phobran, "the palace of Naga"; he explains the meaning of this name by the treasure of precious metals which they believe to be abounding in the regional but in studying the religion of Nepal one can see the important part the Nagas re-appears in the name attributed by the Mogul Bodhi-mor to the palace of Amcuvarman, King of Nepal in the VIIth. century: Kukum Glui⁹; and the first element of this designation appears, in a Chinese story, as the very name of Kathmandou.¹⁰ Kou-K'ou-mon This¹⁰ name may be connected with the name of Gongool-pu-tten (Gongul pattana) which signifies Kathmandou "In ancient books" from informations by Kirkpatrick.

Under the Mallas, Kathmandou prospered and spread rapidly. In the XVIIIth century the Capucin friars attributed her to a total of 18000 houses of families;¹¹ this is exactly, too exact even, the figure predicated by the goddess Laksmi. Kirkpatrick mentions without admitting a still higher figure. Under the last Malla of Kathmandou, Jaya Prakata, the town was supposed

to contain 22'00 houses. If one takes into consideration the great number of children in Nepalese families and the inhabitants in each house, one must multiply the said number by 10 (This is the average accepted by Kirkpatrick): but it is evident that so considerable a population would not have been able to live in the interior of a town which measures one square kilometre and which is congested with numerous temples: the inhabitants of the boroughs and villages (to the number of 971² without taking in'to account secondary localities) governed by Kathmandou and situated in the valley, have certainly been included in this approximate census

At the present moment, the population of Kathmandou may be 40000 souls: acknowledged as a capital by the Ghurka kings, since the creation of the dynasty, she regained under the new administration all she had lost through her ancient rivals. The town of the Mallas has not, however, changed her aspect in the interior of her white enceinte: she has retained the old darbar which is by itself a town in the centre of the town, with her buildings restored or enlarged, the high golden pagodas which stand out and overlord them, her fifty courts separated by low doors and oblique corridors, each one reserved for the princes, for the women, for the house, for the elephants, for the spectacles, for the ceremonies, for the monk, for the menials:

She has retained her picturesque temples erected by the Mallas or during their reign: she has retained her narrow streets that obscure, filthy and swarming, where the footpath is only a track between two ditches of stagnant dirt. The only road paved with stones crosses obliquely the town from east to west as far as the bridge of the Bisnumati, and runs alongside the darbar. The decrepit houses still show on the unplastered bricks of their facade, their balconies and the decorated woodwork of their stands on which the truculent fancy of a joyous

imagination has carved out peacocks, nymphs, nagas, elephants, flowers, leaves and erotic monstrosities. The ground floor is higher than usual, the shops, likewise open on the road: the merchant or the artisan, crouching, while waiting for clients, speaks, works and smokes his short pipe: higher up two or three stories which ladders and trap/doors serve in place of a staircase: here there are overhanging rooms which a narrow window lights and airs with a one piece wooden venetian that makes it airtight in the cold weather: pellmell in the confusion of these miserable interiors, are found families, sordid, in rags, fed on garlic and fermented radish, The town also retains her monasteries of old carefully connected to the road by a narrow and low corridor. The commission of public ways has preserved the traditional division in "tols" little groups of houses under one name which formed at one time a unit of combat; each one of the city gates. As of old and with more severity, the low castes and the out-castes were excluded from town: butchers, carriers, sweepers, and the whole group of despised corporations enclose the town with a nauseous circle.

The new Kathmandu grew up further away, in the outskirts of the suburbs. At the north-eastern angle, the king (Dhirajadhiraja) lives in his new palace, stucco-worked and daubed-hybrid combinations of Greece, of Rome, of England and of India. The Mayor of the palace (Maharaja) has erected near the prince whom he holds in tutelage, a palace of the same style lighted by electricity: vast gardens surrounded by walls conceal these buildings from the public gaze. At the south-eastern angle the intricate buildings of Thapathali spread out and the palace erected by the celebrated minister Jang Bahadur at the middle of the XIX century. Between these two groups of constructions lies a vast open field. This is the manoeuvring ground where the whole day and

the whole after-noon the Ghurka recruits exercise, initiated into commands so-called English by instructors who are not linguists. To the north of this Hindu "Camp-de-Mars", the tank of Rani-Pokhri, dug out in the XVII th. century and at one time bordered by small tempels; Jang has levelled them and has imprisoned the pond by a deep wall, a narrow path leads from the western edge to the central pavilion which discloses one of the most beautiful sights in the world. Pagodas, Chapels, caityas, ancient or modern monumental or rudimentary, form a chain all along this large quadrilateral. The new administration has left here eloquent touches of her beneficail period; in front of Rani-Pokhri, towards the west, the Darbar has created (or instituted) a kind of Nepalese college (Durbar School) where Sanscrit and English are taught side by side, tradition and mordern life, likewise. Behind and to the North, the hospital. The barrcks, the military work houses the arsenals, form the counterpart, towards the South, to the institutions of education and charity; In the space between, rises the white stoned column, of 75 metres in height which the minister Bhim has had erected towards 1835; one can climb up to it by means of a snail-like ladder; but the view which is suddenly disclosed on the summit, largely repays the trouble of climb.

The road that skirts the manoeuvring field leads towards the North, to the British residence by the suburb of Thamel and by a large prairie where the young Ghurkas love to train their horssrs. The residence is situated on a plateau which gradually slopes down to the East towards the Tukhucha, to the west towards the Bisnumati. The house of the resident, a sort of cottage on Indo-gothic style, and surrounded by a magnificent park of a predominant sombre verdure due to the gaint pines; this little spot of ground which the Ghurkas considered barren, haunted and insalubrious,

has been turned by British perseverance into a corner of Europe: the kitchen-garden even supplies in abundance all the vegetables of the west. The doctor of the residence lives in another cottage, a little smaller, near the residence. A company of scopys in the employment of the British Government is installed in huntings. The company is instructed to protect the person and the goods of the resident and to forbid access to the ground conceded. The offices of the residence, situated in a small annexe, employ a small personel: two Hindu writers and a Nevar interpreter who translates in Hindustani. papers and documents written out in the indegenous languages of Nepal. At one time the post had Amrtanada as titular, the celebrated Buddhist Pundit, who taught Hodgson and helped him in his researches; since then, his decendents have occupied the post from father to son, but without having inherited the grand father's knowledge; I have only interviewed in 1898, in colonel Wylie's camp which he accompanied, Indranada son of Gunanada; The man did not trouble to give me list of his acquirements. His son, big coadjutor and his designated successor Mitrananda (Maitreyananda) is certainly full of zeal and good will; he has even studied the Latin alphabet.' But to bear the title of Pundit, he has done well to be born in Nepai and in a Buddhist Community.

The residence still owes three appendages: the hospital, the post-office, the bungalow. The hospital reserved as a matter of fact to the personel of the Residence, is however, open to the sick from outside. The British medical officer has a Bengali doctor for assistant who conciliates in a large eclecticism western science and "ayourvedic" methods. The post-office is the only intermediary between the whole of Nepal and the countries of postal union; it is managed by a Hindu Babu who succeeds marvellously in extricating himself from the confusion

of addresses, polygolt and polygraphic. Post runners with little bells (dark-runners) arranged at different stages, daily carry the mails in a bag between Kathmandu and Segauli—the last office of the British territory on the road to Nepal. The Darbar has always refused the authorisation to instal telegraphy. The modest though large enough bungalow, shelters travelling guests, Indian on a mission or officials sent from the plains for the accidental needs of the Residence: Engineers architects, etc. A body-guard of Gburukas watches the gates of the Residence, at the entrance of the only road which is practicable to carriages.

A bridge of bricks thrown across the Bagmati, to the south of Kathmandu quite close to Thapathali, connects the suburb of the capital to the suburb of Patan. Facing Kathmandu, active, rejuvenated and flourishing stretches Patan the capital of the past, of extinct splendours and of dying memories; it is the town of the subjugated Nevars and of vanquished Buddhism. Her original people date back from distant centuries. King Vira deva, who is known as her founder, was crowned, so they say, in the year 3400 of the era of Kali Yuga (= 300 J. C.). But in the traditional list of Nepalese kings Vira deva follows Amcuvarman who reigned about 630 J. C. and precedes Narendra deva who received Chinese amassadors about 646. The details of the narration is worth the chronology: An honest man, pious, and a devotee, who earned his living in selling different herbs, would gather them every day at the Beautiful Woods (Lalita-vana), then he would return to the Capital where reigned Vira deva. His ugliness made him popular; one would wish him as an acquaintance, on the way. One bright day, while he was collecting his herbs, he was suddenly seized with intense thirst; he throws down the rod on which hung his baskets, to run in search of water. He perceives a little pond, fresh and limid; he quenches his thirst, he bathes in its waters, and revived, takes up his in-

errupted work. 18

He attempts to draw his rod near him. The thing is stuck to the ground so much the worse; he will do without it. He gathers his herbs in his hands and goes back to town. Vera deva who sees him passing by, fails to recognize him. His ugliness is transformed to dazzling beauty. The Raja is amazed: he henceforth the Beautiful (Lalita) he cried out, and he adopted him as his favourite. The same night, a vision direct Vira deva to create on the enchanted spot, a town which will be named the Beautiful Town (Lalira pattana). He obeys hands over to Lalita an enormous sum and sends him to build a town large enough to accomodate 20000 inhabitants. But the town surpassed his ambitious hopes: Under Vera deva, son of Narendra deva, Lalita—pattana replaces as a capital and royal residence, the deserted town of Madhyalakhu. The VII th century was then only a little more than half spent. The choronicle seems to have divided in two, the personages and events. Vera deva, who builds Patan and Vira deva who establishes his capital, must probably comprise one and the same king. The new town attained the height of her glory: she lost her name; the town of Lalita became the town, the town par excellenc (Pattana, Patan). The Nevars, in their dialect, give the town, however, another name. Horace de Penna's epitaph in the Nevar tongue, reproduced by George, represents this name in Devanagaris characters by 'Eladesa'; the trascription in Latin characters given by Georgi Shows 'Hela des'; the Latin translation re-establishes the original designation. "in Civitate Patanae". Kirkpatrick writes: "Yullo daisi"; Writb, "Yalloudesi". The Tibetans have adopted this appellation which they write "Ye-Ran"; the Chinese, in imitation of the Tibetans employ the form Ye-leng. Bhagavanlal mentions another designation in the Nevar tongue: "Tinya-la" which he interprets in this way in the direction (la) of Kathmandu (Tinya) in coming from Bhatgaon.

Patan remains, throughout the history of Nepal the fortress of an indolent and turbulent aristocracy. Towards the XIIth century, she had as many kings as she had (tols) "groups of houses". The dynasty of the Mallas expelled the oligarchy of the Thakuris towards the middle of the XIVth century. At the close of the XVth century, the town possessed a local dynasty, brought into existence by the Malla kings of Kathmandu; but the aristocracy which had long governed the old town, remained staunch to its souvenirs and its hopes. The struggles of the nobility against the royal power culminating in the course of the XVIIIth century ended up with Ghurka conquest. As chieftain of Kathmandu, Prithvi Narayan immediately took possession of Patan without a struggle, in 1768. At this time Patan was still the largest town in Nepal and the kingdom of Patan possessed the greatest spread of territory in the interior of the valley. The Capuchin Friars basing themselves on local estimation, attributed to the town (with her suburbs, as in the case of Kathmandu) a population of 24000 families.¹³ Buddhism predominated. Whilst Brahmanism acted as a counterpart at Kathmandu and held it in check at Bhatgaon (according to informations from Georgi), at Patan, the Buddhists comprised the three-fourths of the population. The town was rife for plunder and at the same time to rapacity and fanaticism of the Ghurkas. Patan has not risen from the disaster that befell her then. Decay can be seen on the faces of the inhabitants as well as on the facades of the buildings. The Buddhist Nevar, industrious, delicate, refined, bows his head under the Yoke and assists powerless, impoverished, to the deplorable wreck of his temples, monasteries and palaces.

Nature completes the work of men. But the last remnants of a dying past, evoke dazzling reminiscences. The place of the Darbar is a marvellous conception of work which defies description; under the canopy of a bright glow

which does not dazzle, the royal palace spreads out its facade, wrought, and carved, streaked indiscriminately with colours, where the gold the blue, and the red, light up the sombre and dull tone of the wood-work; opposite, as conceived by a caprice of the artist, a large wall of stones reflecting with its whiteness, pillars crowned with bronze images, open-worked colonnades, temples of dream, light and frail, surrounded by a host of Chimeræ and griffine. I shall speak again about this later regarding the monuments of Patan, as these are especially interesting in the history and study of Buddhism.¹⁴

Bhatgaon, the third largest town in Nepal, is situated fourteen kilometres east of Kathmandu. She is built on an undulating plateau which slopes down to the North-East towards the Kansavati, to the South-West towards the Hanmati, a little higher than the junctions of the two streams. A long and large road, too uneven and too broken up to be practicable to vehicles, connects her to Kathmandu. She is the last one in date of the great Nepalese towns. She was built by Ananda Malla, brother of Jaya deva Malla who reigned over Patan and Kathmandu and which tradition associates with the birth of the Nepalese Era, in 880 J. C. But the date of Ananda Malla raises great chronological difficulties. Mr. Wright, without giving any clue as to the source of his information, reckons the foundation of Bhatgaon in 865, fifteen years before the starting period of the Nepalese era. In all things, as the case stands, we have here a date of probability.

The founder of Bhatgaon is also credited to have built besides, seven other towns, all situated in the valley of Banepa, the Eastern annex of Nepal; the building of the new capital marks them the expansion towards the East of the valley of the Indo-Nevar civilization; Bhatgaon is the metropolis of a kind of eastern colony.

She has preserved this role throughout the whole history of Nepal. While anarchy raged at Kathmandu and at Patan, Bhatgaon remained the seat of regular dynasties which extended their authority in the East, outside the valley. The family of Nanya deva, which held power over Nepal from the XIIth to the XIVth century, is credited as having reigned over Bhatgaon; but it is probable that the real power belonged to the Mallas as vassals; whilst Nanya deva and his successors reigned at Simaraun garh in the Terai. After the death of Yokas Malla (1472) who had united the whole of Nepal under his sceptre. Bhatgaon and Banepa became the capitals of two kingdoms; the kingdom of Banepa had only a shortlived existence and was completely swallowed up by the kingdom of Bhatgaon at the end of a generation. The kings of Bhatgaon discovered by the force of circumstances their inability to extend in the valley; they were in possession of only one suburb (Thimi), but they spread their domain outside the valley right up to the Dudh-kosi in the East and to the pass of kuti (which Kathmandu snatched from them at the beginning of the XVIIth century) in the North. When Nepal was conquered by the Ghurkas, Bhatgaon and less to suffer than her two rivals: the town surrendered by treason, had not to undergo a siege; Prithivi Narayan who had lived for several years at the court of the king Ranajit Malla treated him with respect and even proposed him to preserve his throne; In short the population, three-fourths Brahmanic, had at least the religious sympathies of the Ghurkas. And thus it was that the town has kept a flourishing and prosperous aspect: The roads are clean, well kept, evenly paved with bricks; the markets are driving a good trade; the squares decorated with splendid temples the darbar, smaller than the one at Kathmandu, is more sumptuous; the celebrated "Gate of Gold" which ornaments the passage is purely a masterpiece of Nepalese goldsmith's art.

Bhatgaon includes in her literary tongue,

the name of "Bhaktapura"; they also call it "Dharma-pattana" (The two of the Law). The one and the other name most probably alludes to the Brahmanic orthodoxy of the inhabitants. The Nevars name it 'Kuti-po' (George). "Khopo" (daise) (Kirkpatrick) ¹⁸ The plan of Bhatgaon reproduces, either the "damaru", the tambourine of Maha deva; or the "Cankha" the conch of Visnu. Her founder intended making her a town of 12000 inhabitants; the monks, in the XVIIth century, mention the same number, which must be interpreted as in the preceding case. The real population of the town is estimated at between 30000 or 40000 souls,

Besides these three large towns, the valley of Nepal contains about sixty strong market-towns, without alluding to simple villages. However, in spite of the brisk communications in the valley, the number of roads is ludicrous. From Kathmandu, a road 14 kilometres long and practicable to carriages leads to Thankot, at the foot of the Chandragiri pass; another, about a league in length, leads to Balaji, at the foot of the Nagarjun mountain, and allows the king to proceed in a carriage to the village and the shooting grounds he owns; still another leads to the foot of Syambunath; a highway paved with stones, leads to the temple of Pacupati; I have already given a description of the road which connects Kathmandu to Bhatgaon. The remainder of tracks is in general comprised; in foot-paths, in trodden lanes on the grass, and to little embankments between the fields: the best amongst them could not compete with the humblest of our parish lanes.

The most western market-town of Nepal, is Thankot, where the road from India enters into the valley. To the right of the road which joins Thankot to Kathmandu, stands on an abrupt height the little town of Kirtipur which has too well deserved by her misfortunes; the celebrity which gave her the name of (Kirtipura, town

of Glory). Founded in the middle of the IXth century by the king Sada Civa deva, she was dependent on the kingdom of Patan but had undoubtedly a local petty king; the summit of the hill still shows the ruins of a darbar entirely broken up. Prithivi Narayan wanted, as a prelude to the conquest of Nepal, to lay hold of Kirtipur, the inhabitants, helped by contingents who hastened from all parts of the valley, repulsed all the assaults; one of the Ghurka chiefs was killed; the brother of Prithivi Narayan lost an eye; the king himself escaped with his life in flight. Renewed for three consecutive years, the attack always failed; eventually treason was the cause of the town's surrender the Ghurkas; but entrenched in the citadel, the people still resisted: Only the promise of a general amnesty decided them to stop the fight. Then the Ghurkas perjurer once again, ordered the pose and the lips of the whole population to be cut. They gathered, so they say nearly 80 livres (lbs) of these bloody spoils. A ruthless plunder devastated the town (1767). After a century and a half, Kirtipur has not risen from her ruin; neither the freshness of the breeze, nor the purity of her streams, were able to bring back prosperity on this field of martyrs. Kirtipur, which comprised at one time 6000 families under her jurisdiction, has no more than 4000 inhabitants. Near Kirtipur, Chanbahal or Chobbar (1000 inhabitants approximately) occupies the summit of a plateau which overhangs the gorge of the Bagmati. Below stream, at one league, on the left bank stands Bagmati. One of the most popular localities of the Nepalese religion. Further south, deep in the valley, Phirphing, at the outlet of the old road from India. Two roads lead out of Patan: one takes the direction of the south and leads by Sonagutti and Thecho to Chapagaon; the other a South-Easterly direction, crosses Harsidhi, Thyba, Bandedgaon and ends up at Godavery, at the foot of mount Phulchok.

The road which leads from Kathmandu to

Bhatgaon passes by Nidi, Budi, and Timi, small town which owes her wealth to the manufacture of objects of baked earth. The road from Kathmandu to Pacupati brings out into conspicuousness Nagasagar, Nandigaon, Harigaon, Chabahil and Deo-Patan (Deva-pattana) the oldest of towns in Nepal, because she flatters herself as having been founded in the time of Acoka, by the Son-in-law himself of the powerful monarch who ruled over the whole of India. The sacredness of Pacupati, consecrated by an immemorial tradition must have, as a matter of fact, from an early date, gathered in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple, the first inhabitants of the towd of Gods.

From Pacupati a track six kilometres long, leads towards the East, to the hill and the village of Changu-Narayan, nearly equally venerated as Pacupati herself. To the North-East of Changu-Narayan and at a short league, stands the town of Sanku founded at the beginning of the VIIIth century by Chankara deva or by his successor vardhamana deva, the road from Tibet through the pass of Kuti, leaves the valley at Sanku. In returning from Sanku towards the West one finds at a league and a half the village of Gokarna visited by pilgrims and situated on the Bagmati, not far from her entry in Nepal. Between Gokarna and Pacupati, the village of Budhnath groups her houses around her Tibetan temple. By persistently following the base of the mountains, one meets at first at the foot of Sheopuri Bara-Nilkanth "The great Nilkanth and at the foot of the Nagarjun Balanikanth or Balaji" the small Nilkanth" sites of famous pilgrimages. Balaji plays the counterpart to Sanku; the track from Tibet through Kirong starts thence. In short, on a projecting buttress of the Nagarjun at half a league from Kathmandu, Syambunath (Svayambhu-natha) the honour and the glory of Nepalese Buddhism, appertains above all, to the religious history of the valley.

THE MAPS

I have not thought of giving here an original map of Nepal. The conditions of one's stay and research in the country, forbid the most modest attempt in local topography. Minayeff mentions a significant anecdote with which he has evidently been acquainted at the residence. A few years ago, they wanted to publish in India, a map of Nepal; in order to prepare one, a topographer was sent to Nepal; it was a Hindu, a Bengali, so it seemed; this little, they thought would enable him to move about without restrictions and more at his ease for observations. But he had no time to observe much. Having arrived at Kathmandu, he visited the resident. The affair was muddled up. The Nepalese Government came to learn of the Hindu's visit to the Resident. They suspected that he was not an ordinary Hindu or an ordinary pilgrim. He was watched and soon afterwards he was sent back to India. The topographer returned home without having accomplished his task. This did not prevent the English from publishing a map of Nepal; it remains to be known what must have been its worth. (Voyage, p. 254). The map in question is probably the leaf IX of Transfrontier Maps published by the Trigonometrical service: it is dated from Dehra Dun 1873 and anterior by only a few years to the voyage of Minayeff. A second edition was published from Dehra Dun dated March 1882. The title which is attached to it says "compiled from road elevations and astronomical observations by English and Asiatic explorers from this side of India and based on the great extract of the Trigonometrical service, I have already pointed out truly fascinating character of this map in which clear details are reduced to a data of altitudes mathematically measured on this side of the frontier, to the Terrai regions visited by the Resident, to the great transversal road which leads from Darjeeling to Pitoragrah in passing through Kathmandu, and lastly to

the central valley. But the scale being too small, the valley holds but little room and is lacking in details.

Mr. Markham has given in his "Tibet" a list of Nepalese maps which may be useful to partly reproduce here. The first manuscript, is preserved in the geographical service of the India Office; it is dated in 1793, and represents (4' to the inch) the itinerary of Kirkpatrick's mission. It is accompanied memorandum manuscript "illustrating the geographical rough-draft of Nepal and of the neighbouring countries" by Kirkpatrick, in 400 pages. It is on these data that is based the map published in the Relation of Kirkpatrick and which I reproduced. Major Crawford has left behind several manuscript-maps which deal with Nepal; one, of the valley of Nepal ($\frac{3}{4}$ ' to the inch); another of the highway which leads to Nepal including the valley; one dealing with the Nepalese territory with the sources of the Ganges; another with the Nepalese territory with a great many heights ($7\frac{1}{2}$ ' to the inch), dated 1811. The campaign of Nepal (1814-1816) has brought out the map of lieutenant Lindesay, giving the march of General Ochterlony on Makwanpur. The work of fixing boundaries have naturally led to the production of a fairly numerous number of frontier maps, due to Garden, Bjoëan, J.-A. Hodgson, Pickersgill and Anderson (1861). Hamilton's map (1819) joined to his Relation is partly worked out on his personal observations, partly on indigenous data and informations. Hodgson has given a material map of Nepal, illustrating his observations on hydrographs, in the selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No 27 (1857). In the short the office of the Surveyor General of India has published in 1856 a preliminary sketch of Nepal and neighbouring countries dated October 1855.

I have been satisfied with the reproduction of the maps of Kirkpatrick and Hamilton, as they are historical documents and also because

they still suffice in giving a summary idea of valley and the kingdom. For a more detailed work of the valley I have reproduced an indigenous map acquired by Minayeff, and for which communication I am obliged to the amity of Mr. Serge d'Oldenbourg. This map rises the query, interesting but obscure, of the source of indigenous cartography. Wilford describes in the Asiatic Researches (I borrow this expression from the excellent work of Mr. Bulle: "Disegno della cartografer antica dell' "India", Firenze, 1901; page 13) a map of the kingdom of "Nepal" which was presented to Hasting (then between 1772 and 1715). "It is he said, the best map of Hindu origin that I have ever seen. These maps are common in character in that they neglect longitude and latitude, and that they do not employ regular scales; the hills, rivers and mountains are generally shown by narrow lines. The map of "Nepal" was nearly 4 feet in length by 2 and a half wide and in cardboard; the mountains made a relief of nearly an inch with trees painted all round. The roads were shown by a red line and the rivers by a blue line. The separate chains were clearly distinct, with the narrow passes which crossed them; the scale was the only thing wanting. The valley of Nepal was carefully drawn; but towards the edges of the map the lines were mixed up and confused. Hamilton during his sojourn at Kathmandu, (1802/1803) procured himself five indigenous map of Sikkim which he handed over later on to the library of the East India Company. Unfortunately they got lost.

Had the Nepalese learnt this art of European missionaries? The monks do not seem to have helped the development of the Nepalese attainments. Have the models been derived from the Jesuits who were working on the official map of the Chinese Empire? As early as 1704, the pop Clement XI was being shown the way from India to Lhasa on maps preserved at the Vatican ("At PP. Capuccini Lhassam profes-

cti sunt per Indorum terras ca plane via guanos hucusque descriptissimus quamque Ex Tabuli Geographicis in Vaticanis aedibus asservatis sibi ostenderat an 1704 Pontifex s. s. "Clement XI". GEORGI, Alph. Tibet, p 455) The muslimans of India have they been the intermediary and the Nepalese maps do they derive from the Arabic or Persian cartography? or do we find ourselves in the presence of a still older tradition, if not autochthon? As early as the year 648, the king of Kampura, Eastern neighbour of Nepal, offered as a gift to the Chinese Emperor through the medium of Wang Hiuente, "a map of the country" The art in drawing up maps had then already penetrated since that period in the India regions of the Himalayas. It is the question of a national creation? The Hindus might have also been spurred either by the Greek, from whom they had borrowed the astronomical system of Ptolemy, or from the Chinese who were practicing cartography for a long time. (Cf. CHAVANNES, "Bulletin of the French School of the Far-East, 111,236 sqq). It does not seem to me as improbable, in any case, that the long cists of Maha-Bharata, those of the astronomical Puranas and Castras derive as a rule geographical tables which were connected with the maps, as it is the case with Ptolemy. I point out here, as a useful datum towards solution, the use of a band with outstretched index, over the map, to mark out the direction of the rivers,

THE DOCUMENTS

I. European II. Chinese and Tibetans III. Indigenous.

The study of disponsible data must naturally precede the historical study of Nepal; It is essential, before placing the documents in hand, to first ascertain their nature, their extent and their value. The solidity so often tested of these memoranda, guarantees the stability of the edifice. The examination of data offers

still another advantage. It permits to foresee beforehand the salient points of the history about to be studied and announces the great periods or the great crisis which give birth to these documents. The documents are of two categories: some, indigenous, others, foreign. However, clear this division seems, it still leaves room for a slight perplexity. The materials furnished by India can be considered either as foreign documents since Nepal is politically separated from the rest of India, or as indigenous documents since Nepal is steadily part of the Hindu world. As a matter of fact, the controversy would be trifling, so insignificant is the relation of India; It is limited to rate and short indications, scattered in the course of centuries.

Logic seems to bring out foremost, the indigenous documents, which by their number, their extent and their importance, form the body and the texture of Nepalese history. I have preferred, however, to investigate at first the documents of foreign origin, sprung from the people who came in connection with Nepal. The Tibetans and the Chinese are the first in date; their first relations with Nepal date from the beginning of the VIIth. century. The Europeans have known Nepal very late, after the middle of the XVIIth. century. I have nevertheless classed them in the first rank, for various reasons. A reason of clearness, at first: before exposing the minut details of a local history of which nothing is familiar to the Western mind, I have thought opportune to trace a historical account of discoveries and of researches which connect the most recent period of Nepalese history to names and facts known to Europe. A reason of method and of conscience at the same time: The materials I have made use of are, outside my predecessors; I was duty bound to declare what I owed them and to clearly mark out the part which befalls each one of them in this work which I have conceived and attempted to convert as a real collaboration. The description of work carried out in Nepal

for two and half centuries by the Europeans serves, besides, the purpose of defining the actual amount of knowledge, it explains, it perhaps excuses the hesitations, the discrepancies, even the errors which may perhaps be found in this book—Nepal is not yet a commonplace country, open to every curiosity, freely explored by an army of seekers. Since the XVIIIth. century, she has only been visited by a negligible quantity of Europeans, nearly always treated as suspicious beings, kept apart and hampered in their researches. These few visitors, led, some by a religious zeal, others by politic, and still others by the desire for knowledge, have hardly thought of co-operating with one another. One is thus, often left to work on an isolated evidence. The danger would be serious, as much as to make the enterprise impossible, if the witnesses did not happen to call themselves Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, and above all Hodgson.

The least of Europeans who have visited and studied Nepal since the XVIIth century, illustrates and confirms by a new example, the thought that has inspired this book and which is penetrating it: Even as the linking of facts in Nepal reproduces, on a smaller scale, the succession of great phenomena of the Hindu history, the list of personages who pass in Nepal, reflects the movements and the transformations of Europe, in the time of Louis XVI in the XXth century; thus to borrow from India one of her classical comparison, a pool of water reflects the whole Sun. The Society of Jesus all powerful in Europe, nearly as much in China, sends throughout Asia, its missionaries changed into Explorers. A Jesuit Priest, in Tibet, hears Nepalese spoken: two others, leaving Peking for India and Europe, cross Nepal from North to South and believe having prepared the place for another early mission. Almost at the same time, a French traveller, led by commercial activity to the states of the great Mogul, points out to European tradesmen the

highway of Nepal, to penetrate to the centre of Asia. The disasters and blunders of Louis XIV on the decline, suddenly prevent the expansion of France; the century of the Great King ends, as Voltaire describes it, on disputes over Chinese ceremonies. The world has wrongly arranged, the irony and the impiety of the historian the events themselves have sometimes common-sense. Condemned by the court of Rome, the Jesuits in disgrace give up their places to other rivals; the will of the Holy-Father assigns the Nepalese mission to the Capuchin-Friars. The church has made her choice. She has declared herself in favour of the past against modern tendencies. Heirs of an extinct tradition, the Capuchin-Friars remain fifty years doing practically nothing in the Himalayas; the Gurkas conquest ejected them into India, where the English were creating their empire.

A new era then opens to the knowledge of the East. Already, without doubt, the apostle-ship inclination cultivated by a picked brotherhood, had enriched the science of a new domain; the Jesuits have revealed to Europe the Chinese antiquities. But their work, however, meritorious it might have been followed a practical interest which restricted its spread; the apostles of China have placed themselves as pupils under the learned Chinese to learn to outrival them. The encyclopedists of the XVIIIth century make use in their turn, of the same tactic against the Jesuits, their adversaries. They thirst for informations to use them against their doctrines. Rebels against their

revelations, they search with great zest the suspicious records of races which universal history had thought fit to neglect till then they are anxious to expose to light the solidarity of the human race. Under their fruitful impulsion, discoveries spring out on all sides; France marks her passage to India by Anquetil and the Avesta recovered, in Egypt by Champollion and the hieroglyphs deciphered. Mistress over India in her turn, England gives birth to the Wilkins, the William Jones, the Colebrooke famous creators of Sanscrit erudition. With the help of Sanskrit, a German, Boop, compiles the compared Grammer and breaking the factitious frame-works which the theological eloquence of Bossuet had consecrated, he shows the ancestors, long privileged, of the Greeks and the Romans, mingled in one family with the Celts, the Germans, the Slaves, the Persians, the Hindus. The spirit of Europe has enlarged the world's knowledge. Separated from the legends in which he was born, man searches in the past the secret of his history and of his ancestors. Nepal then sees Europeans, whom the Capuchin-Friars had not announced. Examining her annals her traditions, her inscriptions and her manuscripts. The Hindu themselves, caught by the contagion led most probably by the spirit of imitation (vernacular work) which Nearque had observed in them from the time of Alexander, second the curiosity of the west and take an honourable place in the study of Nepalese antiquities.

(To be continued)

FOOT NOTE

1. Gli Scritti . . . , p. 50 sq.
2. The cheng-ou-ki attributes Nepal with a population of 54000 families estimation which Mr. Rockhill (Tibet from Chinese sources, p. 129) considers much too low. But is evidently understood that this number includes the inhabitants of Nepal, Properly speaking, and the number seems to have an official origin, for it exactly tallies with the total of 3 numbers given separately by the Capuchin friars for the population of the three towns (otherwise understood, the three kingdoms): Kathmandu 18000, Patan 24000, Bhatgaon 12000-54000. Kirkpatrick on the other hand allows an average of 10 persons for each family or house. The official evaluation of the past century seems then the nearest approach to the truth.
3. The Buddhists pretend that the cimiter proposed as a model to the king was the one of Manjucri.
4. The Brhat-Samhita of Varaha-Mihira mentions a town of the same name, but situated in the Deccan, because she appears in the same enumeration as Konkana, Kuntala, Kerala, Dandaka (XVI, 11) --The Kartika-mahatmya of Padmapurana equally mentions a town of Kantipura; Aufrecht (Ox. Mss 16b) substitutes by a correction Kanci-pura "Conjeveram".
5. Ind. Ant. IX, 171, n. 29.
6. Sarat Chandra Das, (Tibetan-English dictionary), s. v. Yam-pu
7. Mr. Parker has brought near together with more ingenuity than truth, the name Yang-pou from the sanscrit Srayambhu. It's probably the same name which appears again in the diary of ms. du Pingala mata, Br. (Mus) 550, written in sam. 313 under the reign of Laksmikama deva "Cri Yambu-Kramayan" Cf. the designation Lalita-Kramayan" which is evidently connected to Lalita-Pattana in a ms. in the reign of Civa-deva same 240. The name of Yang-pou (Yan-pu) reminds, at least by a strong resemblance, the name of Yapu-nagara given to a town of the kingdom of Campa, in Indo-China (Today Po-Nagar, evidently); cf. Bergaghe, Ihscrips. Sanscrit of Campa, Nos. XXVIII, XXXI-XXXIII.
8. Kho-Leom reminds one very closely of the Nevar name of Bhatgaon. Khopo (daise) in Kirkpatrick, Kui-po in Georgi.
9. V. inf. vol. 11, (History)
10. Rockhill (Tibet from Chinese sources), p. 129- Mr. Parker, who re-writes the same paragraph, relative to the embassy of 1732, only writes: Kou-mon.
11. Georgi and the P. Marc give exactly the same figure (cf. sup., P. 51 n. 2) The P. Marc specifies "18000 fuochi o siana familie"
12. Gli Scritti . . . P. 51
13. Lately only (1902) owing to not having been advised at the proper time, Nepal cel-

- celebrated by salvos of guns the coronation of Edward VIIth on the day originally fixed. The Darban only learnt afterwards the postponement of the ceremony and considered the civility performed.
14. Jaschke, Tib Dict s. v. "Ye-ran" name of a city next to Khobom (Kathmandu) the first in Nepal. And he mentions as a reference: Milaraspa.
 15. The Vamcavali gives the same figure at the time of Siddhi Narasimha Malla, in the XVII century (Wright, p. 238)
 16. The Buddhists of Patan pretend that the original from of the town represented the "Cakra Wheel" of Buddha.
 17. This name closely reminds one of the name of Kho-bom which Jaschke and Sarat Chandra Das give as the Tibetan equivalent of Kathmandu, (v. sup. p. 54) one is led to believe that the lexicographers have by error substituted Kathmandu for Bhatgaon. If "Ye-leng" is Patan, and Kou-k'cu-mou' Kathmandu. "Pou-Yen mentioned as the third city of the kingdom of Nepal in the Wei-tsang t'ou ki must represent Bhatgaon.



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या २५

कात्तिक २०३०

Ancient Nepal

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सहायक सम्पादक

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NEPAL

(Continued)

by Sylvain Lévi

European Documents

Nepal does not appear to have been visited by Europeans before 1662. Yet since 1626 a jesuit missionary, the P. Anandra, had gathered vague indications on the country. Starting from Agra in 1624 to preach the Gospel in Tibet, he came up the high valley of the Ganges, crossed the difficult passes which dominate the sources of the celestial stream and founded a church at Chaprang on the left bank of the major Sutlej. This success was of short duration; two years later, Anandra who had succeeded in penetrating into China by the highway of Rudok and of Tangut returned definitely to India. During his sojourn at Chaprang, Anandra had an opportunity to enter into relations with Nepalese artisans emigrants in Tibet. "The king of this Place (of Caparangué, i. e. Chaprang) has three or four goldsmiths, natives of a separated from here by two months of marching and subjugated to two king, each one individually more powerful than this one, but of the same religion. I gave these goldsmiths some silver to make me a cross, according to a model I showed them. They assured me that many of the same pattern were to be found in their native land, and that different sizes were made in wood and invarious 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 "Indar."

The name of Nepal is not pronounced here; but there is no question of another country. The very profession of the goldsmiths denote their origin; Nepal then as now excelled in the work of metals and her craftsmen as well as her products were sought by the more barbarous tribes of the North.² The distance of two months journey corresponds well to the real remoteness. The partition of the kingdom between the two sovereigns is another characteristic of Nepal. Since the close of the XVth century up to the beginning of the XVIIth, the dynasty of Kathmandu and the one the Bhatgaon reigned simultaneously on the two halves of the country; it is true that the dynasty of Kathmandu, divided itself towards 1600, and Patan became the seat of a third dynasty. But in fact, the kings of Kathmandu and of Patan formed but one branch and one group, as is attested thirty five years after Anandra by the statement of P. Grueber. In short the said crosses designated under the name of "Indar" belong properly and exclusively to the Nepalese religion; the missionary monks installed in Nepal since the XVIIIth century have not failed in being impressed; their historian, Georgi, even gives the description and sketch in support of his theories on the Manichean origin of Buddhism.³ The word "Indar" reproduces with fair accuracy

the Sanscrit name of the God Indra (commonly Inder) in whose honour these images were made.

In 1661 two of the Jesuit missionaries installed at Peking, Father Grueber and Father Dorville, ⁴ received the order to return to Europe to take from Rome the instructions of their general. The Dutch fleet blockaded the Chinese ports. They determined to travel by land. They left in June 1661, ⁵ crossed through Si-ning, the Tangout, Lhasa, where they resided for two months and thence, reached India through Nepal. Dorville died on reaching Agra after 214 days of actual travelling ⁶, at the beginning of the year 1662. The indefatigable Grueber continued alone henceforth his journey through Labore, the Indus the Arabian gulformus, and Smyrna. He stayed in Rome just long enough for the accomplishment of his mission. Spurred by an unprecedented success and which still remains unrivalled to-day after two and a half centuries of Asiatic explorations— he attempted to open the highways towards China, by crossing Muscovia. Compelled by circumstances to beat a retreat, he fell back on constantinople and eventually died in 1665 on the road to China. So many intrepid journeys have unfortunately left Father Grueber no time to summarise his memories; the few informations that he managed to communicate are found scattered in several letters addressed to associates; a condensed summary by Father Athanase Kircher, ⁷ and the account given from a kind of "interview" taken from Father Grueber at Rome in January 1665.

The summary of Kircher gives a fairly detailed itinerary from Lhasa to Agra. "From Lhasa or Barantola, situated by 29°6', they came in four days to the foot of mount "Langur." Mount Langur is of an incomparable height, in as much as travellers can hardly breathe on the summit, so rarefied is the air,

in summer one could not cross it without exposing one's life to danger, on account of the poisonous emanations from certain herbs. No carriage or horse can cross by this mountain, by reason of dreadful precipices and stretches of rocks, but one must make the whole journey on foot; and thus a month is taken to reach "Cuthi" the first town of the kingdom of "Necbal". Although this mountainous region is difficult to cross, nature, however, has provided with abundant streams that spurt out warm and cold from the hollows of the mountains, and many fishes for men and grazing grounds for the cattle . . . Five days of journey from "Cuthi" and the town of "Nesti" is reached of the "Necbal" kingdom, in which everybody lives enveloped in the gloom of the idolatry, without any sign of Christian faith; however, the place abounds in all things that are necessary to sustain life, to the extent that one can readily purchase 30 to 40 chickens for half-a-crown. From here it takes six days journey to reach the capital of the Kingdom of Necbal which is called "Cadmendu, situated by 27°5'. The king who lives there is powerful; he is a pagan but not opposed to the faith of Christ. From Cadmendu, half a days journey and the town of Necbal is reached which is the seat of the whole kingdom and which is also named "Badandan". From Necbal, after five days travelling one reaches 'Hedouda', market-town of the kingdom of 'Maranga' by 26°36'. From 'Hedouda' in eight days one reaches "Mutgari" which is the first city of the kingdom of Mogor. From "Murgari", it takes ten days to "Buttana", which is a town of the Bengal kingdom, on the Ganges, by 25°44'. (From Battana to Benares, eight days; Benares to Catampor 11 days; Cattampor to Agra 7 days...). Here is one of the customs of "Necbal" 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 'cha' (Tea) or of wine, and while they drink

place on the edge of the cup three small lumps of butter; the drinkers takes 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 his house into the fields; 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 other 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 these kingdoms 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 odor; and with the addition of the oil, one can hardly take them for human beings, but for ghouls.

"Besides, the king showed the priests a remarkable goodwill, especially on account of a telescope, an object of which they knew nothing till then, and other curious mathematical instruments which interested him so much as to wish him to absolutely detain the Priests near him, and allowed them to depart only after having demanded of them the promise of a return; he promised them in the eventuality, to construct a house and to place it at their disposal, furnish them with a large income and to allow them to introduce the Doctrines of Christ in his domain.

The interview at Rome enlightens us better on the episode of the telescope and on the political state of Nepal. "From 'Barantola' Father Grueber entered into the kingdom of 'Nekpal' which has a stretch of a month's journey. There are two town-capitals in this

kingdom, "Catmandir and 'Patan', which are only separated by the river that divides them. The king of this country is called 'Partasmal' he has his residence in the town of 'Catmandir' and his brother named 'Nevagmal' (who is a young prince of nice physique) in the town of 'Patan.' He is in command of the whole militia of the kingdom; and in Father Grueber's time in that town, he had a large army on foot to oppose a little king named 'Varcam' who was disturbing him with the many raids he undertook. The Father presented the prince with a pair of magnifying eye-glass with the help of which he had discovered a sport where Varcam had fortified himself and he made the prince look in that direction; the prince seeing the place at so sort a distance ordered that the march should commence at once against the enemy, and did not understand that this approach was only an effect of the lens. It will not be easy to describe how much the prince was pleased at this present. From 'Nekpal' in five days time, he came to the kingdom of 'Moranga'; he saw no town, but straw houses or rather huttings and among others, a custom-house. The king of 'Moranga' pays a yearly tribute to the Mogul, of 250000 richedales and of seven elephants."

Regarding this latter kingdom, Kircher's memorandum, adds: "The Kingdom of 'Maranga' wedges in the Kingdom of "Tibet" its capitals 'Radoc' is the last station reached formerly by Father Dandrada in his journey to 'Tibet' they refound numerous indications of the Cristain faith which had been planted, in the names of men still Current: Dominie, Francis, Antony."

The geographical names mentioned in these documents are in general easy to recognize. Mount 'Langur' at four days journey from Lhasa, designates the long serie of chains which are linked up in the direction of

west-south-west, commencing from the Khamba (Kambala of the Friars) pass, which Georgi's itinerary reckons at distance of three days journey from Lhasa. Georgi, it is true, gives the name Lhangur to the first of lofty mountains which is encountered towards the east in travelling from Nepal to Lhasa, at 50 thousand paces from Kuti. The discord is too apparent, because Langur is a generic-name signifying, in the Parbatiya language, "a chain of mountains." In nearing the lofty mountains which rise between Kuti and Lhasa, the Jesuits and Friars have heard at the two extreme points the same cry from their guide's lips: Langur "The mountains." Thus, while the langur of Grueber, is the Khamba-la (pass of Kham'ba), the Langur of Georgi is Thang-la or Nya-nyam-Thang-la (pass of Thang) "Cuthi" has only had a graphical transformation; learned influence has preserved Kuti's orthography. "Nesti between Kuti and Katmandu, is written Listi on modern maps, on account of a frequent confusion between the nasal and the dental liquid. 'Cadmendu' transcribes equally well as our Katmandou, the name of the capital; the interview discloses another form, 'Catmandir' more like Sanscrit in appearance (Kastha-mandir) and which may be a doublet of the first, if it is not the outcome of a simple error. 'Baddan' designated as the second capital of the country, cannot be Bhatgaon which would however, coincide better with the distance indicated from Katmandu. Grueber only knows of two capitals in the kingdom of Nepal and the informations which he gives on the two kings who reside there, prove beyond doubt that it is a question of Katmandu and Patan; it is even under the latter form that the second capital is designated in the interview. The alternation of Baddan and 'Patan' in the accounts of the Jesuits, in face of the indigenous word Patan (a), seems to betray the persis-

tency of the German accent with Grueber who was born at Linz, in Austria. 'Hedonda' is modernly known Hetaura. The difference between the two words is more apparent than real; they both embody, in accentuating them in opposite ways, the sound of Indian cerebrals, intermediary between the dentals and the letter 'r', and which finds its way in the very name of Katmandu (of which the real pronunciation is very near Karmanro.)

The name of Nepal, which appears here, for the first time in Europe takes an unexpected aspect: Nekpal or 'Necbal' (with the alternance of the p and of the b, as in the case of 'Baddan and Pattan'). One is apt to be misled and believe it an error of handwriting or of printing; precisely the latter to Father Gamans bears 'Neopal', whence Necpal might have been formed by a graphical error between the two letters 'C' and 'O'. Tavernier, Grueber's contemporary, writes 'Nupal'. Nupal on the one hand, Neopal, on the other, would seem to bring together to a common original at the same time of the sound 'u' and of the sound 'eo'. But this conjecture must be abandoned, because the form 'Nekpal'. With a serie of derivatives, reappears in several publications of the XVIIth. Century, all independent of Father Grueber's traditions and originating from the missionary Capuchin friars. However, neither a clever pronunciation nor a vulgar pronunciation of the word 'Nepal' can justify this adventitious letter it seems to be a too vigorous notation of time which follows the 'e' from the word 'Nepal (a)'. The kingdom of 'Maranga' or 'Moranga' is without the least doubt the kingdom of Makwanpur, as the Capuchin friars have well recognized it, but the name which is here given to it is surprising, because it designates in fact the eastern region of the Terrai included between the Kosi and the Tista⁸.

The kings mentioned by Father Grueber are very well known. The king of Katmandu 'Partasmal' is in reality Pratapa Malla his brother, the king of Patan 'Nevagmal' is Cri Nivasa Malla. Pratapa Malla was a singular person, imbued with poetry; more jealous of literary glory than of military glory, he took with conviction the title of 'Kavindra.' 'Prince of poets'. Ambitious to immortalise his name and his works, he had these carefully carved in stone over the whole stretch of his domain. Before the passage of the priests, he heard the far-off western countries spoken of. An inscription still embedded in the facade of the palace at Katmandu which bears an invocation to the goddess Kalika, shows specimens of fifteen writings which Pratapa Malla flattered himself he knew. Amongst these writings is the 'Phiringi' writing which comes last, immediately after the 'Kaspiri' (of Cashmere). The specimen of 'phiringi' writing consists in these three words:

NE WINTERLHIVERT

AVTOM

"Automne, Winter, L'Hiver" The inscription is dated Friday 14th. January 1654 (Samvat 774 magha cukla cri pancame cukra vare).

These three simple words, which the indigene considers a kind of Mene Tecel Phares written out in a mysterious conjuring book, evoke in their moving simplicity the first entry in contact with Europe with this corner of the Himalaya; and the presence of two French words in a total of three vocabularies reminds as by an expressive symbol the universal preponderance of the French language in the XVIIth century. Who then had taught them to Pratapa Malla? Perhaps one of the Armenian merchants which Tavernier mentions and who served as an agent between the West and Upper Asia.

The narration of Father Grueber confirms

at least on one point, the exactitude of the Nepalese chronicle. The Varnavati gives out in detail the war in which the jesuits found themselves mixed. Since the last days of the year 1659, Pratapa Malla and Cri Nivasa Malla had joined hands to repulse the incursions of Jagat Prakaca Malla king of Bhatgaon. Suspended on November 1660, and the hostilities were resumed a year later in November 1661, and the Jagat Prakaca Malla had been defeated time after time. At last on the 19th January 1662 (18 magha sudi 782), Cri Nivasa Malla, who was in actual command of the allied forces, captured the village of Themi (Timi) from his adversary; the 20th January, Pratapa Malla and Cri Navsa Malla returned to their respective capitals. The passage of the jesuits had then preceded, but by a few days, the date of the 20th January, and the telescope which they placed at the service of the allied kings, hastened perhaps to the detriment of the prince of Bhatgaon, the denouement of this campaign. The "little king Varcam" is without any doubt Jagat Prakaca Malla (vul. pronounciation: Parkas Malla); the change of the 'p' into 'V', by the intermediary of 'b', is constant; the alternance of the forms Nepal and Never show us another example. If Father Grueber does not speak of Bhatgaon, which, however, equalled in importance the two others capitals, it is because the war had compelled the two travellers to avoid the territory of Jagat Prakaca.

The results of the voyage of Father Grueber were soon shown on geographical maps. Nicolas Visscher seems to have been the first to place them in hand in his 'India Orientalis nec non Insularum adjacentium nova descriptio' which is comprised in part in 'Atlas Minor sive totius orbis terrarum contracta delineatio, ex conatibus Nic. Visscher. (Amst. Bat. Apud Nicolaum Visscher) The Minor Atlas carries no date. The editor of the "Remarkable maps of the XV -- XVIIth century

who publishes this map, pretends that is derived from the "Novus Atlas" of Janson, dated 1657-1658. This assertion is unacceptable. The map is manifestly worked out on the informations from Grueber, and cannot be anterior to Grueber's arrival in Europe; it dates at the earliest 1663. Father Grueber's stages are linked up successively like an illustration of his itinerary; the names of localities have those peculiarities only attributed to Grueber the positions have been determined by his observations. The errors committed still betray the source of borrowing. "Cutlu (-kuti), the station between "Lhassa" and "Cadmenda", owes manifestly its existence to a confusion of letters created on Grueber's graphic: "Cutli", Cadmenda is also a graphical modification of Cadmendu. There is something better: Visscher, mistaken by Father's Grueber Germanic notation, has not recognized Patna in the town of "Battana", intermediary stage between Mutgari ("Motihari) and Benares", he has shown on his map Patna and Battana even separating them by a long distance. Furthermore, obliged to include new knowledge in the traditional notes of anterior cartography. Visscher has placed Necbal between the Ganges to the West and to the East, one of the 5 streams whence "Chiamay" lake spread its waters into "India extra Gangem." The country of "Bengala" the southern limit, the country of Udessa⁹ (Orissa) to the North-West "Cirote" situated to the South of "Cadmenda", between the "Necbal" and the country of 'Verma' (Burma) is the country of the Kiratas which occupies the valleys to the East of Kathmandu. "Caor" placed between "Lassa" and "Cutlu" (Cutli, kuti) are equally derived from anterior geographies.

A little while after Grueber's voyage through Asia, the Frenchman Tavernier was taking up the sixth time, the road to the East. As a jeweller of the Great-Mogul and of his principal officers, already familiar with the lan-

guages the customs, the climate of Hindustan he succeeded in reaching the last limits of Eastern India, He was fortunate to come down the source of the Ganges, in company of another Frenchman, equally illustrious, Bergnier, who had already been for five years in the employment of Aurengzeb in the capacity of a medical man. The 13th December 1665, they were at Benares; the 20th, at Patna, the 4th January 1666, at Rajmahal. In the course of this long and slow voyage, Tavernier lost no time in gathering all informations regarding the country: judicious observer and keen tradesman, he rather fixed his attention on questions of business. He was thus the first man to gather minute and precise details in connection with the commerce between India and Tibet through Nepal. 'at five or six leagues from beyond Gourchoepour (Gorakhpur) one enters the grounds of the Raja of "Nepal" which extend to the frontiers of the kingdom of Boutan (Tibet). This prince is a vassal of 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. The indigenous¹⁰ informers at Tavernier's services did not fail to point him out as an abomination, the religious beliefs which distinguish these mountains 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 Brahmins have a certain book which contains their beliefs and which is really filled up with moonshine (nonsense) the author of which, "Bandon" gives no reason.¹¹

Such is the first notion which reaches Europe, on Nepalese Buddhism.

The description outlined by Tavernier regarding the traffic between India and Tibet

through Nepal, is altogether so picturesque, so exact, and so little different from the actual conditions of the same traffic that it is useful to reproduce it in its entirety.

"The kingdom of Boutan Tibet is very vast, but we have not yet been able to obtain an exact knowledge. Here are a few things I have been able to learn in the several travels which I have made to India, from a few people of the country who were keen on trading; but I have learnt better this last trip than I have done before, finding myself in 'Patna' the largest town in "Bengala" and the most famous for trading purposes, in the time the merchants from "Boutan" came down to sell their musk. During the period of two months which I stayed there, I purchased twenty-six thousand ruppes worth of it . . . and but for custom duties which must be paid from India to Europe, a great profit would be derived on the Musk . . . As for musk itself, during the hot weather, the merchant hardly makes a profit, owing to the stuff drying up and consequently losing weight. As this merchandies usually pays twenty five per cent of duty at "Gorrockepour" (Gorakhpur) the last town of the states of the Great Mogul on the side of the kingdom of "Boutan", although is still stretches out another five or six leagues further, when the Indian tradesmen are in that town, they first go in search of the Customs official and they inform him that they are proceeding to the kingdom of Boutan", some to purchase musk, others to purchase rhubarb, each one declaring, the amount he intends using up which dealing is recorded by the official in his register, with the merchant's name included.

Then the merchants instead of twenty five per cent that they should give, remit only a seven or an eight per cent and take delivery of a certificate from the official or the cade, so that they will not be over charged on their

return. Should they be unable to reach a satisfactory agreement with the official, they take another course which is really very long and awkward, owing to the snow-clad mountains, and the stretches of vast deserts in the plains. They will have to reach a height of sixty degrees then turn towards the West up to "Caboul" which lies in the fortieth and it is in that town that the caravan separates, one lot going to "Balch" and the other to the Great "Tartaries." It is those who come from "Boutan" who exchange their goods for horses, mules and camels; because their is little money in those countries. Then these Tartars being these merchandises into Persia right up to "Ardenil and Tauris" . . . One lot of the merchants who come from "Boutan and from Caboul" goes to "Candahar" and thence to "Ispahan" and these usually take away corals in grains, yellow and lapis worked out in grains whenever they can find them. The other merchants who travel towards ' Multan from "Lahor and "Agra carry away cloths, iadigo, and a quantity of cornelian stones and crystal stones. Lastly those who return by Gorrockepour and who are in the Customs official' good book being away from Patna and From Dacca, coral, yellow amber, and bracelets of tortoise shell and others of sea-shells with a quantity of round and square pieces of the size of our fifteen sol coin and which are also of tortois shell and of these same sea shells. As I was in "Patna" four Armenians who had already travelled to the kingdom of Boutan came from "Dantzic" where they have had made a quantity of shapes of yellow amber, which represented all kinds of animal and monsters and which they were taking to the king of Boutan, who alike his people is a graet idolater, to have them placed in his pagodas. Where the Armenians can find something to gain, they do not scruple themselves about furnishing matter for idolatry, and they told me that had they been able to make the idol

which the king had wished, they would have enriched themselves. It consisted in making a head in the shape of a monster, which had six horns, four ears and four arms with six fingers apiece, the whole to have been in yellow amber, but that they were unable to procure pieces large enough for the work.¹⁹ I rather thought that money failed them, because it seemed that they did not possess much, and besides, it is an infamous commerce to furnish instruments of idolatry, to this poor tribe.

Let us now dwell on the road which it is necessary to follow to convey oneself from "Patna" to the kingdom of "Boutan" which journey the caravan completes in three months. It usually starts from "Patna" at the end of December and reaches "Gorrockepour" on the eighth day. This is, as already stated, the last town on this side of the Great Mogul's states and where merchants provide themselves with provisions for a part on the journey. From "Gorrockepour" to the feet of the lofty mountains there is still another eight or nine days journey, during which time the caravan suffers considerably, because the country is full of forests where in roam many wild elephants. The merchants instead of taking rest at night, keep on the alert and light a big fire while firing their muskets to frighten away these animals. As the elephant moves about noiselessly, he surprises everybody by his sudden presence before they can be aware of him.

It is not that the elephant intends hurting man; he is pleased to carry away victuals which he can lay hold of for example a bag of rice or of flour or a pot of butter of which there is always considerable quantity. One can travel from "Patna" to the feet of these mountains in carriage or in "Pallekis" (Palanquin); but oxen, camels and country horses are generally made use of. These horses are so short

in stature that a man's feet touches the ground when he is riding but they are very strong and canter very well doing twenty leagues at a stretch and eating and drinking very little. Some of these horses cost as much as two hundred half-crowns and when one penetrates into the mountain, one cannot but use this only means of conveyance, and one must relinquish all others that would be of no use on account of the many defiles which are too narrow. Although the horses are strong and small they often find it difficult to cross the passes and it is for this reason that one has recourse to other expedients to cross these lofty mountains.

"(One crosses "Nepal" then) the caravan having reached the foot of these high mountains, known to-day under the name of "Nau-grocot" and which cannot be traversed inside of nine or ten days, as these are exceedingly high and narrow with great precipices; many people come down from various places and the majority of them women and girls who come to bargain with those of the caravan, to carry the men, the victuals and the merchandise beyond the mountains. This is the way they get about it. These women have a pad on the two shoulders to which is attached a substantial cushion which hangs on the back on which the man is seated. Three women relieve one another to carry a man by turn, and all baggage and provisions are loaded on the back of goats who can carry up to a hundred and fifty pounds. Those who bring horses with them are often compelled, in narrow and dangerous defiles, to hoist them by rope; it is mainly due to this difficulty, as already mentioned, that horses are not used in these regions. They give them to eat only in the morning and in the evening. In the morning a paste made of a pound of flour with half a pound of black sugar and the same quantity of butter mixed with water, serves the pur-

pose. At evening time a small quantity of peas, broken and allowed to soak for half an hour in water, is all they get, and this is the sum total of their nourishment in twenty four hours. The women who carry the men only earn two rupees for the ten days of passage, and the same amount is paid for each hundred weight carried by the goats or she-goats and for each horse that is brought up.

"After crossing these mountains one has as a means of conveyance up to "Boutan", oxen, camels and horses and even "Pallekis" (Palanquin) for those who wish to travel more comfortably."

One is really unable to make out which deserves more admiration, in this long narration, whether the art or the skill of Tavernier in inquiring, whether the exactitude or the preciseness of his informations and the scrupulous faithfulness in reproducing the given informations. The oft contested veracity of the great French traveller, comes out triumphant from this trial.

French trade has not been able to profit by the roads which Tavernier had partly discovered, and partly indicated towards the Far-East and central Asia. The missionaries of Christ more enterprising and better guided did not lose sight of the regions opened out at the same time, by the zeal of Father Andrada and which the travels of Father Grueber had made more easily accessible. Tibet, with her dependences (or provinces) did not only offer a new domain to the activity of the missions. The notions gathered on the religion of the Lamas and which became more precise by the researches of the Jesuits in China, represented the Lama of Lhasa as the embodiment of antichrist. The resemblance of rites, of practices, of function, explained itself as the counterfeiting of the Catholic Church inspired by the devil himself. Each one of the

orders aspired to the honour of winning a hard victory over Satan; It was on the Capuchin friars on whom befell this heavy task.

In 1703 the Congregation of Propaganda gave over Tibet to the care of the capuchins. Of the six religious men who were sent, only two reached the destination; Father Joseph of Ascoli and Father Francis Maries de Tours.¹¹ They disembarked at Chandernagor in June 1707 and set out on the way to Lhasa. Circumstances were particularly unfavourable; Tibet was restless with internal struggles, religious rivalries and political differences.

An ambitious regent in authority near the Great Lama, had confiscated the power; threatened by the Mandchurian emperors and by the Chieftains of Mongolian hords who all wanted for their particular interests the spiritual power of the Great-Lama, he had dealt cleverly with them, and for a long time had succeeded in throwing them one against the other. However, in La-tsankhan, chieftain of a Mongolian hord of the Khoskotes, captured Lhasa by a sudden attack, killed the usurper, and elected, a new Great-Lama to replace the one the regent had established and whom he refused to recognize. But the protege of the conqueror clashed with the resistance of one section of the Church: the Lama dispossessed, found grouping around him the adversaries of Khoskholes and the Chinese, their allies. The country was in an upheaval at Lhasa, life was so precarious that the two Capuchins had to leave the town, where food was short coming to return to India. They crossed over to Patna and thence to Bengal. Left alone and reduced to powerlessness, they appealed to Rome for help in 1712. The propaganda decided to attach twelve religious men to the Tibetan mission with an annual grant of 1000 crowns, and to place five parishes at their disposal. "Chandernagor" in Bengal, "Pathna" in Bihar, "Nekpal" capital

of the kingdom of the same name, "Lhasa" and "Trogu-gue" in Tak-pa. Each parish received two capuchins, except Lhasa which received four. The priests who were posted for the preaching of the Gospel "at Katmandu, in the kingdom of Nepal" were Father Francois Felix de Moro and Father Anthony Marie de Jesu. Of the six Fathers destined for Tibet one, Father Gregory of Pedona, died on the way, at Katmandu. The five others were; Father Dominique de Fano, prefect of the mission; Father Joseph of Ascoti, Father Francis Marie de Tours, Father Francis Horace de Penna, Father Jean Francis de Fossabrun.

Hardly had the capuchins settled down, than they had to struggle against rivals. Two Jesuits Father Desideri and Father Freyre, reached Lhasa in 1715-1716 by the Ladakh and the pass of Marian-la. The pious emulation of the two ordres did not work much good. Jesuits and Capuchins boasted with the longing of being favourably received and reckoned at an early date, glorious triumphs; in fact their zeal were spent in vain on the mocking indifference of the Tibetans. After long and weary efforts, they had only converted a small number of Nepalese who had settled in Lhasa for the sake of commerce.¹⁵ The Capuchins blamed the Jesuits for their failure and called upon Rome. The Jesuit after certain Chinese affairs, were not popular in court. Desideri received an order of recall in 1721. He came down to India by the way of Nepal, which the capuchins had taught him, crossed through Katmandu and Bhatgaon, visited India for a long time and returned to his mother-land in 1727. Released from their competitors, the capuchins nevertheless continued to miserably vegetate; the temporal power even refused them the prestige of persecution.¹⁶

In 1716 the "King of Tibet Ginghir Kha-

gn, the Tartar"¹⁷ had issued a decree which exempted them from taxes. In 1725 after the defeat of the Dzoungares, who had overthrown "Ginghir Khagn", the new king installed by triumphant China". "Tselchin Butur" confirmed this privilege. In 1732, Father Horace de Penna who came down to Nepal, was conceded a passport which prescribed to all Customs and Excise Officer not to demand any tax from the European Lama who had come down to Lhasa, capital of the rich kingdom of Tibet, to help and work our good to everybody.¹⁸ But their success did not go beyond these official civilities of an ordinary value.

The Nepalese branch establishment of the Tibetan mission has had a more busy existence, a little less dull also. In 1715, the capuchins had founded a monastery at Katmandu; but the terrible persecution stirred up by the Brahmins" compelled them to flee for a shelter elsewhere.

They turned to their advantage the constant rivalry between the kings of Katmandu and those of Bhatgaon. Bhupatindra Malla, who reigned at the time at Bhatgaon, received them with goodwill; in 1722, the missionaries substituted officially Bhatgaon to Kathmandu as the seat of the auxiliary branch of Nepal; but they did not definitely renounce their first post. Father Horace de Penna called from Lhasa to Nepal with the title of "Prefect of the mission" succeeded by dint of skill and energy in retaking possession of the place. Arrested, thrown in prison, reduced like all other prisoners to the condition of royal slave and subjected to the hardest labours, he managed in conveying to the king of Kathmandu a catechism in the Nevar language which he had undoubtedly composed himself, since he was acquainted with Tibetan and Nevarian. The lecture of the pamphlet

removed the last vestiges of the king's pretensions; he authorized the capuchins to settle down in his capital and to preach.

Death reduced the number of Fathers. In 1727 only nine remained; three others died shortly after, followed by still another. The mission numbered in all five Capuchins, weary and aged. In 1731, Father Joachim de Santa Nataglia (of Lhasa) Father Horace de Penna, "Perfect of the Nepal mission (of Battigas)" and Father Pierre de Serra Perrona (of Chandernagore), sent an appeal to Rome for relief. In 1735 the Propaganda authorized a new despatch of missionaries, but to the number of three only. Father Vito de Recanati was designated to be the superior. The unfortunate capuchins of the Himalaya must have been surely disappointed to see themselves so inadequately helped. Father Horace de Penna who had lived 24 years, continuously in these regions embarked for Europe and arrived at Rome in 1738. He multiplied his efforts to interest good souls in the Tibetan mission, inspired several publications of propaganda, and drew up numerous notes which served later on, in the compilation of the "Alphabetum Tibenanum." Then he courageously proceeded to the battle ground once again, although past sixty years of age.¹⁹

The mission, thanks to the impulsion which he had imparted to it, had not suffered by his absence. Father Recanti had obtained from the king of Bhatgaon Ranajita Malla, the same concessions as his predecessors.²⁰ "Finding himself with two of his companions in Nepal, the capital, the gospel which they preached in connection with our Holy order, pleased the monarch to such an extent, that after having granted them by a public proclamation for their habitation a great Palace which he had confiscated from one of his chiefs he conceded again for the liberty of the con-

science, a privilege which he had published in his kingdom and which the Father Superior made over to the Father Procurator General of his order. The translation runs as follows.

"I Zaerwanegitta Malla, king of Batgaon in Nepal, grant by virtue of the following to all European Fathers to enable them to preach teach, and convert to their Religion the people subdued to us, and women equally. We allow our subjects permission to embrace the Law of the European Fathers without of their being molested neither by us nor by those who have some authority in our kingdom. The Fathers will receive none of our loathing and will not be prevented in their ministry. However all this must be done without violence and of a pure and free will. This it is, Casinat, the Doctor was the writer. Grisanfrangh, Governor general confirms it. Bisorage, great priest, confirms and approves it. Given out in Nepal in the year 861 in the month of Margies. Good-morning. Good wishes.

The opportunity even offered to Father de Recanati, to lay the foundation of a new auxiliary branch outside Nepal. The raja of Bettia who possessed a small domain at the outlet of the mountains, on the road to Hindustan, solicited by letter the establishment of a mission "written out at Battia in the year 184 in the month of Busadabi"²¹ "This letter, the decree of Ranjita Malla and other analogous documents, "were despatched to the Procurator General so that, as he accordingly did he handed them over to the Pope who received a great consolation and gave all these papers to the sacred Congregation of the Propaganda. His Holy Majesty decided to send at his own expense a few religious men. He wrote to the king of Battia a very beautiful brief (Pope's pastoral letter) . . . and He also took it as convenient to write another brief to the king of Bhatgao in Nepal to thank him for the privilega

mentioned above and to convey to him the same exhortation. (As he did to the King of Battia²³)”

The mission at Battia was as a matter of fact founded in 1743 and given over to the charge of father Joseph Marei di Bernini da Garignano, who directed the affairs until the day of his death, in 1761.²⁴ The new mission was about to serve as a place of refuge to its elders. In 1745²⁵ the Chinese who were all powerful in Lhasa after having crushed the rising of 1736, inaugurated a campaign of systematic political exclusion regarding all strangers. The missionaries were compelled to fall back in Nepal and the highway from Lhasa to Kathmandu through Kuti, saw Europeans pass for the last time. The travellers of this unhappy caravan were Father Horace, prefect of the mission, Father Tranquillo of Appechio²⁶, Father de Gargnairo (who had left Battia temporarily) and Father Paolo de Florence²⁷. They even forbade the unfortunate priests to bring away with them the indigenees they had converted. Immediately after their departure their monasteries were completely broken down. The venerable Father Horace de Penna who was for so many years the soul of the Tibetan mission, lived long enough to assist to the painful failure of his pious and patient efforts. Leaving Lhasa ill and already in a dying condition, carried on the back of men and often by his companions, through the breadth of the mountain, he arrived in Nepal on the 4th. June, and forty five days after²⁸ he died at Patan, on the 20th. Of July 1745, at the age of 65. He was buried in the Christain cemetery which was located outside the walls of the town, in the North and which completely disappeared from existence without even leaving a local remembrance.

The Fathers of the mission have had engraved on the tomb a double epitaph, in Latin and in the Nevar language; The Brahmin Ballo-

govinda who was attached to the mission in the capacity of a professor of indigenous tongues, drew up the inscription in Nevarian. The “Alphabetum Tebetanum” reproduced a copy of this double text, worthy to hold the foremost rank of curiosities of the Nepalese Corpus.

In spite of their predilection for Patan, the Fathers had not then obtained the right of ownership when Father Horace died. At Kathmandu, they occupied since 1742 “a beautiful garden and an estate as large as four ordinary houses, with central courtyard.” The chart of concession draw up in the Nevar tongue, but filled with Sanskrit, is worth a reproduction here, for its particular interest and also as an excellent specimen of the over-scrupulous precision realised by the Nepalese land-survevor.

“Hail The king Jaya Prakaca Malla -his head is dusty from the pollen of lotus which are the feet of the divine Pacupati; the saintly Manevari, his favourite divinity, has conceded him the favour of his graces which raises his dignity to the highest point of splendour; he is the decendent of the Rama 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 for the Padris Kapucinis (Capuchins) a beautiful garden located in the Cromtu Tol, at Sithali, in an unoccupied spot and furthestmost a quadrangular mansion with two stories (floors also). The boundaries of the plot are to the West of the house of Jaya Dharma Simha, to the south of the houses of Dhunju and of Curyadhana and of Purencvara, 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 interior of the house, three-fourths of the ordinary space of a house, plus 22 cubits and a half excluding a

path of accers, private, which measures the three-fourths of the superficial area of a houses, 22 cubits. For the garden, the area allotted is equivalent to that of 13 houses and three-fourths, plus 3 cubits and 4 fingers in width. These are the limits. Was a witness Rajya Prakaca Malla Deva, year 862, month margacira, fortnight clear, 10th day."

It was only twelve years later, in 1754, that the Fathers could obtain the same favour at Patan, under the short reign of the unfortunate Rajya Prakaca Malla, who had actually been a witness in the previous act. By virtue of a chart dated in the year 874, in the month of caitra, drawn up by the astrologer Kotiraja, with Candra Cekhara Malla Thakura as witness, the king Rajya Prakasa (to the same titles as above) "grants for the establishment of the Pacris Kapucinis a beautiful garden located in an open plot, outside and above the fountain of Tanigra Tol and also a quadrangular house of four stories. The boundaries are: to the West of the Route of the Char (of Matsyendra Natha) to the North of the path of Tava Bahal, to the East of the plot of Kayastha Kacimigla, south of the house and grounds of Amvarasin Babu. In all, for the house, the area of 6 ordinary houses plus 38 square cubits and for garden, the area of 14 houses plus 21 cubits"³⁰

Fortune seemed to smile to the Capuchins; the catastrophe, however, was near at hand. The political revolution of 1768 which overthrew the small dynasties of the three capitals and which handed over the power in the hands of the Ghurkas was as much detrimental in consequence to the Nepalese mission as the revolution of Tibet to the Lhasa mission, by the application of the same political system. When the Ghurka's king Prithi Narayan besieged Katmandu, Fathers of the Mission were: Father Seraphin de Come, Father Mi-

chel-Ange of Tabiago, Jean-Albert de Massa and Father Joseph de Rovato. They must have already evacuated Patan where their house was too exposed to the fire of the besiegers. Once sheltered at Katmandu, the Fathers and their christians had not to suffer the rigours of a severe investment; Prithi Narayan allowed the entry in the town of victual necessary for their living: he paid back by this privilege the medical services rendered by the missionaries. Father Michel-Ange had succeeded in curing the very brother of Prithi Narayan, Surupa ratna, of a wound received in the storming of Kirtipur. This Father was besides on amicable terms with a son of Prithi Narayan. He had attempted but unsuccessfully to intervene on behalf of the inhabitants of Kirtipur, when the ferocious monarch had given the order to cut the nose and the lips of the whole population, irrespective of sex or age. All he could do was to attend with his associates in attending the wounds of the unfortunate victims of this barbarous vengeance.

The interference of the British in Nepal's affair, the despatch of a column under Major Kinlock, altered the dispositions of the Ghurka king with regard to the missionaries, he mingled in the same suspicion all European, began to intercept all letter addressed to the Fathers³⁰ and when became the master of the whole of Nepal, in 1769, he commanded the capuchins to leave the country with their converts. This final exode led the last remnants of the Tibetan mission Bettia, beyond the Terrai, on the threshold of Hindustan. The mountain was closing up far ever behind them.³¹ After so many efforts carried on for sixty years, the pastors were bringing away a ludicrously small number of sheep. Captain Alexander Rose who visited the mission at Bettia towards the middle of the year 1769, found the prefect surrounded by "two miserable familis which he

called his converts."³²

The result of sixty years of predications, expenses of voyages between Rome and the Himalaya, was at least, ordinary. Science had not advanced more than had religion. The Capuchins had found an exceptionally favourable position under the dynasty of the Malla, the road of Lhasa opened, Nepal welcoming, Buddhism flourishing, the country prospering, science and art respected, literature well received. So many advantages however, remained fruitless. To measure what it has cost science the unskillfulness and thoughtlessness of the Capuchins, one must only recall the circumstances where towards 1820 the Englishman Hodgson undertook his works on Nepal.

The country conquered by the Ghurkas was strictly closed, Buddhism disgraced and fallen; suspicion, violence, brutality were all powerful; the ruins of the plunder continued as an impediment to the town which was ransacked; and however, the persevering toil of one man alone, undertaken and pushed ahead under such difficult auspices, revealed to Europe the literature, the religion, a considerable chapter of human history. A strange fatality which is perhaps not disconnected with the disastrous negligence of Franciscan communities, has again been intent on the few monuments of their mediocre activity. Father Horace de Penna, the best gifted of all "had translated in Italian, Tibetan books transmigration and composed books in Tibetan, as well as in the Newar writing or Nepalese, to know a dictionary Tibetan-French of 35000 words, with a dictionary French-Tibetan an adaption of the Manuel of Cardinal bellarmin and of the Treasures of Christianity by Turlot,³³ there exists³⁴ only the letters on Tibet, so precious by the way, gathered and published by Klapproth.³⁵ Father Constantion d'Ascoli had

compiled in 1747" Remarks on a few customs, sacrifices, and idols of the kingdom of Nepal, which was still preserved in Rome in 1792 in the library of the Propaganda.³⁶ The Manuscript which was ornamented with drawings has since disappeared.

Mr. de Gubernatis, who has searched for it without success, has found in the Library, Victor-Emmanuel, an abstract of this document, reduced to a simple index of chapters he has had it published with the help of the documents of Marco della Tomba.³⁷ Father Joseph of Ascoli and Father Francois de Tours who were the first to enter Lhasa in 1707-1709, had written a summary of their voyage³⁸ Father Tranquillo d'Appecchio who was Prefect of the mission in 1757³⁹, had also drawn up a diary of the track.⁴⁰ The summary and the diary have been lost. Father Cassien de Macerata had gathered "abundant notes on Nepalese and the Tibetans, their customs, their literature their religion,⁴¹" these notes have been lost.⁴² The only work sprung up directly from the Nepalese mission and which has been preserved for us, is the "Description of the kingdom of Nepal Father Giuseppe, Prefect of the Roman mission.,

This was handed over by John Shore to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and published in the second volume of the "Asiatic" Researches" in 1790.⁴³ The Description was drawn up after the Capuchins had left Nepal; The author bears testimony to his being an ocular witness in the setting up of events which has prepared and brought about the conquest of the country by the Ghurkas up to the capture of Patan. We then gained, he adds, that we had to withdraw with all the christians in the British possession." Father Giuseppe de Garignato, to whom one often attributes this version is forcibly without reason, we know through Father Marco

della Tomba that he died in 1760, in the mission of Bettia which he had founded. The person ordinarily designated as Father Giuseppe, at the head of the "Description" is without any doubt Father Joseph de Rovato one of the four missionaries who witnessed the final disaster and brought away into India the remnants of the mission.

Father Joseph was no man to interest himself in the antiquities of the country; he did not believe playing with the demon. Captain Rose has drawn up a cruel description. "I met by chance the few Italian missionaries who were recently expelled from Nepal. I flattered myself in being able to obtain useful informations 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 had lived in the country for twelve years. But, to show me his missionary zeal he told me that he burnt 3000 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. The meeting of Father Joseph and of Captain Rose on this corner of forlorn earth, contrasted in a sharp episode the two tendencies of the XVIIIth. Century - Rose represented the Encyclopaedia and foretold the generation, in the near future of the first "Indians." Busy with a topographical chart of the Terai, 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 3000 years old. I am convinced that in order to find out the real ancient history of the country, one must perforce refer to the books written in the language of the country. I am valiantly attempting at present to translate several

"Father Joseph would have condemned these words, but William Jones would have willingly countersigned them.

Father Joseph wrote outside Nepal but on personal recollections. Father Marc della Tomba had only for treaties on Nepal and of Tibet, those informations gathered and communicated by the other Capuchins of the mission. Reaching India in 1756, Father Marc remained attached to the house at Bettia from 1758 to 1768; he had already left when the christians from Nepal came in search of a shelter. In spite of his keen desire to visit Nepal, to which place he was destined as early as 1762, he was obliged to stop on the promised-Land without the happiness of entering into it. He would have been useful to science, since he loved to instruct himself and had not vowed to the manuscripts that ultra-republican hatred of Father Joseph's. He read and analysed a certain number of Indian works, chosen with good taste or pleasure; one of these texts, interesting for the study of Nepalese Buddhism; the Buddha Purana, is only known to-day by the account of Father Marc. From Bettia he proceeded at first to Patna, then to Chandernagore there he embarked in 1773. In 1774 he reached Paris whence he returned to Rome. His documents preserved in the Museum Borgias have been recovered and published by the head of "Indianism" in Italy, Mr. A. de Gubernatis.

But it is an Austin friar, residing at Rome, to whom is due the credit of having arranged the informations on Nepal and Tibet obtained from the Capuchin missionaries. Father Georgi has compiled them in that strange war machine directed against Manichaeism, which bears the surprising name of "Alphabetum Tibenanum" a polyglot medley, where in the linguistic resemble an obscure language, or scholasticism handles and falsifies

erudition. It is in this disconcerting medley that one discovers a complete tract-chart from Chandernagore to Lhasa through Nepal and a number of details, thrown in according to the controversy at the time, in connection with the divinities and the worship of Nepal.

From Chandernagore to Patna, the itinerary is double, one by land and the other by water. The missionary or the traveller, arriving from Europe lands at "Calcutta" and travels to Chandernagore where he re-embarks on a smaller boat to travel up the Ganges. The stages are worth mentioning one by one; they are really not connected, it is true with our subject but this chain of names bears the same eloquent melancholy as the ruins. It condenses in sharp outlines, the capricious game of nature and of politics on the soil of India. It has only needed one century and half to break down all these grandeurs. What will there remain in another century and a half, of the splendours of to-day?

Chandernagore, French colony, was a parish of the Jesuits; but a decree of the Propaganda had also conceded a convent and a Church to the Capuchins for their affairs with the Tibetan missions. From there to "Cionciurat" (chinsurah) Dutch colony, with a convent and a church of Austin Friars; then 'Bandel' and the fort of Hugli, once a Portuguese possession with a ruined monastery of Austins; "Saedabat" (Sayyidabad), French settlement; Calcapur, Dutch settlement; Casimbazar, British settlement (to-day deserted). "Moxudabat" (Maksudabad often called Murshidabad) residence of the Nabab, flourishing market-town with a population of 1500000 inhabitants to-day 40000 inhabitants; the river has ceased to flow in the bed of the Bhagirathi; "Bagankola" (Bhagwangola higher up stream one joins the present bed of the Ganges,

then "Godagari" magna accel curis' (a village of small boat); Mortusahanadi, "Raggmol" (Rajmahal) at the border between the Nabab of the Hugly and the Nabab of Behar; "sacrigal" (Sikrigali), fortress on the frontier of the kingdom of Bengal; "Galigali", in Behar; "Bhagalpur" (Bhagalpur); "Giankia"; "Gorgat" impetu pene dirutum"; confluent of the Bagmati; "Mongher" (Monghyr); "Sita Kun" "Sive sitae Kunnus" (Sitakunda); "Surrgharaha" (Surajgarha); "Deriapur"; "Caladira" "Oppidum incolis frequentissimum" below stream of the confluent of the "Kandok" or "Kandak (Gandaki), which comes from Turrut (Turhut); "Patna", with a monastery of Capuchins, French factories, also English and a population of 1 million souls. In all 900 M. P. (milliers de pas-thousand paces; 8 days of navigation to come down 40 days to go up Chandernagore.

The road by land bifurcates at Casimbazar, passes through (Moxudabat" M P 11, "Saraidivan" XIV, "Aurangabad" XXII, "Sarcebad" XVI. "Raggmol" XIV, "Sacrigalid" XVIII, 'Sanbad' XVIII, 'Colsuon' XXIV (Colgong), 'Basalpur' XXIV (Bhagalpur). 'Sultan-sense XVIII, "Saficsevad" XVIII, "Navagansa" XXVIII, Tersanpur" XXVI, "Bahr" XX, "Daicentpur" X (Baikanthpur), Patna X; in all 300 thousand paces.

From Patna starts the road of Nepal and of Tibet. At first one goes up the "Kandak" (Gandaki) by boat for a whole day up to "Singhia" (Singeah) on the left bank of the Gandaki, Dutch settlement. The rest of the journey is done by land. At a thousand paces from Singhia, "Lalganj"; then "Patara" VII, Dubiai VI, Shain XIV (Maisi, on the right bank of the Buri Gandaki). The Capuchins took five days to reach this place from Patna. It is the last town in Hindustan when one crosses over to Nepal. The raja of Bettia possesses the town and pays a tribute of 10,000

rupees To the Moghul. (Georgi wrongly certifies to identify it with Motigar of Grueber's itinerary, owing to Mutigar being Motihari situated to the N. N. W.) Then "Kalpaghur" XIV; "Barrihua" XVI, which is the frontier of the Mogul Empire.⁴⁸ One crosses after this on the territory of the rajah of "Maquampur"; and through a thick forest of 28 thousand paces in width, and 100 in length from E. to W; Elephants, rhinoceroses, tiger and bisons roam in there and many other wild animals so that one really runs the risk of death. At night big fires are carried on; the four corners of the Palanquin, shouts, beating of drums, musket shots are resorted to, to frighten away the tigers. But the carriers and the guides who are idolaters makes use of superstitions figures and of magical charms. The hunting of the wild animals give the rajah of Manquampur a profitable income. In the depths of the forests one discovers a number of ruins: they are, so Rumour says, the remains of the great and antique town of "Scimangada." Many stories have been woven on this town, and a plan engraved on a stone on the great square at Batgas (Bhatgoan) is still there to be shown one. Old coins are also found, but rarely, which resemble her in construction in the shape of a labyrinth.

(Scimangada is the town of Simraun or Simaraun Gath where king Harisimha reigned before conquering Nepal, and whence he was expelled by the Musulmans)

"Hetonda" or "Hedonda" is a famous town and a garrison on the limit of the kingdom of Maquampur. The country of "Maquampur" all forests, extends from E W between the two kingdoms of "Nekpal" and "Bettia."

"Giorgum" (Jurjur) at the foot of the mountains of Maquampur XV.

The chariots and the muleteers stop there.

For the purpose of carrying goods and all other materials of the journey, only porters or carriers can be used right up to the limit of the Tibetan kingdom. They are called "Baria" in Hindustan. Every year, during April, a sickness named Olla" (Aoul) attacks (prevails) the indigene as well as on the foreigner. It spreads over the whole country from Hindustan to the frontiers of Nepal; it completely vanishes at the end of November. Many people, especially those inhabiting the low lying lands and swampy regions, die of this disease; all night one must remain indoors with closed windows and during the duration of the scourge, emigrate elsewhere and climb high enough on the mountains to breathe a more salubrious atmosphere. In spite of all these precautions one sometimes does not escape the evil; there are some people who in spite of a charge of sojourn and of better skies, carry with them the morbid germ and are eventually infected. Those who have escaped once, can, with impunity live in the country in all seasons and move about on the roads during the full strength of the epidemic. The first symptoms of the disease are a violent ague, deprivations of all strength; then one suffers with a very violent headache; hemorrhages follow and the end is not distant.⁴⁹

Besides the kingdom of Nepal is subject during the whole year, to epidemics of small pox or measles, 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 eye 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.

"Posse": Aldea. VI.

"Maquampur" is outside the track at 10 thousand paces from

"Posse": "Her plane harridum"

"Thegain: castrum. X

This is the boundary of the rajah of Maquampur's domain.

"Bagmati": Sacred river of the Nèkpal kingdom

"Kakoku": Watercourse

"Khua": village which is dependent on the rajah of patan. XIV. One can compare the construction of buildings and walls with our style at Home.

The kingdom of "Nèkpal" is entirely divided into three dynasties: "Patan", "Batgas" and "Katmandu". 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". With the intention of going to "Batgas" are warned by the "Pardan" (Pardhana) who is the mayor, 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.

There are six turrets along the track to Patan, with guard-houses.

Father Marc traces another itinerary which also leads to Nepal, but starting from Bettia. "One travels towards the N E; for

three days one travels through a region of tall grasses, which is the large of tigers, bears, rhinoceroses and bisons. No large roads are met with, but little tracks which are hardly recognizable. One reaches last the foot of the hills where stands a small mountain fort called "Parsa", which is on the forests; it is there that travellers must pay the revenue. From Parsa still more forests have to be crossed and "Bisciacor" 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 "Mecnampur", 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 the 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 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 6000 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 malaris which makes the crossing of the Terrai impossible from mid March to mid-November) From "Etonda" which consists of a few huttings for the protection of the said spot and whence comence the kingdom of Nepal, in persueing the jouruey, 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 escarpments, is only two feet wide in the dry season; at other seasons, in 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 fo 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 "Sisapani" where flows a very cool and limpid stream which the people have named "Eau de plomb" (lead water). Then ascending for two days the last spot of the mountains is reached, named "Tambacani" (copper mines in considerable quanties), 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 only, 20000 other men. After crossing several more small mountains well covered with trees, the valley of Nepal extends to the view."⁴⁸

The road from Hindustan to Nepal has, since the days of the Capuchins, 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 beserve to be gathered carefully. It is Georgi's compilation which has embodied the essential portion,⁴⁹ the notes borrowed by Father Marc from the diary of Father Tranquille have only a 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 hings of Nepal", says Father Cassien). From "Sanku" to "Langur" (a villa) VIII M. P. (thousand paces). The track draws up towards the N. -E. is very difficult, the river of "Koska" must be crossed by boat (evidently the Malamcha or Indravati, the most western of the seven kuis, "Koska" is perhaps of Kancikal). From "Langur" to "Sipa" (a farmhouse) XVIII M. P. (Ciopra is certainly as error of writing for the word Ciotra, viz, Chantara or Chantariya, first stage after Sipa), One crosses the river of Kitzbik (Mangdia Kola of Kirkpatrick's map (or chart) and one reaches the bungalow of "Nogliakot", XX. M. P., One meets many "caityas", many stones on which is engraved the formula "Om mani padme hum", and a pagoda where a pious Buddhist woman turns the wheels of Prayer

Then Paldu at VIII M. P. (Thousand paces), the road goes more to the North. Lastly "Nesti" (Listi), bungalow, for and garison on the boundary of Nepal, VI. M. P.

Then a country inhabited by Tibetans, at the feet of the mountains. 11 M. P. Two miles from there, one has to climb up and descend narrow ladders made of stones and moving, all along the lofty rock sides and constantly on the edge of a dreadful precipice. Below, valleys, pasture-grounds, swampy fields where rice is cultivated. Then 'Dunna', bungalow (Dhoogna of Kirkpatrick's, Tuguna of the indigenous itineraries), XIV M. P. The track goes directly North. The roads are very narrow on abrupt (or steep] slopes, and circle constantly round the extremely lofty mountains. Often remote and detached rocks are connected by over changing bridges without any lateral support. One must cross these small and shaky bridges of poles and branches, twelve times. The terror of the traveller

is increased by the sight beneath, of immeasurable" abysses and the hearing of the thunder of the waters that flow at the bottom amongst stones. There is one particular spot which is difficult, which strikes terror in the heart of the timid or the novice, so much the fear of falling increases, for them the risk of a fall. It is a projecting rock on a frightful declivity opening over the precipice, of about 16 feet in length, and ever so much more slippery by the waters, trickling from above, washing and polishing it. Hollows have been scratched and hewn into the rock at every foot, which the travellers can place if not the whole foot at least the ball of the foot.

"The river "Nohotha" suddenly springs out impetuously between two mountains. The bed is 100 feet large and even more. One crossed by a bridge of long chains which is very strong. People step on the platform with security supporting themselves, on the right and on the left with the help of two chains solidly made fast to rocks on both sides. But the motion of undulation, especially when it combines with frequent jerks as is the case when several persons cross at the same time without keeping the same step, some going, some coming, inspires a hardly bearable terror.

"Khansa", bungalow (khasa, khangsa) XVI M. P. The road goes straight to the North, as narrow as on the eve and still more dreadful. Twenty nine foot-bridges to cross on enormous crevices of rocks, and the sides of clamber are as dizzy and still more numerous. Here begin the mountains covered with snow. (The treaty of 1792 between China and Nepal had fixed the frontier at this point on the road to kuti).

"Scinscha" or Chuscha "locality of about twenty families (chosyang). Very cold region it is watered by a river on the eastern

bank of which is a gushing stream of warm water; the warm water gathers up in several ditches or hollows, like in thermal baths. The indigenes plunge and remain long in them, to warm up their frozen limbs. The track is, as on the eve, steep and exposed to dangers, because one climbs up continuously barren and snow-clad mountains, with the river "Nohotha" flowing at the bottom amidst rocks. Finally one reaches "Kuti" or even perhaps "Kuti", the limit and northern garrison of Nepal. She once belonged to the kingdom of Nepal,⁵⁰ but the three petty kings have yielded her to the Tibetans when the road to Hindustan through Nepal was opened.

At one time, the road to Tibet "Bramascion" (Sikkim), and this old track was easier and more comfortable. The people from Hindustan could cross with their beasts of burden and carry by a shorter path their goods into Tibet. But the travellers died in greater numbers from the attacks of the 'Olla' [Aout, malaria] which raged in epidemic form at all seasons. The path opened by Nepal permits one to escape this danger four or even five months in the year from November to April. The carriers who return from Nepal are made to bring away a fixed quantity of salt, in the interest of the country. owing to the scarcity of salt.⁵¹

From 'Kuti' one travels on beasts of burden or on horseback although in nearing Lhasa, the heights always keep ascending towards the North. The only difficulty which exists is due to the extreme altitude which affects the beasts as well as the people each time one crosses a chain of mountains; but the valleys are spread verdant and populated.

One month's journey takes one from "Kuti to Lhasa"⁵²

The description of Father Marc, according to Father Tranquille, neglects the indications of stages and emphasizes on the dangers of the

Journey; "From Nepal to proceed to Lhasa, capital of the Great-Tibet, and where we had a monastery the track extends towards the N.-E. 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, among such mountains, are gushing torrents, filled with large rocks and stones, particularly at one spot where one has to cross a chain of those badly connected here and there, from one rock to another, whilst the torrent flows at a depth which make one dizzy to look at. Well certain travellers blindfold themselves and have themselves tied to a plank which is well fastened to the chains, and thus they cross over by the dexterity of an expert indigene. In rambling thus for ten days and finding only a few inhabited spots one arrives eventually at a town named "Cuti" situated on a barren mountain where ends the territory of Nepal and commences that of Tibet." At this place a complete and sudden change of climate; intense cold suddenly prevails and snow and ice form. Another month's rambling from this spot, through other mountains covered with snow the whole year round, but by an easy and inhabited road, so that every way one finds inhabited spots where one can procure himself with all essentials and one can travel comfortably at little expense.

One must, however, take great care of the waters, which ordinarily cause dropsy; this is why they must first be boiled or mixed with any liquor or (spirit)"

Besides the old path from India to Tibet through Sikkim, mentioned by Georgi, the missionaries knew of another path through the country of the Kiratas. "Several of the older missi-

onaries has been through it several times. From evidence by Father Marc; "but they have left an account of it in writing, that the road is a very difficult one unknown and full of dangers and that was the main reason of it having been neglected for many years. "It most probably concerns the Hatia pass through which the Aran enters into Nepal or the more Easterly pass of Wallanchun, also called Tipta-Ja. But the Capuchins seemed to have completely ignored the Kirong pass (Tibetan "Kyi-ron" dog's neck) which has, by the way never been crossed by any explorer, be he European or Indian. The pass is, however, reputed of being the easiest between Katmandu and Lhasa, It only rises to a height of 3000 metres and is even practicable to horses. The Nepalese Embassy who every five years carries the tribute to the Chinese court crosses kuti on his departure and kirong on his return to enable him to bring away into katmandu the ponies offered as a gift by the Emperor of China. It is also through the kirong pass that the Chinese troops, already in possession of kuti, penetrated into Nepal in 1792. The reciprocal distrust between the Nepalese and the Tibetans has mutually agreed to close this pass, by reason of its accessibility, in order to avoid and prevent on both sides, too easy ventures.

The death of Prithi Narayan, in 1775, eight years after the expulsion of the Capuchins, did not change one iota of the severe policy of isolation adopted by the Ghurkas. From Bettia, their retreat, the missionaries watched uselessly the revolutions of the palace which were succeeding at Kathmandu. The longed for opportunity persisted in concealing itself. One day, however, the Fathers thought they had discovered it. Bahadur Sah, who was acting as regent during the minority of his nephew Rana Bahadur Sah, grand-son of Prithi Narayan, was overthrown by a court intrigue and retired in exile in Bettia. He took an interest in mineralogy and in metallurgy owing to the Practical advantages

which he hoped to derive. The Father offered to instruct him, provided he became a Christian. He replied, with sarcastic good humour, that his rank absolutely forbade him to accept this condition, but that he was willing to give as a compensation two or three men who would, after all make as good Christians as he would. The Fathers in their turn refused the exchange; and the regent surmised that they had intended to dupe him whilst boasting of a science of which they knew nothing.⁵⁴

Twenty four years have elapsed without a single European being admitted to visit Nepal. However, the British Company of the Eastern Countries of India, already holding full sway over an immense kingdom and all powerful in the Hindustan since the ruin of its French rival, was pre-occupying itself with the mysterious kingdom which held control over the defiles between India and Tibet and which on vague rumours was understood to be "a new El Dorado".⁵⁵ At any first attempt at intervention had failed; in 1768 the three kings of Nepal threatened by the Ghurkas had solicited British help; but the detachment sent to their aid under the orders of captain Kinloch, decimated by malaria from the Terai, rambling without guide in the labyrinth of the first valleys was eventually obliged to a disastrous retreat. Warren Hastings the first and the most glorious of Governor Generals in India, aspired to open out to British trade Central Asia, without having recourse to force of arms; he set up diplomatic relations with Bhutan and Tibet. Nepal remained impenetrable.

Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793) set himself to the task of continuing Hasting's work. In 1792, a first result was obtained: the British resident at Benares, Jonathan Duncan, signed, together with the representative of the Nepalese Darbar, a treaty of commerce, des-

igned to always remain a dead letter. (1st March, 1792).⁵⁶ The goods crossing from one of the countries to the other had to pay a customs duty of 2 and a half per cent. Shortly after this, war broke out between Nepal and Tibet; the Dalai Lama called to his help the Emperor of China, his temporary defender. The Ghurkas had to fall back in the face of a vast army gathered from Tartary and implored the help of the Bengal Government. Lord Cornwallis was perplexed. He saw with satisfaction the humiliation of the Ghurkas and the weakening of a power he dreaded; but he cared much about the disappearance of a buffer state and the Chinese authority settling on the very boundary of the British possession; in short he feared of compromising by too active an intervention, the Anglo-Indian trade with canton. He decided on a moderate course. He instructed Captain Kirkpatrick to proceed to Nepal and act as a mediator between the two adversaries. But the Chinese and the Ghurkas was equally repugnant to the idea of having a third party in their quarrels; they hastened to conclude peace in September 1792. Kirkpatrick's mission was not even on its way.

Lord Cornwallis not wishing to lose all the benefits of the opportunity which had offered itself summoned the Ghurkas to officially receive his plenipotentiary, in return for the good disposition he had shown during their distress. The Ghurkas vainly attempted to drag the controversy as long as possible; they had to abide; by it. On the 13th February 1793, Kirkpatrick entered Nepalese territory accompanied by a guard of honour under the commandment of Bhima Sah and Rudra vira Sah, members of the royal family. He proceeded by small stages towards Nayakot, where the king resided in his winter quarters; sojourned from the 2nd to the 15th of March, crossed afterwards into the valley of Nepal; camped from the 18th to 23rd at

Syambhunath near Katmandu; took on the 24th the road to return, and entered the British possessions at Segowli on the 3rd of April 1792. He remained a month and a half on Nepalese territory; of these fifty days, were spent in travelling, and twenty at different places; fifteen at Nayakot and five at Syambhunath-Kathmandu. His personal including himself, comprised lieutenant Scott, assista liutenant W. D. Knox, commander of the military escort,

lieutenant J. Gerard attache, surgeon Adam Freer and of Maulvi Abdul Kadir Khan who had already taken part in the preparation of the commercial treaty of 1792, and residing for that purpose at Katmandu. The Company had in its service so fortunate that the mission was able to bring away from this short visit a treasure of substantial and precise informations. The work in which they have been compiled only appeared eighteen years later, in 1811, and under conditions that risked to prejudice it; Kirkpatrick returning to England in 1803 had handed over his rough and unpublished notes to an editor who gave them to the care of a learned man for the compilation of a book ⁶⁷ The learned man died before the impression of the volume, Kirkpatrick did not see the proofs. The editor, Miller, had to manage alone. However, in spite of evident errors that disfigures especially the propernames, the work still holds a considerable value, it demonstrates a popular curiosity, the

sagacity of observation, the sure course of information. It embraces all questions relative to Nepal: religion, language, social institutions, administration, history Geography, It gives an inventory of knowledge which has unfortunately disappeared since, and the worth of which was made evident by subsequent researches. It further contains an itinerary, drawn up and described with care, of the routes followed in going and retuning, and a map of Nepal, traced by lieutenant Gerard partly on the informations form the mission, partly from the indications of indigenes. The path to the mission is clearly visible on this map: in going, it is at first parallel to Georgi's itinerary which it closely follows, crosses over the Terrai in the vicinity of the ruins of Simraun-garb, passes through Jhurjbury (Giurgiar of G.), Makmampur-mari, then it rejoins at Etonda (Hetaura) the itinerary given by Father Marc. and follows it up to chitlong and the poss of Chandragiri, but instead of redescending in the valley of Nepal, it extends to the west, runs alongside (on the outside" of the line Gandak, and ends up at Noakota (Nayakoī) from there by an easy path it enters in the valley of Nepal crosses it from north-west to south through Katmandu, Patan and Phiphing, takes the exterior curve of the valley in the centre, rejoins, at Marku the road that leads up, and mingles then with the road actually in use up to Segauli. in the British possessions,

To be Continued

FOOT NOTE

1. Voyages into Tibet undertaken in 1625 and 1626 by Father Anandra and in 1774, 1784 and 1785 by Bogle, Turner, and Pournouir, translated by Parrand and Billeco cq. Paris, in the years IV; p. 65 (Relation of the second voyage of Father: Anandra).
2. Cf. Hue, II. p 262 mentioned lower down, on the Pe-bound of Lhasa.
3. Alpha Tibet p. 203.
4. The letter to P. J. Gamans bears, instead of Dorville, "Albert de Bouville."
5. This is the date mentioned by Kircher's summary. The letter to father Gamans fixes the date of departure from Pekin on the 13th April 1661
6. And eleven months elapsed since the departure from Pekin, from, the same letter. Their arrival at Agra then falls in March 1662. Kircher's summary says, elsewhere, that taking into consideration the stoppages of the caravans, it will need at least one year and two months from Pekin to Agra.
7. "China illustrata", Ch. 11, 2nd part. -The various documents relating to the voyage of Grueber are assembled in the "Relations of various curious Voyages . . . given to the public by the cares Melchisedec" Thevenot. Paris, 1663, - 1672, I. 11. 2nd. part.
8. Hamilton, p 151. Father Horace de Penna mentions "Maronga and Nekpal" as forming the western limit of the kingdom of "Bramashor" (Sikkim) (Brief notes of the kingdom of Tibet). In reality "Moran" is like Terai a generic term given to the lowlands which border the Himalays in the South; but Morang is rather in use in the Eastern part and Terai in the central part, - If it is difficult to explain why the name of Maranga is attributed in our text, to the country of Makwanpur, it is impossible to understand how a misunderstanding could have arisen between this country and the kingdom of Radoc (Rutock) evangelised by Adrada. Whoever be the author responsible for this confusion, whether Grueber personally or Kircher his interpreter, it is nevertheless disconcerting.
9. "Udeza, the riconosce per luogo pin celebre Iekantar" Tosi Delle India Orientale descriptione . . . Rome, 1666 p. I. p, 45.- Iekantar, is in reality the famous temple of Jagannath; as Udeza as Udessa, is the approximative reproduction of "Udadeca". Udessa" is here, as is frequently the case at the same period, distinct from the Orixia, another designation for the same country.
10. "The six voyages of Jean-Baptisti TAVERNIER . . . at paris; MDCXCII, 2nd. part, Ch. XV.
11. „Ib“., Ch. XIV, end,- The mountains of Naugrocot are the Himalayas. Naugrocot,

under its modern form. Nagarkot, is a temple and a famous pilgrimage of the country of Kangra, which is situated to the west of Simla, in the South-East of Cashmere. In the XVIIth century the name is extended to the whole chain which separates India from Tibet.

12. Only recently (1902) a Jeweller of Paris has fashioned an object of worship intended for the Great-lama of Tibet and made of coral from Nepalese. The object has been exposed in the Guimet Museum.

13. In default of special indications, the informations on the mission of the Capuchins in Tibet are borrowed from the following work .. (This is not French)..-

I am indebted for the communication of this very rare volume to the amiable obligingness of Mr. Cordier, professor to the School of Eastern Languages -The German text is the translation of an Italian original, which has for title. (This is Italian..) neither a compositor's nor an editor's name.-My friend, Mr. Felix Mathien, has very willingly examined for me the exemplary of this work which is now at Grenoble, Bibl (Library) of the town, G. 1491 (Catal. 2nd vol., No. 20438) and to establish the agreement of the two compilations on points that interest me.

14. Several of the dates that I give, differ from those given by Mr Markham in the excellent introduction of his volume on 'Tibet'. According to Mr. Markham, Desideri must have remained in Lhassa up till 1729. This is certainly an error, because the extract from his diary mentioned by Mr. de Gubernatis, shows that he left Katmandu in returning from Tibet to enter definitely into India on the 14th January 1722, which agrees well with all the other informations.- On the other hand, Mr. Markham shows the arrival of

Father Horace de Penna and his associates at Lhassa in 1719, by the way of Nepal. I ignore from where this date comes from, but I am aware that the epitaph of Horace de Penna bears that he died in 1747, "after 33 years of sojournment in these regions" which determinates his arrival in 1714. Likewise the "Missis Apostolica" mentions the return of the same Father in Rome in 1738, after twenty years of apostelship practice, which bears again on the same date of departure 1714: In short according to the same works, the monastery of Katmandu was founded by the Capuchins in 1715.

15. "Missio Apostolica"..., 11, p. 49 and also p. 172.

16. On Desideri's travels, see. Puini, "Rivista Geographica Italiana" December 1900

17. Ginghir Khagn (Gengis Khan) is none other than Latsan Khan, chieftain of the Khoshkotes, mentioned a little above. V. Koepfen, "Die Religion des Buddha", 11, 190. n. 1- Telchih Bathur (Teldjin Bagathur) was an ex minister of this prince Cf. KOEPPEN 11, 196, n. 3.

18. The whole passport is published in "(This is Italian)" 12 pages small in- 4.- I have not seen the original work; my quotations are borrowed in the almost entire translation inserted in "Nouvelle Bibliotheque on Histoire litteraire des principaux ecrits qui se publient "T. XIV, January, February, March, MDCCXLIII, at the Haye, at Pierre Gosse. p. 46-97. - The small book, Published through the care of the propanganda by the help of furnished informations by Father Horace de Penna had for its object, like the "Missio Apostolica" mentioned above, the attraction of subscriptions to the Tibetan mission. Father Cassien shows how these easily conceded privileges really worked-out in practice. The king of Tibet had given

to the small troupe of Fathers which was going to Lhasa a requisition which authorised them to provision themselves with fuel and fodder everywhere and at everybody's house, exempted or not exempted, privileged or not privileged. But, in practically all the localities the Fathers crossed, they found *chi-fam* equally in possession of authentic and explicit documents which exempted them expressly from all obligation in connection with requisitions; such was the case that from Kuti to Lhasa, the Fathers were provisioned only six or seven times.

19. He brought back with him a squad of new missionaries: Father Cassiano da Macerata, Father Floriano da Jesi, Father Innocenzo, d'Ascoli, Father Tranquillo of Appchio, Father Daniele da Morciano, Father Giuseppe Maria de Bernini da Gargnano, Father Paolo di Firenze. Leaving in March 1739 from Lorient, they arrived at Pondichery in August, at Chandernagore, the 27th September, at Patna in two groups on the 8th. and the 16th December, at Bhatgaon on the 6th February 1740. Father Horace had to wait for Tibetan passports till the 4th October; he then proceeded on his way and reached Lhasa on the 6th. January 1741. (*Memorie Isotoriche*, p. 3-16)

20. According to what Father Cassien says, the king of "Batgao" had sent one of his relations to the house in Patna to ask for capuchins. Father Joachim da Santa Natoglia and Father Vito da Recana to had come to his request and had "reopened the monastery abandoned for several years" in 1739. In 1740, he authorised the Fathers to erect on the "facades" of their houses, an iron cross. The Fathers of the house were then Vito da Recanati and Innocenzo of Ascoli, together with Father Liborio da Fernao.

21. The month of Margays or otherwise Marga

acirsa in the year 861 (passed according the usage) corresponds nearly to November 1740. The name of the king, Zaervanegitta Malla, transcribes rather faithfully Jaya Ranajita Malla. - I have borrowed this document and the quotation which precedes it from the "Relazione del Principio e stato Presente.

22. The date of 184 is clearly in connection with one of the two eras built by Akbar and which commences from the day of his accession, era Fazli or era Ilahi. One and the other gives as equivalent 1740-1741 A.D.

23. "Relazione del principio..., etc.,"

24. The events that brought about the laying of this foundation are told in detail by Father Marco della Tomba. (Foreign tongue) on the Superior of the mission, the works of Father Cassien which I have already quoted under the abbreviated title of "Memorie istoriche" The full title is..., (Foreign... may be Italian) It is equally due to the extreme good-will of Mr. Cordier to whom I owe the communication of this work so difficult to find. Father Giuseppe Maria da Gargnano had arrived in India with Father Cassien in 1739. He resided for six months in Nepal, in the course of the year 1745, in coming down from Tibet, but without learning the indigenous language. He died at Battia on the 17th of January 1761. It was Father Marco della Tomba who attended him to the last. Father da Gargnano had desired to translate the four "Bed" (Vedas), but he was unable to procure them, He then translated "Adi adma Ramahen (Adhyatma Ramayana), the Lhalec (? who described the eight incarnation of Visenu); the Vishnu Purana (Visnu Purana) and the Ghian Sager (Jnana Sagara).

25. Father Cassien (*Relazione inedita*) gives precise dates: the 13th of August 1742 in

the face of the bad-will of the Tibetan king, the prefect of the mission decided to send away a few priests; three missionaries, with Father Cassien returned to Nepal. New exigencies compelled the rest of the mission to leave Lhasa on the 20 th April 1745; The travellers reached Pattan on the 4 th June 1745. Father Cassien repeats the same dates in his "Memorie Istoriche, p. 43- Marco Della Tomba gives a date very slightly different. "Prima avevamo un ospizio aperto in Lassa, dopo il 1744 non l'abbiamo piu. Nell' anno dunque sopradetto il Re Del Gran Tibet, vicino alla sua morte, volle rimettere la corona al primo de' suoi figli etc. "Outside the date, all the details noted down by Della Tomba are perfectly correct. The king in question is P'o-Io-nai otherwise also named Mi-wang, who died in 1746 and who had in fact as heir his second son in default of the elder who had declined the throne, as tells us della Tomba. According to Mr. Markham (10c. land., p. LXVI) the Capuchins were expelled from Lhasa, in about 1760". However, the "Relation of" Bogle published by Mr. Markham himself, contains that the Teshu Lama, in a conversation with Bogle in April 1775 "told that the missionaries were expelled from Tibet about forty years ago, on account of some disputes with the fakirs. "(p. 167). It is true that the Capuchins must have attempted more than once to re-enter Nepal. Georgi (p.441) seem to clearly imply it; "Kal. novembris 1754, quo amo Lhasam adibant Pater Cassianus aluque missionaru ex ordine Capuccinorum..."

26. Father Tranquillo had drawn up an itinerary of Nepal and of Tibet which Marco della Tomba made use of (Father Tranquillo *Che molto a percorse quelle parti da Nepal at Tibet...*, p. 55) After his expulsion from Lhasa, he remained for eighteen years in Nepal, and only left the country in 1763 to

return to Europe. (Marco della Tomba, p. 19)

27. "Memorie Istoriche p. 46.

28. The Latin inscription published by Georgi and which I reproduce on page 107 indicates as the date of the death of Father Horace: XX July MDCCXLVII. The Nevar writing on the other hand shows: Samvat 865 asa 8 badi 6 agam, words that are translated by Georgi as follows: "Anno a solutis debitis 865, cycle (aacha) 8 LUN. deficient. 6 November (quo du Balgobinda scritis)" The last words, in parenthesis, are an annotation purposed to eradicate the evident contradiction of dates on one side and another, - But the date shown in indigenous computations seem to me unintelligible as well in the text as in Georgi's translation. It does not seem to me doubtful that one should read in the text itself: asadha. Badi 6. Instead of; asa 8. The letter Dha could have easily been taken for the figure 8 which closely resembles it in the devanagari writing of Nepal. The date must then be translated; Year 865, month asadha. 6 th. tithi of the fortnight (black)- Now the month of asadha generally corresponds to July The indication of the month coincides well on one side and the other. But Samvat 865 of Nepal cannot correspond to the year MDC-CXLVII; There exists here an express contradiction; 865 passed away (the years in Nepalese eras being generally counted as such) answers to the year comprised between October 1744 and October 1745; asadha 865 touches roughly to July, 1745. The error, a priori, seems attributable rather to the Latin text, than to the Nevarian text, since the transcriber was more apt to modify the signs which were more familiar to him. But we can do better than only reach a probability. The Latin text expressly states that Father Horace was born in 1680(MDCLXXX

Natus) and that he died in the course of his 65 th year (LXV an ageno); 65 years added to 1680 make 1745 of J. C. There is then no doubt that one should read MDC-CXLV instead of MDCCXLVII. - Besides Father Cassien (*Relazione inedita et Memorie Istoriche*) gives as a date, the 20 th July 1745. However this date of 20 th July also raised a difficulty; in 1745, the 20 th July corresponds to Saturday, 3d. thi-thi of the fortnight, clear of the month of Cravana, whereas the 6 th asadha badi corresponds to the 8th July.

1. According to the narration of Father Cassien (*Memorie Istoriche* p 20) the king of Katmandu had solicited the establishment of a "Monastery" when Father Joachim da Santa Natoglia had crossed the town in coming down from Lhasa to convey the Holy Father a reply from the king of the Great-Lama. "Father Joachim dared not to refuse, through fear of exposing to sure perils the missionaries of Tibet, because the Fathers of the mission had to cross through Nepal, as also would, the wine, essential for mass, and many other indispensable things, He therefore assigned Father Innocent to Ascoli in charge of the monastery; and the king of the country gave the Fathers a house, a well, and a garden and had his donation gift engraved in copper, to render it irrevocable.

29. It is Hodgson who discovered these two charts at Dr. Hartmann's Catholic bishop of Patna and who had them published in the "Jour of the Bengal As. Soc. XVII, 1848, p: 228. As this volume is fairly difficult to find, one will perhaps not be thankful for my reproduction here of the texts of the two charts, as they were given by Hodgson.

1.- Svasti crimat pacupati carana kamala dbuli dhusarita çroruha criman Nanecvaristadçvatavaralabdhaprasada dedipyamana manonçata cri Raghuvamçavatara ravikula-

tilaka Hanumaddhvaja Nepaleçvara maharajadhiraja rajendra sakalarajacakradhivara nijestadevadeveçvarikripakatakasapalita-vikramoparjita palanakarasa mudbhuta gajendrapati cri cri cri Jaya Jaye prakaca Malla deva parama bhattarakanam samaravijnyanam prawuthakulasana vanarayata sacodam padrikapucini akraktatroctibane nama prasadikrtam cromtutolasithalilanattajabag-rhanama samjnakam Jayadharmasimbapaganapaccimat. b Dhumju curyadhana purneevarathva patiyabnasvagrhana daksinatah margant purva uttaratah etesam madhye thvatecatraghatanadu saptamgulisardnasodacahastadhika catuh khaparimitam cukapatala sardhadvadacahastadhikatripadaparamita lavopatala dvavimcati hastadhika tripadaparimita puspavatika caturamguli trihastatripadadhika trapodacakhaparimitam amkato vicchaka 4 ku 16 amgula 7 cukapatala cula 3 ku 12 lavopatala cula 3 ku 22 kavakha 13 cula 3 ku 3 amgu 4 tuthisovogulollprattaita cri cri navakasisaprsannajuya tatra patrarithe drstasaksi cri cri Rajya prakaca malla Deva Samxat 862 margacira cudi 10 cubham /

11- Svasti (protocole comme ci-dessus jusqu'a) Hanumaddhvaja Nepaleçvara sakalarajacakradhivara maharajadhiraja cri cri jaya Raja prakaca Malla Deva paramabhattarakanam sada samara vijayinam prabhuthakurrsana banarayata sacodam padrikapucini cvakravamgre gochidane namne prasadikritam Tanigratola iti phusacakalamcautajavagrhasamjnakam rathamargena paccimatatah tabavahara one margana uttaratah kacimglakayastyava bhunya purvatah amvarasim vavuya grhabhumya daksinatah etesam madhye thvate carra ghatana du astatrimsabastadhika sasthikhaparimitam puspavatika ekavimcati hastadhikacaturdacekhaparimitam amkato pi chekhasu 6 kusuyacma 38 kevakhaçaram api 14 kuniyache

- 21 bate yulo pratijacricripayakasiaprasann-
ajuya atra patrarthe dristasaksi cri candra
cekhara Malla Thakura sam 874 caitra badi
daivajne Kotirajena likhitam cubham.
30. "Ib"., p 25.
31. In 1857, Two French missionaries Messrs
Bernard and Desgodine attempted to obtain
the authorization to pass through Nepal to
reach Tibet; they solicited to this effect, the
brother of the maharja who was at Darjeel-
ing with them. The young prince replied
bluntly. "For the time being it is impossible"
He refused to give any reason for his refusal
"Tibet according to the correspondence
of missionaries". by C. H. DESGODINS
2nd ed. Paris 1885 p. 35.
32. ROSE, "Briefe uber das Konigreich Nepal
1. 111 des Beitrage zur Volker und Lander-
kunde herggb. von. J. R. Froster und M.C.
Sprengel". Leipzig 1783. 12- The letter that
I am giving herewith is the second one. It is
dated from Muradabad. "Bengale 20 th
August 1769".
33. "Missio Apostolica", 11, p. 80-81- Georgi
mentions the dictionary p. LVIII: "Lexicon..
Nekpal,"
34. Besides the translation of a little treatise on
the paths of sagacity inserted in the publica-
tion of 1638, "alla sacra congregazione..."
35. Journal Asatique 2ud. series. vol. XIV.
36. Father Paulin de Saint-Barthelemy mentions
one ms. in the "Examen Historico-criticum...
Fide Rome, 1792. Before him, Amaduzio
in the preface of the "Alphabetum Brahm-
anicum, Rome, 1771 equally mentions this
ms. "At hos dein.... benemerentissimus"
(P. XVIII)
37. "Gli Scritti" p. 300-304.
38. The author of the "Missio Apostolica"
knew this document and had it in hand. He
mentions in vol. 11, p. 5 his intention to
have it published at the head of the third
volume, which has never appeared.
39. Gli Scritti, p. 3.
40. Father Marco della Tomba makes use of
this diary to describe the road from Bengal
to Lhasa. "Gli Scritti" p. 55.
41. In testimony of Georgi "Alph. Feb., p. 11,
42. Mr. Alberto Managhi has recovered a part
in the communal Library of Macerata. The
Manuscript has for title Giornale di Fra...
in dne libri. It was composed of two books;
but only the first one remains, which parti-
cularly dealt with the itinerary between
India and Lhasa, with a few indications on
the habits and festivals of the Tebetan cap-
ital; the manuscript is decorated with draw-
ings and water-colour paintings which rep-
resent object and practises of the Tibetan
worships and of a map which shows the rel-
ative position of the three capitals of Nepal.
It is from Father Cassien that Georgi has
borrowed the illustrations of his "Alphabe-
tum". Tibenanum The second book contain-
ed another series of notes on Tib etan custo-
ms(habits), the narration of the persecution
which drove the Capuchins out of Tibet and
the description of N epal with the religion
and the customs of the country. Unfortu-
nately this book which would have particu-
larly interested our researches, has disappe-
ared. Mr. Managhi has partly analysed and
partly edited the first book in the "Rivista
Geographica Italiana", Nov, 1901 May 1902
under the title "Relazione inedita di un
viaggio at Tibet."
43. Langles in the bibliographical note which
he has added to the memorandum in the

- Franch translation of the Asiatic (Recherches asiatiques vol. 11, p. 348) mistakes the "Description du Nepal" with the "Notizie laconiche" of Father Constantin d'Ascoli, which he only knew by the informations of Father Paulin de Saint-Barthelemy. The error has since often been repeated, in spite of even the evidence. The title of the "Notizie", brought away by Father Paulin, shows that they were gathered in 1747; the "Description" gives the events that took place between 1745 and 1769.
44. "Gli Scritti", p. 12.
45. The author of the "Description" says he made in Patan "a sojourn of about four years" and that "Delmerden Sah" governed the town when he arrived in Nepal. Dala Mardana Sah reigns in Patan from 1761 to 1765: Now Father Marc (Gli Scritti, p. 19) teaches us that in December 1763, Father Michel-Ange left Battia for Nepal with the Father Prefect (Tranquillo Appecchio) and Father Joseph de Rovato. The mission had to evacuate Patan during the siege of this town to withdraw on Kathmandu in the course of the year 1767 (before the disastrous intervention of captain Kinloch, October - December 1767). The number of years that has passed coincides well with the time mentioned by the author of the "Description". The twelve years sojourn mentioned by captain Rose comprised probably the time spent by Father Joseph de Rovato at Bettia.
46. Father Cassien writes: Barikua. To the testimony of Father Cassien (Riv. Geogr. Hal., 1901, 614), the itinerary of this region had for its main object the avoiding of Customs officials, "who attempted to extort as much as possible from the Nepalese, each time they came down to Hindustan; no wonder the brothers carefully avoided all inhabited places to escape the severity of the cioki (customs); but in each place they passed, they always met them there, and it was then a case of endless contestations.
47. To vouch Georgi's evidence, one must read the description of the Great Forest and of the aoul which ravages the region, as is reported by Father Desideri (mentioned in "Gli Scritti" p. XCIII, XIX). Father Desideri crossed the Terrai in January and February 1722. Father Marc has also depicted the formidable dangers of the region (Gli Scritti, p. 48); he knew those dangers by experience, since he was nearly a victim. For having crossed the Terrai in December, in order to rejoin Major Kinloch who sent word to him with insistence (1767) he caught a putrid fever that held him sick for six months and from which he thought of never recovering (Gli Scritti, p. 25). The precautions he gives are worth mentioning: One must not drink the water from the region; one must keep a lump of camphor in the mouth. Besides, the country has not visibly changed since the XVIIIth century; but thanks to the British one can travel faster and thus remain less longer exposed to the dangers of the journey.
48. Gli Scritti", 46-50
49. This section of the itinerary is translated by Georgi almost exclusively from the "Relazione" of Father Cassien; The original is a little more elaborate, but without additional importance. "Riv" Geogr. Ital. 1901, page 623 to 627"
50. In fact, the Nepalese had secured Kuti under the reign of Laksmi Narasimha Malla, in the thereabouts of the year 1600, see, Vamcav., p. 211 212 and 237.

51. The "Relazione" of Father Cassien gives here, precise and important details on the commerce of Nepal and Tibet which Georgi had not gathered. "In order to close the road of Brhamascis, they have levied a customs charge of 1/10, so that if a merchant passes through Brhamascis with ten packages of merchandise, the customs officer takes one of those as duty paid, "ad placitum" without however opening it; such a heavy charge added to the danger of dying from the Olla, has definitively established the road of Tibet through Nepal; and owing to this charge of route, the Nepalese have given Kuti to the king of Tibet, under numerous advantageous conditions for both, such for example to tax all carriers (baria) who proceed, of a mandarmeli (The value of a mahendramalla of salt, which article is not found in Nepal; also that the Nepalese would install at Kuti, Gigaze, Gianze and Lhasa, a exponent of their religion for each of the three respective kingdoms of Nepal, who will Judge the civil cases of the Nepalese of their respective kingdoms, viz. one from Kathmandu, one from Batgao and one from Patan; that the coinage of Nepal be stamped silver which will be current in Tibet; and other similar conditions, especially that the king of Nepal will choose the chiefs of the regions between Nepal and Kuti, although the governors of Kuti have attempted to usurp this privilege especially for the regions on the side of Kuti beyond Nesti. The king of Nepal is pleased to confirm the nomination of the governor of Kuti by further nominating him as chieftain and by taking away as much as he can, it being understood that the situation of lands does not render possible the use of force, since the raising of a bridge or the removing of a foot-bridge suffices to sever all communications from one nation to another.
52. Temples of Manjucri and of Sarasvati on the slope of Mount Mahades-pokhri, built, so they say, on the spot where Manjucri stopped in coming from China.
53. Thus, at the time of Father Tranquille's passage, the frontier of Nepal went beyond "Nesti", indicated by Georgi as the limit of the kingdom, and reached "Kuti",
54. Kirkpatrick, 120.- However, in 1802, Hamilton on his arrival found "The Church reduced to an Italian priest and to a Portuguese indigene, who had been enticed from Patna by adequate promises, which promises were not kept, and who would have been too pleased to have obtained authorization to leave the country." (account of Nepal. p.38)-And Cf. inf. p 149, note,
55. Kirkpatrick, p. 111.
56. The collection of Sir Charles Aitchison, "Treaties and Engagements" (ed. 1876, vol. 11.p. 159) gives the date, always and everywhere reproduced, of the 1st. March 1792. However, the additional articles proposed by Kirkpatrick and printed in appendix to his work (p. 377-379) bear twice the indication "The commercial treaty of March 1791".
57. "An account of the kingdom of Nepal beign the substance of observations made during a mission to that country in the year 1793 by Colonel Kirkpatrick. Illustrated with a map and other engravings. London. 1811, 4 printed for Milliam Miller, Albemarle Street.



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या २६

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N E P A L

by *Sylvain Lavi*

(Continued)

In 1800, king Rana Bahadur Sah retired in Benares; his eccentricities, his violences, his impieties had earned him universal horror and hatred: to escape the vengeance of the gods and men, he was forced to abdicate, under the pretext of madness. But the prestige of his birth, the interests of the tribe, and specially the skillful manoeuvres of the maharani, his wife, still retained on his side in Nepal a strong group of partisans. The eading faction of the power thought it urgent to seek the help or at least the good-will of the English. The Governor-General Lord Wellesley, grasped the opportunity: he proposed to Nepal the renewal of the treaty negotiated by John Duncan, in stipulating that each one of the contracting powers will have a permanent representative near the other power. In consequence, captain Knox, who had figured in Kirkpatrick's mission was selected as British minister to the court of Katmandu, Knox entered Nepal in February 1802: in March 1803 he returned to India with all his personnel. The Ghurkas did not understand it better than on the first occasion how to abide seriously by the treaty they had signed; without compromising themselves officially, they allowed their subordinate agents to increase the vexations of the Company's representatives and favourites. On the 24th January 1804 Lord Wellesley expressly annulled the commercial treaty and alliance with the Durbar, But

the eleven months spent at Katmandu by the British legation were not fruitless. One of Knox's assistant, Francis (Buchanan) Hamilton, one of the glories of the civil Service and "Father of the Indian stastic", had employed himself during the year by a patient and minute research on the kingdom of Nepal and particularly on the regions, still entirely unknown, situated to the east and to the west of the central valley. Hamilton benefited or took advantage, to complete his notes, of a sojourn of two years which he made later on as an official of the Company on the Nepalese frontier and decided only in 1819 to publish the book which he had prepared at the cost of much patience. The map attached to the volume, compared with that of Kirkpatrick's clearly shows the progress due to Hamilton. The itinerary adopted by common consent for the passage of the mission coincides entirely with the route actually in use from Bichake at the entrance of the first heights, It only diverges very little, through the terrai, where it passes by Galpasra, slightly to the west of the actual tracing.

The work of Hamilton had barely made a year's appearance when the British Residence, re-established in Nepal, saw the arrival of an assistant in the shape of a young man of twenty years who was about to associate his name with the name of Nepal in the memory of men

and to win for science a country, a literature and a religion. Since the passage of Knox and Hamilton, circumstances had changed. The growing insolence of the Gurkhas, their continuous encroachments on the British frontier had eventually rendered war inevitable. It was declared in 1714. It lasted two winters heroically waged on both sides; but the strategy of general Ochterlony triumphed over the bravery of the Gurkhas, and the Darbar was compelled to sign the treaty of Segauli on the 4th March 1816, which treaty traced out Nepal's definitive frontiers. Besides the Raja of Nepal bound himself 'not to employ or retain in his service any British subject or any subject of a European state or from American without the consent of the British Government' (art. VII). "with the view to assure and consolidate the relations of friendship and peace established between the two states it was arranged that the ministers selected by each of them would reside at the other's Court." (art. VIII). Edward Gardner was appointed by Lord Hastings as the British Resident at the court of Nepal. Four years later, Brain Houghton Hodgson went to help him as an assistant; but the lazy existence of the Residence and the seclusion in that mountainous corner did not appeal to his juvenile activity or his legitimate ambitions. He managed to obtain a post at Calcutta in 1822 and took leave from Nepal without hope of return; but the constitution of Hodgson— who died a centenarian— could not acclimatize itself to Bengal; the doctors gave him the choice of "a post on higher altitudes or a grave in the plains". He reluctantly decided to return to the mountains. The employment he had vacated at Katmandu was filled up; he contented himself with the nomination of director of the post office, in 1824. A year later he was called for the second time to fill the post of assistant to the residence; in 1833 he was promoted to a Resident and remained as such, till 1843. A sudden and unjust revocation brought to a close at that moment a career already wonder-

fully fruitful in results and which promised still more fruits. But the retirement of Hodgson was none the less laborious than his period of active service; installed at Darjeeling, on the Nepalese frontier, he was consulted as a treasure of knowledge by men of State, he was respected by the erudites as a benefactor and a creator. His work, considerable in quantity, reflects the ease and variety of his intelligence: it comprises and is embodied in not less than 4 volumes and, 184 articles scattered in learned newspapers: some treat questions on geography and topography, others on ethnography and anthropology, other yet on linguistics and some on Buddhism, still others on institutions, and political economy, and lastly (127) on the natural history of Nepal.¹ It is mainly due to his foresight and his persistent initiative that England owns to-day her Gurkhas contingent, the strongest and surest of the Indian army, it is due to his patient sagacity that the history of religions has discovered the Sanscrit original, and Buddhistic literature; it is due to his liberality that the Asiatic Society of Paris owns that mass of manuscripts which furnished Eugene Burnouf the means and matter of his immortal works. Before Hodgson, nearly everything had to be done; after him, his successors find but to glean.

Three years after the untoward revocation of Hodgson a terrible palace tragedy brought into power a minister twenty four years of age, Jang Bahadur. A new period in the history of Nepal opened out with his career. The hero of an epic or of a romance, but at the same time of sound common sense, Jang clearly understood the rôle that was forced upon Nepal by the new circumstances. The policy of isolation, so severe, was now at an end; it was not right to ignore by foregone conclusions, the powerful nation which was exercising its sovereignty on practically the whole of India and which made feel its highland neighbour, feel the crushing weight of its weapons. An attitude of loyal and

reserved friendship was worth more to re-assure the English and keep them aloof than the mournful and suspicious sulking. Jang remained faithful till death, to the political principle he had adopted on his succession to the power. The mutiny of sepoys in 1857 gave him the opportunity of proving his sincerity whilst India was astir, and the vassal states hesitating, Jang absolutely offered the British the help of his Nepalese troops against the mutineers and Ghurkas came down to the envied plains of India as auxiliaries of the British soldiers. Jang only ventured whole heartedly after finding out personally the valour and the prestige of England. Since 1850, he proceeded on a visit to Europe to the disdain of the very severe rules of his caste and of the explicit prohibitions of the Brahmanic code. Seven Nepalese officers accompanied him. On the request of the court of Kathmandu to Her most Gracious Majesty, captain O. Cavenagh of the native infantry of Bengal was appointed by the Government of India as an attaché to the mission. Cavenagh accompanied the mission to London and Paris and followed it on its return to Kathmandu. In the course of long conversations he had en route with the Ghurkas officers, he did not neglect to inform himself about Nepal; as a soldier, he was particularly keen on the army, and sought for instructions, in the event of a war, about the country, its resources its roads, on the tribes and races, etc... His notes, gathered without pretension make an excellent little volume. The relation of Oliphant is connected to the same episode of Nepalese history: "Voyage to Kathmandu." It is a simple collection of anecdotes relating to hunting or sport relative to Jang, narrated by an amusing "reporter". The voyage of Jang who had been the lion of the London season in 1850, had modernized Nepal.

Captain Smith published a work of two volumes on Nepal at the same time as Oliphant did. Captain Smith had sojourned for five years at Kathmandu as an assistant to the Res-

ident, he had previously served two years under Hodgson. Perhaps he was not a stranger to the untoward disgrace of Hodgson under the Government of Lord Ellenborough. Ingenious, active, inquisitive, orator, good narrator, he was only wanting in the sense of honesty. His book is a monument of bragging, of boasting, of ignorance of plagiarism and error.⁴

The very year in which Jang embarked for Europe Dr. Oldfield was nominated as surgeon to the Residence, under the orders of Resident Erskine. He maintained his post for thirteen years (1850-1863). Fond of sketching and water-colouring, he roamed in the valley, and sketched the landscape and the monument up to the day his enfeebled eyes compelled him to take rest. On his return to England in 1866, he spent his time agreeably in drawing up or compiling his reminiscences; but his notes only appeared after his death through the care of his heirs, in 1880. His two volumes of Sketches embody an "Endeavour" lacking in originality on Nepalese Buddhism, several borrowed articles and sometimes, textually, from Hodgson, shooting anecdotes and portion from newspapers, where the bold personality of Jang Bahadur occupies the foremost place but especially a real guide of the valley of the nature one would expect from an amateur of sketches.

Oldfield sees what can be seen and does not go further. He outlined with precision the surface of the country, of the religion and of society; he catalogues the streams the mountains, the festivals, the castes, the temples and the towns. It remains to acknowledge that these indications are exact and truthful; the work as it stands is indispensable for a complete study of Nepal.

After Oldfield, another Surgeon of the Residence, Dr. Wright earned brilliant titles from grateful "Indianists": He was not a Hodgson

but he usefully carried on the work of Hodgson. During a ten years's sojourn in Nepal (1866-1876) he had the skill and the patience in gathering the original manuscripts one by one which Hodgson only by the aid of copies (or facsimiles) had been able to show Europe; thanks to his dogged efforts, the library of the University of Cambridge acquired an admirable collection of Buddhistic Sanskrit manuscripts. Furthermore he made use of the indigenous interpreters of the Residence, for the translation of the Chronicle of Nepal, and he added to the translation a substantial introduction on the country and the Nepalese people. Specialists had henceforth an indispensable working medium in their hands and which was denied them owing to the dialect of the original as well as the rarity of the manuscript.

The personnel "of the Residence is really a source of pride to the British administration. Without even alluding to the merits of Kirkpatrick and Cavenagh, both engaged on temporary mission, the names of Hamilton, Hodgson, Oldfield, and Wright form a noble chain through the XIXth century. Their work seems still more worthy of esteem and respect if one reflect under which conditions was pursued. Isolated and separated from Katmandu in an enclosure guarded by a Nepalese picket, in which indigenes could only enter under express authorization, spied and watched by the Ghurkas Government, busy with all the usual mass of papers of British offices, imprisoned in a valley enclosed by high mountains and which treaties do not allow to be crossed, hampered in their ramblings by the suspicion of the Darbar, always on the alert, obliged to spend their days in a vexing tete-a-tete the Resident, the Assistant and the Surgeon would have been easily pardoned had they drifted into indolence, into inertia and into indifference. But British energy stands good; the very enclosure of the Residence bears a testimony. When the Darbar had allotted it to the Residence, it was a barren

piece of ground unhealthy and haunted. Today the valley has no better lowered garden and no more fertile kitchen-garden, or shady park.

A new period then opens in the history of the knowledge of Nepal. The ground is explored, limits are outline, invaluable notions to the practice of affairs are acquired. Learned men of different professions undertake to rebuild the work from its foundation, control the results and reach the forgotten past. India who had neglected historical sentiment for a long time had piquant honour to take up the initiative and set the example. The small states of Jounagadh in Kathiawar which prided itself in the possession of the rock of Girnar whereon three antique dynasties had engraved their souvenirs, entrusted Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji with the research of the monuments of Nepalese epigraphy. As a student of Chan Daji, who had inspired him with his enthusiastic passion for archaeology. Bhagvanlal excelled by virtue of instinct, of criticism and a surety of method which class him outside Hindu Pundits. Jang Bahadur understood the real value of his researches; he welcomed Bhagvanlal, encouraged and helped him; Bhagvanlal was able together from among the encumbering mass of Nepalese inscriptions twenty inscriptions which traced the authentic history of Nepal as far back as the IVth century of the Christian era (if at least his chronological theories are admitted). The Pundit published these inscriptions with the collaboration of Buhler and this double patronage created immediately the attention their importance deserved.⁸

In 1875, Mr. Minayeff, professor of Sanscrit to the University of Petersburg (Petrograde), who showed a very keen zeal and a competency without rival in the study of Indian Buddhism, obtained in the course of a voyage to India, the permission to visit Nepal. He acquired a great number of important

manuscripts which he utilized in his subsequent works. The impulsion he had given to Buddhist studies had fortunately not slackened after his death. The Academy of sciences of Petersburg on the request of Mr. Serge of Odenbourg student and successor of Minayeff, has created the collection of the "Bibliotheca Buddhica" wherein must be printed all the unpublished texts of Nepalese Buddhism. The notes of the voyage gathered in Nepal by Minayeff have been compiled in an elaborate review on Nepal published at first in the "Vestnik Evrope" and republished in the "Sketches of Ceylon and India".

The University of Cambridge, which has acquired the collection of Nepalese manuscripts gathered by Wright, trusted a mission to Mr. Cecil Bendall in 1884, with the object of researching those manuscripts and inscriptions which might have escaped the attention of Wright, or Bhagvanlal. Mr. Bendall had already given proofs of his expert qualities in Nepal. Trusted with the classification of Buddhist Sanscrit manuscripts of the University of Cambridge, he published as early as 1883, an excellent catalogue; in a double introduction, historical, paleographical, he had arranged the numerous informations brought in by the manuscripts, and partly filled in the omissions of the chronology drawn up by Bhagvanlal. The new inscriptions discovered by Mr. Bendall during the winter of 1884-1885, seemed to be extremely detrimental to the chronological system of the pundit and led Mr. Fleet to propose a new arrangement of the old dynasties of Nepal.

Mr. Bendall has made a new travel to Nepal during the winter 1893-1899; the fruits, only known to-day by a short report is especially interesting to Paleography, in which Mr. Bendall is a past master and enjoys uncontested authority.

In 1885, Dr. Le Bon, trusted with a mission

from the Minister of public Instructions with the object of studying the monuments of India, obtained permission to visit Nepal. He remained there a week, busy in the reproduction of the most famous monuments of the valley, skilful operator and well informed amateur, he brought back from Nepal a selection of beautiful photographs, which still form the best collection relating to Nepalese architecture.⁶

Captain Vansittart visited Katmandu, in 1888, but without sojourning there. He studied Nepal especially from this side of the frontier and nevertheless he can pride himself in knowing the Ghurkas like a Ghurka. Recruiting officer, he had opportunity of examining and interrogating considerably, the robust and valliant mountaineers who earn under the British banners, a salary and a pension.

Attached to the Ghurka fusiliers, he saw at work these stubborn and loyal soldiers who are the strength and soul of the indigenous army. The "Notes" of captain Vansittart, to believe the candid avowal of the author, consist in the first half, of extracts borrowed here and there and connected together one after the other. but there remains a large moiety of informations, original and new, on the colonies, tribes and classes of Nepal also on their habits, manners and religions. The exaggerated modesty of the author must not in any way change the real worth of the book.

In May 1897 the Pundit (since: Mahamahopadhyaya) Haraprasad Shastri, one of the secretaries of the Asiatic society of Bengal, entrusted up the Government of Bengal with the research of Sanscrit manuscripts on the whole stretch of the Presidency, solicited and obtained permission to extend his studies to Nepal. Pundit Haraprasad orthodox Brahman as well as a savant, had already rendered valuable ser-

vices to the study of Nepalese Buddhism, he had been the principal fellow-contributor of the Catalogue of Buddhistic Sanscrit works of Nepal published 1882 under the direction and name of Rajendra Lala Mitra in which catalogue is found analysed in detail, the truly overwhelming mass of manuscripts discovered by Hodgson and despatched by his cares to the society of Bengal. Haraprasad Shastri returned to Nepal in December 1898; Mr. Bendall accompanied him (who was also proceeding there for the second time). The most interesting manuscripts discovered in the course two voyages are described in a summary, to which must essentially follow a detailed catalogue, disagreeably delayed so far.

I was as a matter of fact chosen myself by the Minister of public Instructions and by the academy of Inscriptions and Polite Literature, to undertake a mission to India and Japan; I was able to remain two months in Nepal in 1898, The high patronage of Sir Alfred Lyall and the active good-will of the Resident, colonel H. Wylie, were the means of procuring me the indispensable passport of admission. Having installed myself at Kathmandu, in the absence of the European "personnel" of the Residence, I was graciously received at the Darbar, and met with a friendly interest and continuous help. I have already had the occasion of expressing publicly my gratefulness and to mention summarily the principal results I had obtained.⁷

Amongst the visitors of Nepal I must also mention Schsagintweit who (according to Wright, p. 63) came in 1856, and made a certain number of observations. The work of "Sir Richard" Temple: "Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmere, Sikkim and Nepal. London, 1887. 2 vol., has no connection with Nepal according to what the title leads us to expect. Mr. Temple has spent a week as a tourist at the Residence of Kathmandu, and the forty pages he wrote on Nepal are divided into an ordinary introduc-

tion of 26 pages (Ool. II, 221,-247) and remarks "on a tour through Nepal" which comprise 14 pages (247-262)- I only know by the help of bibliography an article of Mrs. Lock-wood De Forest: "a little known country of Asia". "a visit to Gopal", published in the "Century". LXII, 1901, p. 74-82,- I also mention, not to be suspected of ignoring them, the articles of Mr. Saleure in the "Catholic Missions, XX, 1888, p. 550-560, 560-562, 573-574, 583-584, 593-596, 605-608; "A cornea of the Himalayas". The kingdom of Nepal". There is nothing to be derived from this compilation which is without originality and criticism. The work of Mr. Henry Ballantine. "On India's frontier, or Nepal, the Ghurkas mysterious land", New-York, 1895, has nothing in common with science- "Dureh... Studienblather", by Kurt Boeck, Leipzig, 1902, is a review of the voyage of no interest to sciences, but which is worth by its illustrations,

According to an anonymous articles of "the Catholic Missions "XXXIII, 1901, p. 451-455, 464-466, 475, 485, 492:502- 504, 514: on the "Mission of Bettiah and of Nepal, "the sacred congregation of the Propaganda had entrusted on the 20th April 1892, to the Capuchins of the north of Tyrol, the mission of Bettiah, including the districts of Champaran, Saran, Mozaffarpur and Darbhanga and partly those of Bhagalpur and Monghir; on the 19th May 1893, the region and Kingdom of Nepal were added. If one is to believe the author of the article, Nepal is on the very verge of conversion; Recently the king of Nepal has entirely forsaken the false gods. "The assertion is at least unexpected; but the proof follows. "In 1898, his wife whom he tenderly loved was seized with the smallpox. She got cured fortunately but her face bore indelible traces of that awful disease. Vain as she was, the queen could not resign herself to this disfigurement and in a moment of despair killed herself. The king was very

deeply moved; his anger at first swept fiercely over the doctors. This did not satisfy him. In his fury, he ordered the removal of all the idols from the temples into the open and exposed air. Then he brought loaded canons and commanded to open fire on these false gods. The gunners became pale with amazement in hearing this criminal order. They refused to obey. The king then condemned several of them to death and had them executed on the spot. The resistance of the others was broken. A terrible

report was heard. The idols flew to atoms and fell back pulverized to the ground. This event is perhaps the first step in Nepal of her conversion to Christianity." The story is correct, almost to a detail, the sacrilegious act narrated here and which has remained famous in Nepal's traditions does not date from 1898 but from 1798.

. To be Continued

FOOT NOTE

1. One will find the complete list of these works, as well as the catalogue of the manuscripts distributed by Hodgson to learned societies, in the excellent book of Sir William Hunter. *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson, British Resident at the court of Nepal, Member of the Institute of France, fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society etc.* London 1896.
2. Narrative of a five years Residence at Nepal by Captain Thomas Smith, assistant, political-resident at Nepal from 1241 to 1845 London 1852. Calburn and Cy. Two volumes—The French translation which the editors reserved themselves the right to publish has never appeared.
3. Hodgson whose health forbade the crossing of the Terrai except during the cold season, was compelled to send Smith to explain his conduct to Lord Ellenborough.
4. The exemplary of the India Office that I had leisure to consult, thanks to the obligingness of Mr. Tawney, is filled with marginal notes undoubtedly credited to Hodgson who criticises and annihilates the book piecemeal; an indication at the head of the second volume informs us that Smith "after having gravely induced Lord Ellenborough and Major (Sir H.) Laurence into error was eventually discovered by the latter who compelled him to leave Nepal and had him court-martialled. "The man was worth the book.
5. "Except" one portion of this review is still to be found in "Nepal ego...", etc.
6. "Voyage to Nepal" by Dr. Gustave Le Bon "Tour du Monde" (Round the world) 1836, 1st. six months.— Mr. Le Bon was not as he imagines the first Frenchman which Nepal had seen, Without going back to the XVIII th. century and to Father Francois de Tours, Capuchin, the military music of Nepal was organised towards 1850 by a Frenchman. Ventuon, whom the Darbar had engaged (Oldfield, l. 219) besides, according to Cavenagh. "All that is actually known in connection with the manufacture of artillery, was communicated to them in all probability by French Officers; two in particular were engaged by Nepal subsequently to the ratification of the actual treaty with the English I am led to believe this. "It must have undoubtedly concerned some of the self-made officers who spread throughout the world after the fall of Napoleon, several of whom (court. Allard, Ventura) have left a durable remembrance in the records of India.
7. "Report of Mr. Sylvain Levi on his mission to India and Japan, in the "Reviews drawn up by the Academy of Inscriptions and Po- lite Literature. 1899".



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या २७

वैशाख २०३१

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NEPAL

(Continued)

II "Chinese and Tibetan Document"

by Sylvain Leli

The voyage of Europeans to Nepal has already brought to light the links which connect this kingdom to the trans-Himalayan countries. It is from China, by the road from Tibet, that the first European travellers has arrived; it is Lhasa that the congregation of the propaganda had designed as the metropolis of the Franciscan mission to Nepal. It is with the object of opening commercial relations with Tibet and the interior China that the British Company of East India, sent its first agent to Kathmandu. The native legend expresses the same belief. It is from China that the first colonists of Nepal arrive under the leadership of Bodhisattva Manjucri. In fact, the first definite relations between Nepal on the one hand and Tibet and China on the other, date from the VIIth century. They commence from the very day that the tribes of Tibet emerge into civilization and become an organized state. Now interrupted, now taken up again, now held up to be again renewed, these relations have regularly left their traces in the Chinese Annals. The reports on Nepal inserted in the History of the T'Ang and in the History of the Ming are models of precision and exactitude. They reflect the practical talent of the imperial race which has kneaded and formed the Far-East with as much vigour and pleasure as the Roman talent had the Occident. The pilgrims, officials complete with their observations the official documents; all these texts, scattered over a period of thirteen centuries, light up both externally and internally the history of Nepal. Without the express

indication of Hiouentsang, the ancient chronology of Nepal would still remain the toy of whimsical speculations. The insertion of a date in the history of the T'Ang has sufficed to bring down the scaffolding of clever combinations. At modern times the war of 1792 which broke the Ghurka's expansion in the North of the Himalayas is only known through Chinese sources; the Nepalese chronicle is on its guard against entering into the details of an enterprise which only tends towards a lasting humiliation. Chinese reports reveal the underhanded dealings of the Ghurka Government even in the middle of the XIXth. Century and betray the secrets of the state which the Darbar firmly believed to be in its power of concealment. Tibetan literature, so little known even now, is certainly a store of precious informations for the researches to come; I was only able to borrow from it very few notes.

The relations of Nepal with China and Tibet, reflect in their vicissitudes, the great events of central Asia. Nepal, in fact, marks the extreme limit where Chinese influence can reach, at the height of her expansion. The great Imperial dynasties, the T'Ang, the Ming, the Manchous; are alone able to inscribe Nepal amongst the tributary kingdoms. No sooner does the empire weaken, than her work gets exhausted and is lost on the vast stretch of Tibetanplateaus. In order to connect these documents to one another, I was consequently obliged to summarily retrace in this chapter the destinies

of Tibet, in the measure where they interest the very destinies of Nepal; but this account only aims at the re-establishment of the chain of facts in the light of Nepalese history; it is neither original nor complete, and has only for object the framing of notes drawn from Chinese or Tibetans texts on Nepal.

The famous pilgrim Hiouen-tsang, who visited the western countries from 629 to 644, seems to be the first traveller of Chinese nationality who had gathered informations on Nepal. His predecessor, Fa-hien, arriving in India two centuries earlier does not mention anything about Nepal in his short account on Buddhist kingdoms and yet, his pious errand had led him to the very foot of the Himalays, in this Terrai, half-Hindu and half-Nepalese, where abound the souvenirs of Buddha; he had adored the sacred Vestiges at Kapilavastu and at Cravasti. But he had not dealt with Nepal in his itinerary and in his researches. Hiouen-tsang did not visit Nepal himself but he has had several occasions to gather informations on her, either from the monks who served him as guides between Ayodhya and Vaicali in the region bordering the Himalayas or in the monastery of Nalanda wherein he sojourned for two years and where religious men from all over India would meet, or again from the princes who sought the honour of receiving him, Harsa Cilanditya and Kumara Bhaskara Varman. Kumara, king of Kamarupa, was closely in touch with Nepal; relations were thus unavoidably established between the two states.

When Narendra Deva, contemporary of Hiouen-tsang, installed in Nepal the religion of Matsyendra Natha, he brought the God "by the path of Kamarupa" according to the evidence of the Chronicle. The account of Hiouen-tsang fully confirms by its nature the express indication of the text, which he declares to be based on second hand informations. If Hiouen-tsang had visited Nepal, he would have seen

much more and better; he would have ascertained the prosperity of Buddhism, which the inscriptions place beyond doubt, and he would have verified the ancient stupas built in the valley, and firstly the famous stupa of Swayambhu Natha. Compared with the fragments of Wang-Hiuen-ts'e who was crossing Nepal at the same time that Hiouen-tsang was leaving India, the account of the pilgrim more clearly manifests its barrenness wretchedness. It reflects with fidelity, the malignant prejudices of the plain against the mountain; for the refined Hindu, the rough inhabitants of the Himalaya are coarse, ugly and uncultured brutes. Nevertheless, in spite of their imperfections, this short chapter is the key to the structure of Nepalese history, thanks to the name of the king Amcuvarman which is mentioned therein.

"The kingdom of Ni-op-lo" (Nepala) has a circumference of about four thousand leagues. It is situated in the heart of the snowy mountains. The capital has a circuit of about twenty leagues. This country offers the spectacle of a chain of mountains and valley; the soil is productive for the cultivation of grains and abounds in flowers and fruits. Red copper is found in the soil and yaks and birds named "ming-ming" (jivamjiva) are also found in the region. Red copper coinage is used for commercial purposes. The climate is frigid; the customs and habits are stamped with faithfulness and perfidy; the inhabitants are naturally hard and ferocious; they do not consider good faith and justice as worth having and have absolutely no literary attainments; but they are gifted with skill and dexterity in the arts. Their bodies are ugly and their faces beastly. There exists amongst them heretics and the believers. The monasteries and temples of the Devas touch one another. One estimates about two thousand religious men who study at the same time the Great and the Small Vehicle. The number of Brahmans and Dissenters is not exactly known. The King

belongs to the caste of the "T'Sa-ti-li" (Ksatriyas) and is connected with the race of the "Li-tche-p'o" (Licchavis). His sentiments are pure and his science eminent. He had a sincere belief in the Buddha law. Lately there was a king named "Yang-Chon-fa-mo" (Amcubar man) who was distinguished by the firmness of his knowledge and the sagacity of his mind. He had himself composed a Treatise on the science of sounds (Cabda Vidya castra). He had an esteem for science and respected virtues; his reputation had spread in all parts. "To the South-East of the capital there is a little pond. If fire is thrown in, a brilliant flame immediately rises up on the surface of the water; if other objects are thrown in they change their nature and become fire."

Whilst Hiouen-tsang, bound by an old agreement, was returning to China by the indirect way of Pamir, a Chinese embassy was slowly travelling towards India by the road through Tibet. Li-I-piao commanded it, together with Wang Hiuen-t'se who acted as second and twenty two other men to serve as an escort. The embassy was bringing back to India a Brahman, who had been sent as an official Guest of the Empire. The road it travelled by hand not yet been crossed by man; recent and great events had almost suddenly opened it. At the end of the VIth century, uncultured and barbarous Tibet had organised herself as a nation. The second king of Tibet, Srong-tsan Gam-po, had founded Lhasa, extended his Empire far and wide, crossed over the Himalaya, attempted to demonstrate to Nepal the growing strength of his arms (weapons); conqueror, he had demanded from king Amcubarman, the hand of his daughter. Then he turned against the Chinese, and dared to reclaim from the family of the T'ang, a princess of imperial blood for spouse, and succeeded, in having his wishes obeyed, by his continual victories. The two queens whom a common fate had brought together from the ends of the horizon under this tal-

ented barbarian had in common an ardent zeal for the Buddhistic faith; they had each brought away from their countries, their idols, their rites and their sacred books. Srong-tsan Gam-po, allowed himself to be won over by their influence, which in reality served his ambitions. Converted to Buddhism with his people, he kept on good terms with his neighbours of India and China. Henceforth a continuous road, dotted with monasteries and chapels led from the central Empire to Hindustan in passing through, Lhasa. Li-I-pias's mission at first followed the road which had been trodden by the cortege of the princess Wen-tch'eng in 641; after Lhasa it reached the Himalayas and crossed over it by the Kirong pass, which read the cortege of the Nepalese² princess had followed. Nepal was thus reached. Li-I-pias and his companions were entertained both on their arrival and departure by king Narendra Deva who took pleasure in showing his guests the curiosities among others the flaming steam, the description of which had already amazed Hiouen-tsang.

The mission had hardly returned when T'ai-tsoung, satisfied with the results obtained, sent another mission to Magadha. Wang Hiuen-t'se was in command this time, assisted by Tsang Cheu-jenn as second; accompanied with an escort of thirty cavalry men. But Harsa Ciladitya died before the arrival of the embassy; the minister who had usurped the vacant throne did not scruple himself in asking the investiture from the T'ang; he mistrusts the future power which strives to intervene in the affairs of India.

He attacks the mission, massacres the escort, plunders the treasure; the envoy and his second escaped in the darkness of the night. Fortunately for Wang-Hiuen-t'se and for the honour of China, Nepal in close; Srong-tsan Gam-po, the ally of the imperial family, is quickly informed. Tibet gives Wang-Hiuen-t'se 1200 soldi-

ers, Nepal, 7000 horsemen. At the head of this little army, the Chinese envoy rushes on Magadha, disperses the Indian troops, captures the capital and the usurper and brings the latter back triumphantly into China, which he reaches in 648. Wang was further entrusted with a third mission to the "Western countries" (India) and passed once again through Nepal in 657. Returning definitely to his motherland, he published in 665 a memorandum of his journeys, unfortunately lost. Among the rare fragments preserved by citations, several deal with the wonders of Nepal and show the great attention developed by the embassy when visiting the country.

I. "The Si-Kou - ng-tchoan" of Wang Hiuen-t'se says: The second year Hiuen-King (657), an imperial order sent Wang Hiuen-t'se and others in the kingdoms of the West to offer a kasaya to Buddha. They went to Nipolo (Nepala) towards the south-west. Arriving at "p'ouo-lo-tou", they reached the bottom of a depression to the East of the village. They found there a small lake of water on fire. If the fire was taken in the hand to illuminate it, suddenly on the surface there appeared a dazzling fire which shot out from the very bosom of the water. If water is sprinkled over it to extinguish it, the water turns into fire and burns; the Chinese envoy and his attendants placed over it a pot and thus cooked their food. The envoy questioned the king of the country; the king replied to him: Once upon a time, in hitting repeatedly with a rod, there would appear a casket of gold, an order was given to a man to have it removed outside. But each time it was removed, it would plunge back into the waters. Tradition says that it is the gold from the crown of "Moi-le-p'ou-sa" (Maitreya Bodhisattva) who must come to perfect and complete the road. The Naga of fire protects and defends it; the fire of this lake, is the fire of the Naga of fire."

II. "To the south-east of the capital, at a short distance, there is a lake of water and of fire. In going one league towards the east, one find the fountain "Aki-po-li" (the ya youen-tchou-lin" shows: A-ki-po-mi; same alternance as in the two essays of the History of the T'ang'). The circumference is 20 pou (40 paces). In the dry as well as in the rainy weather it is deep; it does not flow, but boils all the time. If one holds live fire in the hand, the whole pond takes fire; the smokes and the flames rise several feet in height. If water is sprinkled over this fire, the fire becomes more intense. If powdery mud is thrown in, the flame goes out but the mud turns into ashes. If a pot is placed over this fire to cook food, the food gets all cooked. At one time this fountain contained a casket of gold. A king ordered that this casket should be taken out. When it was taken out of the fire men and elephants handled it without succeeding in taking it out completely. And at night a supernatural voice spoke: Here is the crown of Maitreya Buddha; the human beings cannot assuredly get at it, since it is defended by the Naga of fire."⁵

"To the south of the town, at a distance of more than 10 leagues, is a mountain quite isolated and covered with an extraordinary vegetation; temples are disposed in numerous stages and look like a crown of clouds. Under the pine and bamboo trees, fishes and dragonets, tame and confident, follow man. They approach the man and receive food from him. He who hurts them in any way causes the ruin of his kindred.

"Recently the orders from the Empire passed through this kingdom and from there spread far and wide. Now it depends on Tou-fan (Tibet)."⁴

III. "In the capital of Nepal there is a construction of stories (floors) which is above 200

tch'eu in height and 80 pou (400 feet) in circuit, ten thousand men can find room underneath it. It is divided into three terraces, and each terrace is divided into seven stories. In the four pavillions, there are works of sculpture to astonish you. Stones and pearls decorate them."

Together with the Imperial court, the Buddhist church of China profited by the road that had just opened under the auspices of the two devout queens. Influenced by the example of Hiouen-tsang whom the motherland had honoured on his return, after an absence of sixteen years as a hermit and saint, led away towards the Holy Palaces of Buddhism by an outburst of fervour which evokes the memory of Europe during the Crusades, defended against the risks of a long route by the still recent prestige of a new dynasty, a host of pilgrims unknown artisans of Chinese expansion were then crossing all the paths that led from China to India.

Nepal has seen many pass and was hospitable to them. The most mysterious and greatest among them, was Hiouen-tsang; leaving China towards 640, he had travelled by Tokharestan and Tibet; the Chinese Princess whom Srong-tsan Gam-po had espoused, provided him with an escort to guide him into Northern India. Wang Hiuen-ts'e, in the course of one of his missions had heard a good deal of proud talk about the piety of this religious man. He alluded to them in his report to the throne and he received an order to bring back Hiuen-tch'as to the capital. Hiuen-tch'as recalled by the Emperor" passed by the kingdom of Nepal; the king of this country gave him an escort which accompanied him right up to the Tibetans. He found again the princess Wen-tch'eng (the queen) who gave him many presents, treated with honour and supplied him with means to return in the country of the T'ang. "He took nine months to travel from Northern India to Lo-Yang which he reached in 664-665.

He must have crossed through Nepal at the

end of the year 663. An order from the Emperor sent him almost immediately to India; he followed this time the path which Hiouen-tsang had taken on the Western slopes of the Pamir, crossed the Indus and proceeded to sojourn at the great Buddhist University of Nalanda in Magadha. It is there that he was met, between 675 and 685, by the illustrious emulator of Hiouen-tsang, I-tsing, who was undergoing laborious and fruitful studies. But when Hiuen-tch'as thought of returning, Central Asia had suddenly changed its aspect. Islam hardly established was just entering the scene: "On the road to Kapica, the Arabs stopped the people. Tibet had fallen out with China: "On the road to Nepal, the Tibetans had gathered in masses to make an obstacle and prevent people from passing". Of all the paths of the day before, there only remained the path of the Sea. Hiuen-tch'as had no time to undertake it. He fell ill and died in Central India.

Other religious men had still managed to cross over at the propitious moment. Between 650 and 655, a monk, native beyond China, leaving Corea, Hiuen-t'ai, crossed over Nepal to reach central India. At the same time, Tao Fang travels to Magadha by the way of Nepal; he sojourns for several years at the convent of Mahabodhi, then returns definitely into Nepal. He was still there in 690. Perhaps he loved to meet again the God of his cradle, Manjucris, venerated on the heights of the Ou-t'ai chan, in the ward of Ping where he was born, and whom Nepalese Buddhism also venerates as a kind of patronal divinity. It is also from the same district of Ping that came the religious man Taocheng- who travelled towards Nalanda, a little while before the year 650 by the way of Tibet and Nepal. On his return journey he only saw Nepal again to die at the age of 50 years. Nepal was also fatal to Matisimba, native of Tch'ang-ngan, who came to die in Nepal at 40 years of age whilst he was returning to

his mother-land, and also to Hiuen hoei, who was returning from the monastery of Mahabodhi and was only 50 years old when he died in Nepal. Undoubtedly, physically worn out by the Indian climate, they contracted deadly fevers while crossing Terai. The Nepalese monasteries also received as guests, two Chinese who were half Tibetans already; their mother was the wetnurse of the 'Tibetan princess'. One of them still resided in Nepal in the Civavihara, when I-tsing was in India.

As soon as Nepal had learnt the power of the Chinese Empire, she had hastened to seek the protection of the distant sovereign who was able to defend him against the covetousness of the Hindus and the Tibetans, without threatening from too near her independence. The king Narendra Deva, who had welcomed with deference the mission of Li-I-pias towards 644, sent in 651, an embassy to take to the son of Heaven his respectful gifts. India and China at that moment seemed to seek and call each other and to unite to work out in common a superior form of civilization; the patient work of the apostles and pilgrims which was carried out in central Asia for the past five centuries, was about to bear its fruits. A neighbour of Nepal, a Hindu prince who pretended to be connected with a dynasty of four thousand years old, the most powerful vassal of the Emperor Harsa Cilditya, Kumara Bhaskara Varman, king of Kamarupa, bestowed kindnesses on the Chinese who crossed over to India—were they official envoys like Li-I-pias and Wang Hiuent's'e or monks like Hiouen-tsang and Tao-cheng. In spite of his devotion to the orthodox doctrines of Brahmanism, he solicited from the Imperial Monarch the favour of a sanscrit translation of the works of Lao-tzen. The metaphysical mysticism of India and the vigorous realism of China placed in contact was able to create a harmonious world of worship and action in the Far-East. The Arabs and the Tibetans sprang up suddenly to annihilate this wonderful dream in

emulation of one another. Half a century had sufficed to bring the furious onslaught of Islam to the very feet of the Pamir, half a century had sufficed to establish on the frozen plateaus of Tibet a rival power to the Tang China who was humble, retreated. It is in vain that three times, between 713 and 741, the centre and south of India pleaded for help from the Emperor whom they still believed omnipotent, against the two enemies who threatened their frontiers. The descendant of P'ai-tsang, Hiuen-tsang was pleased to concede to the Hindu armies a title of honour. India understood this avowal of powerlessness. "From the year 760, the kings of India stopped visiting the court"⁶

On the collapse of the T'ang dynasty, at the beginning of the Xth century, relations between Nepal and China were suspended for two hundred and fifty years, but the Imperial records had preserved the informations which were gathered about the small kingdom of the Himalayas, either by official reports, or by the accounts of travellers. When the new dynasty undertook, according to the procedure, to record the history of the T'ang which it has replaced it also inserted in the geographical section a note on Nepal, drawn up by the help of these materials. The Memorandum of Wang Hiuent's'e has undoubtedly furnished the major portion.⁶

The kingdom of "Ni-po-lo (Nepal) is due west of T'ou-fan (Tibet)." The inhabitants are accustomed to shave their hair to the very edge of their eye-brows; they pierce their ears and introduce in the perforation little bamboo tubes or bull's horns. It is a sign of beauty to have one's ears hanging to the shoulders. They eat with their hands, without utilizing spoon or sticks. All their utensils are made of copper.

The merchants whether itinerant dealers or established ones are numerous; the cultivators are few.⁹ They have copper coins which bear on one side the face-of-man, and on the reverse,

a horse.¹⁰ They dress themselves with one piece of cloth which covers their body. They bath several times daily. Their houses are built of wood; the walls are sculptured and painted. They are very fond of scenic sports, are pleased to blow the horn and to beat the drum.¹¹ They are fairly conversant with the reckoning of fate and in the researches of physical philosophy. They are equally smart in the art of the calendar.¹² They venerate five¹³ celestial beings and carve their images on stone; each day they wash them with a purifying water. They cook a sheep and offer it as a sacrifice.

“Their king ‘Na-ling ti-po’ (Narendra Deva) wears real pearls, rock-crystals, mother-of-pearl, corals and amber;¹⁴ he has golden ear-rings and jade pendants, trinkets to his waist-belt, adorned with a “Foutour” (Buddha). They sit on a seat supported by lions (Simhasana), in the interior of the hall flowers and perfumes are sprinkled.

The eminent people, the officers and the whole court are sitting to the right and to the left on the ground; on their sides are drawn up hundreds of armed soldiers.

“In the centre of the palace, there is a tower of seven storeys, covered with copper tiles. Balustrades, railings, columns, beams are all encrusted with stones and jewels. To each of the four corners of the tower is suspended a copper tube; below, dragons of gold spurt out water. On the top of the tower, water is poured in the troughs; from the dragons mouth they gush out as they would from a fountain.

“The father of ‘Na-ling ti-po’ was dethroned by his younger brother;¹⁵ ‘Na-ling ti-po’ had to flee to escape from his uncle. The T’ou-fan gave him a refuge and re-established him on his throne; he became consequently their vassal. In the Tcheng-Koan period (627-649) Li-I-pias, military officer of the Emperor sent in an Emba-

ssy to India, passed by this kingdom. ‘Na-ling ti-po’ welcomed him profusely; he went out with Li-I-pias to visit the pond ‘A-ki-po-li’;¹⁶ this pond has a circuit of about twenty paces; the water is constantly on the effervescence. In spite of its running outflow, it drags helter-skelter burning stones and the heated metal. The water does not diminish or increase in volume. If any object be thrown in, vapours and flames spurt out; if a pot be placed over it, the cooking is done in a short time.¹⁷ Later on, when Wang-Hiuen-ts’e was plundered by the Indians, Nepal despatched horsemen with the T’ou-fan; together they threw the Indians into disorder and won a success. The second year of the Youg-hnei period (651) their king “Chili Nalien-to-lo” (cri Narendra) sent again an Embassy to offer his homage and his presents,”

Isolated from China from the end of the VIIth century, Nepal remains attached to Tibet as vassal and as religious preceptor. Tibet converted to the Buddha doctrine, wishes in her zeal to know and study it entirely; she asks from the Nepalese monasteries, translators (lotsavas) initiated in the mysteries of the Tantras. But the Tibetan literature is still almost unexplored; her history is still to be entirely written. She will not however fail to enrich some day, our knowledge on the past of Nepal. The only missionary whose itinerary we can follow across Nepal, is the famous Pundit Atica who crossed over from India into Tibet in about the middle of the XIth century. Atica, the first at that date of the founders of Tibetan Lamaism came from the monastery of Vikrama Cila, in Magadha. Recalled by the king Lha Lama Jnana ræ ni (or Gurei), who reigned in the province of Ngari, in the extreme West of Tibet, Atica selected the road of Nepal in spite of the circuitous path it led him to, with the view of adoring the most holy sanctuary of Swayambhu Natha, in the neighbourhood of Kathmandu. He crossed over the frontier between India and Nepal near Cindila Karama, journeys up to

Nepal; then he travels to the west towards Palpa, for the purpose of giving his homages to the Sovereign king of Nepal, who held his court. The king received him with great pomp and made him a present of his own elephant and gave him an escort of 425 people to accompany him upto lake Manasa (Manasarovar), probably by the passes of Mastang.¹⁸

The anarchy which tore Tibet up till the XIIIth. century had interrupted the political relations with Nepal; the organisation of Lamaism towards the middle of the XIIIth century consumed the religious separation of the two countries. The Nepalese clergy, jealous of its privileges and prerogatives, repulsed with energy the authority of the Great-Lama of the monastery of Sa-skya which the grand-son of Gengis Khan wished to exert over the Buddhists. The monarchical interest might have influenced the Mogul Khoubilai khan to create a kind of Pope; Nepal was far enough to safeguard her religions as well as her political independence. The ruin of the Moguls and the advent of a national dynasty in China in 1368, swept away the system of religious politics established by Khoubilai. The Mings worked vigorously towards the undoing of a power which eventually ended up by being detrimental to the temporal power; they multiplied the dignities and honours on the Grand-Lama's side in order to weaken his prestige and to stir up rivals. The founder of dynasty. Hong-won (1368-1399) seems to have raised to the same rank as the Lama himself, three other Tibetan pairiachs; the second of his successors, Young-lo (1403-1425), conferred the title of king (wang) to eight lamas from Tibet.

Nepal could have served the schemes of the Chinese politics: the direct relations between the two countries had, it is true, ceased for long centuries, but the Mogul pan Buddhism had drawn the attention on the last survivor of the Buddhistic kingdoms of India. Just then, the

rumour circulated that "their sovereigns were all bronzes" it was still another rival to pit against the Lhasa. Sixteen years after the expulsion of the Moguls, the Emperor Hong-won "ordered the bonze Tcheu-Koang to proceed to Nepal in order to convey to the king, a sealed sanction which conferred on him an official investiture also a letter, and silk goods, and to also proceed to the kingdom of (Ti) Young-ta, vassal of Nepal".

Serious and grave reasons must have been at stake to decide the Son of Heaven to set out beforehand and honour a small potentate with a friendliness which had not been solicited. "Thanks to the great knowledge he had of Buddhistic books, Tcheu-koang was able to reply to the intentions of the Emperor and to manifest his virtue. The king of Nepal named "Ma-ta-na le-mo" sent an ambassador to the court to carry presents consisting of little gold pagodas, sacred books of Buddha, renowned horses and productions of country. This ambassador arrived at the capital on the twentieth year of Hongwon (1387). The Emperor was very pleased and concerned on him a silver seal, a stamp made of jade, a letter, amulets and silks." The lack-thought of Hong-won was clearly marked with the title of "Lo-mo" Lama, which the annals tack on to the name of king Ma-ta-na; but the sovereign of Nepal must have been surprised, since the dynasty to which he belonged prided itself in orthodoxy and Brahmanic purity. In 1390 another ambassador went to convey the tribute. The Emperor gave him as a present a seal made of jade and a red dais. During the last years of Hong-won, only one ambassador came for a period of several years. The Emperor Young-lo followed his grandfather's example. "He ordered the bonze Toheu-koang to return in an embassy to Nepal this country sent her tribute the seventh year (1409). The eleventh year, the Emperor ordered Yang-san-pas to go and offer as presents, to the new king of

Nepal Cha-ko-sin-ti and to the king of (Ti) Young-t's, kopan, letters, and gifts in silver and silk. The following year (1414) Cha-ko-sin-i having sent his ambassador to convey his tribute, the Emperor conferred on him the title of king of Nepal (Ni-pa-la Kouowang) and handed him as a gift, a diploma embodying this investiture a seal of gold and another of silver. The sixteenth year (1418) Cha-ko-sin-ti having sent again an ambassador conveyor of his gift, the Emperor ordered the enrich Teng-tch'eng to proceed to Nepal and offer a seal and silk goods and satin goods. Teng-tch'eng distributed presents to the princess of the different countries he crossed. "The second successor of Young-lo, Hiuen-te (1426-1435) attempted to continue the tradition. "The second year (1427) the eunuch Heou-hien was sent again to carry gifts consisting of silk goods and cotton goods to the king of Nepal." But the court of Peking waited in vain for a reciprocation of civility." Since then no other ambassador came to the court and no tribute offered."¹²

This was due to Central Asia, perpetually in effervescence, again going through a series of crisis. The spiritual descendant of Atica, Tsong Kha pa (1335 to 1417 about) had just completed the reform of the Tibetan Church, in creating the caste of the Yellow Bonnets; accomplished heir of the two civilizations which had made him he had founded on the metaphysical dogma of the transmigration, a hierarchical constitution of the clergy which combined in a harmonious agreement the contradictory advantages of the election and of heredity: two popes, one at Lhasa, the other at Tachi-loun-po, shared under different titles, the supreme authority over the whole clergy.

The organization attempted by the Koubilaïs, laboriously overthrown by the Mings, was getting re-constituted outside the imperial control, ready to rebel against it. The Mings, already weakened, were obliged to come to an

agreement with this new power. The eight emperor of the dynasty, Tch'eng-hoa (1465-1487), conferred the sanction and seal on the two pontifs of the Yellow Bonnes and recognized in them a right of supremacy over the other dignitaries of the Church. He hoped to obtain at this price either their help or their neutrality, whilst a rebellion was taking place on the Northern boundaries of Tibet, on the banks of the Yellow Stream. But the sovereignty conceded to the two Great-Lamas, raised objections; the sect of the yellow Bonnets eclipsed by the school of Tsougkha-pa, had not, however, disappeared in the face of her Young rival; it had recourse to the secular power, and had no pains in gaining the Tibetan feudality, threatened by the same adversary. Civil war spread over the whole stretch of the region. It still raged when the Jesuit Andrada reached Chaparangué, in 1625, and when the Fathers Grueber and Dorville passed through Lhasa in 1661; it was still continuing when the first Capuchins arrived in Lhasa in 1709. But it had then got mingled and complicated owing to foreign interference.

The Moguls, subdued by the Ming and exiled into the Land of Grasses, had not forgotten their former grandeur; they were waiting for revenge. The help of the Tibetan clergy appeared to them as a decisive point; they solemnly ranged themselves under the authority of the Great Lama in 1577 and declared themselves as the champions of the Church at the same time against the rebels and against the Chinese. The Emperor Wang-li (1573-1620) hastened to despatch to the Great-Lama an embassy, and conferred on him titles and a considerable amount of honours; his haste betrayed his powerlessness. In 1644, the last of the Ming, surrounded in his own palace, committed suicide. For ten years already, the Maudchurian chieftain, T'ai-tsong had usurped the imperial title. The Dalai-Lama of Lhasa watched with interest the progress of the now power which surged on the horizon in the neighbourhood of the vanbuish,

ed Monguls. In 1642, even before the fall of Peking, an embassy came to Moukden to honour Tai-tsong the Mandchu (Manju) under the name of Manjucri: flattery played an ingenious part. A quibble or play upon words which seemed the echo of Fate, raised the conqueror to the highest rank of the Buddhistic pantheon.

The relations between the Great-Lama and the first Manchurians were limited for a long time to an exchange of civilities; the new chieftains of China were too busy at home to worry about Tibet. An audacious minister went so far as to conceal for fifteen years the death of the Dalai-Lama, engaged, as he explained it, in a supernatural mediatation and under this cover, he exercised without any disquietude an absolute power, (1682-1697). He profited in the meantime by causing friction between the Mongolians in a holy war against China, and to support, without compromising himself, the great rebellion of the Dzoungares. But the Emperor K'ang-hi, the illustrious contemporary of Louis XIV (1662-1722), succeeded in weakening his formidable enemies. However, before personally intervening in Tibet, he rushed the prince of the Khoskhotes, his ally Latsan Khan, on the capital of the Lamas. The town was captured and the usurping minister killed (1706); a few years later, the Capuchins established their Nepalese mission (1707-1709). A new movement of the Dzoungares, brought the direct intervention of the Empire: the troops of K'ang-hi, to the number of 130000 men, occupied Lhasa. The spiritual power was allowed to remain in the hands of the Dalai-Lama; but a council-board of Government was given over charge of the administration under Chinese control. Tibet was losing her autonomy; China extended to the very frontiers of Nepal.

The three kings who shared Nepal thought it expedient to be on good terms, as soon as possible, with the dangerous neighbour." During the ninth year Young-toneng (1731), the

three tribes which composed the country of 'Pa-lo-pu' (Nepal), those of 'Ye-leng (Patan), of 'Poi-Yen' (Bhatgaon), and of 'K'ou Kou 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.²⁰ "The Chinese Resident in Tibet, informed the court of Peking that "the three khans of beyond Tibet desired to send the tribute." The Emperor replied that owing to the length of the journey, matters had to be settled in Tibet.²¹ Seven years later a new official report announced "that the three khans of Nepal were at war."²²

Commercial relations connected Nepal and Tibet since the beginning of the XVIIth century. Towards the year 1600, when Civa Simha Malla reigned at Kathmandu, the journey from Nepal to Lhasa was still a thing of great difficulty. But under his successor, Laksmi Narasimha Malla: Bhim Malla, member of the royal family and minister of State, sent tradesmen to Tibet, then he went himself in person, and he despatched quantities of gold and silver to Kathmandu. He even negotiated a kind of commercial treaty by virtue of which the properties of Nepalese deceased in Lhasa had to be returned to the Government of Nepal. Finally he placed the town of Kuti under the jurisdiction of Nepal.²³

Trade became so brisk that towards 1650, the pious Siddhi Narasimha Malla, king of Patan, busied himself to regulate by a special method the purification of indigenous merchants who returned from Tibet soiled by a journey outside orthodox countries and by the contact of a race which the Brahmans declared to be impure. Nepal became the coinier of Tibet: Mahendra Malla, king of Kathmandu had obtained from the Mongolians of Delhi (towards 1550-1560) the authorization to stamp silver coins; the coins stamped to his effigy or copied on that type became, under the name of "Mahendra-malla, the only coinage

current in Tibet. Nepal exchanged her coins with raw metal and profited thereby considerably. The last king of Bhatgaon, Ranajit Malla, "who was wise and skilful, sent to Lhasa great quantities of coined silver, and received in exchange great quantities of gold and silver." Tempted by the bait of an easy profit, he did not fear of debasing the value of his coins.

The conquest of Nepal by the Gurkhas (1765-1768) suddenly interrupted this profitable business. The New chiefs of the king distrusted their subjects as much as they did strangers; they were compelled to remain under arms and the natural resources of the country were inadequate to support a multitude of soldiers.

Prithi Narayan levied crushing taxes on transactions; under the plea of most frivolous pretexts, merchants were punished with heavy fines. The wandering religious men (Gosains) who convey the goods between Hindustan and Tibet, were expelled from the kingdom; the great business men of Nepal hastened to search elsewhere a more accomodating motherland. In 1774, only two Cashmerean houses remained in Nepal which carried on the trade with Tibet; to prevent them to desert in their turn, the Gharika king only allowed them to go out of the country under caution. The few merchants who henceforth risked entry into Nepal only drudged fruitlessly. Prithi Narayan had their ears cut and then expelled them out of the country. The Teshu-Lama of Ta-chi loun-po, the second of the Dalai-Lama, could write to the king of Nepal: "All the merchants, Hindu as well as Musulmans, are afraid of you; nobody wants to enter in your country." Other paths were searched for between India and Tibet; and the route of Sikkim was restored once again which commerce had deserted since Nepal had opened; but it was decidedly too insalubrious; it had to be relinquished. Besides, Sikkim in her turn fell under the Gurkha's domination. Bhutan was in the theories of dissen-

sions and did not undertake a regularity in her trading. Warren Hastings, who wished to make Bengal the maritime market of Central Asia, sent George Bogle in 1774, on a mission to Ta-chi-loun-po, for the purpose of negotiating a commercial agreement between the Company and Bhutan and Tibet.

Prithi Narayan took cover; he foresaw his revenues diminishing. He addressed an official letter to the Tibetan authorities: "He proposed the establishment at Kuti, Kerant, (Kirata or Kirong ?) and in another place, on the frontiers of Nepal and Tibet, of settlements, whence the merchants of Tibet would be able to purchase the products of Nepal and Bengal; he would allow the carriage across his kingdom of ordinary articles of commerce with the exception of glass and other curiosities. He desired in return that Tibet should hold no relations with the Fringhis or the Moguls and to forbid their entry into the country, as this was the old procedure and as he was himself determined to carry out: a Fringhi was just then near him, at that moment, in connection with an affair, but he had the intention of sending him away as soon as possible. "The rest of his message dealt on a question more intimately concerning him: Chieftain of Nepal, he had gathered all the coins in circulation, had melted them to re-stamp others in his name, and had hastened to send his new rupees to Tibet; he intended to follow up for himself, the processes of exploitation inaugurated by the Mallas. But the merchants of Tibet had refused the new coinage, the conqueror had too often shown proofs of his bad faith and of his brutality to justify their distrust and to provoke retaliatory measures. They offered as a transaction to exchange the rupees of the Gurkhas for those of the Mallas which were circulating in Tibet. Prithi Narayan gained nothing by this combination. He declared that the coins of Ranajita Malla, were debased, were not worth

the value of his own and rejected the arrangement. The trade between the two countries ceased. The death of Prithi Narayan in 1775 did not ameliorate the relations between the two states; the Teshu-Lama took the initiative of new overtures which were all of no avail.⁸⁴

Nepal did not move; but the Teshu-Lama had compromised himself. He had welcomed as a friend the agent of Warren Hastings and of the British Government; he busied himself to open Tibet to foreign trade and even to the English trade. He acted as an independent chief as if he had forgotten the events which took place since 1750. The Chinese undertook to remind him of them. A final and formidable revolution had cost Tibet the last vestiges of her autonomy; two Chinese commissaries resided at Lhasa and watched the ministers of the Lama, whom they had re-established in temporal power; a Chinese garrison occupied a suburb of Lhasa; Chinese posts guarded all the passes on the frontiers. The Teshu-Lama, guilty of imprudence was too venerated a personage, for anyone to have acted brutally against him. The Emperor k'ienlong imagined an ingenious subterfuge, worthy of his political skill. He alleged his great age and asked in pressing terms to the Teshu-Lama to bring him with his benediction the sublime instructions of the holy doctrine. The lama excused himself for a long time; but he eventually gave in, left his monastery in 1779, reached Maudchuria by the shorter and more arduous path of Koukou-nor, followed the Emperor from Jehol to Peking, he was treated more like a god than a man and died suddenly in the imperial capital in 1780, either of small-pox or of poison, while waiting for the child to come to age in which child he had re-incarnated himself, as was usual among the Lamas, the court confided the direction of affairs of Ta-Chi-loun-po to a brother Teshin-Lama, who had accompanied him to Peking and who offered the surest guarantees.

But the deceased had another brother who lived in Tachi-loun-po, and who was known as a bad head: he was called "Cha-mar-pa" "The Ren-Bonnet", either because he belonged to that sect or through disdain. When he heard of the death of the Lama, Cha-mar-pa laid hold of the treasures of the temple and fled into Nepal; there, he described to the amazed Churkas a fanciful Tibet with a soil filled with precious metals and with temples overglowing with wealth. There was no need of so much to inflame the insatiable cupidity of the Gurkhas: a strong force, some say, of 7000 men, crossed the passes unawares in April 1790, under the pretext of forestalling an imminent attack from the Tibetans, to demand a monetary compensation, as a protest against an increase in the Custom's rates and the bad quality of the salt supplied by the Tibetans: too many reasons, and too many unintelligible reasons to be meant seriously. They advanced by forced marches and appeared under the walls of Shikar-kong, half-way to Lhasa. The Tibetans terror-stricken attempted in vain to relieve the place. The Chinese commissaries greatly perturbed of their responsibility, wished to settle affairs at any cost before the Emperor came to hear about it. They promised the Gurkhas withdrew and took up their positions at kuti, at Kirong was chosen as the seat of negotiations. The Gurkhas demanded a was indemnity of five million rupees or the surrender of all the territory they had conquered to the South of mount Langour, or an annual tribute of 100000 rupees. After prolonged delays, the 'K'ou-po' (wishers) Tibetans, yielded to the Gurkhas threats and to the pressing demands of the Chinese commissaries; they solemnly promised an annual tribute of 50,000 rupees (or 15000 taels). The first annuity paid, the Gurkhas evacuated the passes and returned into Nepal. To safeguard themselves against an eventual retraction, they hastened to send to the Emperor, two ambassadors with an escort of twenty five persons, under the pretext of offering the tribute and to solicit the official

investiture of the kingdom. K'ien-loung received them, subscribed to their demand and further sent to the king of Nepal a magnificent costume. The embassy returned to Nepal after an absence of fourteen months.

But, whilst the Chinese commissary Tchoung-pa victoriously announced to the Emperor, the submission of the enemies and represented the Gurkhas embassy as an act of humiliation, the Dalai-Lama refused to consent to the agreements undertaken. The Gurkhas frustrated, reclaimed the execution of the treaty to us avail; they complained to the Chinese commissary who, true to his tactic, intercepted the complaint and took care not to inform the Government of Peking. The emboldened Gurkhas took up arms and once again marched on Tibet (1791), crossed into Tibet through the Kuti pass and marched straight on Ta-Chi-loun-po, Terror-stricken, the Chinese Resident wished to evacuate Tibet. He did not even attempt to defend the temple (coment) of Teshu-Lama. The Teshu Lama, who was still very young, owed his life to a precipitous flight; a Chinese official was captured and sent to Nepal. The Gurkhas sacked the convent and fell back to place their booty in security, without taking advantage of the general panic which opened to them the road to Lhasa. The Emperor, however, had summoned the Gurkha Government by a special messenger, to hand over the bonze Cha-mar-pa, held in captivity as the instigator and author of these troubles. The Chinese envoy was treated most uncivilly; without respect to the complicated rites of Chinese etiquette, an ordinary sheriff's officer took the delivery of the imperial letter. The cap was overflowing (January 1792). K'ien-loung ordered the 5000 soldiers of the principalities and military colonies of Kin-tchoan to rally to the help of the 3000 regulars in garrison at Tibet; and to oppose to the (tested) tried valour of the Gurkhas, strong adversaries, he raised amongst the faithful Manchurians, a force of 2000 men recruited amongst the war-like tribes

of Solon, on the boundaries of Argoun; time had to be gained; they were taken through the path of Kou-Kou-nor, shorter by thirty days than the path of Ta-t sien-lou, but bristling with difficulties and impediments. In May 1793, the three contingents were united under the leadership of Fou-Hang; the Chinese army comprised only 10000 men, to the testimony of the Chinese historian; the Tibetan Relation (Chronicle) attributes it 70,000 men, divided into two divisions.

A first encounter took place at Tingri Meidan, between Shikarjoug and Kuti; the Gurkhas vanquished after a terrific struggle, fell back in retreat; Fou K'ang occupied without a struggle, the Kirong pass (July 1793); but the mountain cost the invaders more men than battles: the avalanche and the precipice were more deadly than the Gurkhas. One by one the Gurkha positions fell in the hands of the Chinese; Fou-K'ang had at his disposal a light artillery which worked wonders, leather canons which fired five or six bombs which burst afterwards. Finally the Chinese army appeared on the height of Dhebang above Nayakot at a day's journey from Kathmandu (30 kilometer) on the 4th September 1792. The massed Gurkhas attempted a supreme effort; but Fou-K'ang rushed his troops on them helped and supported by his artillery which he had placed on the rear according to the Chinese method, against the enemies and against the runaways Nepal was definitely vanquished; there only remained as a last resource to appeal to the hated neighbours who occupied Bengal. The Gurkhas king solicited help from the British; but Lord Cornwallis, on the 15th September, refused armed intervention; he advanced the plea of the company's peaceful inclinations and the interest of the English commerce at Canton. He however, offered to mediate between the two adversaries and announced the despatch of an authorized representative (Kirkpatrick), Nepal had only to

choose between the enemies of her independence; she preferred to arrange matters with the Chinese. Fou-K'ang was not very unreasonable; his army was reduced in numbers, exhausted by both the climate and fatigue, winter was approaching, which would close the passes; once blocked (cut off) in Nepal, without means of re-victualling and without a base for operations, his soldiers were doomed. The Emperor, it is true had at first intended to divide Nepal in several principalities, in the way of the countries of Tartary and in accordance with the traditions of the country. Fou-K'ang did not have recourse to this expedient: the Gurkhas returned the conventions signed in 1790 and disavowed by the Dalai-Lama, the riches: jewels, gold seals, gold balls from the pinnacles of the pagodas, which they had carried away in their sack of Tibet and also two lamas Tantsing and Pan-tchou-eul, whom they had made prisoners. Cha-mar-pa had poisoned himself whether of his free will or compelled by force; his corpse was handed over to the Chinese. Finally the Gurkhas offered as a tribute, domesticated elephants, native horses and musical instruments, asking that they should be allowed to live eternally under the Chinese laws. The Emperor profited by the victory to strengthen the Chinese authority in Tibet: he established a regular garrison of 300 indigenous soldiers and 1000 Chinese and Manchurian soldiers: Chinese posts were arranged all along the frontier under the pretext of watching the fair-dealing of exchanges, but with the real intention of preventing the entry into the country of Europeans or even their Asiatic subjects. A new order on the election of the Great-Lama still more restrained the feudal powers of the Church. The Chinese success cost more to Tibet than to Nepal. The Emperor had learnt through official reports, the indomptable courage of the small tribe who had dared to oppose him. The Ambassador (McCarthy) sent by the British to the court of Peking "to carry the tribute" in 1795, confirmed and completed these informati-

ons. K'ien-long held firmly to this belief. On the point of abdicating after a reign of sixty years (1736-1796) he recommended to his successor not to interfere without absolute necessity, into the Ghurkas affairs.²⁶

It is piquant to place opposite these facts the account of the Ghurkas chronicle. "The king Rana Bahadur Shah, having learnt the different particulars of the Northern country from Syamarpa Lama personally whom he had summoned, sent troops to Sikharjun who sacked Digarcha and did not respect the Chinese authority. The Emperor of China, being unable to tolerate this insult, sent a large army under the leaderships of Kaji Dhurin and of the minister Thumthan. This army reached Duetur; then the king ordered a certain Lakhya Banda of Bhinkahe Bahal to an expiatory ceremony (puraccarana) whilst Mantrinayak Damodar Pande was cutting the enemy into bits and was gaining a big victory. After this, the Emperor of China, thought it better to live amicably with the Ghurkas, and arranged a peace with them.²⁶

The treaty of 1792, is still in force, and Nepal has not ceased paying the tribute to China every five years. The Ghurkas have drawn from this vasselage a source of vanity as it connects them to an empire of which they have an exaggerated idea of the actual power, without any other charge but that of an indifferent formality. Their business aptitude has known how to derive from it a benefit.

Every five years, Nepal is obliged to send to Peking an embassy composed of several high dignitaries assisted by an escort. The embassy pays respects to the Bodhisativa Manjucrin in the person of the Emperor and deposits between the "five claws of the Dragon" a petition written on gold leaves together with different gifts. The number of persons composing the embassy is fixed and constant; it must not

is either through shortcoming or excess. If by an unfortunate accident one of the members of the mission falls frievously ill in route, he is not allowed to stop or abandon the journey but is carried on a planquin and if one is not available, is tied to the saddle of his horse. The journey must be completed in a given time, by determined stages. The difficulty of organizing relays all along this vast stretch of ground explains this intransigent severity. Besides the path is made easy as far as possible, even agreeable. Distractions are found of a most intimate order and the members of the mission do not disdain them. In twelve stages, the mission reaches the frontier of Tibet at Kuti (or Nilem) of which the Ghurkas are masters since 1853. A Chinese officer then takes care of the convoy and directs it in twenty eight stages to Lhasa through Tingri and Shigatze. There is a halt of one month and half at Lhasa. The imperial commissary proceeds to the inventory of the gifts, ascertains that they are consistent with the stipulations of 1792 and has them carefully packed. He then instructs the delegates of the rites to follow in the presence of the Emperor, hands them their indemnity of the journey; and also little presents of a personal nature (silk, satin, padded clothes). The delegates in return give him, and the Dalai Lama the personal gifts of the Nepalese king. From Lhasa the delegates are directed to Ta-t sien-lon fronteir, of China and Tibet, in 64 stages, by Detain dzong, Gya-la, Gyamdo doong, Tag yab, Artsa, Lhari, Alamdo Chor-kong-la; Lhatse, Mganda, lagong, Tohamdo, Tag yab, Nyeba, Bating and Litang; The escort which came from Lhasa stops at Ta-t sien-lon, and the mandarins of Sse-tchaon then take the direction and the responsibility of the embassy. In seventy two stages, it reaches peking through Honan, after eight long months of journeying. The embassy sojourns forty five days in the capital and its chiefs are allowed to prostrate themselves once before the Emperor in person. Then it returns by the same way, but it crosses over the Himalayas by the Kirong pass.

The barbarous soil has soiled the Ghurkas envoys: they are obliged to stop for three days at Nayakot to undergo the ritual of expiations which will return them, together with the legal purity, the lost caste. As a public consecration of their recovered purity, the king offers them water some his own ewer. A state procession goes then to receive the imperial missive which the embassy has brought back. The king leads the way, accompanied by fifty nobles on horseback; the concellers of the king are riding on elephants; three thousand soldiers surround the cortege. At a league from the capital, the king comes down from his elephant; he takes the missive which the envoy carries round his neck, hanging in a sheath covered with brocade; a cannonade salutes this solemn moment. The king hangs back the letter to the neck of the envoy. The envoy then gets on an elephant and takes in his turn the lead; till the entry to the palace.

The honour of going to Peking is keenly sought. It is not that the passion for travelling exists in Nepal; but the Ghurkas, who have practical minds, appreciate another advantage. The members of the mission are entertained, during the eighteen months of absence at the expenses of the Chinese treasury, lodged, nourished, carried free; and further are exempt from all duties on their baggage, in going as well as in returning it is an opportunity for a lucrative traffic. One of the articles which allow of a great profit, is the conch from India; these shells are not cumbersome and are paid their weight in gold, between 3000 or 4000 francs. They are especially used in lamaseries (Buddhist religious societies presided over by a lama-Dr Anian-lale's concise Eng, Dict): the spirits of storme are believed to be residing in them.

FOOT NOTE

1. Stanislas Julien (Preface of the "Vie de Hiouen-tsang-Life of Hiouen-tsang", p. XXXII) has had the privilege of mentioning and exposing to the full light, the decisive phrase of Ki-tsan, Eulogy of Accounts (of Hiouen-tsang) which enables the clear perception of those countries visited by the pilgrim in person and on those he describes from informations from others. "When the text employs the word "hing"-to walk, it means that Hiouen-tsang himself explored the country; when it employs the word "toheu" -to go - it means that he relies on traditions and hear-says" - (Japanese wording)- According to the bibliographical narration on the Si-Yu-Ki drawn out from the catalogue of the K'ienlong library which Julien has translated at the head of the memoranda (I XX-III Sqq), the Ki-tsan has for author the monk Pieu-ki, contemporary of Hiouen-tsang, who lived in the same monastery and whom catalogues designate as the "Editor" of the Accounts composed by Hiouen-tsang. Pieu-ki was better qualified than the others to give a precise notion of the admitted articles in the text. Besides Julien; in the list he drew up at the end of the life (p.463 Sqq) and in which he bases himself on this principle of criticism to distinguish the two sections of the articles inserted in the Memorandum, sets aside Nepal (No. 76) amongst those kingdoms personally visited by Hiouen-tsang. He, however, adds: "From Fo-li-chi, Hiouen-tsang returned to Fei-che-li and arrives at Mo-Kia-to" Fo-li-chi (No 75), i. e. country of the Vrijjis immediately precedes Nepal and Fei-che-li i. e. Vaicali

(No 74) precedes Fo-li-chi. If Julien thought that Hiouen-tsang had really been to Nepal, he would not have omitted mentioning it by an analogous formula to that which he employs in such similar case (Nos.94, 108, 113, 125, 127, 138): "From there, Hiouen-tsang returns to Fo-li-chi" and to Fei-che-li"; he would not have taken up the itinerary behind Nepal, at Fo-li-chi, I am then led to believe that Julien has erred inadvertently and that he in reality, wished to designate Nepal, in capital letters, as one of the countries not visited by Hiouen-tsang. As usual, the error consecrated by the eminent authority of Julien has prospered. In the list Cunningham drew up in his turn (Ancient Geography of India p. 563) he mentions Hiouen-tsang's entry into Nepal from the 5th to the 15th of February 637. I have in my turn, repeated the so precise assertion of Cunningham in my "Note on the chronology of Nepal (Journ. asiat; 1894, 2 p 57)" at the risk of destroying by the same the rectified chronology that I was proposing (Key.p. ex Kichhorn. "A list of inscriptions of northern India" in the "Epigraphica Indica. vol. V, Appendix, p. 73. Note 3). The examination of the text of the Memoranda of Hiouen-tsang, definitely sidetracks this semblance of difficulty. Whilst the road of Vaicali is indicated in these terms. Thence he walked (hing) 500 leagues and arrived at "Vrjji", for Nepal the characteristic "hing" is omitted: Thence 1400 leagues to the north-west, passing mountains and entering a valley, one arrives (teheu) in Nepal. "The absence of the work "Hing"

- proves that Hiouen-tsang did not enter Nepal. One can observe, furthermore, that the life of Hiouen-tsang leaves Nepal on one side and directly leads the pilgrim from the kingdom of Cancus to Vaicali and from Vaicali to Magadha. Julien himself mentions this omission and completes the itinerary, in a note (p. 136) by the help of Memoranda which he has given thus: "From there, at 1400 or 1500 leagues to the North-West one crosses over mountains and enters a valley and then reaches Nepal. "I do not wish to make a condition in my favour of the form employed here by Julien: "One crosses over... One enters... One reaches..." because he also makes use of it in the case of the kingdom of Vriji, whereas the text expressly employs the word "hing".
2. To the testimony of "Bodhimor", the great Nepalese accompanied the princess up to the town of Dschirghalantu of the Mangjul country, and then returned" (transl. Schmidt, p. 335) Mangjul is according to Jaschke and Sarat Chandra Das, the country wherein is to be found the Kirong pass. (Tibet. Dict. s. v. Man-yul).
 3. Missions of Wang... Fragment IV, drawn from the "Fa-Youen-tchou-lin, Chap. XVI p. 15g, col. 17.—I have since found the same passage literally reproduced in the 'Tchou-king Yas-tsi, by Tao-che, author of the "Fa-Youen-tchou-lin" Jap. edot. XXXVI. 1,p.5a.
 4. The fragments 11 and 111 are not expressly quoted under the name of Wang-Hiuen-tse, but there is little doubt that they have been borrowed from them by the "Fa-Youen-tchou-lin, chap. XXI, p. 96, col. 14 and the Cheu-kia-fang-tchi, chap. 1. p: 97, col. 13. Cf. "Missions of Wang"..., p. 440 sqq; also for the indentifications. I think that the hill described is the one of Svayambhu. The pond is perhaps known to-day by the one of Taudab, to the S. w. of the valley. Cf (or key) "wright", p. 178 n. "During present reign an unsuccessful attempt was made to draw off the water with the view of getting the wealth supposed to be sunk in it.. "But the superstition of hidden wealth is to be found everywhere in Nepal. "Cheu-Kia-fang-tchi, as mentioned above.
 5. Ma Toan-Lin, 'Notice or account on India', trans Stanislas Julien, in 'Journal Asiatique'. 1847.
 6. I reproduce here the translation which I have already published in my 'Note on the chronology of Nepal', in the 'Jourasiat; 1894,2. p. 65. The annals of the T'ang exist in two editions, respectively known as the old and New History. I have translated the text which is given by the "Old history, chap. 221. Of the annals, the account on Nepal had been recorded with a few alterations in the T'oug-tien and in the encyclopaedia of Ma Toan-lin; Remusat has translated the text of this compiler in his 'New Asiatic medley, t. 1, p. 193. I shall indicate in the notes the alterations of the "New history", and also those of T'oug-tien drawn up in the Xth century and copied by Ma Toan-lin.
 7. The New history inserts here: "In the valley of Lo-ling, in that country, one finds in abundance, red copper and the yak, "key-Hiouen-tsang, sup. p. 154.
 8. The 'T'oug-tien' omits "the bull's horn".
 9. The "New hist. adds: " Since they do not know how to plough the earth with the bulls",
 10. The "New hist. Changes the meaning by reason of an erroneous punctuation; "They

- have copper coins which bear on one side a man's face and on the aversé a horse and a bull, which have no holes pierced through them."
11. The 'New History, the T'ong-tien and Ma Toan-lin, cancels this last proposition.
 12. The "New History" only says: "They understand how to reason, to measure, and make the calendar."
 13. The "New hist." omits the word "five"
 14. The T'ong-tien replaces this wording by these simple words: "The king wears a great number of ornaments, of precious stones and of pearls."
 15. The text of the "New hist." proves that it concerns the younger brother of the father of Narendra deva. The "New hist. substitutes to 'tchouen' "rebellions usurper" The word 'Cha' "to put to death".
 16. The T'ong-tien bears 'A-ki-po-mi'. key. Wang Hiuen-ts'e sup. p. 158.
 17. The "New hist." makes no allusion to the affair of Wang Hiuen-ts'e and intercalates here. "The 21st year (647) he despatched an ambassador to present (objects which I am unable to identify or decipher, 7 figures) In the period of Yang-tseï... , etc."
 18. A little while after the fall of the T'ang, towards the end of the Xth century (964-976) a last mission of Chinese priests still crossed into Nepal. Ki-ye: leaving in company with three hundred cramanas, in the research of sacred texts in India, arrived at Patliputra, Vaicali, Kucinagara; then from the village of To-lo after crossing over several ranges of mountains, he arrived in the kingdom of Moyu-li the country of Mayurata of the inscription of Swayambhu Natha, 'Wrigot' p.230) crossed over snowy mountains, reaches the temple San-ye, and rejoins the route of Khotan and Kach-gar. V. Edonard Huber, 'the itinerary of the pilgrim ki-ye in India in the Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extreme Orient, 11, 3,255 sqq).
 19. Since the passage "the sovereigns of Nepal were all bonzes", the extracts quoted are taken out from the "Annals of Ming", chap. cccXXI (= Pien-i-tien', ch. LXXXV). I reproduce in general the translation given by M. C. Imbault-Huart, in a note of his "History of the conquest of Nepal" in the "Journ. Asia", 1878,2,p. 357, m. 1. - Mr. Bretschneider has also given a translation of this account in "Medieval researches from Asiatic sources", 1888 (London, Trubner's series), vol. 11, p.222.
 20. 'History of the conquest of Nepal', trans. Imbault-Huart, 'loc. laud.'
 21. 'Nepal and China', by E. H. Parker, in Asiatic Quart. Review, 1899. p. 64-82
 22. Ib. key. 'Vamcar'; 197: At this time (Nepal sam. 857=1737 AD) the rajus of Bhatgaon, Lalit-Patan, and Kantipur were on bad terms with each other.
 23. Vamcar; 209 and 211.
 24. Most of the details are borrowed from the "Relation of George Bogle" published by M. Markham in the volume already quoted: Tibet, etc; in particular, p. 127-159.
 25. The history of the war between Nepal and China is based on: 1st. Kirkpatrick, appendix 1 (Ghurkas account; 11 (Tibetan account and Lord Cornwallis, correspondence with the Dalai-Lama and the Raja of Nepal); 2nd. Turner "Embassy to Tibet", p. 437 3rd. Markham. Tibet, p. LXXX-LXXXVII (based on the souvenirs of Hodgson who had enquired from Bhim Sen Thapa); 4th. Cheng-ou, Ki' transl. Imbault-Huart, 'loc. laud'; 5th. Parker; 'Nepal and China' (according to Chinese documents), 'loc. laud' - Hamilton is alone in pretending (Nepal, p. 249) that the Ghurkas had to hand over to the Chinese, fifty young girls and victuals for the journey, and that they retained their booty.
 26. Vamcar; 260-1.



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या २८

श्रावण २०३१

Ancient Nepal

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रामचन्द्र ढुङ्गाना

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NEPAL

(Continued)

by Sylvain Leri

The Ghurkas have always sought to benefit in their relations with China: in 1815, in the course of the war they were waging against the England, they urged on the emperor to send Chinese troops to their help. True to the lessons of K'ien-long, the emperor refused to intervene. In 1841, they offered China, in war with the English, to operate a diversion on the frontiers of India; China refused this compromising help; the Ghurkas did not hesitate a compensation for the profits they might have derived. In 1853, whilst China was struggling against the revolt of the T'ai ping, the Ghurkas once again offered their services in vain. They reclaimed then, as in 1841, a compensation, to indemnify them and captured Kirong and Kuti, which they retained; they pursued these infringements, but found themselves constrained to accept an agreement in 1858. The prime minister of Nepal, Jang Bahadur, received on that occasion together with a gem from the mandarin, the title of "T'ong lin pim ma ko kang wang syam-", general-in-chief of the army, prince really brave and prime minister. Bir Shamsheer Jang, who exercised the functions of prime minister from 1886 to 1901, received the same distinction, and he was not a little proud of it.

An agreement concluded in 1856, completed in 1860, in consequence of a bloody war bet-

ween Nepal and Tibet (1854-1856) affixes to the commercial relation of the two countries, the same conditions as between the commerce Chinese-Russian 'Via' kiakhta. A fair is held every year, at Spring, at Kuti and at Kirong; Tibetans come to exchange under official control, tea and salt for the merchandises of Nepal. In fact Nepal, by virtue of her traditional rights, holds in Lhasa a grant administered by a Nepalese agent under the protection of a Ghurka post. The Tibetan government has pledged to pay the Ghurkas an annual tribute of 10,000 rupees.

As a consequence of her quarrels with China and by her embassies to the imperial throne, Nepal has twice acquired the right to figure one day in the annals of the Maudchurian dynasty. When an upheaval will have engulfed the degenerate heirs of K'ang-hi and of K'ien long, an official commission will be entrusted, in accordance to the tradition, to examine the archives of the Ta-Tsing and to draw up their history. Without waiting for an eventuality which does not seem further away, it is easy to anticipate on the account which will be consecrated to Nepal in the geographical description of the Maudchurian Empire. The Chinese documents which are already available contain nearly all the substance: such as the "Wei-tsang t'ouKi"

drawn up by an official of the administration attached to the army corps which invaded Nepal; the

'Cheng-ou-ki', which narrates the campaigns of the present dynasty and whose author is Wei Yuen, to whom is credited a classical treatise on geography, the Hai Kouo t ou tchi; the 'Si-tsang tseon sou'; Reports and accounts of Meng-Pas, Chinese commissary in Tibet from 1842 to 1850; and the notes analysed by Mr. Parker.⁴

The annalists of the Ming had not recognized in the Ni-pa-la of the contemporary documents, the Ni-po-la of the Nepal of anterior histories under the modern names of the country. Certain texts reproduce the designation of 'Balpo', attributed to Nepal by the Tibetans, by representing her by various transcriptions: Pa-le-pou;⁵ pa-eul-pou, pei pou; One still finds the name of Pie-pang which seems to transcribe (as is indicated by Imbault-Huart) the Tibetan h'bras spuns, pronounced "Preboug", a name which designates a famous monastery in the neighbourhood of Lhasa, but which has spread to the populations of the Himalayas. Finally the word Gurkha is transcribed 'Ko-eul-Ka. Led astray by those names, the historians of the Manchurian period are convinced that "from time immemorial this country has no relation with China, "that" the kingdom of the Gurkhas, much further away than the Mohammedan tribes (of Chinese Turkestan) is that region which the troops of the dynasties of the Han and of the Tang could not reach". (Cheng-ou-ki).

It is situated to the south-west of Tibet and touches by months Journey from Lhasa; the frontier passes through (Ni-lam') which is at a distance of seven to eight days journey from the Gurkha capital The length of the Kingdom, from east to west as several hundred leagues; Its width from north to south is about one hun-

dred leagues. The population consists of fifty four thousand families. At one time it was named 'Pa-le-pou' and was divided into three tribes: Ye-leng', Pou-Yen, Kou (Kou) mon', but the Gurkhas have united the three tribes under their administration The capital is called 'Kia-te-man-tou' or Yang-pou.

There are marks of Buddha in this region; and the inhabitants of T'ong kou-to (Tangut) go to visit the pagodas annually. The people have a refractory nature. They shave their hair from one temple to another in a little tail. They have short beards like the Mohammedans of Si-ming. They trace two verticle lines with white clay on their foreheads and make a red circle between their eye-brows (tilaka). They also wear earrings of pearls or gold. Their headgear is a turban of white cotton, white if they are poor, and red if they are wealthy; their tunic is blue dull or white with narrow sleeves; they wear cotton belts and pointed leather shoes. They always carry about on their persons a small knife in a sheath (Khukari) in the shape of a bull's horn. The soldiers walk bare-footed, they fix beforehand a day (propitious) to encounter their adversaries; our soldiers, who did not act in that way, always fell on them unawares. The women allow their hair to grow, go bare-footed, wear gold and silver rings on their noses. They comb themselves, bathe themselves and are very clean. The roads in the country are so narrow that three persons can hardly walk abreast. The king sends a tribute every five years and it consists of elephants, horses, pea-cock feathers, and other undetermined objects.

The Annals will enumerate at the conclusion of this description, the embassies which have appeared at the court since 1732 (embassy of the three khans); 1790 (Rana Bahadur asks and receives the investiture); 1793 (an envoy named 'Ma-mon-sa Yes' brings the tribute after the conclusion of peace); 1799 (Rana Paha-

dur asks and receives the royal rank for his son Girvan Yudha Vikram Shah), 1813 (tribute of Girvan); 1818 (tribute of Surendra Vikram Shah to whom the emperor sends "a gracious message" in 1821); 1822 (Bhim Sen Thapa announces his regency; 1837 (the tribute, sent by the King, is refused as coming from a woman), etc.⁶

III. Indigenous Documents

Chronicles. -Puranas. -Inscriptions. -Manuscripts -Coinage

Nepal has a local chronicle, the "Vamcavali,"⁷

The work is of fairly recent date. It exists in two recensions; one, Buddhistic has for author a monk who resided in Patan in the temple of Mahabuddha, in the beginning of the XIXth century. It was translated into English under the guidance of Mr. Wright by the indigenous interpreter (Munshi) of the British Residence, Civa Gamkara Simha (Shew Shunker Singh), helped by the Pundit Gunananda The other, of Brahmanic inspiration, is alone recognized as authentic by the Gurkha government.⁸

The maharaja Deb Shambher has communicated to me a fine specimen, dated from 1891 sanvat (1834 J. C.) and which has for editor the Brahman Siddhi Narayana, an inhabitant of Deo Patan; the manuscript was handed over "to a good man, named Laksmi Dasa", but it had not "to be given to anybody". I feel the more kindly inclined towards the maharaja for having violated this prescription in my favour. On the request of the maharaja Chandra Shambher, great priest (guru) of the Kingdom has entrusted me with his personal exemplary, which is simply a true copy of the same text.

The Brahman and the Buddhist were able to choose between three languages to write their Vamcavali; Sanscrit, recommended for its religious and literary prestige, but reserved to

the learned; the Newar language, the old indigenous dialect; lastly the parbatiya (or: Khas) language, new comer in the valley, where the Gurkha conquest had introduced it. Parbatiya was chosen by all and thereby they betrayed the same preoccupation. They do not aim at school success; they do not appeal to the subjected Newars; they want to reach the new masters of the country, equally feared by Buddhism which they detest as a heresy and by the Brahmans whom they despoil in the name of orthodoxy. It is not the curiosity of a dilettante which obliges the two authors to gather the memories and traditions of the past; they are even less concerned in the erection of a monument to the memory of their lost independence. They only attempt to divert from the temples and convents the malignant rapacity of the conquerors. They comfort themselves with the knowledge that the long list of miracles which consecrates the origin of religious foundations stands as a salutary threat of divine vengeance ready to chastise the criminal lusts. The Vamcavali, in spite of its historical appearances, is only a mite of the literature of the Puranas.

The compiler of the Buddhistic Vamcavali flatters himself of having "seen and heard many things of the past in connection with his work". The Brahman on the other hand boasts of having written "a work without precedent". It is impossible, however, to believe in the absolute independence of the two accounts. The Brahmanic Vamcavali adds nothing new and original to the accounts and episodes which tend to glorify the rival church. It adopts the same system of chronology, the same essential dates. It mentions, it is true, the length of the reign of the Abhiras and Kiratas, omitted in the Buddhistic Vamcavali; but it is a question of legendary dynasties in which the imagination can have full play: the arbitrary invention can easily supplement the missing materials.

The title of the work expressly shows its

origin. The word Vamcavali ("genealogy-in-rank") designates in the usage of royal chancelleries, the dynastic lists in which each one of the sovereigns comes and takes the place successively, enshrined in a panegyric in general as pompous as it is ordinary and empty. The collection of these panegyrics which naturally increase in length as long as the dynasty exists, often figure at the head of the charts and supplies a precious reference to the history of India. The dynasty of the Oriental Calukyas is the very best example; it has lasted for six centuries; the Vamcavalis inscribed at the head of these donations do not only give the succession of princes through so long a period; they further state the precise duration of each reign.

Even in Nepal, the practice of the Vamcavalis is ancient; the inscription of Mana Deva to Changu Narayan, the first in date of known inscriptions, commences by a Vamcavali; the inscription of Yava deva to Pacupati retraces the origin of the royal family to the gods. King Pratapa Malla deva "prince of poets" expressly applies the name of "Vamcavali" to a history of the dynasty of Malla such as he himself composed (Bhagv. No. 19, 11). The Newars state that there exist even to day in Patan, long bands on which are written by order of succession all the kings of Nepal. Bhagvanlal and Minayeff have not succeeded in viewing them and I have not been more fortunate than them. It is not to be doubted, however, that such documents exist or have existed: the Vamcavali which was communicated to Kirkpatrick at the end of the XVIIIth century, surpassed in value, riches, in exactitude the Vamcavalis which are disposable at present.

A recent discovery due, alike so many others, to Mr. Bendall throws a little light on the obscure origins of the Vamcavali. Mr. Bendall has discovered at the library of the Darbar a collection of three manuscripts traced on palm leaves and dated by their contents as well as by

their writing, by the end of the XIVth century. The first (V) is a chronicle drawn up in incorrect sanscrit without any concern for classical syntax. The compiler has placed end to end the series of Nepalese kings, with the duration of each reign, the principal facts and their date. The donations to the temples hold such an importance that Mr. Bendall believes the work in connection with the archives of the sanctuary of Pasupati. The second portion of the collection (V2) is a list wherein is registered the births of kings and high personages. It is entirely drawn up in the Newar tongue; it embraces the period of 177 to 396 N. S. (Newar era of 880 J. -G.). The third document (V3) is a continuation of the second, but it alters its nature; it brings out other details and tends to change the list into annals. It is also drawn up in the Newar language and spreads from 379 to 508 (Newar era) Mr. Bendall connects the origin of these annals (V and U3) to the political revolution which brought Jayasthiti Malla to sovereign power and to the literary renaissance which followed.

If the history of Nepal has displayed itself without mishap, without revolution, under the continuous authority of one dynasty alone, the Vamcavalis could have supplied to history a solid linking of names and facts. But up to the XVIth century, anarchy seems to be the regular 'regime' of Nepal, the suzerain families (or houses) wield an ephemeral or visionary power; the local petty kings abound and rarely succeed in founding a house. Faithful to the usual method of India, such as is already manifested in the chronology of the Puranas, the Vamcavalis express one after another in order of succession, all the names which memory has preserved, without any pre-occupation as to their real connection. This system of dextiation, deplorable to history, accomodates itself perfectly to the exigencies of the Hindu chronology. It is necessary that the real past should be connected without any solution of continuity, to

the fabulous past; The only events which matter are the exploits of epic heroes whom poetry has consecrated. It is then indispensable to trace back, at all costs, up to beginning of the fourth age of the world, in the year 3000 B. C. Thus the poet of the Cashmieran Rajatarangini who takes a pride to criticise the classification of events, mentions the emperor Ashoka in the second millennium before the Christian era, (grand-son of this Candra Gupta who knew Alexander the Great); the Attila of India, the Hun Mihirika Kula, passes from the sixth century of the Christian era to the VIIIth century B.C. The Vamnavali of Nepal does likewise. It classifies one hundred years before the Christian era, the coronation of Arasuvarman who reigned in the VIIIth century of J. C. I shall study in a Special chapter the meanness of the Nepalese chronology; I shall have to mention in detail the sources of error which corrupt the Vamnavali and particularly the multiplicity of eras, so disastrous, in all the domains of Indian history.

The author of the Buddhistic Vamnavali, has not contented himself in transcribing the dynastic lists; he has made use of them to frame an abstract of the puranas and the local mahatmyas. He mentions sometimes traditional verses which determine (or mutilate) the memory of great events; the introduction of the god Matsyendra Natha, the invasion of Nanya Deva, the disappearance of Siddhi Nara Simha. He even goes so far as to mention the inscriptions of Arasuvarman, of Jaya Sthiti Malla, of Yaksha Malla and of his successors. He also consults family archives; his complaisance has related the adventures of certain personages, insignificant enough, like Abhayaraja and Javaraja, reveals one of their descendants, the author is undoubtedly one of the Ananda priests of the Maha Buddha vihara at Patan, who practise from father to son, the profession of Pundit-interpretor to the British Residence, perhaps Amritananda, the glory of the family, who

compose several works in Sanscrit and in Nepali and who initiated Hodgson to the knowledge of Buddhism.

We possess several of the works which the editor of the Vamnavali has placed in hand; I have even myself brought away two from Nepal; many more are still to be had which will be procured someday. These works, interesting for the study of religion, of the worship, of popular legends and of historical geography do not as a rule originate from a lofty inspiration; they serve the financial interests of religion and of the priest.

India is on her whole stretch covered with holy places which vie with one another for the favour of the pious public. Each one of them has its local patronage; but the ambition of the priests and of the princes covets beyond this restricted circle, the ambulant multitude of pilgrims who tread without respite the roads of India in search of meagre benefits. A pilgrimage of fashionable size is a big fair; Brahmins sell their prayers, the fakeers exploit their faked asceticism, the merchants give out rosaries and haberdasheries, the chieftain receives dues and taxes. And as the competition promotes the catch-word, the rivalry of sanctuaries engenders the 'mahatmyas'. The word "Mahatmya" properly signifies greatness of soul, nobility, eminence. In the religious literature, it applies itself to versified works which serve at the same time as an attraction, amusement, edification and practical guide to the faithful. The Mahatmya relates the origin of the pilgrimage, the divine apparition, and the miracle which has consecrated them. It enumerates the points to visit, the benefits to derive, with an indication of days especially propitious. The Mahatmya does not present itself either as a human work or as an isolated work; it pretends connection with some of the compilations named Puranas, versified treaties of holy history of cosmogony, of theology, and of mythology which modern

Hinduism considers as revealed and venerated as much as the vedas. Among the eighteen canonical Puranas, the Skanda-Purana has served more frequently to cover the pious fraud of the authors of the Mahatmyas. The Kaci-khanda and the Utkala-khanda, which glorify the two most sacred sites in India: Benares and Jagannath (Jugernaut); are offered like sections of the Skanda-Purana and it is to the same work that the Mahatmya of Nepal prides itself in being connected.

The 'Nepala-mahatmya'⁹ is divided into thirty perusals grouped in a factitious frame alike the Puranas. The famous sacrifice of the king Janame Jaya, who heard among so many other rhapsodies the complete recitation of the Maha-Bharata, has gathered a host of holy personages.

One amongst them, Jaimini, in the name of the whole company, interrogates the venerable Markandeya on the holy places of Nepal; and Markandeya replies with an untiring complaisance to the indefatigable curiosity of his audience. He at first glorifies the wood of Clesmantaka where Civa transformed himself into a gazelle to throw off the scent the gods sent for his research (1), then the Dolagiri where an angry Brahman cut the throat of Visnu (11), the Valmikiśvara erected by the author of Ramayana on the very spot where he composed his poem (111), the wood of Rakta-udana (Red sandal-wood) where Parvati triumphed over the demon Canda (IV) and the lingas erected by all the gods, witness of this victory (V), the Dolecvara come out miraculously from the soil (V), the Mangalacvara which commemorates the resurrection of a child (VI) the Tilamadhava which reminds one of apparition and a prodigy of Visnu, the Svarnacringecvara and the Kilecvara founded by Krisna. Regarding this double foundation, Markandeya gives a long narration in poem style of the war waged between the demon Mahendra damana and the

son of Krisna, Pradyumna; this rhapsody (or burden- 'of a song') in which the gallant alternates with the heroic, ends up like a true romance, in a double marriage; Pradyumna spouses the sister of the demon vanquished, Prabhavati, and the daughter of the devotee Suryaketu named Candravati (VI-XII). The Somecvara serves the purpose of another burden (of a song) well developed; Some one has erected this linga on the advice of Agastya to purify himself from the incest which he committed with Tara, the wife of his preceptor Brhaspati; by virtue of a procedure dear to the Hindu talent, a secondary account is found inserted in this episode, Agastya relates to Some the origin of the Raksasas, of Lanka, their sojourn, and the austerities of a prodigious nature which enabled Ravana to become their king (XIII-XXVI). Lastly the mahatmya introduces, in adapting it to its purpose, the famous legend of Gunadhya; the author of the Brhatkatha, after having given to King Mabara the original of his anecdotes in Baicaci dialect comes to Nepal, sets the example of the circular pilgrimage (Ksetra-pradaksina) and draps up the Bhringicvra (XXVII-XXX).

"The style and the language of the Nepala-Amahatmya do not call for any special observation; the poet manipulates without embarrassment and without incorrections the common formulae which serve to all works of the same nature. But its religious inspiration classes him apart; it faithfully reflects the eclectic syncretism which has almost prevailed in Nepal. The mahatmyas in general, like all the puranic literature with which they claim connection, proclaim a sort of sectarian fanaticism; the local god is exalted at the expense of all its rivals. The Nepala-mahatmya, on the contrary, in spite of its clearly Brahmanic origin, places on the same rank, Civa, Visnu and the Buddha. The poet has the identity of Visnu and of Civa proclaimed by the voice of Nemo, like in the name of the whole of Nepal of which Nemi is

the patronal saint. Besides, has not the Brahmanic orthodoxy of India admitted Buddha amongst the avatars of Visnu? Here Buddha is only a 'form' of Krishna; however they do not entirely mingle both of them. If Buddha sometimes resides like Krishna in the Kathiawar ('Saurashtra'), it often happens that he happens to cross into China ('Mahā-Cīna'), where the presence of Krishna would be unexpected. The rival divinities only compete with one another regarding amiable civilities; Civa-Pacupati compliments Nemi who has recognized him identical to Visnu; the spouse of Civa offers to Buddha a favour to select and consents to allow him to share with Civa the honours of the worship. And 'the Sympathizer', who does not wish to be behind hand in courtesies, dedicates to Civa the linga of the Compassion (Karunikecvara).

The *Nepala-mahatmya*, like most of its congeners, escapes to every chronology; the work is so completely impersonal that it seems to float outside its age. No name, no date, no indication which would allow of the remotest approximation.

The '*Vagvati-mahatmya*¹⁰', or, to reproduce the title in all its amplitude, the '*Vagvati-mahatmya-pracamsa*' lends itself as a section of the *Pacupati-purana*; I ignore if this purana, or completely unknown elsewhere exists in its integrality. I have only succeeded in obtaining in Nepal chapters consecrated to the glory of *Vagvati* (*Bagmati*). These chapters, thirty in all, are outwardly distributed in two divisions; one of them, composed of the first fourteen perusals, has for interlocutor, Bhīma, who interrogates and Pulastya who instructs; it begins with a treble invocation: to Cankara whose mouth gives birth to the *Vagvati*, to Pulastya himself who has recited the Purana, to Vyasa who has preserved it. The perusals which compose it regularly bear for inscription: '*iti crī-yagvati-mahatmya-pracam-sayan...*' The second division which consist of eight perusals,

begins with an invocation to Pacupati; it has for narrator *Sanakumara*; each one of the perusals bears for inscription.

The first division analyses itself in two parts: The '*tirtha-varnana*' 'the panegyric of sacred bathing-places', also called '*tirtha-yatra-khanda*' 'section of the pilgrimage to sacred bathing-places' (I-IV) and the '*pradyumnajayakhanda*' 'the victory of Pradyumna' (VI-XIII). Questioned by Bhīma, Pulastya reveals to him the sanctity of the '*Mrga-nikhare*, where *Narasinha* appeared in the form of a gazelle, of the *Vagvati*, sprung out from the mouth of *civa* laughing with pleasure at the penitences of *Prahlada*; of the *tirthas* of *Indramarga*, where *Vibhisana* practised mortifications and heard the *Ramayana* recited by his father *vicravas* "the *Ramayana* which was still to come"; of *Uma*; of *Agastya*, etc. (I-V). Then follows the amorous adventures and war-like escapades of *Pradyumna*, his campaign against *Indradamana* his marriage with his two mistresses (VI-XIV). The account is parallel to the episode of the *Nepala-mahatmya*, but it is independent from it.

The last eight perusals, which compose the second division, recalls the metamorphosis of *Civa* into a gazelle in the woods of *Clesmantaka* (XV), the researches of the gods and the meeting (XVI), the discourse of *Civa* to the gods who have discovered him (XVII), the erection of the treble *Gokarnecvara* by *Brahma*, *Visnu* and *Indra* (XVIII), the story of *Dhanda* (*Kuvera*) who on the councils of his father *Vicravas* renounced the winning over *Lanka* and went away to establish himself on the *Kailasa* (XIX), the erection of the *Gonarnecvara* of Southern India, by *Ravana*, brother of *Kuvera* and his successor at *Lanka* (XX). The work ends up with a catalogue of rivers, of tributaries, of sacred bathing-places, with an account of the advantages which are attached to them respectively (XXI) and by an exalta-

tion of the Vagvati (XXII)

The two mahatmyas, one can ascertain by their brief analysis, place in hand nearly the same subject of legends; They represent two editings of a group of traditions, of accounts and local stories which may be traced back to a fairly distant past. The Vagvati-mahatmya is not better dated than the Nepala-Mahatmya; however, compared to this one, it gives the impression of a more recent composition. It seems to have eliminated with a purpose the personages which still connected with a link, however, vague it might have been, the Nepala-mahatmya to human redlity, to history. Valmiki, Gunadhya have disappeared to leave all the place to the gods and to the demons Elsewhere, the difference of composition is very apparent. The narration of the Nepala-mahatmya is sober, brisk, almost dramatic, the one of the Vagvati-mahatmya is dull, hindered by long descriptions, by enumerations which are perfectly useless (or idle). In short, from one to the other, the religious spirit has changed. The Vagvati-mahatmya attributes to Civa the first rank without contest, the other gods are his inferiors and Buddha is firmly held aside either as a suspect or as an enemy.

Nepalese Buddhism has, in every respect like Brahmanism, cultivated the style of the mahatmya, it has celebrated, and recommended, its sacred spots in the "Svayambhu-Purana¹¹". The designation of Purana has doubtless been applied to this work with only the view of throwing off the scent and to create opposition, by a lucky confusion, with the so-called extracts of the Puranas placed in circulation by the Brahmans. The Svayambhu-Purana does not contain any of the five constitutive elements of a Purana: it does not treat on cosmogony or on secondary creations, or on divine and heroic genealogies, or on the great fictitious periods, or on universal geography; and it confines itself to magnifying (or exaggerating) Svayambhu

and the collection which bears it, and in general, the whole valley of Nepal.

The name of "mahatmya" characterizes it so well that this word reappears incessantly, either in the title of chapters, or in the course of the explanation; in its whole, it is a Nepala-mahatmya in use by the Buddhists, and its author does not himself hesitate to make use of that designation.

The work has had so much success that it had to modify itself into all sorts of alterings to suit the varied tastes of its readers. There exists not less than five actually known recensions. The longest of them bears the title of Svayambhuva-Purana or Svayambhuva-maha-purana; it is worked out in twelve chapters; another, the Svayambhutpatikatha, has ten chapters (it is also called Madhyama-Sva pu); three others are divided into eight chapters, but they are nevertheless of very unequal lengths. Whilst the Vrhat-Sr pu; covers in manuscript from over 3000 lines and the Mahat-Sv' pu' more than 2000, the Svayambhucaityabhattacharakoddeca only has about 250. The differences bear moreover on the form only; the basis is everywhere identical; the amplitude of the descriptions and the pious accumulation of idle epithets alone determine the extent of the poem. The editing of the most satisfactory kind regarding the correction and the composition is the one of the Svayambhuva-(maha)-purana; it offers a sharp contrast to the barbarous style and the abominable versification of the Vrhat-sv. pu; printed in the 'Bibliotheca Indica'. The date of each one of these recensions is not known, and it is difficult to determine otherwise than by the reasons of taste their chronological order. The name of the king Yaksa Malla appears as well at the end of the Svayambhuva as it does of the Vrhat, in a prophesy foretold by the Buddha; Yaksa Malla being dead since 1460, our editings can hardly be anterior to the XVIth-century, if the allusion to this king is not due

to an interpolation always easy in a prophecy and especially at the end of a work. The other kings named and exalted in the poem, Gunakama deva and the two Narendira devas, date from a much more ancient period. Two Gunakama devas have reigned over Nepal; tradition places the second at the beginning of the VIIIth century; but the designation of Narendira as the son of Gunakama deva fixes its choice on the most ancient of these two kings. The other Narendira deva, associated to a capital event of the religious history in Nepal, reigned about the middle of the VIIth century. These are the only data that one can gather from the recensions of the Swayambhu Purana¹². A work of comparative criticism, reserved for the future, will no doubt allow of the recognition of the original form of the Purana or work out its restitution.

The Buddhist Purana has at least reproduced the framework of the Brahmanic Puranas; it is arranged in "Satsamvada, in" conversation by six (namely that three groups of speakers add themselves; the first dialogue is enclosed in a second which is inserted in a third. Two Buddhisattvas, Jayacri and Jinacri entertain each other at Gaya, Jayacri questioned on the origin of Swayambhu recalls to his companion a conversation engaged on the same subject between king Acoka and his spiritual master Upagupta. In order to satisfy the curiosity of the sovereign, Upagupta himself had found nothing better than to repeat to him the dialogue exchanged at one time on the same matter between the Buddha Bakyamuni and the Bodhisattva Maitreya who questioned him. Cakyamuni then narrates the visits of anterior Buddhas to Swayambhu (Vipacyin, Cikhin, Vicvabhu, Krakuchanda, Kankamuni, Kacyapa) their predictions, their adorations, the worship they had given to the sacred places, the virtues they had recognized in them, the journey of Manjucri to Nepal, the valley conquered on the waters, the civilization introduced, the order established,

the religion of the Nagas instituted as a remedy against barrenness by the king Gunakama deva. Amazed by so many wonders, Acoka hastens himself, to proceed to Nepal, erecting everywhere on the track, stupas; then, his pilgrimage completed, he returns to Pataliputra, where his master Upagupta announces to him briefly the future fates of the worship of Avalokitesvara. And Jinacri, over-pleased in his turn, thanks Jayacri for this instructive and edifying account.

In order to control the suspicious data of the tradition and legend, Nepal offers to history two categories of documents, the inscriptions and the manuscripts. The epigraphy of Nepal is far from dating as far back as the epigraphy of India.

If the Emperor Acoka ever visited the valley, as the Swayambhu Purana maintains, no monument expressly commemorates his passage; an interval of seven and a half centuries separates the pillars of inscriptions erected by Acoka in Nepalese Terrai and the inscriptions of Mana deva which open the Nepalese epigraphy. This epigraphy spreads over a period of fourteen centuries, but it is far from showing a continuous succession of documents. Unaccountable discrepancies, section it in irregular series. Commencing from Mana deva, it lengthens up to the IXth century of J. C. and is here interrupted to recommence at the end of the XIVth century (139 of the Nepalese era); but by a strange fatality, the inscription had disappeared when I was returning to have it stamped. The inscriptions discovered by Bhagvanlal, Bendall and me, emanate all from the same princes; the ones I received from Nepal since my return remain, whatever be their origin, closed in that fatal circle of names and dates.

The ancient inscriptions of Nepal are all exclusively engraved on stone; one has not yet found ancient donations inscribed on copper

plates (tamra-pattra), alike the custom which was prevalent in India from the days of the origine of the epigraphy (witness the plates of Sohgaure, which trace back undoubtedly to the Maurya period). And yet Nepal has copper mines, which have been worked for a long time past and her bronze-figures enjoy a very antique reputation. The Vamcavali mentions, it is true, an order of the Carumati-Vihara which was engraved on copper in the reign of Bhaskara varman, legendary personage rather than a historical one and who precedes by twenty generations, the king Mana deva. The Maharaja Chandra Sham (Sher has sent me the copy of the plates actually preserved in that convent, they have nothing to do with Bhaskara varman; they are modern and even drawn up in the Newar language. The tamrapatras which are often found nailed to the 'facade' of temples, all date from the last three or four centuries.

The inscriptions on stone (cila-patras) are engraved sometimes on the pillars on which stand a sacred image such as the example at Changu Narayan, at Harigaon, sometimes on the very object with which they are connected, sometimes and most often on erected tablets. The stone is carefully polished, the figures traced with care and taste; the fronton of the stela is generally decorated with a carving in relief, either the disc of Visnu between two conches, or the bull of Civa, or even a lotus flower. The text of ancient inscriptions is always in sanscrit, the formulas of the protocole are borrowed from the general formularies of India, but the invention of the local poets willingly practise in prefatory inventions or in the panegyrics. The kings themselves do not disdain to enter the lists and to show their skill to handle the verses.

The second series of Nepalese inscriptions opens with re-establishment of the Mallas, towards the end of the XIVth century. It is hard to

believe that the engraving of inscriptions in Nepal has been stopped for five hundred years. It is surprising that kings as glorious in tradition as the founder of Kathmandu, Gunakama devas have not attempted to immortalize themselves on stone. The laboriously effaced and scratched stelas which are met with everywhere in great number are perhaps the testimonies, reduced to silence, of that obscure period. Popular belief hold them all anterior to the Nepalese era (880 of J.-C.); a founder of an era must pay all the debts of the country before inaugurating a new computation. At the foundation of the Nepalasamvat, all previous engagements and documents which supported them, must have been destroyed. Mr. Wright has made himself the echo of this presumption (Vamcav., p. 245). It is sufficient in order to ascertain the inanity (emptiness), to observe that the first series of Nepalese inscriptions is entirely anterior to the Nepala-samvat.

Dating from the XVIIth. century, the epigraphy of the Mallas abounds to the point of crowing. Pratapa Malla floods the length of his domains with his prose and with his verses; his successors, and the princes of rival dynasties, at Patana and at Bhadgaon, everywhere spread the declamatory pomp of their vain titles. The writing borders on the arabesque; it becomes supple, twists, in humourists lines, adapts perfectly to the stone which it is supposed to ornament. At the same time, Sanscrit recedes: the common language-Newarian, penetrates in the epigraphy; without reaching the standard of literature, it explains the banal or trivial realities which the sacred tongue does not know or does not wish to give, the stipulations, the clauses, the limits of concessious, etc. The parbatiya tongue, since the Gurkha conquest, has gradually taken up the place of the Newarian language; but Sanscrit still retains its prestige and is continued to be used in the invocations and the preambles of inscriptions.

In spite of the neighbourhood of Tibet and the frequent relations between the two countries, Tibetan inscriptions are scarce in Nepal; I have not found any ancient ones, neither at Swayambu Nath nor at Budnath. The Tibetans are pleased to engrave with a surprising skill of the hand the holy formula: "om mani padme hum", on the rocks that skirt the road. The only worthy text in the bilingual inscription of Swayambu Nath which commemorates the restoration of the edifice in the XVIIth. century. I also hoped to discover a souvenir of the Chinese who on several occasions visited Nepal; I have only seen three Chinese characters engraved on a small modern chapel at Swayambu Nath.

The superscriptions of transcribers are a peculiar resource of Nepalese history. The convents and the climate of Nepal have preserved a fairly large number of ancient manuscripts, traced on palm leaves (tala-pattra); One must come out of India to meet documents of Indian paleography which are worthy of contesting with those of Nepal; The Dhammapada of Kachgar and the Bower manuscript, the discoveries of Dr. Stein in the Takla-Makun, the palm-leaves of Horinji in Japan. Most of the ancient Nepalese manuscripts, actually known are preserved either in the library of the Darbar, at Kathmandu, or at the library of the University

of Cambridge, which has acquired the collection of Dr. Wright. The old stupas, the convents, the libraries of private individuals still contain priceless treasures which a methodical exploration will some days hand over to science. True to a custom prevalent in India, but more especially observed in Nepal, the Nepalese scribes indicate at the end of the work the date of completion, often with details which enable the calculation of the European equivalent in a sure and precise way: day of the week, lunar constellation, angles of the Sun and Moon, etc. . . often also, they mention the name and title of the reigning king, to such a degree, that a portion of Nepalese chronology is based on the signatures of these scribes¹³.

The numismatic¹⁴ which supplies so useful a support to certain sections of the Indian History, is practically wrong in Nepal. The ancient specimens which have been discovered up till now are stamped by the princes of the first epigraphical serie (VIth. VIIth. centuries of J.-C).

(To be continued)

FOOT NOTE

1. Translated in Russian by the monk Hyacinthe; written in French and enriched with numerous notes from Klaproth, *New Asiatic Journal*, IV, p. 81; VI, p. 161; VII, p. 161 and 185—New translation in English by w. w. Rockhill: 'Tibet from Chinese sources' in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1891.
2. "History of the conquest of Nepal (drawn out from the Cheugvon tci) by Imbault-Huart, in 'Asiatic Journal', 1878 11; 348-377.
3. 'An episode of the diplomatic' relations..., by Imbault-Huart (see. sup. p. 172. note)
4. See sup., p. 172, note 2.
5. Mr. Rockhill wrongly connects this designation of the name of "Parbatiya", and the name of 'Pie-pang' to the name of the town of Patan.
6. Mr. Imbault Huart (see sup., p. 186, note 2) has studied with the help of the reports and texts of Meng Pao, the Nepalese embassy of 1842. It settles down at the time England declared war against China. It is at the same time a superb specimen of the ceremonial of the embassy, of the style of the petitions addressed by the vassal to the sovereign, as well as of the ordinary demeanours of the Ghurkas. I have reproduced here the essential documents. One can also further find in the excellent article of Mr. Imbault

Huart, a petition addressed in 1840 by the king Vikram Shah: on the false rumour that the British had been beaten, he offers to declare war against them. The imperial commissaries of Tibet played a more subtle game: they officially communicate it to Peking. The imperial council is not entrapped by the advantageous offers of the Ghurkas and entrusts its commissaries to communicate to Vikram Shah this pacific order: "Remain on the defensive, live in good harmony with your neighbours and you will enjoy eternally the benefits of the celestial court (of Peking)".

Petition of the king of the Gurkhas to the Emperor China.

1. King Erdeni of the Gurkhas, 'Je-tsou-ta-cul-pi-koeul-ma-sa-ye' (Surendra Vikram Shah) I offer you on bended knees and in making the nine prostrations the following petition: Your empire is like Heaven, it brings us up and nourishes us; your sagacity illuminates us as brilliantly as the Sun and the Moon, Your solicitude spreads to all States, your age is as lasting as the mountain 'Sin-mi' (Sumeru).

Oh! very great and very worshipped 'Wen-chou P'ou-sa' (Manjucri Bodhisattva), we present ourselves with respect before the throne of your Majesty and we ask of your holy news.

In accordance with the conditions, I was to have delegated specially (this year 'Ko-tsi' Kaji) to present themselves to the court to offer you my homages. In looking back upon the precedents, I have come to prepare the objects selected to be offered as a tribute and to delegate the 'Kotsi' Tso-ko-to-pa-moung-pang-tcho', grandson of the 'Ko-tsi' Tu-mon-ta-jo-pang-tcho (Damodar Pande) who holds all my confidence and As-eul-ta-eul (Sardar) Pi-jo-pa-ta-jo-ko-jo-ko' as well as several officers of all grades to convey with respect the petition and the tribute and to proceed to the capital to ask for an audience from your Majesty.

I have recollected with respect that one of our predecessors, after his submission had received an imperial decree expressed thus:

"You are the sovereign of a small State, you will come to court once every five years. If there are outside tribes who worry you or invade your territory, you will be able to draw up a petition to convey these facts to my knowledge: I shall then send men and horses, or I shall make you a gift of a sum of money to help you. Respect this."

Nearly fifty years have elapsed since my grand-father 'La-t'ou-na-pa-tou-eul-sa-ye (Rana Bahadur Shah) has received in the course of the eight month of the fifty eight year 'K'ien-long (September 1793) the preceding imperial decree.

The three generations which have succeeded one another since my grand-father have been protected by the celestial power of the emperors of China: although the country of the Gurkhas was hard pressed in the south, by the 'Cheu-pa', to the south by the 'Pi-leng' its frontiers have, however, been able

thanks to the celestial benefits (of China) to remain sheltered from all insults.

When I was young, I was ignorant of the fact that my grand-father after having made his submission, had received a decree from the emperor of China, granting him the investiture of the kingdom of Nepal; since all these matters have been originally dealt by the 'Ko-t'si Tu-mou-ta-jo pang-tcho (Damodar Pande) who had the whole confidence of the sovereign (he was prime minister); nobody else, after this, occupied the same post; a small official named Pi-mon-ching-t'a-pa (Bhimsen Thapa) only filled the functions of Ko-t'si and occupied himself with the affairs: this official secretly entertained amicable relations with the 'Pi-leng' and allowed two individuals of that country to named 'Ko-jeu' (Gardner) and Pa-lbu' (Boileau), to reside in the town of Yang-pou (Kathmandu). He afterwards gave these (Pi-leng) three places in the south, west and east of kingdom of the Gurkhas, where the 'Pi-leng, have resided till now. The seventeenth year 'Tas-kouang' (1838), I degraded this official and had him cast in prison.

According to a letter which the 'Pi-leng' have just addressed to me, it would seem that they have appropriated themselves of several places in the province of Koang-toung. The 'Pi-leng' are desirous of my amicable relations with them and of my submission to them to enable the seizure of the territory of the Tangouts and they tell me, if I do not conform to their orders, they would invade the Gurkha country. But I have in no way conceded to that which they asked and have returned the letter. According to the doings of the 'Pi-leng' in the province of Koang-toung, and to what they have just written to me, it is easy to detect that they wish to insult the isolated power

of the Gurkhas and to have me to join hands with them in order to create difficulties. I have thought of informing the imperial commissary regarding these affairs and to beg of him to address a report to the court in connection with the same (but I have not done so), fearing the wrath of your Majesty as it is now the time to send the tribute enforced by the regulations, I can only entreat Your Majesty to be so kind as to help me with troops or to give a sum of money as a gift to enable me to eject the "P'-leng" out and that I may be in a position to defend the country. I am absolutely persuaded that your Majesty will have pity on my people, a butt to the insults of the pi-leng, especially if He is willing to consider that since the reign of my grand-father, who has made his submission at the celestial court, until now, the sovereigns of Nepal have never been animated but with one thought, one mind and have never ceased to be sincerely respectful and obedient.

Finding besides that the country of Tapa-ko-eul, dependent of Tangout, is bordering on my frontiers, I would desire to exchange it against the territory of Mo-tse-tang' (Mastang): Should it happen that the people of 'Lenepa' attack Tangout, I am quite disposed to help the latter with my weapons. As to the country of La-ta-ko' (Ladak), which the people of "Chen-pa" have at one time seized, should it be placed to-day under my jurisdiction it would offer tribute, in accordance with the regulations, to Your Majesty.

"For a long time the 'Pi-leng' are coveting the country of Tangout. They are already on the frontiers of Tcho-moung-Chioug (Demojong or Sikkim) where they are making roads, establishing camps and building houses that their own people may

dwell in. I entreat Your Majesty to be so kind as to make me a gift of ten (lis) leagues of territory ceded from the neighbourhood of Pou-lou-ko-pa, (Bruk-pa or Bhoutan) to enable me to camp soldiers. I could thus guarantee the integrity of the frontier of Tangout and despatch reports on the affairs, of whatever importance they be, that would arise. It is with this object that I address the report here present, to Your Majesty and entreat Him to kindly approve it. All the circumstances which I have just related are absolutely true".

"Remembering that I have always exerted myself to respectfully obey the orders of the court, I dare entreat Your Majesty to be so kind as to grant me these new benefits to enable me to guarantee the security of the southern countries. I have already mentioned in my petition the story of my misfortunes. I entreat Your Majesty to grant me this request, to enable me to conform in everything to his instructions".

With this object, I, the king Erdeni of the Gurkhas, 'Jo-tsoun-ta-eul-pi-ko-eul-massa-ya' have drawn up the petition herewith, in making the nine prostrations on bended knees, to "Yang-pou", the 23rd day of the 5th month of the 22nd year 'Tas-Kouang' (1st July 1842) 2

In continuation of this petition, one finds, in the correspondence of Mang-pao, the minute of instructions despatched in reply to the king of the Gurkhas by the imperial commissaries: in the margin of this text are the remarks of the emperor written with the vermilion brush (tchou-pi). These instructions are accompanied by an imperial decree which endorses them in their entirety. Herewith the substance of the reply of the commissaries:

"According to the regulations, every vassal who addresses a petition to the emperor, must not allude to his private affairs: the duty of the commissaries was to have been, this time, to return the petition of the Gurkhas king; however, at the request of the Nepalese ambassadors, the representatives at the court of Peking have kindly undertaken not to refuse the petition so as to avoid delays.

"Regarding the request for money, the representatives have pointed out to me that no regulation authorizes gifts of that nature; the emperor has the same benevolent disposition towards all the countries subdued under his domination, but he had never sent troops to protect the country from barbarous strangers.

As to that which concerns the exchange of territories, the commissaries have pointed out that the country of 'Ta-pa-ko-eul' has from all time belonged to the Tangout, that the exchange of this region would entail numerous inconvenience, and that up till now such acts, have in fact, never been authorized: It is then difficult to comply to the request to the Gurkha's king.

"In connection with the affair of the 'La-ta-ko', the troubles that have arisen having been quelled and the chieftains of the countries having made their submission, it is useless to speak on the matter.

"It is also impossible to grant the king, ten (lis ?) leagues of the 'Pou-lou-ko-pa' territory, because this state does not depend on Tangout and is, in a certain measure, independent.

"The refusal that the king has opposed to the requests of the p'i-leng is a new proof of the sincerity and fidelity of this sovereign; the affairs of Kouang-toung are besides closed and tranquillity reigns once again in

the province".

"List of persons composing the embassy sent by the king of the Gurkhas to the Emperor Tao-Kouang:" -1st Ambassador, 'Tsa-ko-ta-pa-moung-pang-tcho' (Pande, -nd Ambassador, 'pi-jo-pa-ta-jo-ko-jo-ko' (general of the Nepalese army); -Eight great officials;

'Son-pi-ta' (Subahdar) 'Jo-son-jo-toung-pang-tcho' (Pande, Nepalese officer); 'Pi-na-n-an-jo-toung' (Nepalese officer); 'Ho-ji-ko-ssou-leng' (Nepalese officer who understands Chinese);

'Cai-ti-lia-ching' (Nepalese officer who can write Nepalese figures);

'Sou-pi-ta' (Subahdar); 'Jo-lia-lia-lia-ching-K'ia-ti' (officer);

'Sou-pita' (Subahdar, Jo-'pou-tch' 'ou-jou-k' ia-ti' (officer);

Sou-pi-ta (Subahdar); 'Jo-lia-na-ching-k' ta-je' (officer)

-Six small officials:

'Tsa-ma-ta' (Jemadar) -Jo-tas'a-ha-pi-k' ia-ti' (officer);

'Tsa-ma-ta' (Jemadar) -Jo-ti-pi-pa-sa-cil-lia-pang 'tcho' (Pande, officer).

'Tsa-ma-ta' (Jemadar) -Jo-mg-ta-ching-k' ia-ti' (officer);

'Tsa-ma-ta' (Jemadar) -'jo-pa-ta-ma' (officer);

'Tsa-ma-ta' (Jemadar) -'jo-pa-ta-ma' (officer);

-Nineteen Nepalese soldiers

-Ten servants

In all forty five persons.

List of articles sent in tribute to the emperor Tao-Kouang by the king of the Gurkhas. A necklace of corals (of one hundred and nine beads; enclosed in the box which contains the king's petition).

Two pieces of golden satin (in the same box).

Thirteen rolls of variegated coloured carpets
 Twenty pieces of satin from 'K'ia-tsi'.
 Four pieces of silk from 'K'ia-tse'.
 Four elephants' tusks
 Two rhinoceros' horns.
 Four swords
 Four sabres
 Two daggers
 Two swords ornamented with clouds
 A double-barrel gun
 Two duck shooting guns
 A box of cinnamon bark (three hundred ounces)
 One thousand medicinal kidney-beans.
 Six hundred ounces of rolled betel leaves
 Three hundred and sixty ounces of flat betel leaves.

7. Vamcavali:- Wright, 'History of Nepal translated from the Parbatiya, Cambridge, 1877 -Minayeff has published a long account given from this translation in the 'Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction' (of Russia) 1878; he blames Wright (and not without reason for having totally neglected in his "Introduction" the name and work of Hodgson. Besides "the indigenous translators have less translated than reported the original" (P. S.) Minayeff also mentions unexpected similarities, reproduced in his article on Nepal (Ocerki Zeilona i Indiy, Petersbourg, 1878. 1, 231, 284), between certain accounts of the Vamcavali and biblical accounts which may have suggested the idea. Thus Krakucchanda who strikes the rock with his finger to make flow the Bagmati, (W. p. 80) is supposed to be a copy of Moses; virupaksa, who stops the sun from its course by raising his hand, (W. p. 92) may be a disguised Hoshuah. This is jumping to conclusions regarding the accounts which may belong to the universal folk-lore.-, In connection with the Vamcavali, key, Bendall, 'Cat. mss. Cambridge'-Add. 1160 and add. 1952.- Bhagwanlal

'Indraji', 'Some considerations on the History of Nepal' in 'Ind. Antiqu'. XIII (1884).

p 411-428- Fleet, 'Jb'. XXX, p. 8.

None of the mss. of the Vamcavali have yet been described. Herewith the description of the ms. of the Brahmanic Vamcavali which was communicated to me by S. Exc. Deb Sham Sher.

Ms. of 83 leaves bound in a book. 0.27 x 0.15; 9 or 10 lines to the page. Devanagari characters. On the cover painted pictures (see the reproduction on the frontispiece of this volume) of 'Swayambhu, Pacupati, Cri Vacchlessvari, Daksinamacana, Cri Vagmati, Gāngamata Asvattha-Samyakta-Sveta, Vinayaka. Raja Dharmadatta, Kalpavrksa'.

8. ("A paragraph in vernacular")
 Sacred history up to Vikramajita, as in Wright.

Atha nararajamala

A few verses in sanscrit, then : (see p 194.)
 This is vernacular)

Follows the history of the kings, on the same plan as Wright, up to Vikram Sha (accession in 1816)

(This is Vernacular)

The summary inventory of Hodgson's papers, offered by the author to the India office in 1864, shows: "Twenty three Vamcavalis or indigenous chronicles, partly translated and chronologically traced by the help of coinages and inscriptions. "The whole is divided in two series: 1st "Newarian" chronicles; 2nd. "Ghurbhalian" chronicles. The first comprises the general chronicles of the Newarian dynasties, of particular chronicles (the Gopala dynasty), and of royal biographies (Pratap Malla, Vishnu Malla, Mahendra Malla, Siddhi Narasimha Malla); the

second is solely connected with the Gurkhas (W. W. Hunter, "Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson" London, 1896. Appendix B. p. 357-359).

9. The 'Catalogue Catalogorum' of Aufrecht mentions two mss. of the Nepalamahatmya; one of them is at the library of the Queen's College at Benares, where I have examined it. I have brought away from Katmandu an excellent copy, executed at my request by the Fundits of the Darbar library. The Ms., on Nepalese paper, has 77 leaflets, between 11 and 14 lines to the page.

Incipi cri Ganecaya namah om namah Sarasvatyai devyai Narayanam namaskritya Naram caiva... (le vers usuel) suta uvaca.

Janamejayasya yajante munayo brah-
mavadinah,

- I. iti cri Skanda- purane Himavat kha-
nde Nepala mahatmye pacupati
pradurbhavo nama prathamodhy-
ayah 4a
- II. iti narayana- pradurbhavo nama
dvitryodhyayah 6b
- III. iti mahatmye trityodhyayah 9b
- IV. iti Ivaripradurbhavo nama caturth-
odhyayah 12a
- V. iti Dulecavarapradurdhavo nama pan-
camodhyayah 15a
- VI. iti cri sury Vinayakapradurbhavo
nama sasthodhyayah 18a
- VII. iti mahatmye saptamodhyayah 21a
- VIII. iti mahendra-tamanopakhyane stamo-
dhyayah 24b
- IX. iti mahatmye navamodhyayah 27b
- X. iti mahatmye dacamodhyayah 29b
- XI. iti mahatmye Hekadacodhyayah 35a
- XII. iti mahatmye dvadacodhyayah 37b
- XIII. iti mahatmye trayodacodhyayah 41a
- XIV. iti mahatmye caturdacodhyayah 45a
- XV. iti mahatmye pancadacodhyayah 47a
- XVI. iti mahatmye sodacodhyayah 48b

- XVII. iti.... Sukecavarapradananama saptada-
codhyayah 51a
- XVIII. iti.... mahatmye stadacodhyayah 53b
- XIX. iti.... mahatmye unavimcatitamodhya-
yah 54b
- XX. iti.... mahatmye vimcatitamodhyayah 57a
- XXI. iti.... malino vadho namaikavimcatitamo
dhyayah 59a
- XXII. iti.... mahatmye dvavimcatitamodhyayah
60a
- XXIII. iti.... mahatmye trayovimcatitamodhya-
yah 62a
- XXIV. iti.... mahatmye caturvimcatitamodhya-
yah 63b
- XXV. iti.... mahatmye pancavimcatitamodhya-
yah 65b
- XXVI. iti.... mahatmye sadvimcatitamodhya-
yah 67a
- XXVII. iti.... mahatmye saptavimcatitamodhya-
yah 69b
- XXVIII. iti.... mahatmye astavimcatitamodhya-
yah 71a
- XXIX. iti.... mahatmye unatrimcodhyayah 74a
- XXX. iti.... mahatmye trincodhyayah 77a
cubhan, bhuyat/sarvajagam/

The Vamcavali relates that the king Girvana Yudha, at the beginning of the XIXth. century, made himself known the meaning of Himavat-Khanda.

10. My ms. of the Vagvati-mahatmya is written on Nepalese paper of small size; it has 71 leaves and five lines to the page. It has been copied under the surveillance of the Pundit Vaikuntha Nath Carman, with the help of an ancient exemplar, it is traced in beautiful Nepalese archaical characters.

Incip- om namah cripacupataye /
yasya vaktrad viniskranta Vagvati
lokupavani /
mamamicirasa devam Cankaram bhuvan-
necvaram //

I. iti cri Vagvatimahatmyapracamasyam tirt-

- bavarnane prahladstapahsiddhir nama prathamodhyayah 7b
- II. iti cri pracamsavam tirthavarnane Vibhisanastrasiddhir nama 11b
- III. iti cri pracamsayam tirthavarnanam nama 12b
- IV. iti cri pracamsayam tirthavarnanam nama caturthah 14a
- V. iti cirhayatrakhandah samaptah 14b
- VI. iti cri pracamsayam pradyumnvijaye maharsisamdarcanam nama sastamah (sic) 19a
- VII. iti cri vijaye prabhativivaho nama saptamah 22a
- VIII. iti cri vijaye ratnopaharo nama 25a
- IX. iti cri vijaye udyogasamvarnana nama 28a
- X. iti cri vijaye prabhavativinodo nama 31a
- XI. iti cri vijaye Naradalapo nama 37a
- XII. iti cri vijaye Virodhadarcana nama 39a
- XIII. iti cri vijaye Indradamanavadho nama 42b
- XIV. iti cri pracamsayam prahladavijayakhandah nama samaptah 49a
- XV. Incip- om namah civaya /
pranamyā cirasa bhaktya pacunam patim avyayam/
puranam sampravaksyami munibhih puravaraitam//
iti cri vagvatimshatmyapracamsayam pacupatipurane clesmantakavanavatamano (sic) nama 51a
- XVI. samakumara uvaca/ etasminnantare...
iti cri purane bhinecvaracringaharano nama 54a
- XVII. iti cri purane Icvaravakyam nama 59a
- XVIII. iti cri purane Gokarnecvarapratisthapano nama 61a
- XIX. iti cri purane Gokarnecvarapratisthapane purvardhakhandah 63b
- XX. iti cri purane daksina Gokarnecvarapratisthapano nama 65a
- XIX. iti cri purane tirthanandapurane purvardhakhandah 67a
- XXII. iti cri pacupatipurane Vagvatimahatmyapracamsayam Vagvatis. otram samaptam 71a

11. 'Swayambhu-Purana', tenth chapter, published by L. De la Vallée Poussin. Gand, 1893 (In the collection of works published by the Faculty of Philosophy and the letters of the University of Gand, 9th Part)- Analysis in: Hodgson... etc., Manuscripts described in: Cowell and Eggeling,....etc, The short analysis which I give is founded on the recension entitled Swayambhuva-Purana. At this text (already mentioned, I recall it, by Mr. de Lavalée Poussin) has not been described, I think it useful to give here a summary description.

"National Library, mss. Sanscrits. D. 152 leaflets:

Bibliothèque nationale mss. sanscrits D. 78, 152 feuillets 0,33 0,107,

9 lignes a la page. Caractere devanagari.

1. On namo ratnatrayaya/

Pancavarnan Samuccarya Pancabhutany abhavayat /

Pravrttau pancatatvatma pandabuddhatmane namah //

Longue introduction en prose: Jinacri interroge Jayacri a Gaya sur la swayambhutpattikatha.

Acoka et Upagupta Recit de la visite de Cakyamuni au Nepal, les vers remplacent la prose:

Lumbinivad ramyam alokya vadatam varah /

Vaktum Nepalamahatmyam cakanksa dbarmyam asanam // 7d

(L'expression Nepala- mahatmya revient encore p. 8a)

iti swayambhuve purane crijyoturupasvayamutpannasya swayambhumahatmyavarnanam nama prathamodhyayah 14b (= Vrhat I,I')

II. Ananda demande:

crotum samutsuko Gubyecvaridecadisambhavam /

kada khaganana devi prakacam agamad vibho //

decanam racanam nrnam hradavico-

nam. tatha /
iti cri swayambhuve purane dhanadaharuda-
gopucchaguhyevariprakacamanjuricaitya-
nirmitam, nama prathamo dhyayah 26a
(= Vrhat III)

III. iti cri swayambhuve purane krakutsand-
abhighamanabhiksucaryacarana Vagmarikec-
avatiprabhavam nama tirtiyodhyayah 41a
(= Vrhat IV)

IV. Manirobinibhavakatham bruve smanma-
himatmikam /

iti cri swayambhuve mahapurane Manicuda-
tadagadimakaradacasambhavam nama caty-
rtho' dgyayah 63a (= Vrhat suite, du IV)

V. Gokarnecvaramukhyanam samkatham
vitaraginam /

Long introduction in prose... (Sanskrit)...,
account of the visit of Cakyamuni to Nepal.
Verses are used for prose. . (Sanskrit. .)
The expression 'Nepala-mahatmya comes
again p. 8a) more Sanskrit...,

X. (Published by Mr. de Lavallee Boussin).

XII. Prose is taken up again. Acoka leaves
Pataliputra to travel towards the North,
goes up to Nepal, then returns to Patalipu-
tra in Kukkutarama. (Sanskrit follows...),...
dharmasamdathyam.. Eulogy of the Purana.
iti... etc.

12. The Pundit Haraprasad Castri (in the
"Journal Buddh. Text. Soc., loc. laud)
wrongly takes the second of the two Naren-
dra deva mentioned in the Purana for the
king who reigned at Bhatgaon towards the
middle of the XVIIth century. The episode
in which Narendra deva is mentioned, too
famous to allow of the least confusion; the
here is really the one of the successors of
Amcuvarma, the same Narendra deva who
entertained amicable relations with China.
If the Vrhat-Sv places this Narendra deva

"a long time after Yaksa malla" it would be
futile to attach the least importance to this
semblance of chronological classification;
the compiler of the Purana simply makes
use of this convenient formula to place end
to end (or connect) the events he wishes to
relate.- Besides the episode of Narendra
deva and of Bhandhu datta is not mentioned
by the Swayambhuva -(kaha)- purana. I
have also not found any indication which
corresponds to the verses of the Vrhat-Sv
mentioned by Haraprasad and wherein is
found (or contained) an allusion to the des-
truction of the Vicvevara of Benares (in
the description of Benares as the mother-
land of the Buddha Kacyapa). Everything
seems to testify that the Swayambhuva is
anterior to the Vrhat. It is regrettable that
the 'Biblioteca Indica' should have printed
this last recension by preference and that the
editor of the text should have thought it
necessary to cram at pleasure with barbari-
sms and solecisms, the macaronic Sanscrit
of its author; it is not in accordance with
"fair play" even between the Brahman and
the Buddhist, to select, as if biassed, the
most incorrect lessons and to eliminate the
others.

The procedure of development, to a
certain degree mechanical, practised by the
Vrhat. recalls entirely the method of the
Vaipulya-sutras.

13. The mss sent by Hodgson to the Asiatic
Society and to Burnouf and preserved in
the National Library, have never been the
object of a scientific catalogue... (English
follows) (re-printed at the end of: 'Life of
Brian Houghton. etc.,).

14. Nepalese numismatic... (The rest is in Eng-
lish-p. 218)

प्राचीन नेपाल

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ANCIENT NEPAL

संख्या २६

कात्तिक २०३१

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सम्पादक

रमेशजङ्ग थापा

Edited by

Ramesh Jung Thapa

NEPAL

(Continued)
THE POPULATION
THE NEWARS

by Sylvain Leri

The population of Nepal divides, as is usually the case, into two groups: the masters and the subjects, the conquerors and the vanquished. The masters are the Gurkhas who conquered Nepal in 1768. The subjects are the Nevars, the masters at one time, dispossessed by the Gurkha conquest. If one believes the Vamcavali, the Nevars themselves only entered the valley after the institution of the Nepalese era (year 9=889 J. C. ; rectified date; 1096 J. C.); they came from southern India under the leadership of Nanya deva an ordinary raja of the Carnatic (The central plateau of the Deccan); their native place was the country of Nayera. The classical geography of India ignores this country. The chronicler, or rather the tradition he follows evidently designates under that name the country of the Nayars or Nairs, the Malabar coast. Legends confirmed by positive indications connect, in fact, the religious history of Nepal to the southern extremity of the peninsula. When the Nevars who had definitely become part of the Hindu civilization, preoccupied themselves to find ancestors on the soil of orthodox India, the Nairs quite naturally struck the complaisant imaginations of the national genealogists. The analogy of the two names: Nayera, Nevara, already demonstrated to evidence the original parentage of the two nations; besides, if the Nevars scandalized the Brahmins

by their indifference to the sacrament of matrimony, the Nairs at the other end of India were practising the same doctrine, and although admitted in the Brahmanic organization, they faithfully cherished the custom of pelynadry, common to the Himalayan tribes. The 'Svamin' of the Deccan while passing through as pilgrim or installed as priests in Nepal, must have noticed at first sight these links between the Nairs and the Nevars, since colonel Kirkpatrick was equally aware of them at first sight. The conceit of the Newars is flattered by this reconciliation, since the Nairs in spite of their irregular practices are classified as Ksatriyas amongst the noble castes.

But history has drawn nothing from these whims: the features, the customs, the language of the Nevar reveal quite another origin; it is to the North of the Himalayan that one must look for their cradle. And it is also from there that the local traditions contained in the Puranas and the chronicles, bring the first inhabitants of the valley: The Bodhisattva Manjucris, who opened an outlet to the imprisoned waters and who transformed the old lake into inhabitable earth, came into Nepal from Mahacina-China; the disciples who followed him, and who were the first colonists, were also people from the Maha-Cina; the king whom he installed,

Dharmakara was a native of this same country. Only later, with the Buddha Krakuc-chanda, forerunner of Cakya muni, Brahmans and Katriyas came from the Hindustan; and it was a Hindu raja, Dharmapala who succeeded to Dharmakara the Chinese. Kings and Saints hastened since then in a flock from India; yet Nepal escaped again to the "people of the four castes". The barbarous Kiratas who had come from the eastern valleys, took possession of the town and reigned over it for a long time. A raja who had come from southern India, Dharmadatta of Kanci (Conjeveram), expelled them and re-established the four castes. But the deplorable times of the iron age, of the Kali Yuga, had arrived and the ksatriyas of an authentic character had disappeared. The god-father and patron of Nepal, Ne Muni, had no choice but to select a king among the shepherds; these shepherds, it is true, were really worth princes, because they had entered Nepal as the followers of Krisna, the god shepherd. After the shepherd, a new dynasty of herdsmen (Abheras) governed the country; then the Kiratas became once more the masters. However, there remained in Nepal personages of Kastriya blood; the powerful emperor Acoka was able to find a son-in-law. Lastly there appeared the legitimate dynasties of real Rajputs, who came from the West: the Race of the Moon, the race of the sun, the Thakuris.

Free from the disguises of the legends, the account reduces itself to a small number of acceptable facts: a first immigration arrives from the North of the Himalaya; it is followed by another immigration which arrives from the south. The country at first belongs to warlike tribes established in the mountains of the East; the population of shepherds which occupies it, several times attempt to shake off their yoke. Lastly, bellicose parties, sprung out from the Rajput countries succeed in gaining independence to Nepal, and under their authority the

kingdom becomes civilized.

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The Nevars are the companions of Manjucri; their features like their language show their parentage with the tribes of Tibet as well as with the other indigenous clans which share between them the territory of the Gurkhas' kingdom. The Eastern tribes, the least penetrated by the Hindu influence, still retain positive signs of their origin. Thus the Limbus, who form a branch of the Kiratas divide themselves into two tribes: the tribe of Kaci or Benares and the tribe of Lhasa; they relate that ten brothers born at Benares, separate themselves into two groups and found again themselves in Nepal where they had come, some directly from India, others by a 'detour', in passing through Tibet. Another myth gathered by Sarat Chandra Das deserves to be recalled as an historical document owing to the amount of general truth contained therein, it could very easily be applied to most of the Nepalese valleys: one day, a Tibetan herdsman who was tending to his flock towards the defile of Kangla, to the west of Kanchanjanga, discovered that one of his yaks had disappeared. He followed the marks crossed the defile and found his yak, lazily stretched, with its stomach well filled. The tired herdsman falls asleep; on waking up, the yak was still missing; a new search brought the shepherd on the marks of the animal to a verdant vale. He playfully sows a few seeds of barley, returns to his country, relates his discovery; nobody wishes to believe him, still less to go and see for themselves. A little while later, our shepherd leads his flock in the valley he had visited he found again his barley sprouting with ripe ears (of barley) on to it. He plucks them and shows them to his friends. This time they were compelled to believe him and they followed him. In this way the village of Yangma was founded.

The ancient ancestors of the Nevars came, also, undoubtedly from the northern regions

and their name, which has no relation at all to the more or less authentic country of Nayera, is in direct connection with the very name of Nepal, either be it that it derives its origin from the word Nepal (Nepala), or that Nepal owes on the contrary her name to a Sanscrit adaption of local ethnic¹. The date of their migration is not clearly determined; no history has registered it. Hodgson, however, has found that the legends of the reigning races indicated an interval of 35 to 45 generations, or 1000 to 1300 years, since their entry into the country; he rather preferred the more ancient date, in relying on the comparison of local idioms with the Tibetan tongue; their roughness and poverty offer a sharp contrast to the suppleness and the richness of the Tibetan language, such as it was shaped by the apostles and doctors of Buddhism from the VIIth. century. So long a lapse of time, and the accidental infusions Hindu blood have not sufficed in eradicating the primitive traits of the race. The Mongolian type, described by Hodgson, on the faith of numerous observations, is still recognizable on the features of the Nevars and of the populations which surround them, Magars, Gurungs, Sonuwars, Kachars, Haiyous, Chepangs, Kasoundas, Murrms, Kirants, Limbous and Lepchas: head and face very large, particularly large between the cheek-bones; large forehead often narrowed on the top, receding chin; large and protruding mouth, but the teeth vertical and the lips without abnormal thickness; heavy jaws, widely separated eyes, on a level with the cheeks, more or less shaped obliquely; pyramidal nose fairly long and raised except at the bridge where it is often deeply sunk in to the point of allowing the eyes of meeting, but of a coarse form, thick-set, especially at the tip, with large round nostrils: abundant and flat hair; the face and body without hair; the stature rather low, but muscular and vigorous. The Nevars, compared to their less civilized neighbours, are distinguished by a longer face, larger eyes and a better sha-

ped nose; this is here the mark of inter-marrying with Indians.

Civilization has been the cause of the disappearance of the social organization of the primitive Nevars; one can have an idea with the help of the other tribes of the same race, established in the remote valleys and better sheltered from outside influences. They are all divided in tribes, sectioned in clans and by-clans; the idea of caste is strange to them, the quality of birth is absolute. Customs of endogamy and exogamy govern marriages; the bride must belong to the tribe, but must not be issue of the same clan; fraternity by blood, friendship is reckoned with as much as the bounds of the clan. The food is not regulated by any law, except the totem, eponym animal of the group, is prohibited. The bull is a good particularly appreciated; the Gurkhas have had to fight severely with their subjects to impose on them the respect of the cow "Hindu fashion". The dead are sometimes burnt, but more often buried. Religions so to speak officially is a rudimentary Buddhism. Witchcraft, the belief in spirits, the practices of sorceries are universally acknowledged.

Buddhist missionaries from India were undoubtedly the first to bring the gospel in the valley of Nepal. After the accomodation of the colonists brought by Manjucrl from China, the symbolism of the traditions brings into Nepal the prehistorical Buddhas and their successor of Cakyamuni. The fringe of the Terrai, propitious to the growth of the Buddhas, would also skirt the mountains of Nepal; from the garden of Lumbini, the eye encompasses a horizon of verdant heights and frozen summits which are the Nepalese Himalayas; the besetting allurements of the near at hand refuge might have drawn the Buddhas, amateurs of alpine sceneries: example, the mountainous circle of Rajagrha, so dear to Cakyamuni. The Jainas, who shared

this taste of picturesque landscapes and this eagerness of apostdeship, seem to have attempted to wrest from Buddhism, the conquest of the Himalayas: one of their legends shows the last of the great apostles, Bhadrabahu, on his way to Nepal, at the time of the gathering of the council of Pataliputra, half a century before the arrival of the Macedonians into India.

Buddhism, supple and convenient, was able to find its way in the organization of the Nepals without any upheaval; it discreetly sowed the conceptions and doctrines of India, and allowed the harvest to slowly ripen. No sooner was it ripe, than a brutal adversary came to wrest it away. The sacerdotal Brahmanism, threatened to extinction by the triumph of the heresies, had cleverly searched for a refuge in the popular worships; it had adopted and consecrated them, and renewed pantheon. Tradition, in Nepal as in India has incarnated this crisis in the Cankara acarya, the most formidable champion of Brahmanic Hinduism. It is made to appear twice in Nepal, by twice employing the same procedure of factitious connection; the presence of two Cankara (deva) kings, is interpreted as a positive souvenir of the double passage of Cankara into arya. Cankara arrives in Nepal; he finds there the "four castes" converted to the Law of Buddha. He triumphs without a struggle over the convents, wins a brilliant victory on the father of families (grihasthas) massacres a portion of the vanquished, forces cruel humiliations on others, cancels the signs which distinguished the religious men from the laymen, constrained the nuns into matrimony and substitutes the god Civa to the Buddha.

On their side, the royal families, that had arrived from India or who pretended having done so, were not of nobility to impose themselves with impunity. Licchavis or Mallas, their names shone with a disquieting brilliancy in the annals of Buddhism. In the VIth century,

Samudra Gupta, Emperior of Hindustan, could still boast of some parentage with the Licchavis. Brahmanic presumptions had progressed since and the code, said to be from Manu, who gave to orthodoxy his articles of faith, classified the Licchavis and the Mallas (together with the Khasas called upon to ascertain some day their succession) among the illegitimate castes sprung up from the Ksatriyas. Their ancestors were really authentic Ksatriyas, united with the women of the same castes; but one among them had neglected his sacred duties, and his son was thereby excluded from the Savitri, the formula of initiation which "regenerates" the high castes, lowered on the condition of degenerated Ksatriya (vratya) and the indelible stain was transmitted to his descendants. To win back the lost honour and stand up on an equal with the true Rajputs, the Licchavis and Mallas were compelled, alike the Khasas after then, to proclaim a severe rigorism and to reject unions of inferior rank. Nepal thus acquired her local Ksatriyas adorers (worshippers) at the same time as Buddhistic and Brahmanic gods and which naturally served as a connecting link between the two avowals. Finally the missionaries who had brought from India, the worship of Civa had at the same time introduced the system of castes which was inseparable from it; the adepts they had won were immediately incorporated in definite groups, established in imitation of India, but without, however, copying her; the valley was too widely separated from Indian, by its past, by its traditions, by its customs to enable her to unite immediately to the Hindu communities. Thus a double society worked out in Nepal: one under the control of the Brahmans, wholly distributed in defined castes, characterized by the separate table and the bed: no legitimate marriage outside the caste; prohibition, under penalty of forfeiture and irrevocable exclusion, to eat in common with other castes. The other, heretic, hostile in principle to the system of castes but already affected with the contagion: a religious

and military autocracy organized to the fashion of the Brahmans and the Hindu Ksatriyas, at its head. The strength of the example given by the superior classes, the fashion, the mind prone to imitation assured from that, time the triumph of the Brahmanic organization; gradually, each class of the Buddhistic society closed up within insurmountable barriers.

The conquest of Nepal by Harisimha deva in 1324 precipitated the elaboration of the system of castes. It brought in to reside in the valley for the first time, a Hindu king of blood and origin irreproachably authentic and a conscientious observer of the laws of Brahmanic purity. He is believed to have brought with him seven castes: Brahmans, Bhadelas (Bandyas?) Acaryas, Jaisis, Vaidyas, Rajakas and Khadgis. The enumeration is expressive; Harisimha, expelled by the Musulmans of the Terai regions where he reigned, took the precaution to bring away with him in the suspicious shelter which alone remained open to him, the indispensable auxiliaries of the holy life: the masters of sacred science, the priests of local divinities for the soul and for the benefit of the body, the doctors, the washermen and the butchers; the one was no less necessary than the other. To entrust one's limbs, one's clothes, one's meat to servants whom the law does not authorize to undertake these various employments, does not expose one to the least risk, save the negligence of the most solemn duties. Harisimha deva did not wish to lose neither his soul or his rank. His washermen and Hindu butchers introduced in the Nepalese society bore the same austere conceit as the Brahmanic and the Ksatriyas; consigned by the Brahmanic law to an infamous rank, they relished, however, the honor of being classed therein; and their example influenced the lower strata of the population to the benefit of the formation of castes alike that of the Brahmans working on to the top of the social ladder.

The conquest of Harisimha, hastened also by its political results, the opening of the new 'regime'. Having supervened after a long crisis of feudal anarchy, it held away with equality over the parties and the rival clans and re-established order. Soon after, the restoration of the Mallas gave back to the country a national monarchy adept at understanding and satisfying the local interests. The reign of Jaya Sthiti Malla falls in this period of fruitful seclusion that follows violent upheavals and works out durable benefits. Happily Harisimha deva and his dynasty had introduced in Nepal the social pre-occupations which stirred India at that period. The crushing triumph of Islam, the ruin of the last of Brahmanic empires threatened with a sudden collapse the institutions which the sacerdotal talent had patiently erected. To avoid such a formidable catastrophe, the few princes who retained with their independence the religion of the past, gathered at their court eminent jurisconsults (lawyers) bade them to draw up "Sommes" (summaries) intended to complete the written law, for a long time unchangeable, with the help of the oral law, constantly rejuvenated to adapt itself to the present. The house of Harisimha deva was distinguished by its zeal. The minister of Harisimha, the Thakkura Candevara, composed or had composed under his name two encyclopaedias of religious jurisprudence: the Smriti-Ratnakara and the kṛtya-Cintamani; among the princes of the branch (House) who reigned over Tirhouch on the southern frontier of Nepal, Narasimha deva patronised Vydyapati, author of the Dana-Vakyavali; Madanasimha deva ordered the writing of the Madana-Ratna-Pradipa; Chandrasimha deva protected Micra Micra, author of the Vivada-Candra and Hari Narayana favoured Vacaspati Micra, author of the Vivada-Cintamani. Jaya Sthiti Malla was keen on the accomplishment of the same work in Nepal. He called five Pundits from India to help him: Kirthi Natha Upadhyaya Kanyakubja, Raghunatha of Medhini, Gri Natha Bhuka, Moh

Natha Bhatta and Rama Natha Jha who compiled the *Castes* and drew from them a series of laws on the castes, the funerals, the houses, the fields. "Laws of such a nature existed in the past, adds the chronicler, but they got lost owing to the neglect in not using them".

The task was a delicate one; it was a case of adapting the social institutions of Brahmanism to a population divided into two autonomous communities and over which triumphism. It was therefore necessary to carefully arrange matters as regards the feelings and the traditions of the majority, if one wished to work out a lasting benefit. In the first instance it was the question regarding the *bandyas*; the adopted solution had to exert its influence on all the other problems. The *Pundits* only managed the affair. They admitted on the faith of the traditions, that the *Pandyas* were the real descendants of the *Brahmans* and the *Ksatriyas* converted by the Buddha *Krakucchanda* during the *Treta* period; the vicissitudes of time and the intervention of *cankara acarya* had compelled them to neglect the monachal life, to live among his own kink (in family) and to exercise professions; but the "four castes" did not honour them the less. It was decided to classify them according to their genealogy, as *Brahmans* or as *Ksatriyas*, but without establishing any sub-divisions. "The *Bandyas* are equals to the *Samnyasis* who are all of one class alone without any caste distinction. The equality of the two religions was thus recognized in principle; but it worked out to the benefit of Brahmanism which supplied the point of departure of the classification:

The population was divided to the number of 64 castes:

1) 'Brahman', or 'Dvija', or 'Vipra': sacerdotal caste. They belonged to the two great Brahmanic families: *Panca-Gauda*, *Brahmans* of Hindustan come up from the neighbouring

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plains into Nepal; *Panca Dravida*, *Brahmans* of Decan, brought and installed by *Cankara acarya*, according to the tradition, but renewed or multiplied in fact by the frequent political or religious relations of Nepal with the South of India.

- 2) 'Bhupa' 'Raja' 'Narendra', or 'Ksatriya': military caste.
- 3) 'Lekhaka': writer.
- 4) 'Kayastha': scribe.

The exaltation of the castes of the writing was a sign of the ages; it consecrated the triumph of the regular administration, or as we shall say, of the offices. Their power was recent, but it has done nothing but grow since then and the *Kayasthas* of Bengal contest today the first place to the *Brahmans*.

- 5) 'Mantrin': Counsellor
- 6) "Saclva": Comrade
- 7) 'Amatya': Minister

These three castes comprised the high 'personnel' of the court.

- 8) 'Pujita' These three castes, probably comprised the priests of various
- 9) 'Devacinta' ranks who took up the
- 10) *Acarya* profession of local god worship or other functions known to be compromising. The *Pujita* is undoubtedly the *Pbjari* who officiates in the temples of *Civa* and of the *Caktis*:

1) 'Acarya is the Brahman of the *Navara* who became Hindu, to whom he serves as a spiritual professor and as a priest, at certain ceremonies. The *Devacinta* is a variety of the same nature.

- 11) 'Grahacintaka': Astronomer
- 12) 'Jyotiṣa': Astronomer
- 13) 'Ganika': Calculator
- 14) 'Daivajna':

Four castes of analogous profession but classified at different ranks of the social ladder, according to the nature of their speciality and of their customers.

The abundance of astrologers castes answers to the passionate tendency of the Nepalese for astrology. The Chinese have ascertained this taste as well as the Europeans. Nevar or Gurkha, the Nepalese will consult the astrologer in every circumstance, whether it is a question of taking a medicine, of taking a wife, or of waging a battle; the horoscope regulates all the details of life.

- 15) 'Alama': ?
- 16) 'Srichante': ?
- 17) 'Sajakara': ?
- 18) 'Supika': ?
- 19) 'Cichaka': ?
- 20) 'Marikara': ?
- 21) 'Silpikara': Artisan.
- 22) 'Bharika': Bearer ?
- 23) 'Napika' barber. One of the most considered beings of Hindu society, which has constantly recourse to his cares; he is the worthy counterpart of the western Figars, with the same variety of accessory appropriations: surgeon, mediator, etc.
- 24) 'Lepika': plasterer
- 25) 'Darukara': workman in wood
- 26) 'Taksaka': carpenter
- 27) 'Srinkhari': ?
- 28) Ksetrakara: land-surveyor. The reform of weights and measures worked out by Jaya Sthiti Malla made his work already very complicated still more difficult. The estimate of a surface or of a weight was not a passable task, because the unity of measure would vary with the quality of the thing to be measured. (See inf. p. 299).
- 29) 'Kumbhakara': potter. Still another element most indispensable to a Hindu commu-

nity, the laws of religious purity incurring an awful consumption of clay pots. The accumulation of the fragments of (earthen pots) pottery and of clay pots which bake in the sun betray the entrance of a Hindu village.

- 30) 'Tuladhara': weigher. (key. sup. 28)
- 31) 'Karnika': weaver ?
- 32) 'Kamsyakara': metler of ordinary alloyed metals and manufacturer of clocks.
- 33) 'Suvarnakara': Goldsmith.
- 34) 'Tamarkara': a worker in bronze.
- 35) 'Gopala': shepherd.
- 36) 'Bhayalacancu': ?
- 37) 'Kamjikara': ?
- 38) 'Tayoruta': ?
- 39) 'Tankadhari': ?
- 40) 'Vimari': ?
- 41) 'Surpokara': ?
- 42) 'Natebaruda': ?
- 43) 'Bathahom': ?
- 44) 'Gayana': Singer
- 45) 'Citrakara': Painter
- 46) 'Natijiva': actor who prostitutes his wife
- 47) 'Surabija': ?
- 48) 'Mandhura': ?
- 49) 'Vyanjanakara', maker of porridge, cook
- 50) 'Mali'. Gardener
- 51) 'Mamsavikri'. butcher
- 52) 'Mirata'. hunter ?
- 53) 'Badi': ?
- 54) 'Dhanyamari'; ?
- 55) 'Tandukara'. weaver ?
- 56) 'Nadichedi'. cutter of the umbilical cord
- 57) 'Kundakara': ivory carver.
- 58) 'Labakara'. blacksmith, ironmohger.
- 59) 'Ksatrikara'.
- 60) 'Dhobi': washerman.
- 61) 'Rajaka': dyer; clearer.
- 62) 'Niyogi': ?

63) 'Mantagi

64) Carmakara carriers and skimmers.

It was further necessary to provide for the legal situation of an already considerable group and which claimed for a special treatment. The Brahmans come up from the plains have often allowed themselves to be seduced, without attempting at resistance, by the charm very little fierce, of the mountaineers; but the populations who had welcomed them and who respected their prestige were not disposed to accept for the children of these irregular unions, the degrading condition which the orthodoxy of the codes imposed on them. The Brahman always accommodating himself with Heaven, imagined several transactions; In the Gurkhas' country, he resuscitated, as we shall see, the caste of the khas, which had disappeared in usage by his illegitimate progeny. In Nepal, among the Nevars, he invented the group of the Jaisis, an intermediate class that pretended to equal in rank the class of the Bandyas. At the time when the Bandyas were assimilated with the Brahmans, it was necessary to seclude the pretensions of the Jaisis. They were then divided into four classes, according to the social condition of their mother; Acarya, Daivajna, Vaidya, Crestha. The Jaisis Acaryas, born of a of the Acarya class, had to fulfil the functions of the Acarya for the Jaisis group; the jaisis Daivajnas had to be their astrologers. The Cresthas represented the Ksatriyas in this particular community. The Jaisis Acaryas were again sub-divided into three classes, the Jaisis Daivajnas in four classes, the Cresthas in a great number; the Brahmanic string, the envied emblem of honour, was granted to all the Jaisis Acaryas and Divajnas, and to the first ten classes of the Cresthas. The variety of professions of the Cresthas explained this inequality of treatment; some were soldiers, others merchants, still others bearers or farmers. The rules of the Pundit reserved bes-

ides to the Jaisis the profession of medicine and grouped in one caste with four subdivisions those among them who exercised it.

The Jyapus or Jassus peasants who formed half the indigenous population, were classed among the Cudras and formed 32 divisions; the Kumhal (Kumbhakara), potters formed four other divisions of the same class. The caste or rather the extra-caste of the Podhyas, which comprised the most vile professions; executors, killers of dogs, removers of filth, etc. was divided into four sections.

Water, in the Hindu society, marks the boundary of purity; a caste is honourable if the superior caste can without falling from their ranks, accept from its hands drinking water. The Podhyas, the Carmakaras and the three castes which precede them were excluded from water, however, at the beginning of the XVIIth Century, the king Laksmi Narasimha Malla of Kathmandu, in return for personal services of an intimate nature which had been rendered him by a washerman of the Rajaka caste and by his daughters, undertook to allow water to pass through the hands of the Rajakas, that is to say, he undertook to introduce them on his own authority into the group of pure castes.

The system of the caste compels, as a preliminary condition, the scrupulous fidelity of the women; adultery between individual whom the law does not authorise the union, is a stain which risks by contagion to spread to the most innocent. The Gurkhas, scrupulous orthodoxes have enacted fearful penalties against such a fault. The Nevars had inherited from their Mongolian ancestors a philosophical indifference on the virtue of women. The councillors of Jaya Sthitbi Malla contended themselves in decreeing that if a woman had relations with a man of inferior

caste, she would be degraded and would take the same rank in the caste of her seducer.

The famous "Chapter of hats" has its place marked in the Codes of India, all the marks of the caste have the precious advantage of preventing terrible confusions. The podhyas, the pariahs of Nepal, had no right to wear the national head-piece; the vest, the shoes, the gold ornaments were also denied them. The Kasais (butchers) were compelled to wear sleeveless clothes. Tile roofings were forbidden on the houses of the Podhyas, of the Kullus (Carriers) and on the Kasais.

The "four castes" including the Cudras were compelled to observe the rules of the Vastu-prakarana and of the Asta-varga on the construction of houses. The Brahmans and the Ksatriyas were compelled to employ Brahmans for the ceremonies of foundation; the Vaicyas and the Cudras could only employ Daivajnas.

The funeral rites were treated with as many items: thus the melody of the Dipaka-raga was reserved to the ceremony of the cremation of kings, certain castes had the privilege to employ the kahalas (long trumpets) during the cremation of their dead.

The clever inventions of the Pundits of Jaya Sthithi Malla have outlasted the centuries; time without altering the foundation has modified the 'façade'. This is on account of the caste, as well in India as in Nepal, in spite of its immutable features, subject to the common law of living organisms: it develops, it increases, it dies. A continued work of reproduction by scission, under the influence of time, places men and events, draws uninterruptedly from each actual caste secondary castes which prolong their original caste, envelop them and eventually succeed in suppressing them. The Nevara of today, secluded from the society of the Gurkhas, are divided into two great communities,

corresponding to the two rival avowals: the Buddharmaris or Buddhists, the Civarmaris or Civaites².

The Civa-maris, belonging to one of the religions of Hinduism, naturally enters the general frame-work of Brahmanic classification; the four regular castes: Brahmans, Ksatriyas, Vaicyas and Cudras are each represented by several groups, enclosed within a common barrier and further separated between them by the fundamental laws of the table and the bed.

A. The Brahmanic castes are:

- 1) 'Upadhyaya' the highest class of the Brahmans. They have the right to enter the temples of Taleju, the tutelary goddess of Nepal, a mysterious divinity introduced by Harisimha Deva. They hold the professions of spiritual masters (Gurus) and of chaplains (purohitas) for the use of the Brahmans and Rajputs (or Ksatriyas).
- 2) 'Lawar-ju' of inferior rank, serve as gurus and as purohitas to the inferior classes.
- 3) 'Bha-ju', they are consulted in case of illness, religious councils; but they never give medical advice.

B. The Ksatriyas castes:

- 4) 'Thakur' or 'Malla', descendants of ancient royal families; they are admitted on that title in the Gurkha army and never take up professions in the mercantile or in private service.
- 5) 'Nikhu', exclusively painters of religious articles: they hold a fairly important role in the procession of Matsyendra Nath, the ancient patronal divinity of Nepal.
- 6) 'Sheashu' The Cresthas of the anterior
- 7) 'Sherista' organization.

The two groups form only one caste, united by commensalism and connubiality; they supply the Anglo-Indian army with excellent recruits; several have won the military cross.

C. Castes of the Vaicyas:

- 8) 'Joshi', the Jaisis of the anterior organization; they expound the Castas, but do not follow any sacerdotal (priestly) function.
- 6) 'Acar', the Acaryas of some time ago; they are the priests of the temples of 'Taleju' at Kathmandu and at Bhatgaon.
- 10) 'Bhanni': They dress victuals (cook) for the divinities of the temples of Taleju.
- 11) 'Goaku' (Gulcul) 'Acar:' priests of small temples where they accomplish the rites of the expiatory 'homa' for those who die on inauspicious days; but take no part in the funeral strictly speaking. By the rites of homa, the Goaku Acar takes on him the sins of the dead; but if he makes an error in the fulfilment of the rites, he himself is lost. The Gaoku Acar also serves as a priest to those Nevras or uncertain and suspicious origin.
- 12) 'Makhi' Cooks and table servants.
- 13) 'Lakhipar': Auxiliaries of those preceding. All the castes accept food from the hands of these two castes.
- 14) 'Bhaghs Shashu': servants for ordinary services.

The Buddhistic community is divided into three great categories. a) the 'Banras' (Bandyas) who have clean-shaven heads; b) the 'Udas' worshippers of Buddhistic gods exclusively, alike the Banras, but who allow just a tuft of hair to grow on the summit of their head,

(c) the mixed castes, who worship at the same time the gods of Buddhism and those of the Civaite gods whom Buddhism have not adopted.

A. The Bandyas, who are the Brahmans of Buddhism, are divided into professional groups.

- 1) 'Gubhar-ju' (Gubal', 'Gubahal', Gura-bhaju'): the highest class, the only one which supplies the high Buddhistic clergy, the Vajracaryas, and which possesses Pundits. During the religions ceremonies, they wear a sacred string alike the Brahmans and the Acras
- 2) 'Barrha-ju' they work in silver and gold but
- 3) 'Bikhu' only manufacture ornaments.
- 4) 'Bhiksu' The Bikhsu is besides, a priest
- 5) 'Nebbar' of inferior rank who serves as an assistant to the Vajracarya.
- 6) 'Nibharbhari': they work in bronze and in iron, manufacture holy articles and plates and dishes and are tinmen.
- 7) 'Tarnkarmi': They manufacture guns and canons either of iron or of bronze.
- 8) 'Gamsabarhi' work in wood, carpenters.
- 9) 'Chevarbarhi' and also plasterers and stuccoers.

These nine groups form one caste only, in the light of marriage and of victuals.

B. The group of the Udas borrows its name from the highest of classes which constitute it; it is divided into seven sections, but which constitute like the Bandyas, one caste only, in the strict sense of the word.

- 10) 'Uda': they have been for a long time the great traders of Nepal; the trade with Tibet and Bhutan was in their hands. But their wealth and the social status have declined to the benefit of a class held to be the lowest, the 'Sarmis'.

- 11) 'Kassar' (Kamsyakara): they work in alloys of metal.
- 12) 'Lohankarmi': stone cutters and builders as well for religious usage as for private undertakings.
- 13) 'Sikarmi': Carpenters.
- 14) 'Thambas' (tamrakara): copper, bronze and zinc smiths.
- 15) 'Awal': tile-makers and tilers.
- 16) 'Maddikarmi': bakers.
- C. Mixed castes, at the same time Buddha-margis and Civa-margis.
- The six first groups, which form among themselves alone half of the Nevar population, bear the collective name of Jaffus (Jyapus) which properly belong to the fifth class; they only form one caste in legal sense.
- 17) 'Mu': they cultivate exclusively one specie alone of aromatic herb, which serves for the head-dress and which is offered as a gift to the gods.
- 18) 'Danghu': surveyors.
- 19) 'Kumhar' (Kumbhakara): potters
- 20) 'Karbujha' funeral musicians.
- 21) 'Jaffu' or 'Kissini' peasants who cultivate the soil.
- 22) 'Boni'
- The twenty four classes which follow, only form a group by opposition to the preceding ones; but they are subdivided in real castes:
- 23) 'Chitrakar' (Chitrakara): painters of different things; buildings, tableaux, etc.
- 24) 'Bhat': dyers in red for all kinds of clothe, clothes excepted.
- 25) 'Chippan' (Ksipana): dyers in blue.
- 26) 'Kaua' or 'Nekarmi': work the iron, manufacture horse-shoes, knives etc
- 27) 'Nau' (Napita): barbers and surgeons.
- 28) 'Sarmi' (or Salmi): oil vendors and braiders of festoons for ornamentation. They are those who have supplanted the Udas in the great trade.
- 29) 'Tippah': market-gardeners.
- 30) 'Pulpul': carry the lanterns and the torches at funeral processions.
- 31) 'Kaussa': exercise inoculations against small-pox.
- 32) 'Konar': manufacture exclusively the objects which serve for weaving.
- 33) 'Garbho' (Got): Gardeners.
- 34) 'Kattbar': bone-setters and hospital-attendants.
- 35) 'Tatti': make the winding-sheets (shrouds) and also the night caps worn by very young children when the ceremony of cutting their hair around the cuda (tuft on top of the head) is just completed.
- 36) 'Balbaiji': manufacture the wheels of the chariot for the procession of Matsyendra Natha.
- 37) 'Yungvar': manufacturer of the chariot itself.
- 38) 'Ballah',
- 39) 'Lamu', beares of royal palanquins: They are therefore identical to the Duan whom the Gurkhas designate under the name of 'Putvar'. It is due to Prithi Narayan that this caste owes its name or rather this title

of honour; before succeeding in capturing Kirtipur by ruse in 1767, the Gurkha king suffered a disastrous reverse under the walls of the town; his life was in danger, he owed his escape to the devotion of a 'Duan' who, with the help of a 'Kasai' (butcher) carried in one night, the palanquin of the king up to Nayakot, outside the valley. Prithvi Narayan thanked his saviour in these terms; "well done, my son ('Syabas put'). The whole caste hastened to acknowledge the honourable appellation expressed in gratitude to the Gurkhas, and retained the name of 'Putvar' ('the filials'). As chieftain of Nepal, in 1770, Prithi Narayan confirmed the title, granted to the 'Putvars', the favour of approaching the king and to carry the royal palanquins.

- 40) 'Dalli': Class of sepoy.
41) 'Pihl': basket-makers.

- 42) 'Gaowah' (Gopa) The two
43) 'Nanda-Gaowah' (Nanda-Gopa). classes of
shepherds form only one caste for the table
and the bed.
44) 'Ballahmi': Wood-cutters and deliverers of
wood.
45) 'Nalli' they paint the eyes of the face of
Bhairava and the chariot of Matsyendra
Natha.

The members of the Buddhistic castes, however, much heretics they be, are not the less for fit 'people of caste'; a Hindu who holds them as diabolical and perverse beings, will receive without scruple water from their hands; they extend the Hindu society outside the Brahmanic church, half-way to foreign Buddhism.

Eight castes excluded from water, and repulsed with an equal aversion by the Buddhists and the Civaites, unite (embody) the pariah of the two avowals.

- 1) 'Kasai': butchers and bearers of ordinary palanquins. Prithvi Narayan has slightly raised their social condition at the same time he was conferring a title and an honourable function to the 'duans' he gave to the 'Kasais', as a testimony of his gratefulness, grants of lands and has attributed them a service of domesticity at the temple of Guhyecvari.
2) 'Joghi': musicians at festivals.
3) 'Dhant': musicians at festivals.
4) 'Dhauwi': manufacturers of charcoal.
5) 'Kullu': curriers.
6) 'Puriya' (Podhya): fishermen, executors, killers of dogs.
7) 'Chamakallak' (Carmakara, chamar): skin dressers and sweepers.
8) 'Saughar' (Songat): Washermen.

But these castes even or rather these half-castes; however much degraded they be, will refuse to eat and drink with Musulmans or Europeans; and if a woman of this group happened to fornicate with these and others, the law would punish her with drastic measures. Impure as they are in the light of water and of contact, these castes are nevertheless an integral part of Hinduism and they are obliged to fulfil certain social functions of a determined order which render them conjointly liable with the whole; the deprivation of rights does not entail the suppression of duties.

Entirely created to the imitation of the Hindu caste, the Buddhistic caste has taken as a sole nucleus of formation, the profession. It separates from the community and unites among them by the links of the bed and the table, all those individuals whom the right of birth qualifies for the exclusive performance of a hereditary profession; it is a company constituted for the exploitation of a legal monopoly open only to the descendants of the founders. The monopoly, it is true, is not always lucrative:

this the privilege to paint the eyes of the image of Bhairava: the profits are often poor to enable an ever increasing number of interested individuals to live. Fortunately, the list of hereditary professions, long as it is, does not exhaust all the categories of breadearning ones. The custom and the law have not created small merchants (Banyas), tailors, coolies and privileged porters; with the exceptions of a few specialities, cultivation (tillage) is not a reserved monopoly. So many outlets remain constantly open to the overflowing professions of the castes. The profession of physician reserved by the code of Jaya Sthiti Malla, to the Jaisis, has become the right of anybody. The profession exercised, is fruitful in Nepal, as much and even more than elsewhere; the good families have as a rule a doctor attached to their service; the ancient tradition of Buddhistic oculists has been perpetuated, in this last shelter of Indian Buddhism, by distinguished⁴ specialists. Thus the caste reserves to its adherents a special profession, without imposing it on them; it allows them at will, to roam in the uncertain grounds of professions which belong to nobody.

The Buddhist or Civaite caste, is at the same time a professional and a religious organism. Each one of its two functions is placed under the control of a special authority. The corporation, with all its resorts is governed by a committee; analogous to the Hindu Panch and which bears in Nepal, the name of 'Gatti'. The 'Gatti' divides and controls the duties that devolve upon the caste by virtue of its monopoly; in this enchanted valley, where religion has not yet completely stopped being a continuous chain of public festivals, each one of the castes is obliged to fulfil on each occasion the prescribed duty and the execution of the duty is watched.

These corporal feasts add themselves to the religious ones; each one of the members, real or virtual of the corporation obliged successively

at determinate periods to offer a feast to all the others, and whatever be the expenses to be incurred, none must evade this obligation. Finally if a person of the caste dies, all the families of the caste are strictly obliged to attend to his funeral; death is also a pretext for processions. The law confers to the 'gatti' the right to punish every breach. The ordinary penalty is the fine proportioned according to the gravity of the offences; but, in the case where the fault of one person compromises the whole community, the 'gatti' can decree the expulsion from the caste, the fallen individual, rejected by society, finds a shelter nowhere except with those whom contact with is a degradation.

But the 'gatti' is only aware of corporal acts; offences against purity pass unnoticed, because they are part of the domain of the religious law and it is a religious judge who would try them. Whosoever is warned having eaten or fornicated in prohibited company, of having accepted water from forbidden hands, of having committed an offence by inadvertence, negligence or licentiousness which entail the loss of the caste, in a word of having sinned against the law, is informed against to the 'dharmadhikari' or supreme judge of the kingdom and the case is brought up before the 'Raja-guru', the Brahman who serves as spiritual director to the king. The Raja-guru examines the case, consults the castas, the literature on cauoistry which has so greatly developed since the XIVth century and pronounces the verdict. The sentence is at the same time juridical and religious: it varies between the fine, the goal, the confiscation of rights and the forfeiture of the caste; the fine handed over is shared between the government, the raja-guru and certain privileged Brahman families; furthermore, the culprit is compelled to entertain a number of Brahmans predetermined by the judgement. The sentence shows the expiation to be undergone, if the offence is remissible the culprit is bound to fulfil an act of contrition (prayaccitta); if the culprit loses his

caste, the whole body is conjointly liable for the stain and must wash itself; as a legal and religious representative of the country, the king in person is responsible for the expiation, (candrayana), and the expenses that are entailed, to the benefit of the Brahman, often rise to several thousand rupees.

The jurisdiction of the Raja-guru, together with the sanctions of a Brahmanic order which it involves, is not limited to the Civaite castes; an inevitable assimilation has also introduced in its sphere, the Buddhistic castes. Buddhism theoretically foreign to the idea of caste, has not foreseen any authority charged with watching and controlling the application. The day when the Buddhists of Nepal had adopted the Hindu organization, they have quite naturally ranged themselves under the authority of the only judge who could qualify to issue decrees. The constitution of Jaya Sthiti Malla serves, it seems, as a juridical base to the decisions of the Raja-guru in the case of the Buddhistic castes.

The salient trait of the Nevar character is the taste for society. The Nevar never lives isolated, he loves to dwell, a little like the Parsian, in houses of several stories and swarming with people rather than live in solitude, as well in town as in the village. He knows how to derive delight from all the pleasures nature gives him; he sings, he talks, he laughs, he loves the countryside, delights in picnics of gay company, in a shadowy spot near a stream or a rivulet, in the shelter of an old sanctuary, facing a beautiful and grandiose view. Careful and keen cultivators, he is also an expert in the manual arts, even those of a most delicate kind; he is a goldsmith and a talented smith, whimsical carver, dyer and a tasteful painter, well-informed trader without greediness, and a born artist. He has changed the arts of India, built temples and palaces which have served for models to the Tibetans, Chinese; the classical pagoda hails

from Nepal. The reputation of the Nepalesé craftsmen consecrated by the centuries, is still established in the whole of central Asia. Father Huc, who visited the Nevar colony at Lhasa, assures us that they are sought for even from the depths of Tartary, to ornament the great lamaseries, and he shares the admiration of the Asiatic, for their Jewels "which will not dishonour or shame European artists", for "those beautiful golden roofings of Buddhistic temples which resist all the inclemencies of the seasons and always have that freshness and marvellous lustre about them. The Gurkhas who resent their entry in the army have given them the reputation of cowardice; but the memory of the assaults delivered at Kirtipur testify to their bravery; their military castes serve honourably in the British army in India.

The ancient dress of the Nevar has almost entirely disappeared, and is only prevalent in a few localities, as for example at Harisiddhi, E. of Patan and in certain religious ceremonies when the priests wear it by exception. It consisted of a sort of tight-fitting jacket with a skirt falling to the ankles and gathered at the waist with many folds; a piece of cloth rolled up as a scarf covered the lower portion of the jacket and the higher portion of the skirt. But to-day the population has almost everywhere adopted the Gurkhas costume. The women wear a tight-fitting bodice and in place of a skirt a piece of cloth as wide as possible, tightened at the waist in numerous folds and turned up at the back as far as the ankle-bone. They gather up their hair and twist it in a chignon on top of the head and never wear any head-dress; on the other hand they ornament themselves profusely with flowers, especially with marygolds and also with jewels, particularly with a gold disc placed flat on the chignon. Alike the women of India they wear rings around their arms, legs and also through their ears and nose. They live from a very young age in a liberty without reserve. At eight they are taken to the temple and

they are wedded with all the ceremonies required to a bilva fruit which is afterwards thrown into water. The spouse having disappeared is always pretended living, and his bride is within her right to profit by his absence; for the law allows the woman, in the absence of the husband, to take a lover of her caste or of a superior caste; she must not choose beneath her, this is the only restriction which is imposed on her. Once she reaches the marriageable age, they give her a dowry and they marry her; outside the high society which affect the prejudices of India, the young girl can court the wooers before the marriage; after the marriage, her independence is none the less; if she wishes to leave her husband, she has only to place on the bed two betel nuts; she can from that time go away quietly. The Nevar has only one legitimate wife, she must belong to the same caste as he does, but he can associate with concubines of inferior caste, without, however, going beyond the limit of water. Adultery, which is monstrous to the imagination of the Gurkhas, is not taken seriously by the Nevares; the divorce is then the right and the accomplice must retribute to the husband the expenses involved in the marriage; otherwise, he is imprisoned.

The Nevares are very fond of meat; they eat goats and sheep (but only the mountain-sheep, because the sheep of India is recognized to be forbidden food), ducks, chickens, and particularly buffaloes. They have invented a legend to justify this taste which the Hindu, respectful of animal life, holds in horror: when the conqueror Harisimba deva ascended into Nepal, in 1324, his army almost perished of hunger on the way; the king invoked the goddess Taleju, its protectress: she appeared to him in a vision, and allowed him to eat everything that would be met with on the morrow at dawn, the king saw a buffalo, captured it and presented it to the goddess who gave detailed instructions for the choice of a qualified slaughterer. He found the

man, and it was the ancestor of the Kasai, he slayed the beast, and the goddess allowed its flesh to be eaten. The Civa-margis of the highest castes, slaughter the animals without scruple; but the Bararas refrain from spilling blood and do not eat pork, rice lentils, boiled vegetables are their main nourishments. Garlic green or cooked, and radish are the feast of the Nevares, they are especially fond of the radish buried until fermentation takes place then dried in the sun; it is impossible to imagine a more rank smell. Tradition connects the invention of this delicacy to the invasion of Makunda Sena, a little while before the conquest of Harisimba deva. They also drink alcohol (raksi) extract of rice and wheat, but they only get intoxicated on great days of festival.

The Nevares like the Hindus burn the corpses.

The Nevares have a particular dialect which is called the Nevari. The Capuchins made use of it in the XVIIIth century to preach the Gospel in Nepal, but they have neglected to study it scientifically and their works have disappeared leaving no fruit behind. The Nevari is still very little and very badly known; Hodgson has disclosed a connection with the Tibetan, but without deeply following up his researches; behind him Mr Conrady alone took them up again and with success. He published an excellent study on the Nevar grammar and edited a small vocabulary Sanscrit-Nevar reported at one time by Minayeff^b.

The Nevar language of the middle days embodies a harmonious equilibrium between the Himalayan dialects which had remained in their primitive state-by reason of their seclusion, still poor, rough and incapable of translating the lofty thoughts and abstract notions and those dialects completely Hinduinized by the constant borrowings from the Aryan tongues of the plains. The Nevar tongue has developed its

lexicon by an internal progress, and if it has had to borrow from the Neo-Sanscrit dialects, it has had to assimilate its borrowings and derive new forces there from. There are still in existence a fairly great number of commentaries on the Buddhistic Sanscrit texts or even of Nevar translations. Ever since the re-establishment of the Mallas (XIVth century the Nevar dialect is found to push its way in the epigraphy and rapidly increase in extent at the expense of the Sanskrit. The Gurkhas conquest, in overthro-

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wing the Nevar dynasties, has decreed the fall and decay of Nevari. From generation to generation, the Nevari dialect slowly deteriorates to the benefits of the Parbatiya, the language of the victors.

Nevari borrowed its writing from India; it is written with the same characters as Sanscrit the varieties of writings introduced by the scribes have all a resemblance to the Devanagari, but with their forms more archaical in shape.

To be continued

FOOT NOTE

1. Mr. Waddell (Frog-worship amongst the Nevars...) has proposed an etymology of the word 'never' by the help of Tibetan. The first syllable 'ne' would correspond to the written form 'guas' which signifies "place, spot" and 'par excellence' "sacred place, place of pilgrimage." The Lepchas give the name of 'Ne' to the Eastern Nepal and to Sikkim and they interpret it by "place of barracks for shelter or residence". In most of the connected Indo-Chinese dialects, 'ne' signifies "residence." The Nevars would be the inhabitants of 'Ne', of the country of sacred places and 'par' 'excellence' in the Himalayas.

The syllable 'pal' would be the equivalent of 'Bal', name which the Tibetans give to Nepal (Bal-po-Bal-Yul: Boe country); the word 'Bal' in Tibetan signifies "wool", 'Nepal' would then signify: "the sacred places of the Bal." All this etymological combination seems to me greatly suspicious.

2. I borrow the two descriptions which follow from Oldfield, 1. 177 sqq. in completing them by the help of Hamilton, 29 sqq. Their indications are more than once contradictory, particularly as regards the castes Buddhargis, or mixed: Thus Hamilton classifies the 'Jopu' (= jaffus) before the 'Uda' whereas Oldfield reserves this order; following these, he places the 'Bhat', the poets and panegyrists of India whom Oldfield does not mention; then the 'Got' (gardeners- 'Garhths'),

the 'Karmi' (Carpenters- 'Sikarmi'), the 'Nau' (barbers='Napita'), who are far from following one another in Oldfield (No. 33) 13) and 27). Then follows the 'Sougat' (washermen= Saughar'), beyond the boundary of water whereas Oldfield classifies them in the last rank of impure castes; then the 'Japu' (? potters), the 'Hial' or 'Sial' (Cowherds, undoubtedly the 'Nanda-gaowah, 43) the 'Dhui' or 'Putaul' (= Duan or Putvar, 39). Beyond that begins the impure castes, with the 'Salim' (oil vendor = 'Sarmi', 28), placed on this side by Oldfield, perhaps because their social condition had altered in the meanwhile; then the 'Kasulia' (musicians = Joghi or Dhunt'), the 'Chipi' (dyers-Chippah, 25) and the 'Kow' (blacksmiths - kana, 26) placed side by side in a much higher rank in Oldfield, the 'Gotoo' (worker in copper=Thamdat' 14), then two military tribes: the 'Kosar' who were at one time brigands as to what they said and the 'Tepai' who can marry or take as concubine the Hindu women who have lost their castes in eating impure things; and lastly the 'Puria' and the "Chamkal" (= 'Puriya' Pidhiya and 'Chamakallak' of Oldfield, in the same rank) and the 'Bala' removers of filth.

I have not had the time to proceed during my sojourn to a personal research on the castes; in doubtful cases, I have preferred to follow Oldfield who is more recent and complete, but I have naturally corrected it

or completed it each time my notes have allowed it.

3. The Bandyas owe the practice of this profession, to the intervention of the king Siddhi Narasimha of Patan in the XVIIth. century. "As he remarked that the town had not enough carpenters, he made the Bandyas take up this profession" (Vamc, 234).

4. Key, the account of the 'Vamc' 178. a doctor of Harisimha deva, solicited by the king of the Nagas, Karkotaka, under the disguise of a Brahman, follows him in his underground palace, cure by an application of collyrium the eyes of the queen of the Nagas, and karkotaka promises him in compensation that his descendants would be good oculists. "The descendants of this Baid (Vaidya) were renowned in consequence, as

excellent oculists. "- and key elsewhere: Dr. cordier, 'Vagbhata', in the 'Asiatic Journal', 1901, 2, p, 170, n.

5. Notices of the languages, literature and religion of Nepal and Tibet, published at first in the Asiatic Researches XVI (1828), p. 409; re-printed in the Essays on the languages, etc. London 1874, p. 1.

1. August Conrady, Das Newari..., in the Zeitschr. d. D. Morg. Ges., XLV (1891) 1-35-Ein etc., XLVII (1893) 539-573)-M, Curady has especially applied himself to show out clearly the connections of the Nevar language with the uniform mass of those dialects known as "Indo-Chinese": Chinese Tibetan, Siamese, Himalayan dialects.



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ४९-५२

पुस २०३५-आषाढ २०३६

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सम्पादक

रमेशजङ्ग थापा

Editor

Ramesh Jung Thapa

NEPAL

(Continued from No. 28) 9
'The Gurkhas'

- by *Sylvain Levi*

The Gurkhas who established themselves as masters of Nepal since 1768, still continue to carry with pride the name of the country which had been the cradle of their might: Before prithivi Narayan's conquest, they inhabited the principality of Gurkhas, one of the small states that constituted the territory of the Twenty Four Kings (Chaubisi Raja), in the valley of the Seven Gandakis, to the west of Nepal. Naturally, the principality varied in extent, in the chaos of a moving and ambitious feudalism. In general, it reached the Tirsuli Gandak in the east, the most easterly of the Seven Gandakis which waters the manorial grounds of Nayakot and which the mamelons of the Deochok alone separate from the Nepalese waters. At the period of the three kingdoms (XVIIth-XVIIIth centuries), the kingdom of Kathmandu extended in the west to the right bank of the Tirsuli Gandak. The Gurkha had for regular boundary in the west, the Marsyandi, which separated the principality of the very small states of Lamjung, Tanahung and Pokhara. The capital, Gurkha, only town of the region, is built on a lofty hill, the Hanuman-banjang which slopes to the west in the Darandi. It is situated at about 100 kilo-

meters from Kathmandu. It is credited with 2,000 houses of about 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, including its suburbs. The old Darbar, the cradle of the actual dynasty of Nepal, is falling in decay. The town and the principality have taken the name of their tutelary divinity, Gorakha Natha, or in ordinary colloquial Gorakh, Gorkha patron of the Yogis who inhabit the Himalayas: we shall find him again, associated, in the literature and traditions of Nepal, with Matsyendra Natha, patron of the great valley.

The first inhabitants of the Gurkha country descended from the Newars and like them, of Tibetan origin, they retained and still bore in part the name of Magars. Their kings were of the same race, but with a mixture of Hindu blood: they prided themselves to be ksatriyas of the mountain, the khas, they belonged to the clan of the khadkas. But in 1559 (Wednesday, 8 Bhadon badi caka 1481, nakstra Rohini *), the son of the raja of Lamjung, Dravya Shah, captured the town by surprise, with the help of those Hindu-converted clans, killed the king with his hand and ascended the throne, He is the ancestor of the Gurkha dynasty.

Dravya Shah was very keen of an illustrious origin. The Tradition, piously and proudly preserved by his descendants, connected him to the most authentic and purest of Rajput clans. The emperor Alau-d-Din (which the legend wrongly confuses with the name of Akbar) furious against the Rajputs of Chitor who had refused him the hand of a woman of their caste, set out to capture the impregnable fortress and captured it (1303). Thirteen hundred Ranis (women of the Ksatriya caste) voluntarily sacrificed themselves on the pyre, the princes coveted by the Musulman, threw herself in a tub of boiling oil, martyr of Brahmanic purity. A portion of the survivors withdrew on Ujjayini (Ogein) under the leadership of Manmath, last son of the Raja of Chitor, whilst the eldest was on his way to found Udaypur, is looked upon since then as the paragon of the Rajputs.

The youngest son of manmath, Bhupal, left Ujjayini, and under instructions from his personal divinity (istadevata) took up his seat in the north, in the hills at Ridi or Riri, a little borough situated at 260 kilometres from Kathmandu and at a 160 kilometres from Gurkha. He reached the place in 1495, nearly 200 years after the fall of Chitor, of which, his father had been a witness. From Ridi he proceeded to Sargha, then travelled in an easterly direction to Bhirkot. He settled there and tilled the land. He begetted two sons, Khancha and Micha, whose mother was carefully guarded from being mentioned. He had them initiated as Ksatriyas and gave them for wives, Rajput women from the plains. The second son, Micha, conquered Nayakot, small town to the north-west of Gurkha, distinct from the town of the same name on the boundaries of Nepal. One of his descendants, Kulmandan, became king of the principality of Kaski, near

Nayakot, and received the title of Shah from the emperor of Delhi. The people of Lamjung, a neighbouring village sheltered in the mountains, came to ask him for one of his sons as king; when they received him, they took him for a target, under the pretence of aiming at game, and pierced him with poisoned arrows. But incapable of ruling themselves without a king, they went and asked the king for another son, they eventually succeeded in winning over his legitimate refusal by most solemn engagements: authorized to choose among the five remaining sons, they waited for the night, observed the sleeping princes, saw the head of the youngest rise from the cushion and convinced by the lofty destinies which awaited him, took him for their chieftain. It is this prince, who in his turn had for second son Dravya Shah, conqueror of Gurkha.

Colonel Tod, the indefatigable compiler of Rajput traditions, has gathered another legend on the origin of the Gurkha dynasty.² It had for founder the third son of king Samarsi of Chitor, who proceeded towards the end of the XIVth. century to settle down at Palpa, the actual capital of the Western provinces of Nepal. Samarsi is no other than Samara Simha, the predecessor of Ratna Simha who was beaten and made a prisoner by Alau-d-Din. Samara Simha is known by several inscriptions dating from 1275 (?), 1278 and 1285 J.C.³ A third tradition gathered in Nepal by Hamilton,⁴ attributes the foundation of Palpa to Rudra Sen, descendant of Ratna Sen of Chitor, otherwise of Ratna Simha, the successor of Samara Simha. The period indicated here and there, does not vary considerably from the time when Harisimha deva invaded and conquered Nepal.

The capture of Chitor and the scattering of the Rajputs are historical facts, well

established: the history of the ancestors of Dravya Shah, which is bound to it, is at least doubtful and their genealogy is not reassuring. The sceptics can observe that each one of the branches and sub-branches of the family has for starting point the last born of the sons, as if the lineage of the eldest sons was too well known and too certain to lend itself to alterations and fraudulent interpolations. The successor of Dravya Shah did not succeed at the first attempt in having themselves recognized as authentic ksatriyas in the Hindu society. Rama Shah, who reigned from 1606 to 1633 and who gave a code to the Gurkha country, sent an ambassador to the Rajput prince of Udaypur, with the mission of exhibiting his genealogy and of obtaining the express recognition of his rank.

The chief of the clan Sisodhiya, the Rajput, by preference, allowed himself to be dazzled by the genealogical tree of Rama Shah; he was on the point of acceding to the request, when a discreet counsellor suggested him about questioning the ambassador on his own caste: It would then appear clearly whether the rumours which were afloat regarding the horrible impurity of the mountain people, were ordinary slanders. The ambassador who gave himself up as a Ksatriya, had to admit after having exhausted all subterfuges that he belonged to the Pande clan; now it happened that the Pande of India were a clan of Brahmans. The case was heard and the ambassador had to return crestfallen.⁵

This monstrous union of a name of Brahmanic clan with the title of Ksatriya, which scandalized the puritans of India, had, however, become a realization in the valleys of the Himalayas under the patronage and control of the Brahmans. Their ingenuity always ready to side with their irrec-

oncilability, had created, under the appearances of an ordinary resurrection, a new caste that combined two features theoretically irreconcilable; They were the khacas, the khas.

The khas were the local result of a group of phenomena already noticed in the valley of Nepal, but which had followed another development. The Brahmans who had ascended from orthodox India, as pilgrims, missionaries or adventurers, had made use of their aristocratic prestige and sacerdotal prestige on the fair sex; welcomed with honour and veneration by these rough mountain tribes, who respected and feared in them the magic or all powerful prescriptions, they had created irregular families; the children of these unions rejected by the Brahmanic codes were legitimately admitted in the Hindu society; but they were compelled to occupy a very small rank. The evil was not serious had they alone with the Brahmans represented the social order of India in the Himalayas. But the Brahman does not tread on barbarous ground without working out conversions; the semi-savage tribes aspire to getting incorporated in the superior organization which the Brahman rules and disposes at will; the very obligations which the caste imposes flatters the pride of the novice: they isolated them by a rigorous barrier and change into an insurmountable gulf the thin line of demarcation which separated him from the inferior classes. In exchange for this adhesion to the fundamental laws of the church, which prescribe the respect for the Brahman and the cow, the Brahman invented a subterfuge of genealogy which permitted him to introduce his proselyte in the envied caste of the Ksatriyas. A vague concord in the name of the barbarious ancestors, the remote resemblance of a legend sufficed to throw a bridge

between the Ksatriya candidate or aspirant (Ksatriya) and one of the numerous heroes of Hindu tradition.

But the new Ksatriya was not at the end of his pains; in spite of his wearing the Brahmanic string and taking a Brahman as guru, the authentic Rajput held his too recent nobility at a distance and would not decide to give him his daughters in marriage; he was left to choose his wives among the indigenes and the sons born of such unions could not maintain themselves in the paternal rank. The old social theory of the dharmashastras allotted them a degrading condition, but it was full of zest in connection with an ideal, regular and submissive society and had only to make in the valleys of the Himalayas; the new Ksatriyas were not disposed to pay for their title by a humiliation imposed on their progeny. The Brahman knew how to conciliate the letter and the character, the doctrine and the practice. Among the irregular class issues of the Ksatriyas, Manu designated the Khasas (or Khacas): they were shown side by side in the classical⁶ code, together with the Licchavis and the Mallas who constituted the military aristocracy of Nepal; alike them, the khasas were acknowledged as the regular descendants born in legitimate marriage of a Ksatriya who had been excommunicated for neglect of sacred duties. The name of the khasas had been perpetuated in the codes, but on positive or real notion were connected to it.⁷ On the other hand, the epic and literary geography of India, had for a long time past been applying this designation to the populations which bordered Northern India, on the frontier of Brahmanism; the name floated, like most of the ancient ethnic, in the undulating limits and could have spread to the Tibetan plateaux.⁸

The old dharmashastras, in enrolling the name of the khasas, as also the name of the Yavanas, of the Pahlavas, of the Cinas and of so many other real people, have simply had for object to define their social situation in connection with the Brahmanic hierarchy. The Brahmans, faithful to their steadfast tactic, resuscitated an old name which had fallen in escheat and made use of it to cover a new creation. They recognized the sons born of unions between the Ksatriyas and the indigenous women, as authentic representatives of the ancient khasas, and granted them the privilege unlike to the true ksatriyas, of the Brahmanic string.

The plan was so ingenious and satisfactory that it could serve two ends. The sons born of union between the Brahmans and the indigenous women and fallen from the paternal rank owing to the blunder of an irregular birth could not sink lower than the irregular sons of the ksatriyas; they could not rise higher than the new khas who bordered very close to the second caste. They were equally recognized as khas, also received the Brahmanic string and retained at the same time the name of the Brahmanic clan to which belonged their father. Attempts were made to distinguish them from the other Khas by the designation of Ksattris or Khattris, also borrowed from the convenient terminology of the code;⁹ but the custom refused to admit these subtle distinctions, and the ksattris blended with the Khas. The authentic Rajputs who come from the Hindustan and who united with the indigenous women, pretended also, to classify apart under the name of Ekthariahs, their privileged descendants; the mass of the khas absorbed them in its heterogenous chaos. The clans of local nobility, converted after the rajus of the mountains, came in their turn to mingle.

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The powerful family of the khas covered with its tribes, the vast space of the mountains which extends from Nepal proper to Cashmere.

The small military principality of *ukla* was especially peopled with khas. They were some of them vassals of the king, others officers or soldiers. It was thanks to the complicity of the khas clans that Dravya Shah was able to capture Gurkha in 135, it was thanks to their fidelity and devotion that the Gurkha Kings were able to maintain and extend their power, without affiliated to any of the leagues, which were being formed at every moment between the princes of the Territory of the Twenty four Rajas; it was due to their untiring courage that Prithivi Narayan succeeded in reconquering Nepal. The khas had already figured in the history of Nepal, before this conquest; they appeared for the first time at the same time as the Magars and the fermented radish, a little while before the expedition and the conquest of Harisimha deva. It was the time, when the Rajputs, repulsed by the Musulmans, withdrew to the mountains, joined the service of the barbarous princes, overthrew them and founded Hindu states on the ruins of the indigenous feudality. Rudra sena who is known to be a descendant of Ratna Simha, last independent king of Chitor, has founded the town of Palpa. His successor Mukunda Sena extended the paternal domain. Nepal was in a state of anarchy; king Hari deva only exercised a nominal power. A native Magar expelled from Nepal depicted to Makunda Sena the valley as a sort of Promised-Land; the houses had gold roofs, the water pipes were of gold. The king of Palpa rushed, routed the Nepalese troops; his soldiers smashed and disfigured the images of the gods and they even removed the Bhai-

rava placed before the image of Matsyendra Natha as a guardian and sent it to Palpa. Mukunda Sena offered to on avail, as a sort of expiation to Matsyendra Natha the gold chain which adorned the neck of his horse. "The figure of *paripati*, which is called *Aghora* (That of the South) showed its horrible teeth and sent a goddess named *Mahamari* (Plague) who swept the country, in fifteen days, of all Mukunda Sena's soldiers. The king fled under the disguise of Sanyasi; but reaching *Devi-ghat* below *Nayakot*, he died. Such is the Nepalese account; but the tradition of Palpa states that Mukunda Sena ruined himself the Empire which he had founded, by dividing it between his four sons.¹⁰ Mukunda Sena, later like Prithivi Narayan, commanded an army of khas; several among them remained established in the valley, so quickly conquered and lost.¹¹ According to Kirkpatrick a great number of *khasias* families (that is to say *Khasiyas* or *Khasas*) who are a tribe of the West, emigrated into Nepal and established themselves as *Newars* (403 or *samvat* 1344) (1237/8 J.C.), under the region of *Anvant Mull Deo* (*Ananta Mailla deva*) and three years later, as *Newar* 411; a considerable number of families from *Tishout* also emigrated in their turn.¹²

The migration of the *Khasas* reported by Kirkpatrick has preceded by little their invasion under the leadership of Mukunda Sena, if even it is not mixed up with that invasion. On either side, it is an event that took place towards the end of the XIIIth. century and the beginning of the XIVth.

At that period, the indigenous tribes of the west, in spite of the lineage of race and language, were held as ordinary

demons by the refined Newars. The Gurung, the shepherd, who occupied the alpine regions to the West of Nepal, to the North of the Magars, served as the ogre of our fables to threaten and horrify the children; to stop them from shrieking, they were told: Wait a while, Gurung Mapa will come and take you away. Gurung Mapa did not delay in taking a real life in the imagination of the people; they at first recognized him as a Raksasa. They had seen him come and devour the children. And they conceded to him the ownership of Tudi-khel on condition that he would eat no more; he further agreed, in return for a regular gift, to prevent any building operations to be undertaken on this ground, which still remains waste-land. (It serves to-day as a manoeuvring ground).¹³

The Khas are not all Gurkhas; the Nepalese provinces to the West of Gurkha and the British districts to the East of Cashmere have a numerous population of khas, members of the same caste; but the khas natives of the Gurkhas are not khas: All the inhabitants of Nepal, who had arrived thither together with Prithivi Narayan, with some sort of a title, great lords as well as pariahs, are Gurkhas and have a right to this privileged name.

The first of the Gurkhas, the Gurkha pre-eminently is the king: Maharaja-Adhiraja. The king and the royal family which embodies all the legitimate descendants of Dravya Shah flatter themselves in being pure blooded Ksatriyas. The presence, of a Khancha and of Miha, inserted in the royal genealogy, only distresses those ready to criticize; these two Anaryan names, which relate the ascendants of Prithivi Narayan to descendants of the Rajputs of Chitor and also the features, more Magars like

than Hindus of the members of the royal family, do not prevent them from being reckoned as Thakurs, namely as indisputable Rajputs. The caste of the Thakurs is sub-divided into fifteen to twenty clans. The king is of the Shahi clan or Shaha. The Mallas, who gave kings to Nepal for a long time, form another clan of Thakurs.

The Khas, who ranked immediately under the Thakurs, are credited to-day with being worth the authentic ksatriyas and for the past half century, they are inclined to substitute their ancient designation which they bore with an affected vanity which the name of Chettris or Ksatriyas; the relations with India, becoming more frequent have disclosed the disadvantages of too-estimated a title up till then. Sons of Brahmans, of Rajputs, or of those converted and united with indigenous women, ksattris, Ekthariahs, or khas of origin, one caste alone embodies and mingles them. In an instructive but little edifying fraternity, meet and jostle the venerated names of the Krahmanic clans, the glorious names of the ksatriyas clans and barbarous names of the indigenous clans. In vain, the Brahmans thinking the hour of concession passed, have attempted to introduce in their relations with the khas, a rigidity more in conformity with orthodoxy; the Khas of Nepal persist in ordering that the children, born of the women of their caste united with the Brahmans should wear the sacred string, take the rank of the khas and receive the name of the paternal clan.

There, however, exists a category of degraded khas, which has a right of the title of the khas, but which has no right to the Brahmanic string: they are the children issue of unions between the authentic

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khās and the widows of the same rank or with the concubines of inferior rank. They follow the same rules of purity as the khās, but they are curtailed to more humble occupation; they can freely marry among themselves, whatever be the paternal clan.

The Gurkha khās exercise the Hindu religion and willingly stand as champions for it; but apart from the numerous superstitions which they share with the Hindus, they have reduced the dogmas to one article of faith alone: the respect of the cow sums up for them the Brahmanic doctrine. In Nepal, the slaying of a cow is punished with the capital punishment—death—a simple act of brutality committed on a cow is punished with imprisonment for life. The Gurkhas have undertaken repeated wars against the kiratas, established to the East of Nepal to compel them to abstain from eating the cow which at one time was their food of predilection (most preferred). They forbade the Murmis, neighbours of the Kiratas from entering the valley because these “Tibetans of carrions” (‘Siyena Bhotiya’) eat the flesh of dead cows, dead through natural causes, now that it is forbidden to kill them.

The Brahman is less favoured by the fate than the cow, in spite of the superstitious respect which he inspires; Prithvi Narayan and his successors were very free about confiscating often, the properties of the Brahman. In any case, the capital punishment could not be passed against a Brahman. In Nepal; he preserves thither the ancient privilege, which the Brahmanic codes conferred on him. The most serious penalty that could be inflicted on him is perpetual imprisonment with the forfeiture of his caste.

Superstitions even to childishness, the Gurkhas khās are not hampered by the formalities prescribed by the rules of Hindu purity. To eat, is for the Hindu a serious affair; he has to undress from head to foot, bathe, adore the divinity (puja), clean his utensils and especially avoid the contact of inferior castes. The Gurkhas, if he is even a khas, is content to remove his head-piece and his shoes and eat in company with Gurkhas of all classes, all kinds of food, except rice and dal (kind of lenti), which the higher castes refuse to eat with lower castes: also, if the rice is cooked in Ghee (melted butter), all the castes eat it together. Even the Thakurs accept to eat in common with the Hindus as suspicious as the Magars and they are free to dispense with it until their marriage. They all drink without embarrassment from the same leather bottle, provided it is made of goat’s leather. As a contrast to the Hindus, who profess a scrupulous respect for life, the Gurkhas are great eaters of game and of fish especially. They share the taste of their Newar subjects regarding vegetables and especially garlic as well as for rice or wheat-alcohol (raksi) and brick-tea; they are also fond of adorning themselves with flowers.

The dress, simple and practical, is also very tight-fitting: It has even become very popular with the Nevars. The less fortunate wear by way of trousers Hindu fashion, a piece of cloth passed round the waist and brought between the legs; furthermore, they have a tight-fitting jacket, closed on the chest by a long line of buttons running from the waist to the neck; they are shod with leather sabots square shaped, which take (or fit) the foot well and rise the ankles; their head-piece consists of a small bonnet (cap) which fit

in exactly the top of the skull. Lastly, they wind a piece of cloth round their waist, and this serves as a belt and often as a turban when the sun is very warm. In this belt they wear the national weapon, the inseparable companion and the universal implement of the Gurkhas: the 'Khukri'. The Khukri is a large heavy and curved knife which measures about fifty centimetres between the point and the extremity of the handle. Khukri in hand, the Gurkha will cut and slice his adversaries mercilessly, will await firmly and slay the most formidable faun and will open himself with ease, a passage through the most dense jungle.

The wealthier classes wear the same cap, the same shoes, the same belt with the khukri; but their costume consists in a real trousers, which falls on the ankles, and fits tightly round the calf; the top of it is ample and flowing; it is tightened at the waist by means of a running-string; besides a kind of frock-coat with large flaps crossed over on the chest and exactly fitting on the bust; it closes by means of eight strings, four inside fixes the crossing four outsides fixes the turned-down flap. The frock-coat and the trousers are made of a light cotton cloth stitched double; inside is placed a padding of cotton-wool which varies in thickness according to taste; to fix the wadding, the two layers of cloth are brought together by means of diagonal stitching closely worked to one another. Under the frock-coat, they wear a short shirt which overflows at the neck. Often also, they wear over the frockcoat, a real dress-jacket, of European cut, and lined with Tibetan furs in winter.

The Gurkhas have adopted with the rites, the Hindu prejudices on marriage, The girls can be wedded after the age of seven and must be married before thirteen years of age. Contrary to the Nevars, the Gurkhas are of very jealous nature: The adulteress is punished with imprisonment for life, without reckoning with bastinades and other cruelties in which is satisfied the husband's vengeance. Up to the period of Jang Bahadur, the law allowed the outraged husband the trouble to chastise the wife; he was permitted to slay her with a stroke of the khukri, at all times and at all places, however old or doubtful was the offence. The police would not interfere in these cases of vengeance. To-day, the culprit is arrested, undergoes trial and if found guilty, is made over to the husband who springs on her, khukri in hand, and slays her; however the culprit can escape, and to allow her a means of doing so, she is given the start of a few paces, but generally, the friends of the husband surround and knock her down by tripping her. The law also offers her another recourse; she can save her life by accepting to cross under the leg of the husband; but at the same time she loses her caste and her honour. Such cowardice is almost without an example.

The women of the higher society live in general in the seclusion of the house and only show themselves on feast days at the temples and when on pilgrimages: entangled in their flowing skirts they are unable to walk and move about on the backs of men. Polygamy is universal; the lofty personages surround themselves, by affectation, with a well-filled seraglio (harem). The abuse of the (asphrodisiac) (drug exciting sexual desire) has had a

deplorable action on the development of the Gurkhas. The widows in conformity with the Hindu law which the English have forbidden to be exercised in India, are authorized to ascend the conjugal pyre; the small monuments raised in honour of the 'satis' are still everywhere met with. However, the custom is dying out; Jang Bahadur forbade the widows who had young children from throwing themselves on the funeral-pile, and the widow who weakens at the last moment can renounce her sacrifice without the parents gathered around obliging her to hold on to her agreement. A second marriage is naturally forbidden to the widows; The Brahmanic Law is inflexible on this point; but instead of the miserable and desperate condition that awaits them in India, they can contract an irregular marriage without dishonour in the Gurkha country.

In like proportion to the taste of the Nevars for society, the Gurkhas avoid it. He loves to live in a secluded house in the middle of a field, without any other occupation than the performance of religious ceremonies. "It is an unsolvable mystery, declares Dr. Wright, to understand what the Gurkhas amuse themselves with and spend their time upon. Their preferred distraction, is to hunt, in which they are very skilled and brave; but the pleasure can only be indulged in the Terai during the Winter season.

The appreciations on their character, vary almost to contradiction. Hamilton, who lived a year among them in the beginning of the XIXth. century, describes a terrible narrative: "They are perfidious and treacherous, cruel and arrogant against the weaker ones, flatly lowly when they expect

a favour. The higher classes pass the night in the company of men dancers, of women-dancers, of musicians, and women musicians and have quickly wrought their impotence by continual excesses. The morning is spent in sleep, and the afternoon in the accomplishment of rites, and there remains little time for their affairs and to instruct themselves. With the exception of a few Brahmans, they are drunkards and also exceptionally suspicious. "Three quarters of a century later, Dr. Wright does not judge them with less good-will or sympathy. "They have no affairs, excepting that of playing like soldiers; they have no open-air games, they have no literature to keep them busy at home. In fact, they have nothing to fill up their long hours of leisure; in consequence they abandon themselves to gossip, to game, to debauchery under every form. "In return, captain Vansittart appreciates and praises, as a soldier, the qualities of the Gurkha recruits. "Compared with the other Orientals, the Gurkhas are tough, enduring, faithful, honest, independent, have the courage of their opinion.... they disdain the natives of India and fraternize with the Europeans whom they admire for their superiority of knowledge, of force and courage and whom they endeavour to imitate.. It may seem strange but it is an indubitable fact, that each year a great number of recruits enrol themselves solely with the purpose of learning to read, write and calculate in our schools for the regiments. "It is necessary to observe that Mr. Vansittart judges the nation through the humble recruits who annually come and got enrolled under the British colours and consisted more of native Magars and Gurungs, than of Thakurs and khas, whereas Dr. Wright had especially in view, the high Gurkha society of Nepal. I must, however, admit

that my impressions, in Nepal itself, have concurred with the sentiment of Mr. Vansittart. The unfavourable prejudices that I brought away from the plains, slowly vanished with the prolongation of my stay; and I was obliged to recognize that if the Gurkhas are in fact suspicious and distrustful, as they are credited with, in the official as well as in the private relations, the Europeans (and I do not only mention the English) have made the suspicion and the distrust, too legitimate. Less refined and less gifted than the Nevars, they have in the highest sense that love for liberty and mother-land, two sentiments that India have not known. Their national hero, Prithivi Narayan, has set the example too easily followed by his descendants, of craft, of disloyalty, of perjury, of rapacity of cruelty; the great men of Western politics have wrongly done him an injury. The Gurkha virtue pre-eminently is the military honour. "Rather death than an act of cowardice", says the proverb; and in fact a khas, who runs away before the enemy in a battle is expelled from his caste; he becomes a pariah, even his wife can no longer eat with him.

The khas are the basis of the Gurkha population; but it embodies other elements. The Brahmans of Gurkha have accompanied the victors of Nepal; they belong to the Kanyakubjaya clan, devoted to the caktarites and recognize the authority of the Tantras. The crudites are scarce; astrology is the most cultivated science. They are divided into three categories separated by the gulf of marriage; the highest bears the title of 'Upadhyaya', they belong to the schools of Yajur Veda; they serve as 'gurus' (spiritual teachers) and as 'purohitas' (domestic chaplains) to the Brahmans and Rajputs. The first in dignity is the spiritual

teacher of the king (Raja-guru) who is well versed in all the questions of the caste; a portion of the fines imposed on breaches of this nature, to be made over to him. He is furthermore, by virtue of pious donations, proprietor of the vast domains which he lets out on lease. His office or employment like all the functions in Nepal, is renewable every year; but unless it be for a scandal or a political revolution, he remains the chief for life. A few other Brahmans, related to great houses, also make considerable revenues. The others, who are greater in number, live especially by the sums the faithful distribute on the occasions of births, marriages, deaths, and great events. The Maharaja Deb Sham Sher who exercised an ephemeral power from the 3rd. of March to the 25th. June 1901 has celebrated his accession by a distribution of 1000 cows to the Brahmans.

The Upadhyayas eat goats, sheep, but refuse game. The two classes named 'Kamiya' and 'Puribi', serve as gurus and purohitas to the inferior classes, but not the lowest. These ones go so far as to rear pigs and hens destined for their table.

Beneath in rank to the Brahman, but at a long distance, are classified the 'Jaisis'. In spite of the identity in names, they totally differ from the Nevar Jaisis; these are issues of an union between a Brahman and a Nevar woman. The Gurkha jaisis are issues of illegitimate union between Upadhyaya Brahmans and widows of their caste; they are interested in agriculture and commerce and form a numerous class (harmonious?).

The conquerors have also brought away from Gurkha, group of low castes, the services of which were indispensable. These

castes, even the vilest among them, down to the sweepers and the curriers, have a right, however, to the title of Gurkhas and pass for their masters for having come from Chitor. Their so-called Hindu origin gives to a certain extent, a more solid base to the pretensions of the military clans. The first of these classes to stand out in dignity is that of the 'khvas' or 'khavas', slaves or royal freed-men who are the confidential men of business of the palace; this is the employment they were already holding, as they say, at Chitor. The bastards of the royal family, the children born of a Thakur and a woman-slave are ranked in that caste. One must be careful in not mixing up the Khavas with the ketas or Kamaras (Karmakaras) who are ordinary slaves. Slavery as a matter of fact, is one of the institutions of Nepal; the number of slaves reach the total of from twenty to thirty thousand. The growth is due to various causes; some are born in servitude, some also, in punishment for a crime have been degraded and sold; others, and the more numerous have been sold; by needy parents. The parents, at first attempt to sell them to people of good castes who respect the obligations of the castes of their slaves; if they do not succeed, they resign themselves to sell them to pariahs or heathens. The child loses his caste from then, but the parents preserve their own, unless they take back in their home their child, even if he be freed-slave. The price of a slave for a boy varies, from 150 to 200 francs, for a girl between 200 and 300. The girl slaves, even those of the queen are all legally prostitutes; their masters allow them most sparing food, and leave them to provide for their clothes with their own resources. A slave who has a child from her master, can claim her freedom-

After the khvas comes the 'Nai' (Napita)

the barber, who still belongs to the pure castes, on this side of the water, and on the other side are;

- The 'Kami' (Karmi), smith;
- The 'Damai', tailor and musician;
- The 'Sarki', tanner and shoe-maker
- The 'Bhat', or Bhanr, musician who prostitutes his wife;
- The 'Gain', wandering singer;
- The 'Dhobi' washerman or (Woman).

These castes have men of the same castes for priests. All the Gurkhas speak the khas or Parbatiya language¹⁴.

Parbatiya, derived from parbata or parvata, mountain, is the name of all the mountaineers of Nepal, who, without being Gurkhas also pretend to be of Hindu origin. The khas or Parbatiya (this last name is the more usual) is better than all the legends and the genealogies for the convincing testimony of the Hindu emigration to the mountains. Its construction, and also its vocabulary are eight tenths exactly identical to Hindi, the language of the Hindus of Delhi, Agra and Benares. Introduced by the emigrants from India, it has expelled the Tibetan dialects from the valleys and spread already over the whole of the lower Himalayas, to the West of Nepal, in the time of Prithvi Narayan. The Gurkha conquest has introduced it in the central valley, where the Newari is deeper rooted than its neighbours, still holds it in check; but the centralization of the Government assures its triumph: it is the language of the rare schools and also of official communications; if it is not yet spoken everywhere, it is more or less understood from one end to the other of the kingdom; the Gurkha soldiers have carried it to the frontier of Sikkhim, on the outskirts of Darjeeling.

The Gurkha nation comprises, besides two ancient races which Prithivi Narayan and his successors have associated with the fortunes of their weapons, but who, admitted under caution in the Hindu society, have not yet received any employment thither; they are the Magars and the Gurungs. The Magars have been associated with the khas from an old date; The khas and the Magars appear at the same time in the history of Nepal; about the XIVth century.

Their origin is clearly Tibetan, their features and their language, less modified than those of the Nevars, reveals at the first glance their lineage with the Mongolian races. Established from a long time between the 'Hills of Gres' and the lofty valleys; in the valley of the seven Gandakis around Palpa as centre, they were the first to come in contact with the Rajputs who were fleeing before the Musulman invasion; they welcomed them amicably, detained and eventually accepted them as their chiefs. Most of the Khas, otherwise the Thakurs, have in reality Magar blood in their veins. The Magars were originally, like all the Himalayan scions, of the Tibetan race, great eaters of flesh and great drinkers of alcohol. The first among them who converted themselves to Hinduism did not do otherwise, undoubtedly, than to renounce eating the flesh of the cow, and earned by that sacrifice the title of Ksatriyas or Khas by the Brahmans. The movement of conversion has not stopped from spreading; but the Brahmans, less conciliating ever since they became the stronger, refused to the new proselytes the advantages granted to their predecessors. The Magars who are not Khas have no right yet to the Brahmanic string; Most of the clans are divided into two

branches which bear the same name in common, but one of them converted to the title of Khas from an old date; the other, recently converted, even sometimes rebellious against Hinduism, continues to bear an indigenous designation joined to the name of the clan, thus, for example, the Thapas Khas, who play so considerable a part in the contemporary history of Nepal and the Thapas Rangus. To console themselves, the new proselytes take up the most haughty names of the Hindu nobility: Surajbansi, Chandrabansi, etc. (Race of the Sun, Race of the Moon), but these are pure fancy names. Their language, more and more mixed with elements borrowed from the khas, tends to rapidly disappear in face of the Gurkha language¹⁵.

The Gurungs are a pastoral race, of the same origin as the Magars and the Nevars and who speak a language of the same family; but established in the lofty valleys to the North of the Magars, they have been less impregnated with the Hindu influences. Their stature is splendid; the two gurung regiments of the Gurkha army only recruit men above five feet six inches in height; they surpass the Magars and the khas in height and vigour. They still have lamas for priests and adore the Buddhistic gods in their valleys; but in the Hindu country they have recourse to the Brahmans for their religious ceremonies and invoke the Brahmanic pantheon.

Political, Judiciary and Economic Organization.

The history of the institutions is divided into two periods; The Nevar period and the Gurkha period. The Nevar period extends from the early periods of positive history to the year 1768, which marks the complete ruin of the old indigenous dynasties; it covers a space of twelve or thirteen centuries. The inscriptions which are strewn

at unequal intervals on this long series of years, are nearly the only useful documents, the chronicle hardly takes an interest in the souvenirs of the religious tradition. Even the inscription furnish indirect information; they commemorate in general public or private endowments, donations of lands and concessions of privileges. The Capuchin missionaries who evangelized Nepal in the XVIIIth. century could have gathered precious informations on the administration of the country before the Gurkha conquest, but their zeal preferred to remain closed up in a work of barren predicament.

I do not claim that the political institutions have remained unchangeable during a period of thirteen centuries. The country is sometimes partitioned among several kings, sometimes cut up ad infinitum into feudal principalities. The first of historical dynasties, the Licchavis, flatter themselves of being related to the glorious clan which governed the most prosperous city of India, in the days of Buddha, Vaishali, but the Licchavis of Nepal had not copied the oligarchical constitution of the ancient me ropolis, with its singular elective and annual royalty. Royalty is hereditary and is handed down from father to son. The King bears the still modest title of "Bhattaraka Maharaja", King Sovereign. He is surrounded by turbulent and refractory barons (samantas) who only agree to recognize him as 'primus inter pares' and who profit by each favourable opportunity to refuse him homage. The king is compelled to enforce his authority. The founder of the Thakuri, Amshuvarma, is satisfied with the title of "naha-samanta" "Grand Marquis" modified equivalent of 'Maharaja'; but his successor Jisnu Gupta bestows on him already the pompous title of 'bhatt-

araka maharajadhiraja' "Sovereign king of kings" and the title thus swollen, swells up again eventually; from the beginning of the VIIIth. century, the king is officially designated as the "supreme master, the 'supreme Sovereign, the king of kings'" 'parameshvara parama bhattaraka maharajadhiraja'.

The exaggeration of these titles does not reach a falsehood; the princes of that period lived in great style and really cut the figure of kings. The Chinese relations describe to us the palace of Narendra deva in the middle of the VIIth. century, as splendid, dazzling with copper ornaments, decorated and carved designedly, erected (set off) with pearls and precious stones; in the centre rises a high tower of seven stories, which forms artificial fountains at its base. The king himself wears expensive attires, gold earrings and jade pendants and amber jewels also coral, mother-of pearl and rock crystal jewel—He sits on a throne supported on lions; around him flowers and perfumes are strewn. The great men and the officers sit on the floor to the right and left; hundreds of armed soldiers are drawn up around. A little earlier, in the beginning of the VIIth. century, Shivadeva had erected a palace with nine stories.

The "personnel" of the royal family is at least partly enumerated in an inscription of Amshuvarma, dated in the year 625 J. C., and which seems connected with the coronation ceremony of this prince. At the head appears the great "Inspector of armies" mahabaladhyaksa; then the "superintendent of donations", prosadadhikrta; then at a short distance the "bearer of the

fly-flap" 'camara-dhara'; "The standard bearer" dhvaja-manusya; the "supplier of drinking water" 'paniya-karmantika'; the inspector of the seat (royal) "pithadhyaksa"; the 'bearer of Puspa-Pataka' 'puspa-pataka-vaha; the "drum and blower of the conch" 'mandishankha-vada; and even the "sweepress" 'sammarjayitri'. Other inscriptions of the same period also name the "commander-in-chief" 'sarvadanda-nayak'; the "great bailiff" 'Mahapratihara' the "minister of the worships" 'dharmarajikamatya; the "spiritual director", 'guru'.

In face of the king and the court, exposed to the vicissitudes of revolutions which sweep at times a dynasty and its supporters, the population retains an immutable organization in its traditional temper. Whether the Thakuris supersede the Licchavis or the Malias ascend the throne, whether the sovereign power is in the hands of an emperor or is dispersed among the rival chiefs, the commune (inhabitants) 'grama', remains always in the eyes of the people the real and only political unity, in Nepal as well as in India. The Indian village forms a republic by itself, an administrative system regular and complete, under the direction of the mayor (patta-kiia, grama-kuta, grama-pali, pradhana), generally assisted by the secretary, keeper, chief of irrigation who regulates the supply of water between the fields, astrologer (jyotisa, jesi) who determines the periods of cultivation and who knows those days that are auspicious or inauspicious. The needs of the village also demand as integral elements a carpenter, a blacksmith, a potter, a washerman, a barber; the school principal and the jeweller are utilities without indispensable characters. The master of the houses ('kutumbin'),

whether he be house proprietor (grihin) or field proprietor ('kestrin') are the citizens of this elementary state. The sovereign administration only interferes in questions of revenue and criminal justice or in affrays between several villages. The villages of Nepal are grouped in the ancient period into districts (adhikarana); western district ('paccimadhikarana'). Northern district (? kubervati) etc., under the administration of crown officers (adnikrta) who seem to exercise the functions of farmers-general (of revenues) (vrttibhuj, varitta). These officers command forces of armed police (catabhata) whose assistance are extended for the execution of orders. But tradition, are stern and better respected than a charter, forbids the township (commune) from overriding the central power. The officers and the kings police can only penetrate on communal territory for the levy of revenue ('karasadhana') to hand over written documents (lekhyadana') to instruct on the five great crimes which are directly associated with the sovereign justice (panchaparadha).

In a country almost exclusively agricultural as in Nepal and the whole of India, the principal revenue of the king is the land-tax. The nature of the distribution is not clearly indicated in the inscriptions. In the days of the Licchavis, it seems that the unit of valuation which was adopted was the plough (gohala') viz. the surface which a peasant can cultivate with a pair of bulls. The corresponding monetary unit is the (Karsapana' (about 3gr. 80 of silver, according to the estimation generally agreed); it is divided into 16 'panas'. The state receives two other taxes on the land; the 'simha (?) -kara' and the 'malla-kara', which fixes

both of them the amount of 4 'panas' of copper (4 x 9gr. 1/2 about) on the "plough". The king further receives a portion (bhaga) of the harvests (the $\frac{1}{6}$, the $\frac{1}{8}$, the $\frac{1}{12}$, according to the rules), he derives a tax on objects of luxury (bhoga), on gold (hira-naya). This is the sum total of the three taxes (trikara'). Lastly the village is bound down to certain annual presentations of services, such for example, it must furnish bearers for the transport into Tibet (Bhattavisti').

Royalty is not attached to these privileges with a refractory jealousy; it sometimes parts with them for the benefit of a divinity or of a temple, or even in exchange for other obligations. Most of our inscriptions register transaction of this nature. The formulary expressly defines the relations of the king with the commune; it is the paternal administration allayed with despotism, which the East in general has known and practised. The king addresses his decree directly "to the heads of the house of the village in following the order of precedence" he enquired about their health and does not fail to inform them that he is quite well himself. Most often, the king designates a missus dominicus (dutaka) selected among the principal officials, to supervise the execution of his will; it is even, in a great many cases the Heir-apparent (yuvaraja) who is invested with the royal edict.

Through all the transformations, the commune testifies to its persistent vitality. The groupings in which it is mixed willy-nilly, break up by the turn of events; it always survives. When the growing pros-

perity of Nepal opened large towns thither: which swallowed once separated communes, within their walls, the new towns continue to form an agglomeration of small states; no sooner does the central powers weaken then the town breaks up in districts, in independent clusters. During the whole of the middle ages, Kathmandu is divided among twelve kings, the other capital, patan, has as many kings as 'tols' (cluster of houses). The Nepalese Empire is for a while reconstituted with Yaksha Malla, in the XVth. century; after him, the valley is cut up in three kingdoms which are envious of one another and plague and fight together until the arrival of the Gurkhas.

Even under the administration of the Mallas who pretend being a consistent dynasty, the transmission of power does not happen sometimes without collision. Towards the year 1600, the people of Kathmandu, tired of the debaucheries of king Sada Shiva, expelled him with the cudgel from the throne and the kingdom. A few years before the Gurkha conquest, the six notable citizens (Pradhanas) of Patan put out the eyes of king Rajya Prakasha, refused to open the gates of the town to king Jaya Prakasha who went out on a promenade and execute king Vishvajit with their own hands. In case of accidental vacation or escheat, the procedures in usage vary. When the lineage of Amshuvarma is found extinct, at the close of the VIIIth. century, the Thakuris of Nayakot cross over the mountain, descend into Nepal and they elect one among them as king. It is a privilege which appears to be their escheated existence as the same is to the noblest and purest clan of the country. After the invasion of Mukunda Sena towards the XIIIth. century, when the country in a state of

upheaval, succumbs to war, plague anarchy, the Thakuris of Nayakot re-appear; the little kings who at the time share among themselves the towns and villages of the country are all the members of this clan. At Kathmandu, when Sada Shiva was expelled "the people" designated a successor. At Patan; the choice of the king seems to rest with the notables ('Pradhanas') who represent the nobility.

The great discrepancies in the Epigraphy, which no other document can fill up, prevent the study of the history of the institutions in the middle age. The inscriptions take new life with the dynasty of the numerous Mallas, it is true, for the more recent period, but stuffed with stilted literature and almost bare of facts. The Sanskrit is only a school language, useful for the construction of copies or imitations; the real and positive notes are expressed in the indigenous language, the Nevari, and the study of the epigraphy in Nevari still remains to be created. It is necessary to reach the Gurkha period to discover useful documents.

The Gurkha conquest upsets the traditional 'regime' of Nepal. The new chieftains of the country, jealous of their authority, are not disposed to share it with anybody; they break up all resistances, absorb the principalities and baronies and instal in place of the ancient partition, a strong and resolutely centralized government. It is difficult to study its exact and detailed working, I have already mentioned the reasons against it.

The jealous and suspicious independence of the Gurkhas, gets alarmed and

frightened at the least indiscretion; the curiosity of the traveller, who so easily wears an air of espionage in Europe, does not stand out markedly in Nepal. Each one believes himself willingly responsible for the machine of the state; it is held as a duty to screen them from profane or evil-wishing looks, it is all one. The replies to questions asked are enveloped with reticence or overflow to lead one in error. The wisest thing is still to gather up the informations obtained by those whose situation or resources placed them in a position to instruct themselves and observe Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, Hodgson, Cavenagh, Wright. None of them, it is true, has traced a description of the whole, and the notes which are borrowed from them, if placed end to end, turn out incorrect or contradictory, since they are connected to vastly different periods, from the regency of Bahadur Shah to the dictatorship of Jang Bahadur. The description which I undertake will then be forcibly subject to untrustworthiness on more than one point.

Royalty is hereditary. The king is the legitimate descendant of Prithvi Narayan and of the ancient Gurkha kings. He bears the title of 'Maharajadhiraja' "king above great kings" abbreviated in the colloquial to the form of Dhiraj'. In principle he possesses absolute power. However, tradition confers a right of remonstrance on thirty six chiefs of clans, named Thargars' (inhabitant of nests); these clans who present some to be ksatriyas and others Brahmanic, have their fief situated in the patrimonial domain of Prithvi Narayan. It is between them, that the government must share the principal employments but all have not equal rights; they form a hierarchy with three different stages, the highest

group in dignity comprises six families who receive by reason of their number the name of 'Chattra'. The Chattras have a kind of right of preference for the first employments of the kingdom. In the days of Kirkpatrick, the Thargars passed as authorized defenders of the dynastic interests; if they thought these interests in danger, their duty and their right went so far as to enable them to overthrow the reigning prince and to give him a more worthy successor. The most powerful clans of the Chattras in the days of Hamilton, were the Panres ('Pande') and the Vishwanaths ('Vishwanatha'). But the real authority of the Thargars has disappeared for a long time, with the real authority of the kings. In 1843, when the intrigues of the king, heir-apparent, and queen seemed to precipitate the state into ruin, the Chieftains and the officers of the army took the initiative of the 'Petition of Rights' which was signed by the ministers, officers, and the municipal corporations of the valley and taken to the palace by a large delegation. The king welcomed and signed the chart which was brought to him and which guaranteed to all subjects of the crown their elementary rights too often violated.

In fact the king is only a sort of entity to-day, a nominal fiction, the only representative of the country recognized by the foreign powers. His red seal (tal mohar) is necessary to give an official value to diplomatic documents, but his action is void. Since the son and the successor of Prithvi Narayan, an implacable fatality bears on the throne either children of small or young age or princes already emasculated by precocious debauchery;

enclosed in their palace by the party in power, they are rigorously kept away from real life and public affairs. Their rare outings, when they are permitted, are watched by reliable agents who do not allow anybody to approach them and which increase their worries, under the plea of vain and vague dangers, to bring them to a state of voluntary confinement by persuasion.

For just an awakening of the king, even should it last a few moments, can annihilate the party most solidly encamped in power. Nepal is, every year, on the eve of legal revolution. All the employments are annual; beginning from the prime minister to the humblest soldier, all await the 'paijni' or 'panjani' which must either confirm or reject them brutally from the service of the state. This ceremony which periodically accompanies the festival of the Dussera (or Dasain, in September-October) grants beforehand an initial delegation of the royal rights. The great Council is at first constituted, as an immediate emanation of the royal authority; and it is he who reviews the conduct of officials, pronounces on their fate, distributes rewards and punishments. The strongest party at the time of the Paijni is then duty bound and capable of clearing the board of others; it is free to fill up exclusively all the employments with its only members and show no fault whatever.

Under the first successors of Prithvi Narayan, the Great Council, named 'Bharadar' comprised twelve members: A 'Chautra' or "Chautrariya" four 'Kajis', four 'Sirdars', two 'Khardars' one 'Kapardai'. The 'Chautra'

or 'Chautariya' was a parent of the king who carried out the functions of prime minister, and especially of controller General. It was to him that was transmitted all the written or verbal communications, dealing with the conduct of the civil and military 'personnel'. The four 'Kajis' had no particular attribution; they received a general delegation of the king to intervene or act in all cases deemed necessary, in war as in peace time. As an emblem of their power, they retained the royal seal. The 'Sirdars' differing from the Chautras and the kajis, could be chosen regardless of birth; they exercised the great military commands. The 'Khardars' were the secretaries of the state, entrusted with the correspondence and the chancellery. The 'Kapardar' was the minister of the king's house.

This organization of the Bharadar has disappeared since long time. The powers, successively conferred on Damodar Panne, on Bhim Sen, on Jang Bahadur, have made a dictator of the prime minister. From one Panjani to another, he is the absolute chief. Since 1856, he is entitled to the title of 'maharaja' and it is by this name that he is usually nominated. The maharaja is the chief of an immense syndicate of interests which embody his family, his customers, his most humble and distant proteges. He has all the powers, civil and military; he commands the army, he renders justice; he distributes employments. He must hold out against opposition parties, who are always on the look-out for the hour of revenge, against rival ambitions which are even unchained in his own family, lastly the intrigues of the harem engaged around the king, and which aims at supreme power. In order to strengthen himself against so many enemies, the

maharaja selects the women of the king in the most reliable families, particularly among his own daughters as did Jang Bahadur; and at each Panjani, he calls to public employments only the most devoted servants.

Among the Gurkhas, the service of the State is almost mixed up with the military service. The profession of weapons is the only one worthy of a true Gurkha; artisans, traders, peasants are human cattle which serves towards the existence of the army. Excluding the Nevars, always suspicious and held at a distance, the army is open to all the castes. Thus, each year, at the panjani, the applicants do not fail and the choice is easy. In principle, every Nepalese subject owes one year's military service to the king but the number of men procured would be above the needs; besides, the system of recruiting by selection offers more guarantee to the authority. During his year of service the soldier or officer receives a salary which is not paid in ready money, but is paid by a grant of land ('Jagir'); an ordinary soldier of the lowest rank receives a jagir of 100 rupees; a captain of first rank, a jagir of 4000 rupees; The superior grades are reserved to the parents of the maharaja; his brothers, his sons, his nephews are colonels, lieutenant generals, generals, commanders-in-chief, without consideration of age or merit; these titles entitle them to high emoluments and further a regular gift which is due to them by all their subordinates.

The number of men in regular service is estimated at from 25000 to 30000; but it is easy, in case of need, to immediately double this number by calling on those men who have been granted leave ('dakria')

after a year's service. In 1854, Nepal in her campaign against Tibet placed on foot 27000 men of the regular army, 29000 armed coolies and 390000 carriers of baggage. The men at one time were placed pell-mell in the regiments without distinction of origin; but Jang Bahadur has inaugurated the system of homogenous battalion, Rajputs, Gurungs, Magars, Kirats, etc. The regiments are named by the name of a divinity or illustrious soldier. The service uniform generally consists of a blue cotton tunic and a pyjama of the same colour; the full uniform for great occasions, consists of a red cloth tunic and a dark coloured trousers with a red band down the trousers-leg. For head-dress, a close-fitting cap which encases the skull; around this is wrapped very tightly a turban which bears, pinned on, in the fashion of our pompous, a silver plate, circular, oval in crossing, according to the regiments, the non-commissioned officers add a little chain to it, and the officers, precious stones and feathers according to their rank. The head-dress of the maharaja, ornamented with pearls in pendants is credited with being worth more than 300000 francs (£ 12000). The rifles are of the Enfield or Martini-Henry make, manufactured in the Nepalese arsenals or of European origin, and smuggled into Nepal. All the soldiers are besides armed with the national weapon, the 'khukri'. The artillery is numerous; the cannons are manufactured by machine in the arsenal at Kathmandu. Cavenagh asserts that Nepal owes her technical knowledge in artillery to French Officers engaged under hand by the Government. Patan and Bhadgaon are each the seat of one division; Bhadgaon possesses an arsenal like Kathmandu. The cavalry is comprised in a handful of Pathans (Afghans) at the maharaja's service.

The English authors mention as the essential weaknesses of the Gurkha army, the absence of a commissariat, the defect of rifles and cannons, the bad preparation of Gun-powder, the childish character of the exercises (drills); borrowed from the English army, but only recognized as a review-drill without any practical application, lastly but especially, the deplorable shortage of the high command. But all give homage to the valour of the soldiers, to their endurance, to their heroism, proved by so many battles; well commanded they would be invincible on their own soil. Without accumulating testimonies paid to their valour by the best of judges, it suffices to observe that the Anglo-Indian Government has cared to assure itself of their services. The Indian army actually embodies 15 Gurkha regiments which make a total of 14000 men. Hodgson since 1832 mentioned in a famous report what benefit the Government of India could derive from these valuable recruits: confined in Nepal without employment, without profit, the military tribes could not help but provoke an explosion; admitted in the Indian army, under the leadership of British officers, they would easily find the opportunity of satisfying war-like tastes to the profit of England.

It needed eighteen years for Hodgson to triumph over the timorous minds who refused to believe in the loyalism of Gurkhas; in 1850, Lord Dalhousie authorized the formation of three regiments. And since "for a quarter of a century, wherever a great stroke was to be dealt in India, wherever honour was to be gained, the Gurkha regiments have appeared in the foremost line". Only recently, the Gurkha contingent has figured brilliantly among the troops of the expedition to China.

The civil functions are reduced to a small matter: the Government of the provinces is naturally given to the parents of the maharaja who exercises at the same time the civil and military powers. The tax-gatherer, "soubahs", are in general farmer-generals who deal directly with the state. The principal civil functions are the judiciary ones.

The spiritual director of the king, the 'Raja Guru' (Rajguru) knows all the infringements which entail a legal or religious impurity, pronounces the verdicts and receives a moiety of the fines, in the title of 'Dharmadhikari' "Prefect of the Law". If the affair concerns the Shivaites or the Hindoos, he refers to the "Shastras", viz, to the works of later dates which are supposed to have been founded on the ancient codes: Manu, Yagnavalkya, etc., if it concerns Nevars or Tibetans, he follows the procedures established in the days of Jaya Sthiti Malla (XVth. century).

Four courts pass judgement at Kathmandu on civil and criminal affairs: The 'kot Linga' exercises the highest jurisdiction. Appendant courts settle all controversies in connection with military salaries or land cases. Each one of the courts is presided over by a 'ditha' who is not a civilian trained for the profession but whose respectability is well known. He is assisted by two 'bicaris' (vicarins) who are reputed to know the laws and procedures and who proceed to make investigation examinations, to all the necessary formalities. The ditha pronounces his verdict after this; but the condemned prisoner can always appeal to the king,

viz; in fact to the maharaja who pronounces the final verdict, or who designates a commission especially instructed to examine the case and to report thereon. Justice has the great merit of being quick. There is no public action. The complainant appears in court, lays a complaint; soldiers afterwards proceed to arrest the accused in his residence. The parties discuss freely in the presence of the judges, without the intervention of barristers, mention their witnesses, furnish their proofs. The avowal of the accused is essential to end up in a condemnation; if in spite of crushing accusation, he persists in denying, the judges have recourse to threats, and even to positive violences: bastinado, whipping etc. If all these means fail, the prisoner is confined in a sort of preventive imprisonment for life.

On the request of the parties, the court can transmit the case to an assembly of ordinary individuals chosen by the person asking for it and the one defending himself, and where the State can be represented; this is the "Panchayat". The Panchayat is a jurisdiction of conciliation which disposed of no means of coercion and which is pleased to submit an advice to the court; then again, this advice must be expressed unanimously. The members of Panchayat must be chosen in five Gurkhas clans or five Nevar clans specified exactly, conformably to the affair concerning Gurkhas or Nevars.

Lastly, if the case presents insoluble difficulties, or if the parties express the desire, with the previous consent of the king; it is proceeded to proof by water.

The names of the respective parties are traced on two slips of paper which are rolled and then worshipped (puja). Each one of the parties pays a tax of one rupee. The balls are then made fast to the stems of reeds. New payment of two annas. The stems are made over to the court who carry them to the Ranees Tank (Rani pokhri); a bicari, a Brahman and the parties follow them, also two individuals of the lowest caste ('Chamakallak' or 'Camar'); On reaching the tank, the bicari tries to persuade the parties to have recourse to other means before submitting to the ordeal. If the parties are determined to ask for the proof, the two sergeants each carry a stem, one goes to the East and the other to the West side of the tank and enter the water half way up the leg. In their turn the Brahman, the parties, the Camars enter a little in the water; the Brahman worships Varuna in the name of the parties and recites a sacred text with appeals to surya (Sun), Chandra (Moon), Varuna (God of Waters) and Yama (God of the dead), who can read the thoughts of the living. The rite completed, the Brahman marks the camars on the forehead and says to them; "Let the champion of truth triumph and the champion of insincerity lose". Then the Brahman and the parties come out of the water and the camars go each separately to the place where the stems stand out; they enter into the deep water and at a signal plunge at the same time. The first who emerges, the stem and ball nearest to him is destroyed. The other stem is brought in, the ball is opened and the name is read out; it is the name of the winner. Winner and loser have still to pay the one and the other a series of taxes¹⁷.

The practice of ordeals has been

introduced or at least increased by the Gurkhas, amateurs of clear solutions or further superstitions. The ancient jurisprudence was content with placing one on oath, on the Harivamca for the Hindus, on the Panch-raksa for the Buddhists or rather under his books, because the sacred text was placed on the head of the person who swore.

Outside Kathmandu, at Bhatgaon, Patan, in the provinces sit judges of inferior rank who are considered as the delegates of the bicaris and the dithas of the capital. But, whatever be their competency, there are five crimes that escape them and which exclusively belong to the immediate jurisdiction of the king; this is what they call, in an Indo-Arabic term, the 'panch-khat' and which the ancient descriptions denominate panchaparadha; the murder of a Brahman ('Brahma hatya'); the murder of a cow (go hatya); the murder of a woman (stri hatya); the murder of a child (bala hatya); the faults that entail the loss of the caste ('patki: anciently, 'maha pataka'¹⁸).

The ancient list of penalties opened with five great chastisements: confiscation of properties, banishment of the family; degradation of the family handed over to the lowest of tribes; mutilation; decapitation. The Gurkhas had added therein the hanging and the flaying alive. Regarding women, their noses were usually cut off. The author of an important theft had his hand cut off; in a case of second offence, the other hand was cut off. Jang Bahadur has ameliorated this barbarous code: Capital punishment was only served on those who murdered a man or a cow. The majority

of crimes and faults was punished by fine, to the profit of the judges and the State.

In order to sustain the heavy expenditures of military state, Nepal has in store very modest revenues. In 1792, Kirkpatrick estimated the revenue at from 25 to 30 lakhs (hundreds of thousand) of rupees. 3 or 4 lakhs procured by the customs, the duties on salt, tobacco, pepper, the betel nut and the sale of the elephants from Terai; 7 or 8 lakhs, by the mintage; 15 to 18 lakhs by the monopolies (salt, saltpetre), the copper and iron mines and the landtaxes. Before the Gurkha invasion the revenue were superior, because the copper in Nepal was not yet outcasted and expelled from the markets of Hindustan by the copper from Europe; Tibet exported to Nepal quantities of gold and silver which returned in Tibet as coined specie, leaving or allowing the Malhas a considerable profit.

In 1875, Dr. Wright estimated the revenue at 96 lakhs of rupees (about two and a half millions of francs), (the rupee may be worth 5 francs to-day-1920-June-but at the time spoken of, it was worth less than 2 francs and therefore 96 lakhs of rupees represented an equivalent of nearly 16 million francs) procured especially by the land-tax, the Customs; the product of forests of calas (teak wood) from the Terai, and the monopolies of the State (salt, tobacco, ivory, building wood).

The ingenious system of the annual 'jagirs' permits the Gurkha to compensate the shortage of the metallic curreney. Like

the the salary of the army, the civil stipends are paid in grants of land. Each year at the panjani, the king as absolute proprietor of the land bestows on the servants he employs or whom he maintains a fief the extent and value of which naturally vary with the importance of function; the year spent out, the fief returns to the king who again disposes of it according to his wishes. These fiefs bear the Persian name of 'jagirs', and the privileged are called 'jagirdars'. The government avoids as much as possible the possibility of a fief remaining in the same jagirdar's possession for more than a year, so as to better mark the temporary character of the concession, prevent the attachment of the individual to the soil and to remind the omnipotence of the king. Most of the time, the stipends are paid exclusively in jagirs; in certain cases, the treasury is a supplement in metallic currency. The jagirs do not only replace the salaries; it is also substituted for pensions. The widows, orphans of the servants of the State receive jagirs partitioned out with the severest equity. The jagir can comprise only a field or include a whole town. The town of Sankon, to the N. E. of the valley, is the jaghir of the first Queen (Maharani); in the days of Hamilton, the revenue was estimated at 4000 rupees.

Supplementary sources of revenue can be added to the jagirs. The officers receive a royal commission which authorizes them to administer justice and inflict penalties to the amount of 100 rupees on peasants established on their lands; the temptation is too strong for an injustice not to be on strict justice. But the appeals of the victims to the maharaja provoke from time to time striking disgraces which recalls to

duty the over-excited lusts. The judges, also, receive conjointly with the State fixed duties on judiciary affairs and cases. According to Kirkpatrick, the chautariya (prime minister) received besides his jagir, a duty of eight annas on each rice field, the Thargar's lands and those belonging to soldiers being exempt from this payment; the Kajis shared among them a duty of one rupee per field; the four Sirdars received each two annas for each field, the two Khardars equally received two annas each for field; The superintendent of the coinage derived on his due an enormous duty of 7 tolas of gold on each Nepalese merchant settled in Tibet and who entered the country. Hamilton mentions another distribution: The chief of the state received two thirds of the revenues; the remaining third was shared out by the great officers; the chautariya received one fifth; the Kaji received as much and the eldest son of the king a similar amount; the first queen if she had any children also received an equal amount; the last one fifth of this third portion went to the sirdars, to the counsellor (jethabudha) to the Secretary. The dharmadhikari continues to receive the fines he imposes on questions of legal purity.

The distribution of jagirs, in order to be equitable had to rely on a well drawn up register of the survey of lands. And in fact, the Mallas have handed down to the Gurkhas "an admirable system of register of the survey of lands, which would do honour to the British Government of India." Tradition attributes this great work to Jaya Sthiti Malla. The lands were then divided into four classes and their worth determined by the number

of 'karkhas' or 'ropanis' they contained. For the fourth class, the ropani was 125 haths (arm's length) in circumference; for the third class, 112 haths; for the second 99 haths; for the first, 95 haths. The length of the 'hath' was fixed to 24 times the length of the first phalanx of the thumb. The land-surveyor's pole was at one time 10-1/2 haths in length; Jaya Sthiti Malla reduced it to 7-1/2 haths. An analogous operation was worked on the framed up land or lands to be framed; they were divided into three classes, according to their being situated in the heart of a town, or in a road or rutway. The 'kha' was adopted as a unity of measures. For the first class land, the kha had 85 haths in circumference; for the second class 95; for the third, 101. The surveyors of crops formed the caste of the 'ksetra karas'; the surveyors of lands to be worked on, formed the caste of the 'Taksa karas'.

Thus the unity of measure is not a unity of area, but a unity of value. In fact, the prices assigned to the four categories of lands for cultivation varied for the same area, according to the classes, as 1:0.87:0.83:0.76; for built lands or about to be built on, as 1:0.89:0.84. The reduction of the surveying perch from 10-1/2 to 7-1/2 arm's lengths proves that since the institution of that measure up to the time of Jaya Sthiti Malla, the value of the lands had increased by one fourth (10-1/2: 7-1/2-1.4:1). Towards 1792, Bahadur Shah, regent during the minority of Rana Bahadur, gave orders for the framing up of a new register of the survey of lands; the results were kept a secret; but the nation, to whom an affair of this nature is always suspicious, did not fail to attribute the sudden disgrace of regent, in

1795, to the sin he had committed "by wishing to measure the boundaries of the land. Bahadur Shah was content with applying the method of the Mallas; the value of the lands was also estimated in ropnis; an average of twenty five ropnis made a field 'khet.' (ksetra) on good lands, they made use of a pole 7-1/2 arm's lengths long; it was the pole of Jaya Sthiti Malla; on bad lands, the pole had a length of 9-1/2 arm's lengths. The same estimation, on lands of the second category granted then, an area of a fourth more.

The field, 'khet', is the unity of payment in use, in the grants of Jagirs. A khet is a land of first quality well watered by streams or rivulets, with a fertile soil and which yields for an average amount of attention, all the grains of superior quality. The khet lands are especially situated in valleys, but many are also found on the plateaux. The average yield of the khet, taken as a unit of value, is 100 'muris' of rice in husks (nearly 7000 kilograms) estimated at about 150 rupees; the area naturally varies with the quality of the land.

The holder of the jagir, the jagirdar, is free to exploit by himself the land that is granted to him; but in general his occupations and his taste equally direct him elsewhere. He makes it over to a farmer who pays him half the products, and who further pays him a duty of two or three rupees per khet. The jagir can include, besides khets, lands of the 'kohrya' or 'barha' category, viz: that they are not watered by streams or running water. Such a land demands a great deal of attention and yields little: only inferior quality grains can be made to grow, just good

enough for the farmer or the low castes. The metayer of the jagirdar only pays on these lands a duty in proportion to the number of ploughings.

Besides the annual jagirs, certain lands, (birtas') are conceded in perpetual donation, but rarely, and almost exclusively to Bahmans, the reason being that the king is desirous of expiating a sin by a pious act or desirous of rewarding a devotee or a picked savant; in the first case, the land cannot return to the crown and if it falls in escheat, it is made over to the temple of Pashupati or Changu Narayan; in the second case, the crown takes back the land in the absence of heirs. The ceremony of donation is exactly in conformation with the traditional style: They bring to the king a lump of earth brought from the conceded land, the king waters it, mixes sacred herb with it (kusha) and sesamum whilst a priest utters formulae and he makes it over to the donee and also receives most often a chart graved on copper (tamra pattra'). The lands conceded in this way are named (kusha-birtas'; they are exempt from charges, are transferable and hereditary; but certain crimes entail the forfeiture. There are kusha-birtas that date back to the reign of the Mallas and that the Gurkhas have confirmed by the affixing of the red seal, in return for a duty in proportion. Besides, the beneficiary of such a gift does not fail when the occasion arises to secure to his title of ownership a further guarantee, by offering a convenient present to the king; the formality is almost customary on the accession of a new king. A few Nevals have obtained by an exceptional favour of the Gurkha kings, the privilege of being confirmed in the possession of lands conceded by the

Mallas on the same conditons as the kusha-birtas; but the confirmation must in this case be renewed at each accession and in payment of a high duty.

The immediate domains of the crown, dispersed all over the kingdom, are some rented to metayers (farmers), others directly exploited; the work is procured by requisitions and statute-labour imposed on the peasants of the neighborhood.

The produce of the farming serves for the consumption of the court; the surplus is distributed to religious mendicants.

Agriculture²³, the professions and the trade of Nepal are entirely in the hands of the Nevars. No Gurkha cultivates; there is not a Nevar who does not cultivate. Besides the rural class of the Jyapus, the craftsmen and the merchants domiciled in the town, have all a morsel of land which they personally cultivate. The taste of the Nevars for cultivation; combined with the needs of a remarkably dense population, has derived a magnificent profit from the natural resources of the valley. The indigenes partition of the lands for cultivation into two categories, altogether independent of the wealth proper of the soil: the first includes all the lands in proximity of a river or water-course, and consequently certain to be flooded in the rainy season and capable of being irrigated in the dry weather; the second comprises lands that do not offer by virtue of their position the same security or commodity. The streams that flow down the mountain sides are harnessed in all the stages of their course and made to distribute their waters into the small

irrigation canals. Thanks to this system, the cultivation of rice which is pre-eminently the cultivation of the country, was able to ascend the slopes; the heights which are visible at the end of the valley present the aspect of an enormous amphitheatre hewn in even tiers. The patience and ingenuity of the inhabitants, have increased the terraces lined with little accumulations of earth and beaten down to retain the precious waters. From the first centuries of the Nepalese history, the inscriptions show the development of irrigation canals ('tilamaka') regulated by royal charts. A later inscription dated in the XVIIth. century., in the reign of Jitamitra Malla, is work mentioning on account of the correctness of informations; the text is inserted therein in the Buddhistic Vamshavali: "The inspectors of the canals do not honestly distribute the 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 (1-1/2 anna). The inspectors should not levy dues to enable water to be taken from the canal but each one must receive his share in his turn. If the inspectors do not allow each one to take water in his turn, the inspector-in-chief will be punished with a fine of six mohars". The procedure of distribution varies; sometimes the irrigation commences with the field nearest the watercourse; sometimes, each one by turn, has water at his disposal for a certain determined number of hours. A similar rotation is carried out with the canals disposed alongside the same water-

course, at different altitudes, if the delivery is not sufficient to feed simultaneously a great number of takings.

The abundance of water adds again to the inexhaustible wealth of an alluvious soil and which yields ordinarily three harvests a year: barley, wheat or mustard in winter; radish, garlic or potatoes in spring, rice or maize in the rainy seasons. And yet the Nevar has no available manure (excepting the human dejections and certain silicious earths) to manure the fields.

The exigencies of tillage keeps the cattle outside the valley, either, in the Alps of the high country, breeding is curtailed to ducks which the Nevars look after with tenderness, like (they would) the auxiliary and the purveyor; each day they (ducks) are carried in baskets into the fields to be fed on the worms from the slush, and in the evening they are brought back home. Besides, their eggs are very much appreciated by the connoisseurs and are worth almost double the value of hens' eggs. The only cattle met with freely in the valley consist of sacred cows let loose by pious Hindus. To set free a bull is known as a very meritorious act and a source of benedictions. The Gerkha law forbids the killing of these cows under penalty of death, or even to strike them under penalty of grave chastisements. They wander through the fields, graze where they please and the Brahmans teach that their visit is a signal favour. The poor Nevar who dreads them defends his harvests by a fence of reed-grass which opposes a very frail barrier to the divine marauder.

The agricultural material of the

Nevars is fairly rudimentary; the essential elements are a kind of hoe which takes the place of the pickaxe the spade and even of the plough (because the Nevar does not plough, he works with the hands all the works);- and the double basket suspended at the extremities of a perch which rests on the shoulder like the two scales to the beam of a balance, and which the Nevar utilizes in every case.

The principal cultivations of the valley are: at first rice in numerous varieties, from the transplanted rice to the rice of the high plateaus which require neither heat nor humidity; the wheat, mainly cultivated in view of the distillation of alcohol; the maize or Indian wheat and the 'murva' (kind of millet) which the growing dearness of life has introduced in the usual alimentation the various kinds of farinaceous foods: 'urid, 'mas', etc.; the 'phofur' (black wheat; mustard, for the oil that is extracted from it, as well as the sesamum, garlic and radish which are the bread of the Nevar. In Nepal, the air smells the garlic; one eats it raw, cooked, in condiment, as preserves in oil, vinegar or sal. The radish is not less indispensable or less variedly treated; special method of preservation, by fermentation in the soil changes it into 'sinki', the most offensive smelling treat that humanity enjoys. Lastly the sugar-cane, and a delicious variety of fruits, beginning with those of India; pineapple, banana, jack-fruit, etc. ending with those of Europe: oranges, citrous apples, etc. The agricultural year is divided into five seasons: three and half months of winter, beginning from the 15th. November; two months of spring, beginning

from the 1st. of March; one month and a half of summer, beginning from the 1st. of May; 3 months of rain, beginning from the 15th of June; 2 months of Autumn beginning from the 15th of September.

As workmen, the Nevars excel in the wood, bronze and goldsmith's trade. The Chinese travelers admired the chasings and carvings of the country as early as the VIIth. century. The Mallas, artists by instinct and tradition at the same time, indefatigable builders, encouraged and maintained the national arts; the indifferent Gurkhas allow these to fall in decay. The ancient darbars and temples, even the houses of ordinary individuals, spread before the eyes, the marvels of taste and imagination, where the many influences of India, Tibet, and China are mixed and blend in a harmonious creation. The gold door of the darbar at Bhatgaon, the door of Changu Narayan are real-masterpieces. The Nevars are also very dexterous in melting bells; one of these is shown in Bhatgaon measuring five feet in diameter. Kathmandu also, has her monumental bell. Nepal still manufactures a great number of idols, both Buddhistic, and Brahmanic, which are spread in the North and South of the Himalayas. Owing to their skill in working metal, the Nepalese workmen are eagerly sought for in the Tibetan world. Father Andrada found in 1626, Nepalese goldsmiths in the service of the king of Chapraangue, in Tibet²¹. In the middle of the XIXth. century, Father Huc found a great number of Nevars settled in Lhasa. He describes them under the name of 'Pe-boun' which applies better to the people, Bhuttan, but the description he traces, sparkling with

rapture and life, does not permit of any hesitation²².

Painting was studied with success in Nepal. Taranatha, in his classification of Hindu Schools, distinguishes a Nepalese school of painting and a smelting house. The ancient school was connected to the art of the North-West of India the following school rather resembled to the Eastern School. The posterior schools have no special character²³. M. Foucher has confirmed by the delicate analysis of the miniatures of two Nepalese manuscripts the correctness of the appreciations of Taranatha²⁴.

The paper which bear the name of Nepalese and which has for principal market Kathmandu, is not a production of the valley itself; it is manufactured in the more Northern region of the Kingdom, in the heart of the forests where the shrubs (daphne) are found, the bark of which is used in the manufacture²⁵.

The trade of Nepal does not owe its importance to its local market, very much restricted, but to the geographical position of the country which lies on the only direct road of exchanges between India on the one hand and Tibet and China on the other.

As early as the VIIth. century, in the days of the king Sroung-tsan gampo and of his first successors, the pilgrims and the Chinese ambassadors had recognized and explored the road. The persistent anarchy in Nepal and in Tibet closed it afterward for a long time. In the middle of the

XVIth. century, the king Mahindra Malla of Kathmandu seem to have renewed the relations between the two countries; he obtained the privilege of providing Tibet with coined silver. In the beginning of the XVIIth. century, the minister of the king Laksmi Narasimha Malla, Bhima Malla established a regular traffic; he proceeded to Lhasa in person and established thither a Nevar colony. The Mallas encouraged these exchanges which profited and benefited their treasury, but the confused times that preceded the Gurkha occupation and the brutal distrust of the new masters stopped the commerce. The traffickers who resided in the three capitals hastened to pack off. Prithivi Narayan vainly attempted diplomacy and intimidation to preserve the customers of Tibet for his money. The negotiations, dragged in length, ended up in 1792, during the minority of Rana Bahadur, with war against Tibet and China.

Already the British entered the lists. The company, undisputed mistress of the trade of Hindustan ever since the ruin of French competition, began to interest herself in the vast, almost unexplored regions which spread to the North of Himalaya and prepared herself to dispute them from the Russian traffickers. Kirkpatrick's mission, in 1792, had for principal object the opening of commercial intercourse and trade between British India and Tibet, by the road through Nepal and Kirkpatrick, with his conscience and habitual exactitude, drew up a detail list of articles imported or exported on either side. But the stubborn distrust of the Gurkhas condemned this statistical work to a fruitless issue. Ten years later,

Hamilton observed the lamentable decay of the Nepalese commerce due to the faults of the Government, to the absolute lack of credit, to the feebleness of the law and the insincerity of the nation; he draw up in his turn a list of articles exchangeable which only pertained to the past. The long dictatorship of Bhim Sen gave back to Nepal order and prosperity. From 1816 to 1831, according to the testimony of indigenous merchants, the Nepalese commerce had trebled. The dearness of the cost of life of Nepal at the same period confirms the enriching of the country. Between 1792 and 1816, one obtained 25 pathis (34 kilograms) of rice for one rupee; from 1832 to 1835 only 5 pathis (17 kilograms); the price of rice had increased fivefold in this short space of time. The value of ordinary grains: maize, millet, had almost increased tenfold: 1 rupee for 4 muris (290 kilograms) of maize or Indian wheat in 1792-1816; 1 rupee for 9 pathis (30 kilograms) in 1832-35. The value of silver, in comparison with that of copper. Shows a diminution of 10% between 1816 and 1832.

At that very period, Hodgson increased his efforts to swell the commercial swing between India, Nepal and Tibet; he thereby served at the same time the interests of the British mother-land and those of Nepal whom he loved as another mother-land. He hoped that Nepal, enriched by her trade, would renounce her ambitious of brutal conquests and take up again the peaceful and prosperous traditions of the Mallas. At the same time, the Russian trader would be set aside from those regions where his influence constituted a danger and a menace. Hodgson condensed the

informations he had officially gathered from the merchants of Kathmandu, into a report addressed to the Political Secretary in 1831 and which was published in 1857. To make the reading easy and possible to the indigenous merchants of Calcutta, whom he wanted to incorporate with the commercial relations of Nepal, Hodgson had with set purpose given his memoir a practical and popular style; He hoped to publish it in a great review to communicate to the public his personal confidence in the future of Nepalese commerce. He drew up in it a methodical comparison between the itinerary which offered itself to the goods of England and India, indicated the precautions to be taken, the nature and quality of the articles to be offered for sale and especially their distribution in packages of fixed weight, capable of being carried directly through the rough passes of the Himalaya on the vigorous backs of Tibetan carriers. Lastly, he had added a complete list of goods which had passed through Nepal in 1830-1831, including both sides of the traffic with the prices of purchase and sale. In order to appreciate the merit of this work, one must remember that Hodgson must have undertaken this investigation on his own resources, without the help of the Nepalese government. The outcome was remarkable. In 1831, the total of the importations and exportations of Nepal reached the sum of 3 millions of rupees; in 1891, the trade of Nepal with British India alone, excluding Tibet, reached 33 millions of rupees.

The trade with India is carried out at markets all along the frontier. The Nepalese government, indifferent to the economical questions of free-exchange or

of protection, demands from the Customs a sum for the treasury; the government then receives on all articles a duty in proportion to their practical value; objects of luxury pay dearly, those of first necessity pay little.

At each market and on each of the roads opened for trade is established a Customs post. Sometimes these are rented out by auction. The duties levied vary from market to market, but in persistence of a recognized and authentic tariff. On the road to Kathmandu, a certain number of articles pay a duty of % 'ad valorem'; but in general the goods pay by their weight, cost, or number, according to their nature.

The principal articles of exportation of Nepal are rice, ordinary grains (millet, etc.), oleaginous (oily) grains, 'ghi' (clarified butter), poney, cattle, hunting falcons (hawks), aviary mainas, timber, opium, musk, borax, turpentine, catechu, jute, hides and furs, dried ginger, cinnamon bark, chillies, saffron, and chauris (fly-flap in yak's tail).

The principal articles of importation are: cotton (raw), weaved cotton, cotton cloth, woollen goods, shawls and blankets, flannel, silk, brocade, embroidery, sugar, spices, indigo, tobacco, areca nut, vermilion, oils, salt, buffaloes, sheep, he-goats, copper, glass-ware, mirrors, precious stones, rifles and gun power.

In this traffic of goods, the portion of importations and of exportations can

not be correctly determined, however considerable it may be thought to be. Nothing further has been added, after 70 years, to the indications gathered by Hodgson; and yet the trade between Nepal and Tibet must have increased considerably since the treaty of 1856 has given Nepal the right to entertain a resident ('vakil') at Lhasa and has defined the legal situation of the Nepalese traders in Tibet in 1875, according to Wright, Lhasa, with a total population of about 15000 souls, included 3000 Nepalese. The Customs duties on goods going to and coming from Tibet are received directly by the Government, and not leased out. Each bearer's burden, whatever its nature, is subject to a fixed tax of one rupee, received by the Mint at Kathmandu; the bearer receives in return a passport which exempts him from all further tax upto the Tibetan frontier.

The principal exportations of Nepal to Tibet are: the European textures, cutlery, pearls, corals, diamonds, Emeralds, indigo and opium. The principal importations of Tibet to Nepal are: precious metals, musk, the 'chauris' (yak's tail) Chinese silks, furs, borax, tea and drugs.

The principal profit that the Government of Nepal derives from the trade with Tibet is from precious metals. Gold or silver on reaching the frontier is weighed; the weight duly registered, is communicated to the authorities of the capital. The merchant must then take his 'cargo' (goods) to the mint, where it is estimated according to the official tariff and paid to the importer in

Nepalese rupees. The gold is then re-sold by the administration at a price almost double that of purchase. Regarding silver, it can not come out of Nepal except when coined, in species; this compulsory conversion guarantees the government a regular and considerable profit. The Anglo-Indian rupees introduced in Nepal cannot come out again, in spite of the frequent representations of the Viceroy's Government. They are converted into Nepalese rupees; viz., instead of being worth 16 annas, they are only worth 13 annas in exchange.

The Nepalese rupee is only besides, a unit of reckoning; The Mint only stamps half-rupees (mohar) of a value of 6 annas 8 pies of the Anglo-India money. The sub-divisions of the rupee are, in Nepal, the anna, $\frac{1}{16}$ of the double mohar; the pie, $\frac{1}{4}$ anna; the dan, $\frac{1}{4}$ pie.

The copper coins vary with the localities; the pie or of Butwal of Gorakhpur is worth $\frac{1}{75}$ of an Anglo-Indian rupee; the pie of Lohiya is only worth $\frac{1}{107}$; one and the other are square and roughly made. The pie in Kathmandu is round, made by machine, well stamped at the corners and worth $\frac{1}{117}$ of an Anglo-Indian rupee.

According to 'Hamilton' (p. 233), in 1802, 'the ordinary salary of a day-labourer in Kathmandu is 2 annas. The merchants pay 3 mohars for each bearer of goods from Hetaura and 5 mohars from Gaur Parasa. The bearer takes three days from Hetaura and 5 from Gaur Parasa; but he must return without goods; thus the salary is 4 annas per day. For a 'dandi' (mountain chain) from Kathmandu

to Gaur Parasa, the merchants pay 24 mohars. The carpenters and blacksmiths receive 3 annas daily, the brick-makers 2-1/2 annas; the goldsmiths have a right to 4 annas for two mohars of gold worked on (taken by weight); for silver they receive the 1/16 of the value of the metal; for copper they receive from 1 to 2 mohars per dharni according to the work."

'Campbell' has given in his "Notes on Agriculture" the list of a few salaries and of a certain number of articles towards 1837.

Per month of 30 days, in Anglo-Indian rupees (equivalent 2 fr. 50.):

	(4 r. 2 a. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ p.
Carpenters	(3 r. 8 a. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ p.
	(2 r. 2 a. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ p.
	(4 r. 2 a. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ P
Plasterers	(3 r. 8 a. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ P
	(4 r. 2 a. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ P
Blacksmiths	(3 r. 8 a. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ P
	(2 r. 3 a. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ P
	(4 r. 12 a. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ p
Painters (dyers?)	(4 r. 2 a. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ p
	(3 r. 8 a. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ p

	(4 r. 2 a. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ p
Brick-makers	(3 r. 8 a. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ p
	(4 r. 11 a. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ p
Silversmiths	(4 r. 2 a. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ p
	(3 r. 8 a. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ p
	(4 r. 2 a. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ p
Tailors	(3 r. 8 a. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ p
	(2 r. 3 a. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ p
	(4 r. 2 a. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ p
Field Labourers	(3 r. 8 a. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ p
	(2 r. 3 a. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ p

The scale of prices corresponds to the nature of the work. Servants: Kitmutgar (orderly) 3 r. 4 a. 7-1/2 p.- Gardener in Chief (principal); 2 r. 3 a. 8. p. ; assistant; 1 r. 15 a. 9 p; sweeper: 2 rupees.

Provisions and various domestic articles: chickens 6 for 1 rupee, ducks, 3 for 1 rupee, hen's eggs, 100 for the rupee, duck's eggs, 60 for the rupee. Sheep one for 3 rupees; he-goats, 12 rupees apiece; oxen, from 4 to 36 rupees apiece; cows, from 6 to 12 rupees each; bulls, from 4 to 10 rupees each, Male slaves, adults; 80 rupees; children, 40 rupees. Female slaves, adults, 100 rupees; children, 50 rupees.

I have given above (p 310) the price of a few cereals.

To be continue

FOOT NOTES

1. The date, as given, is certainly incorrect, as well for 1481 caka present as for caka lapsed.
2. Tod (Annals of Rajasthan), mentioned by Vansittart, P. 84
3. See the references gathered by Madam Mabel Duff, 'Chronology of India', Westminster, 1899, P. 205 and 206.
4. Hamilton, P. 120 sq.
5. Hodgson mentions this anecdote as authentic: 'Languages and Literature of Nepal', part. 11, p. 38.
6. Manava-dh.-c. x, 22-key also 'Harivamsha', XIV, 784; XCV, 6440.
7. According to Ucanas, mentioned by the commentator Govardhana, the khasas are carriers of water and distributors of the same to the fountains. (Man. dh. c., transl. Buhler, 'loc. land., note).
8. The Maha-Bharata frequently mentions the khasas, and always in the company of mountainous people of the North-West. Thus. 11,51,V.1858: 'Maru-Mandarayer. ., etc.

The Khasas live between Mount Meru and Mount Maudara towards the river Cailoda, otherwise said in the heart of the mountains of Hindu kouch and Pamir: they bring with the neighbouring tribes a tribute in "ant's gold", extracted from the soil by the ants. In the book VII, 121, see 4845 they are named with the Daradas (Dardistan), Lampaka (Lampghan), Pulindas; in the VIIIth, 44, see 2070, with the Prasthalas, Madras, Gandharas, Arattas, Vasatis, Sindhusanvira 13.- key also Markandeya-Pur. LXII, 57. LVIII, 7. Bharata, in his Natya-shastra mentions them by the side of the Bahlikas (Balkh)

"Bahlikabhasodicyanam., etc. XVII. 52,

The Vibhasa-shastra only known in its Chinese version (due to Samghabhuti, in 383 J. C.) mentions the language of the 'khasas' with that of the To-le-Mo-le, Po-le, Po k' ia-li in a passage (Jap. ed., XX, 9, 59a) which I have already made known (Notes on the Indo-Scythes, P. 50, n.): the To-le-are the Daradas; the Po-le, the Paradas; Mo-le probably a Maladas origin and Po-k' ia-li answers to Bhukhari. The dictionary Fan-fan-yu' of which I possess a copy, reports an interpretation (section VIII) which trans-

lates *khasa* (k'ia-cha) by "incorrect language". This explanation seems to be connected with an analogous etymology with the one in use to-day and which pretends to derive the name of *khas* from 'khasnu' to fall, to decay.

I remember that several attempts were made to establish a comparison between the name of the *khas* and the one of Kashgar, interpreted by the Iranian *Khasa-gairi* "Mount of the *Khas*" (key the *Casii moutes* from *Pro'eme*) or *Khasagara* "resort of the *khas*". *Hiouen-tsang* gives k'ia-cha (-*khasa*) as another name for *Kachgar*.

Lastly, the *Khas* are often mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*. Key the very old note of *Troyer*, vol 11, p. 321 and that of *stein*, 11,430: they make an appearance in the history of *Cashmere* only as "mountaineers who were marauders and turbulent" (*stein*).

An epigraphic document dated from the year 62) of J. C. (380 of the *Kalacuri* era, donation of the king *Gurjara Dadda II Pracanta raga*, found at *Kheda*) proves that in the VIIth. century the *khasas* were known to inhabit in the surroundings of the *Himalayas*. "The king resembled to the *Himacala* because he was the continuance of the *Vidyadharas* (or, of the savants), but he had not like him, a circle of *khasas* (degraded)" (*Yac copamiyate....*, *Ind. Antig.* XIII, 83) The same passage is repeated in a donation of the same king, posterior by five years to the first (*ib*, 89).

9. 'Manu', x, 12 and 16 defines the *ksattris* as children born of a *Shudra*

with a *ksatriya* woman; their profession is to entrap and kill the animals that live in holes. (*ib*. 49).

10. *Hamilton*, P. 154.

11. *Wright*, 172.-The second last *Newar* king of *Kashmandu*, *Jagajaya Mal-la*, had in his employment *khas* soldiers, who were instrumental in the fall of the dynasty (*wright*, 222 sq).-The *Vamc.* designates (P. 150) *Nepal* as "the *kas* country" under the reign of *Narendra Deva*, the *Thakuri*, since the VIIth. century: But no conclusion could be derived (as wrongly does *Vansittart*) P. 62; from a simple literary periphase employed in the account of an ancient event by a modern author.

12. *Kirkpatrick*, P. 164

13. *Wright*. P. 169

14. This language is also known by the name of *Naipali*, *Gorkhiya* or *Gorkhali*. *Mr. Grierson* (*Classified list of Languages of India*) classifies it in the group of dialects, *Paharis* or highland under the heading of the *Oriental Pahari*. It has been the object of a purely practical grammar: *A. Turnbull*. 'Nepali grammar and English-Nepali and Nepali-English vocabulary' (about 4000 words)-*Darjeeling* 1888. *Mr. Aug. Conrady*, who has created the scientific study of *Nevari*, has published a drama in *Naipali* composed in the XVIIth. century and thus has inaugurated the historical study of that language: *Das...*, etc., *Leipzig*, 1891. I owe it to my young friend *Bhuvan Sham Sher Jang*, the despatch of a "Primer" in the

- English method, recently published for the use of those Nepalese students who wish to study English, but also very convenient, inversely, to Europeans to get familiar with the Parbatiya: Gangadhar Shastri Dravid: 'English guide for the use of Nepali students'. Benares, 1901. It is in Benares, where lives a great number of exiles and Nepalese refugees, that are printed the studies destined to the Gurkha professors, to the Gurkhyantralaya, to the Bharata Jivan Press, to the Hitacintaka yantralaya, etc. Most of the publications are translations: Ramayana, Virataparvan of the Maha Bharata, Bhagavata, Ganakya, Caura-pancavika. I also mention a collection of proverbs: Ukhan Ko Bakhan Ra Jannkatha Ko Samgraha (Bharata Jivana Press, 1911 Samvat.).
15. Key John Beames, on the Magar language of Nepal', in 'Journal Roy. Asiat. Soc new. ser., t. IV, P. 178 sqq.
 16. W. H. Hunter, 'Life of B. H. Hodgson,' P. 259 (wherein is to be found a note on the development of the Gurkha regiments in the Anglo-Indian army established according to official notes).
 17. Especially according to Hodgson: 'Some account of the systems of law and police as recognized in the state of Nepal appeared at first in the 'Selections from the Records of Bengal, No. XI, republished in the 'Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian subjects, vol. II' (Trubners' Oriental series, 1830), P. 211-250).
 18. The list of Kirkpatrick is different: 'Gohatya'; 'strehatya'; atma hatya, 'Personal mutilation with magical intention'; para hatya "mutilation of another", 'toona' or 'kool', black magic, devilry"--Wright's munshi gives p. 189, No. 1, a list similar to that of Hodgson but classed in a different order: 'brahama' 'stri' 'bala' 'sagotra' 'go'. The fourth, murder of a person of the same clan, holds the place of patki of Hodgson.
 19. Reduced later to 20 ropnis in the valley of Nepal. Campbell, 'Notes... P. 75).
 20. On agriculture in Nepal, the fundamental document is always: A. Campbell, Notes on the Agricultural... January 1st. 1837. Published in the Transactions etc., Campbell was the assistant of Hodgson, this fine work comes out in some way from the Hodgson school.
 21. See sup., p. 79
 22. Huc, 11,262 sqq. "Among the strangers who constitute the fixed population of Lha-Sha, the Pe-boun are the most numerous. They are Indians come from the side of Bhuttan beyond the Himalayan mountains. They are short, vigorous, and of a vivacious demeanour; They have rounder faces than the Tibetans; their complexion is very swarthy, their eyes are small, dark and cunning; they place a poppy-coloured spot on the forehead which they renew every morning. They are always dressed with a skirt of violet 'poulon' and with a little fur cap of the same hue, but just a little deeper in shade. When they go out, they carry with the costume a long red shawl which goes twice round the neck, like a big collar and the two ends of which are thrown over the shoulders.
- The Pe-boun are the only metallurgists of Lha-Sha. It is in their quarter

that black-smiths must be searched for, also coppersmiths, plumbers, tinmen or silverers, smelters, goldsmiths, jewellers, mechanics, even physicians and chemists. Their workshops and their laboratories are slightly underground. One enters in them by a low and narrow opening, and three or four steps have to be descended before reaching thither. On all the doors of their houses, one sees a painting representing a red glove and above it a white crescent. Evidently these represent the Sun and Moon. But what do these allude to? This is what we have forgotten to enquire upon.

One meets among the Pe-boun, very distinguished artists in matters of metallurgy. They manufacture vases for the benefit of lamaseries and jewels of all kinds which would certainly not dishonour European artists. Those are the men who manufacture the beautiful golden plates for the roofings of the Buddhistic temples which plates resist all the inclemencies of the seasons and preserve always a freshness and a marvellous lustre. They are so dexterous in this nature of work that they are sought for from the ends of Tartary to ornament the great lamaseries. The Pe-boun are again the dyers of Lha-Sha. Their tints are bright and lasting, their cloths can wear away but never discolour. They are only allowed

to dye the 'pou-lou'. The cloths that come from foreign countries must be used as they are; the government is absolutely opposed to the dyers exercising their trade on these cloths. It is probable that this prohibition has for object the promotion of the sale of cloths manufactured in Lha-Sha.

The Pe-boun have an extremely jovial and childish nature; before retiring to rest, one sees them laughing and full of frolic; during working hours they never cease from singing. Their religion is the Indian Buddhism. Although they do not follow the reform of Tsong-Kaba, they are full of respect for the ceremonies and practice pertaining to lamaism. They never fail on days of great solemnity, to prostrate themselves at the feet of Buddha-La and offer their adorations to the 'Tale-Lama'.

23. Taranatha, p. 280
24. Foucher, 'Iconographic bouddhique', 34-39, 182, 184.
25. Hodgson has described the procedure of manufacture in a short article: 'On the Native method...', *Hiadustan Nepalese*, in (*Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1; *Trans. Agric. Soc. India*, V re-printed in the Collection of the 'Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian subjects', vol. 11, p. 251-254.



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प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ५३-५६

भदौ - चैत्र २०३३

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक

रमेशजङ्ग थापा

Editor

Ramesh Jung Thapa

NEPAL

(Continued)

'The Local Divinities'

- by *Sylvain Levi*

The valley of Nepal shaping out in the form of a regular ellipses, places its two hearths at the disposal of its two worships. Towards the West, the hill of Syambunath ('Suayambu Natha'), consecrated to the primordial Buddha ('Adi-Buddha') bears the marks of the historical and legendary Buddhas; its ancient sanctuary, to which tradition associates the memory of the great monarch Ashoka, fascinates the picty of the Nevars and the neighbouring Tibetans and of the Moguls, Kalmonks, Kinghizes and of the Bouriates, Maudchurians and Chinese. Towards the East, the plateau of the Antilope ('Mrgasthali') reflects a world of chapels, temples, in the clear waters of the Bagmati, which monuments have been erected, enriched, installed at leisure by all the kings of Nepal and consecrated to the glory of Shiva under the vocable of Pashupati. The god served by the Brahmans, receives each year the assiduous homages of pilgrims flocked together from orthodox India, even from the far off regions of the South. Between Pashupati

and Buddha unfolds a numerous variety of worships, altars, gods, saints, legends and traditions which gradually links up the Brahman to the bonze.

There lies the outstanding feature and which so often puzzles the European. Heirs to Greek logic and Jewish monotheism, we instinctively apply the principle of contradiction to the religious beliefs; gods and devotees are classed to our eyes in closed groups, exclusive even into antagonism. Statistician; ludicrously serious, calculate the total of Buddhists, confucians, Shintoists. A Hindu, a Chinese, a Japanese would not succeed in understanding him; this severity of methods means nothing in the Far-East. Man, in the presence of nature, feels confusedly an infinite multitude of forces ready to exert themselves at the expense of his weakness; his pantheon, always open, has always room for new hosts. The priest is not a doctor for souls, he is a specialist in rites; like the god he serves he has his line of competence in which he

excels, and willingly gives a free hand to his neighbours in the worship of the Saints of the same nature, but inferior in extent. And as the Church can enrich herself indefinitely as regards her saints, India can do likewise with her gods. The doctrine of the 'avatars' allows the letting in of a little order in the confusion of this luxurious polytheism. Buddha, who has been known for a long time as a kind of Brahmanic Antichrist, has however, been embodied in the ten universal avatars of Vishnu. Obligated to succumb to popular opinion, the Brahman revenged himself by exegesis; he taught that Vishnu had taken the form of Buddha to try the true followers, in preaching falsehoods. Other doctors, more loyal or less malignant, assigned the avatar, a more respectable reason and more in consistency with History: Vishnu, under the avatar of Buddha was supposed to have preached the horror of bloody sacrifices, recommended by the Vedic ritual.

The controversy between the two interpretations has died down since long in India, where Buddha has no longer any devotee. In Nepal, where Buddhism still survives, the Brahman has had to come to an agreement, as he had done at one time on the Hindu domain.

The 'Nepala-mahatmya', which is a guide of the Brahmanic pilgrim in Nepal, teaches through the mouth of Parvati, the spouse of Shiva, in this matchless country, to adore Buddha was to adore Shiva" and it prescribes expressly, rites in honour of Buddha "who is a form of Vishnu". This is no simple manoeuvre of politics or sacerdotal interest. Buddha, however

odious he may be, remains to be dealt with as an efficacious power. A Pundit of Benares, to whom I showed with surprise this passage of the 'Nepala Mahatmya', contented himself in replying: "This is on account of the Buddhah prabhavati". A Pundit of Bengali extraction, domiciled in Nepal and pensioned by the maharaja announced to me in these terms the despatch of a Buddhistic manuscript which I asked for "By the favour of Buddha you have addressed yourself to me; by the favour of Pashupati, I have found (yad bhavatam Buddhaprasadad abhistam, tan may Pashupatiprasadal labdham)". Hamilton mentions that in Syambunath, on the occasion of his first visit, the Hindu sepoys who escorted him would devotedly offer flowers and consecrated water to the numerous images that ornament the hill. A more educated Brahman who served as secretary to Hamilton, warned them of their error; it was the Buddha they were adoring, the Buddha whose very name they had learnt to detest. All of them felt depressed with Shame. But an old havildar (sergeant) who commanded them remembered that in one of his campaigns, while marching on Bombay, his regiment had often met the same god, had piously worshipped him and these devotions had often ended in a victory. The sepoys, Brahmans as they were did no longer regret their 'puja' (worship); Buddha was decidedly a personage of some importance.

It would be easy to multiply instances of this nature—adoration without limit, free of any system or theory; it suffices to have given a warning before commencing the examination of the Nepalese worships. A rigid classification which would classify

the divinities under the simple titles of Buddhism, Shivaism, Vishnuism, would be sheer nonsense; the same gods with different titles and ranks, belong mostly in generality to various churches; such as this idol, worshipped in a temple all along the Tandī Khel, which the Gurkhas venerate like Mahakala, whilst the Buddhists respect thither Padmapani who carries on his tiara the image of Amitabha.

However, on the religious domain also, the Gurkha conquest tends to break asunder to the profit of Brahmanism, the long established equilibrium. The Nevar kings and even the descendants of Harisimha Deva, shared their favours between the temples, the gods, the Buddhist priests and the Hindu priests. The more pious men, like Siddhi Narasimha of Patan, who mysteriously disappeared in an odour of sanctity, mingled in the same zest the two beliefs. The Gurkha imbibed with the prejudices of the plain or who pretends being so, holds aside Buddhism; on account of political prudence as well as by superstitious distrust, he is careful of violent acts or brutalities. He allows to the devotion of the Lamas, the maintenance and restoration of the old temples of Buddhath and Symbunath; but he reserves his gifts and his helps to the temples, ceremonies and Brahmanic festivals. Under the influence of the new masters, the old Nepalese Hinduism rapidly separates from the Buddhistic elements. Buddhism disgraced, weakened, increases her borrowings from Hinduism to knot and bind again the links that are severing and allows herself to be embodied into Hinduism through fear of being rejected. A century and a half of the Gurkha administration is already bearing its fruits.

And yet, on the very eve of the

conquest, the distinction of the two churches, so decided to-day, still escaped the interested attention of the capuchin missionaries. The informers of Georgi showed well, that the Buddhists held sway at Patan and the Brahmans at Bhatgaon; but their appreciation only referred to the choice of Brahman or Banras priests according to the case. The author of the 'Notizie Laconiche', Constantin d'Ascoli, describes in one attempt, all the pantheon of Nepal: Manjushri (Bissochtmā), the Eight Mothers, Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, Ganesha, Bhavam, Narayana, Garuda, Hanumat, Agni Bhagavati, Nilakantha, Matsyendra Natha (Bogha), Buddha, Bhairava, Mahadeva, Bhrngin, the forms of Kali, Bhimasena, Laksmi, gods and personages flocked together from all the Points of the religious horizon, jostle one another in a confusion that faithfully expresses reality.

The Nagas.—The doyens of the religious 'personnel in Nepal are probably the Nagas, the deified serpents that live in the depths of the earth, guardians of the treasures the earth conceal and that alone know the mysterious sources of the purifying and fertilizing waters, the waters of heaven as those underground. The Tibetans still give to Nepal the name of Naga-dvipa (Rin-po-chei glin) "The Country of Jewels". The local traditions are unanimous in saying that a tank occupied the valley at one time: it was the Tank of the Nagas, 'Naga-hrada', or the habitat of the Nagas, 'Naga-vasa'. But a miraculous intervention (Manjushri or Vishnu, or one and the other) opened a breach in the mountains of the south and the waters emptied out sweeping away the Nagas with them. One alone among them, Karkotaka consented to remain; he accep-

ted to reside in a tank situated towards the extremity (s. western) of the valley, beyond chaubahal and which received the name of Tau-dahan or Tau-dah, the Great Tank (in Sanskrit Adhara); it is there that by virtue of a compact concluded later with Indra, he has placed aside and retains as a deposit on trust, the quarter of the riches reconquered from Danasura, the powerful demon who had stolen them at one time from the monarch of heaven. The legend is not an idle tale; the whole of Nepal still believes in it, like in all stories of hidden treasures and the sceptic Jang Bahadur himself undertook works of draining and drying up tanks, in the hope of discovering these fabulous treasures.

Nepal hardly changes. As early as towards 650 the Chinese ambassador Wang Hiu-en-tse while crossing the country heard it related by king Narendra Deva in person, an identical endeavour: a gold casket was seen to appear at the bottom of a tank; attempts were made to haul it out of the mine, but to no avail; and at night a supernatural voice said: "Here lies the crown of Maitreya Buddha; the beings cannot assuredly get at it, because the Naga of the fire guards it. How is it possible to doubt, besides, of the existence of this wealth, since an ocular witness and even an oculist, had seen 'de visu' only five centuries ago. In the reign of Harisimha Deva, Karkotaka disguised as a false Brahman, politely accosted a 'vaidya' (doctor) who was about to perform his ablutions and requested him to visit his wife who was ill. The vaidya accepts; the Brahman takes him to the banks of the Tau-dah, requests him to close his eyes and jump; the water closes over them;

here they are in the subterranean palace of the Naga. "The walls were of gold, the windows of diamonds, the timber-work of sapphires, the pillars of topaz enriched with rubies; The jewels encrusted on the heads of the Nagas gave out a dazzling light. The spouse of karkotaka was sitting on a jewelled throne sheltered under a triple parasol of diamonds. "The vaidya fortunately carried his drugs with him; he examined the eyes of the queen and applied an eye-salve to them, the pain was immediately cured. Harisimha Deva bestowed great honours on the medical man who had distinguished himself by such a remarkable cure.

For a long time past, karkotaka has ceased to be the only Naga of Nepal, his associates who were expelled have successively returned, under cover of circumstances, to rejoin him thither. Their legend and worship are closely associated to the legend and worship of Matsyendra Natha, the most popular god of Nepal. They are those who are invoked in the years of drought conformably to the rites taught at one time to king Gunakama Deva by the master on mysteries cantikara Acarya. The legend distinguished this Gunakama Deva from the kings of the same time who belong to the dynasties of Suryavamsi and Thakuri. The legend carried him back to the fabulous times, in the Dvapara age which preceded the actual age. Yet, everything leads one to believe that it concerns in fact Gunakama Deva II who plays a great role in the organization of the Nepalese religion and who bore a special devotion to the Naga Vasuki.

Nepal had been suffering from drou-

ght for seven years and all the invocations remained fruitless. The king had recourse to cantikara, who traced a beautiful eight-petalled lotus, with the usual rites, and poured godl and powdered pearls over it; he represented thither the image of the nine great Nagas and invited them by efficacious charms to take in their places. Varuna the vedic god of the waters, converted as a Naga came and sat in the centre, entirely in white with seven chaperons of precious stones, a lotus and a jewel in his hands. In the Bast, Ananta, in dull blue, in the south, Padmaka, colour of lotus stem, with five chaperons; in the North Vasuki, greenish, with seven chaperons; in the south-west, Cankhapala, yellowish; in the North-west, kulika, white with thirty chaperons; in the North-East, Mahapadma, golden colour. Alone, the image of the south-east, blue, with a man's bust and a serpent's tail, remained inanimate: Karkotaka, ashamed of his deformity, was evading the threatening action of the charms and preferred to die a certain death, rather than appear in person.

On the advices of cantikara, king Gunakama threw him back in his retreat and in face of his stubborn refusals dragged him forcibly by the hair. The nine Nagas gathered, Cantikara eulogises and invokes them and the Nagas reveal to him the triumphant formula against drought; he must paint their images on a cloth with the blood of the Nagas. And they offered him their own blood to serve as a colour. The magician followed their indications. All at once the heavens clouded, and rain began to fall by the virtue of the Naga-sadhana rite. It was again to this charm that Vishnu Malla, king of Patan had recourse to defeat the drought

towards 1730, when the capuchins were in Nepal. "Sarvananda Pandita celebrated the Naga-sadhana and then rain fell". And the remedy has lost nothing of its credit; it is still employed to-day.

After karkotaka, Vasuki is the most popular of Nagas in Nepal. His worship is particularly associated to that of Pashupati, which he is entrusted to defend. In the reign of Pratapa Milla of Kathmandu (XVIIth. century), a Naga of Chaubahal ascended the Bagmati to the temple of Pashupati, swelled the volume of the waters, penetrated, through a ditch, into the interior of the temple and carried his insolence so far as to steal the marvellous grain of rudraksa which a salmi (oil vendor) of Banepa had offered to Pashupati in 1502. But the Naga had not reckoned Vasuki, his sovereign; Vasuki jumped into the river, killed the Naga and brought back the grain of rudraksa. To recompense the powerful Naga, who had so well repaired the damages of the inundation, the king, on the councils of his Brahmanic director, re-constructed the temple of Vasuki with a new roofing; "and since that time, by the grace of Vasuki, the Nagas no longer committed acts of violence. "It is also to the protection of Vasuki that Kathimandu owes a double privilege: never any thefts; never any snake-bites. The last of the Thakuris, Jayakama deva, has obtained this marvellous result in "restoring" the worship of Vasuki and by offering him musical instruments.

The legend of the Naga Taksaka, invented undoubtedly to explain the worshipped image at Changu Narayan, under

the name of Hari-hari vahana, seem to place the Nagas under the patronage of the Buddhistic gods and to disparage to their benefit the divinities of Hinduism. Taksaka, who has come to Gokarna, near Pashupati to offer penance, is attacked by Garuda, the nag of Vishnu; this implacable enemy of the Nagas wishes to take advantage of the weakness which the austerities have reduced his adversary. Taksaka, however, has the better; Vishnu hastens to the help of his bird, brandishes his terrible shield against the Naga, when Avalokitecvara hastens to second the Naga and springs from sukhavati on the shoulders of Vishnu; peace is concluded between the two parties and Taksaka amicably wraps himself around the neck of Garuda. The image of Changu Narayan shows in fact Lokecvara carried on Vishnu (Hari) usual nag (Vahana) of Lokecvara. But Changu Narayan also evoke less cordial relations between the Nagas and the Buddhistic pantheon. The hillock which is crowned by the temple is a metamorphosis of Bodhisattva Samanta-Bhadra; the divine personage has taken this form by the order of Lokecvara, to support under the mass of rocks the Naga kulika, who looked respect for the holy places of Nepal.

In reality, the Nagas neither belong to Buddhism nor to any of the branches of Hinduism; they were born before all the gods of these pantheons, before the arrival of the first Brahman into India, from the superstitious terror which the reptile inspired to aboriginal; their evident power, manifested by innumerable victims, forced them to the worship of the Aryan conquerors. The old Brahmanism and all its stumps, recognized or disclaimed, organized a ritual in honour of the Nagas.

The Buddhism of the Great vehicle, which absorbed the popular worships of India and neighbouring barbarians, grants to the Nagas an eminent rank; its sacred texts frequently recall and glorify the Nagas and the pious enumerations of the most powerful among them often fill up long pages. Contemporary Hinduism is not less anxious to disarm and pacify the underhanded hostility of the divine serpents, by prayers and ceremonies².

"The Tirthas". The worship of the 'Tirthas', sacred fords adopted by all the religions of India, is still a homage paid to snakes: it is the water snake they adore; for it is that dispenses the special favours attached to each one of the Tirthas. Nepal, situated in the heart of the mountains, is full of Tirthas; there in not a river, a streamlet, a watercourse, or a humble string of water which has not its legend, its Naga and its advantages proper

But the best of the Tirthas are situated at the confluents of the rivers, at the point where two watercourses unite their special virtues. The confluent, besides, need not be apparent. The Hindu does not worry himself with verifying with his senses the notions of reason or faith; like he admits, in spite of lack of evidence, the imaginary eclipses which occur from an erroneous astronomy, between most distant watercourses. The Svayambhurana of the Buddhists, the Pashupatipurana the Shivaïtes and the Nepala mahatmya of the Hindus give an almost identical nomenclature as that of the great Tirthas; The wonderful accounts alone destined to testify their efficacy vary one from the other. They are; The Panya-tirtha, at the confi-

vent of the Vagmati (Bagmati) and of its first tributary in the valley, near the sanctuary of Gorkarna. The Naga Raktanga resides thither.—The Zautha-tirtha, at the confluent of the Vagmati and of the Maradaraka, a streamlet, near Pashupati, cures diseases.—The Camkara-tirtha (or Kalyana) at the confluent of the Vagmati and of the Manimati (Manirohini, Robini; Manohara), gives health and peace (The 'Pac.p' calls it Indramarga or Cakra-marga because he causes the arrival in the world of Indra).—The Rajatirtha, at the confluent of the Vagmati and of the Rudramati (Rudrachara or Rajamanjari gives health and royal power. The Manoratha-tirtha, at the confluent of Visnumati (Visnupadi, 'Pac, p.; Kecavati, 'sv. p.) and of by-tributary, the vimalavati the great Naga karburakulica resides thither; he gives rich clothings.—The Nirmala-tirtha, at the confluent of the Visnumati and of a by-tributary, the Bhadra (Bhadramati), at the feet of Syambunath; the Naga Upanalaka resides thither, he destroys sins.—The Nidhi-tirtha (Nidhana) at the junction of the Visnumati and of another by-tributary, the Suvaravati, very close to the Manoratha-tirtha; the two inseparable Nagas, Nanda and Upananda reside thither; they give wealth and abundant harvests.—The Jnana-tirtha, at the junction of the Visnumati and of a by-tributary, the Papa-nacini; the Naga Cvetacubhra resides, thither; he gives happiness.—The Cintamani-tirtha, at the junction of the Vagmati and of the Visnumati is the most excellent of all; besides these two rivers, the Trinity of Sacred waters: Ganga, Jamuna, Sarasvati find their way to the same junction by subterranean passages which the inspired devotees have recognized; no wonder this tirtha bears the beau-

tiful name of Panca-nadi, the five rivers. Varuna himself resides thither; he grants the fulfilment of every desire.—The Pramodaka-tirtha, at the junction of the Vagmati and of the Ratnavati; the Naga Padma resides thither; he grants love and happiness.—The Sulaksanatirtha, at the junction of the Vagmati and the Carumati; he gives fortune.—The Jaya-tirtha, at the Vagmati and of the Prabhavati gives wealth, beauty and the destruction of enemies.

The already long list of the great tirthas comprises an almost inexhaustible appendix of secondary tirthas which are hardly less advantageous, but on the condition that the right moment is chosen. Thus the pass of the Vagmati (Dvara or Dari), from where the river enters the valley; It is a female of Naga, Sundari who dwells thither, and she grants every wish. Thus again the Anantha-tirtha, which on the day of the Kumbha-Samkranti (the entry of the Sun into the sign of Aquarius) enriches his adorers. Thus the Mata-tirtha which, on the 15th. of the Vaishakha month, conveys directly to the dead, the offerings of the living; as an example, the adventure of the shepherd who at one time, overwhelmed with sorrow at prescribed day, a pellet of rice, and saw through the water his mother stretch out her arms to seize it. The tirtha of Vagic vara is still worth remembering by virtue of the memories attached to it. The Buddhists place it under the patronage of Manjushri which often bears in fact the name of Vagicvara "Lord of the voice". But Hinduism has another legend to interpret this name; Valmiki lived on the banks of the Tamasa (Tons), southern tributary of the Ganges, when he received the

r velation of poetry, before attempting to sing the Ramayana, he had recourse to Narada, official messenger between heaven and earth, to know the sacred spot worthy to be the cradle of so pure a poem. Narada showed him to the North of the hill of Changu Narayan (Dola-giri) the two arms of the virabhadra. Valmiki, went thither, sang his work and requested the Tamasa to also bring him by a hidden channel, its familiar waters. The tamasa answered the saint's appeal and ever since has followed the same path. As to Valmiki, the Ramayana completed, he offered the sacrifice of the vajapeya, ascended the Navanadi maya to erect thither a commemorating linga, then he returned to his hermitage of Hindustan (Nep. mah. III).

At the South-East of the valley at the foot of mount Phulchok it is the Godavari, the river in Deccan, which sanctifies Nepal with its distant waters. The Goddess Vasundhara, the Land-of-Treasures, revealed herself this mystery from the very early ages; a striking and irrefutable demonstration was given regarding it, in the reign of Nimisa, the first of the Somavamcis. A yogi who had lost all his religious implements in the waters of the Godavari, in the Deccan, found again his rosary, rod, sack, gourd, tiger skin and his pack of ashes intact in the tirtha of Nepal.

At the North-West of the valley, in a site symmetrical to the Godavari, at the foot of mount Nagarjun, it is the neighbouring Tricula-Gandaki (Tirsul Gandak) which has manifested itself on the other side of the mountain. The Tirsul Gandak is not an ordinary river; she is the

daughter of the trident of Shiva. At one time the god, with the burning throat for having swallowed the fish which threatened to destroy the world, went to the Himalayas to plunge into the icy waters of a lake; it is there that miraculous image and it is there the Tirsul Gandak springs out into three cascades. Separated by a range of hills from sacred Nepal, she diverts a portion of her waters to feed the fountains of Balaji.

The Rivers.—The rivers of Nepal are worthy to flow in such glorious company. The Vagmati or Vagvati (Bagmati) does not owe her name as one may be led to believe, to the murmurs of her waters. She takes birth, white as the laugh from the vary mouth (vacana) of Shiva, at the moment he was contemplating the penances of Prahlada, son of a demon (Nep. mah. VII; Pac. p. 1); according to another account, when Shiva had transformed himself into an antelope to mislead the gods, the Vagmati sprung out from one of the horns of the sacred animal. (Nep. Mah. 1). To the Buddhists, it is the very water of the Ganges which springs out from the rock struck by Buddha Krakucchanda, when he was in search of a stream to baptize the new monks. (Vamc. 80), or again her first drops fell from the fingers of the Tathagathas, by superhuman power of Vajrasattva (sv. p. IV). Her main tributary, the Vishnumati (Bishnumati) should be more correctly named the Vishnu-padi (Pac. p. XX), because she begins to flow like the Ganges at the feet of Vishnu. The Buddhists call her Kevati, because she derived her name from the shaved hairs, when Krakucchanda ordained the Nepalese monks (Sv. p. IV; Vamc. 81). The Manimati (Mani-rohini, Manghara

Manhaurah come down from mount Manicuda (Manichur) is connected by origin to the famous prince Manicuda: this hero of Buddhistic charity did not hesitate, through an instinct of sacrifice, to pluck from his head, a matchless jewel which nature had encrusted therein; the river sprung out either on the site of so great a dead or from the jewel itself (sv. p. IV.). The legend is so popular that Hinduism has respected it; the Nepalamahatmya (Brahmanic) still gives Buddha as god-father to the streamlet: when he heard of the holy metamorphosis of Shiva into an antelope, Janardana (Vishnu) under the form of Buddha, arrived from the country of Saurashtra (Kathiwar) and performed mortifications on the mountain of Mandhatu (mine of precious stones); as he was performing with fervour the burning penance of the five fires (four at the cardinal points and the Sun in the Zenith), the river Manivati came out of his ascetic perspiration (Nep. mah. I). The Hanumati recalls the epic monkey Hanumat, ally of Rama, who came to the Himalayas in search of magic plants destined to revive the brother of the hero who had swooned; Hanumat who was in a hurry, took the mountain with the plants on it and stopped a moment to recover his breath, before continuing his course towards the South on the banks of the little river, (Nep. Mah. III). The Ratnavati (Balku) was created by the Naga Karkotaka to allow of the outflow of the treasures of Indra reconquered over the Asura Dana. The Prabhavati bears the name of a heroine of the amorous legend associated with the worship of Visnukrsna.

THE BUDDHISTIC DIVINITIES. The Buddhism of Nepal admits or rather

acknowledges the pantheon and the usual pandemonium common to the schools of the Great Vehicle, still more amplified with monstrous creations, due to the sect of the Tantras and to direct borrowings from Hinduism. Two personages, however, give a local feature to the worship of the valley: Manjushri and Matsyendra Natha.

MANJUSHRI.—Manjushri is the real creator of Nepal. Before him, a lake filled and covered the whole of the valley. The Buddha Vipaswin, who had foreseen magnificent destinies from it, visited the banks of the lake as a pilgrim and had thrown in a grain of lotus. In the course of time, the seed flourished; and from it there grew a remarkable lotus, that bloomed in the middle of the lake, as large as a chariot wheel, with ten thousand gold petals encrusted with diamonds on top and pearls beneath and rubies in the centre; the pollen was of precious stones, the stamens of gold, and the pistils of lapis-lazuli, a flame burnt from the corolla, purer and more splendid than the rays of the Sun; it was Adi Buddha, the primordial Buddha, who was immediately manifesting himself in his very essence, without symbol or emblem. The Bodhisattva manjushri, who possesses the perfection of science, knew that a 'Swayambhu', a spontaneous manifestation of divinity, had taken place in Nepal; he was then staying beyond the country of Cina, in the region of Great-China (Maha Cina surrounded by a septuple wall⁴; one the mountain of five Summits (Panchashirsa parvata). This remarkable mountain had a summit of diamond, one of sapphire, one of emerald, one of rubies; one of lapis-lazuli. Manjushri started on his journey accompanied by his two brides

(Kecini and Upakecini or Varada and Moksada, or again Laksmi and Saraswati) and a multitude of devout disciples. He entered the circle of mountains by the North-East; the lake was imprisoned therein; stopped for three nights in contemplation on the Maha-mandapa (on advanced portion of mount Mahadeo-Pokhri), placed his first spouse on the Phulocna (Phulchok, in the S.-E.), the second on the Dhyano-ccha (Champadevi; buttress of the Chandragiri, in the south), and respectfully travelled around the lake in presenting the right side to Swayambhu. A revelation then taught him a task which was reserved for him. He had to, with the help of his irresistible sword which shone in his hands as a smile from the moon (chandra-hasa) open a breach in the mountain with one blow, allow of an outlet for the outrush of the waters and work his way in towards Swayambhu. He carried out the divine orders and by the Breach of the Sword (Kotvar) the Bagmati set free carried out the waters of the lake together with the Nagas and the monsters that dwelt therein. At the bottom of the lake, henceforth visible, crept the stem of the lotus which carried Swayambhu on its precious flower. Manjushri piously approached the root; heard around it the mysterious murmurs of a stream, bowed and worshipped, and Guyyeshvari; the Mistress of the Arcanums (mysteries) became apparent before him. He erected two sanctuaries to the glory of the two sovereign divinities and settled himself close to Swayambhu on a piece of land where the Nevars still worship the sacred prints of his feet, recognizable to those eyes that adorn them. He built a town between the Bagmati and the Bishnumati on the site partly covered by Kathmandu; besides, the modern heir of Manjushri-Fattana,

the capital or Manjushri, glorifies to reproduce in its great lines, the sword of Manjushri. After the fulfilment of his work he returned towards his mountain of China; but many of his disciples fascinated by Nepal "which resembles China so very much" (Sway. Purana. ed. Calcutta, p. 248-9) preferred to remain in her; he gave them for king a king of Great-China (Maha Cina), the virtuous Dharmakara, who had joined his procession.

Manjushri once again appeared in Nepal, in the days of kacyapa, the second last of the Buddhists who preceded shakya-muni. A Pandit of Benares, Dharmacri-Mitra who dwelt in the monastery of Vikramacila, well conversant with the details of the gospel, was, however, puzzled at the enigmatic meaning of the saying: a a i i u u e e ai o au am ah, Manjushri alone knew the meaning of the twelve letters, and to rejoin him it was necessary to undertake a year's journey to the North of the Himalaya. The religious man did not hesitate; he took the road of Nepal. Reaching the border line of Swayambunath, he met a peasant who was tilling the ground with a lion and a tiger harnessed together; he questioned this strange ploughman on the road leading to China. "It is too late to-day to start the journey: spend the night with me", replied the peasant. Dharmacri followed him: suddenly the yoke disappeared, a comfortable monastery springs up, to shelter the guest. At night, Dharmacri guesses by new signs which god shelters him and early at dawn he requests the desired explanation. Manjushri reveals to him the mysteries of the twelve letters and expounds to him the Nama-Samgiti- "The melody of sacred names" which are derived by their combinations. Even to-day, in memory of

that adventure, the field that Manjushri tilled at one time is the first where the rice is most solemnly planted every year; it is the "Bhagavat-ksetra (Bhagvan-khet), which almost touches the south-western extremity of the residence.

The legend which gives to Nepalese civilization a Chinese or Tartaric origin is made to deceive by its very probability. The Nevar Buddhists, such close neighbours of the Terai who saw the birth of several Buddhas must have been tempted in preference to search for their mother-land on this consecrated soil, at the foot of the glorious plains of India. The name of Manjushri, if tradition imposed it, would not have been an impediment to this tendency, because Manjuceri belongs to the Buddhism of India, could the legend have sprung up at a late date, when Buddhism dead, or moribund in its native country, was casting a new light on the Tartaric nations, at one of the periods when Nepal was entering in direct relations with China and glorified herself in a vassalage which incorporated her to the Central Empire? The Swayambhu Purana, which relates it (without mentioning the Vamshavali which condenses it), is of too uncertain a date to help in the solution of this problem.

But there is nothing that can prevent giving this legend, an ancient origin⁵. Manjushri has been held in honour with the Tartars for many past centuries; the mountain of five pinnacles (Pancha-shirsa, whence he left on his pilgrimage to Nepal, is famous in the whole stretch of the Chinese Empire. The Sanskrit designation of Pancha-shirsa parvata' literally corresponds

to the Chinese appellation: 'On-t' ai-chan is situated to the East-South-West of Peking; One can reach it from the capital by the path of Kalgan, Chi-pa-r-tai and Ta-toung, whence five days journey towards the South takes one to the valley of Ou-t'ai. The most ancient of the temples of Ou-t'ai-Chan, traces back, so they say, to Ashoka; it is a stupa in the style of Swyabhunath, built of bricks, covered over with stucco and crowned with a golden T, which raises its summit to twenty five metres; it is credited with containing Buddhistic relics. It is, however, certain that the principal temple 'Hien-t'oung-sen', was built between 471 and 500 J. C. by a sovereign of the dynasty of the posterior Wei; one can ascend it by a staircase of one hundred and thirty marble steps, strewn with hairs offered to deserve paradise.

The statue of Manjushri lords it over in the middle of the temple, entirely enwrapped with silk scarps (kssayas) given as an offering by the faithful. Since the VIth. century, all the dynasties have vied with one another in zest in honouring the sanctuary. As early as in the reign of Kai-hoang of the Souei (581-601), temples were erected on each of the five summits. The emperor Young-lo, of the Ming, who entertained diplomatic relations with Nepal, deposited in the 'Pou-sa-t'ing, the first exemplary of the Buddhistic texts in native language ('fan') which he had engraved and pulled off on copper with the help of the originals brought away from the West by a special mission.

From an early date the reputation of the mountain with five pinnacles spread far

and wide. In 824 a messenger from the Tibetans ('T'ou-fan') came to ask at the imperial court, a painted image of the Ou-t'ai-Chau. A Nepalese manuscript of the *Astahasrika Prajna-paramita*, dated 135 or samvat, in the reign of Bhoja deva and Laksmikama deva represent in one of the curious miniatures that adorn the text an image of Manjushri with the following legend: "Pancha-shikha-parvate Vagira-ttah (sic) 'Vagishvara (another name for Manjushri) on the mountain with the five summits. "The Bodhisattva is painted in it, in yellow as it suits it, sitting Indian-fashion, the left leg hanging over a lion, the hands joined in a gesture of instruction, holding a blue lotus (utpala, in the shape of a brush). On its left a subordinate personage, with a terrible look on his face and armed with a bludgeon. The ornamental painting consists of a temple dug-out in an underground (cavern) in the mountain with a tree and ascetics around. And, as if to dispel every suspicion and to confirm this testimony, another manuscript of bordering date (samvat 191, in the reign of Camkara deva) presents among its illustrations an almost identical image (or picture) with the following legend: "Maha-Cina Manjughosa", "Manju-ghosa (or Manju-shri) of the Great China. Here again the Bodhisattva, of yellow colour is sitting in the Indian-style, the right leg hanging on a blue lion with a red throat, the hands joined in a gesture of teaching; a blue lotus passes under the left arm. Two subalterns of the feminine sex stand one in yellow on the right, one in blue on the left; for scenery is painted an underground temple in the mountain, with trees.

Two whim of Nepalese miniature-

painters does not seem to have altered the essential features of the Chinese picture; Manjushri in fact has for ordinary symbols the book and the sword which he holds in his hands as the emblems of his eloquence and dialectic vigour, and it is exactly like this that he is represented, in one of the two Nepalese manuscripts, on an image without legend; the faithful had no need of explanation to recognize in it the divinity. Painted in yellow, sitting in Indian-style, he brandishes a sword in the right hand, whilst the left hand which is bent, holds the book; a blue lotus passes under the arm. The scenery is the same as for the other two miniatures: an underground temple in the mountain, and trees⁶ It is easily explained that an image of Manjushri of Ou-t'ai-chan had been known from an early date in Nepal; occasions had not been wanting to help its penetration thither: One of the Chinese diplomatic missions sent to Nepal, or through Nepal, between 646 and 660, was able to offer one as a gift to the pious king Narendra Deva, or again one of the Chinese devout crossing through Nepal as a pilgrim was able to offer one as a gift to some of the convents of the country; Exactly many of these pilgrims came from the very district of the Ou-t'ai-chan (department of Ping)⁷ and a few among them remained permanently in Nepal and died thither, leaving their varied objects of sanctity as an heritage to their Nepalese associates.

Lastly, the meeting at the court of the Tibetan king Srougtsan Gam-po, of two equally devout queens, one of Nepalese the other of Chinese origin, must have hastened the religious exchanges between

Nepal and China; one and the other had brought in the palace of their barbarious husbands, holy books and images. The glory of the Manjushri of Ou-t'ai-chan did not delay in descending from Nepal to the plains of the Ganges. The exact and veracious Hiouen-tsang, during his sojourn in India, on the very eve of the events which placed the two great nations of the Far East in close friendship, has never heard spoken of Manjushri as a Bodhisattva of China; otherwise he would not have failed to mention to his Chinese lecturers a feature so proper to flatter their national vanity. Personally, he seems well to consider him as the special patron of the Chinese in India; it is Manjushri who watches over him as an Guardian angel, who warns him in his dreams of imminent dangers and who exhorts him to return to his native-country; but none of the doctors of India, in their relations with Hiouen-tsang, think of evo-king Manjushri in connection with China. Half a century later, when I-tsing visits India, he goes about differently: "The people of India now say, to the eulogy of China: The sagacious Manjushri is at present at Ping-tcheon where his benediction is spreading over the people. So then we should honour and admire that country, etc. "Unfortunately I-tsing abruptly ends up here his account and he is content to add in a conclusive manner: "what they relate on that is too long to be mentioned in detail."

Hiouen-tsang had neither felt nor expressed this scholar's scruple. After the journey of I-tsing, China remains henceforth considered as the sojourn of Manjushri and the Hindu pilgrims who wish to adore him take the Road to China;

example, among so many others, Vajrabhodhi, the illustrious Amoghavajra, who left Ceylon for the Central Empire, towards the year 700, on the faith of a vision which ordered him to proceed thither to worship Manjushri; or again Prajna, translator of the Mahayana-buddha-sat-paramita-sutra fellow-associate of the Nestorian missionary king-tching; who proceeded on his way to China (which he reached in 782) because Manjushri was to be found, so he said, in the country of the East. Modern times have renewed the ancient tradition: The ambassador who every five years carries to (China) the court of Peking the tribute of Nepal official, salutes the Mandchurian emperor, as the incarnation of Bodhisattva Manjushri; a flattery of the Dalai-Lama has allowed to the Mandchurians the right of exploiting to their benefit, the belief of ancient India.

In the course of centuries, Manjushri, ended up in being naturalized as a Chinese. The Tibetans credit his birth on mount Ou-t'ai, from an emanation of Buddha. Buddha had come to China to preach the law; but the gospel was too sublime to these coarse minds. He stopped at the mountain of five pinnacles which already showed five resplendent chaityas; from the base a tree had grown; it was a jambu, the tree which gives its name to the regions of Jambu-dvipa. A gold ray came out of the forehead of Bhagavat and penetrated the tree, where there formed an excrescence; from this excrescence there grew a lotus stem which bloomed into a flower and the flower carried the prince of the sages, Arya Manjushri. He had a yellow complexion with one face only and two hands, the right armed with the

sword of science, the left carrying a book on a lotus in circle, such as the classical images represent it, but without the particular features attributed by the Nepalese miniatures to the Manjushri of China. From his forehead came out a gold turtle which plunged in the lake sitasaras, at the feet of the mountain. And since, Manjushri dwells on the five summits but he assumes a different colour on each one of them: Yellow on one, white on the other red, green and blue and each one of the summits bears flowers of the same colour as the god; yellow here, white there, and red, green and blue; and the virtues are literally wonderful⁹. The Nevars who instructed the Capuchin Constantin d'Ascoli also represented to him Manjushri (in the name of Bissochtma), as "a certain Chinese who had come by the way of Tibet.

However, before being adopted by China, Manjushri had very well been a Hindu by birth. The Sanskrit sources of Taranatha, mentioned that he appeared in the reign of Chandragupta, king of Orissa, a little after the reign of Mahapadma, then towards the period of the Macedonian invasion, if these mythical indications are worthy of being translated in real language. He appeared in guise of religious mendicant, expounded a particular doctrine of the Great-Vehicle and disappeared leaving behind a book, the Asta-Sahasrika-Prajua-paramita, so pretended the santrantikas; the Tatvasamgraha, assured the Tantrikas with equal assurance.

The event had taken place either 250 years, or 450 years after the Nirvana. The locality, besides, varied like the date. According to the Manjushri-parinirvana,

Manjushri, the hero of the book, had taught five hundred lookers (rais) in the snow mountains (Himalayas). Henceforth, one leap was sufficient to carry him from the Himalaya into China. In the days of Hiouen-tsang, the people still worshipped at Mathura, the "MEDOPX" of the gods "(Ptolemee) a stupa which covered his relics. Whilst some people held Manjushri to be a historical personage, others, glorified him as a supernatural being: The Yogacharyas considered him as the spiritual son (Dhyani-bodhisttva) of the Buddha Akso-bhya and like identical with Vajrapani; elsewhere he is mentioned in company of Vajrapani and Avalokitecvara, in a triad in which he pertains to the Brahma of the Hindu Triad. He often receives the surname of "Kumara" the young man, the prince", or in the guise of a more emphatic form Kumara-bhuta. The appellation of kumara seem to act as a counterpart to the Kumaris of tantrism, to the virgins whom the Buddhists and Shivaites worship at the same time; but besides this worth, it seems to have here for special function the definition of the role of Manjushri in the Empire of the Law. The Buddhas are the Dharma-rajah, the kings of the Law"; Manjushri, the Bodhisattva, near them by below them, is the prince at the sovereign's court. But the essential element of his name is the adjective 'manju', which is found again in the various synonyms: Manjushri, Manjughosa, Manjusvara, Manjubhadra, Manjunatha; the title of Vag-icvara" Master of the speech", is the equivalent or the glass of it. The adjective 'manju is really applied and so to say exclusively applied, to the voice or to the intonation; the buzz of the bees, the song of the cuckoo, the words of the parrots, all that the poetics of India extol like a symbol of harmony,

and melody, has a right, with the human voice to the epithet of 'manju'; The technic gives the name of manju-giti, 'manju-vadun' to metres of a clever complication: The Tibetans, scrupulous translators, have selected to give this vocable the word 'hjam', which is especially applicable to the softness of speech. He is the god with the pleasant voice, master of eloquence and in this way corresponds with the Brahma of the Hindus; the relation is so intimate that he borrows from Brahma his lotus cradle and even his lady-companion Sarasvati. But whilst Brahma was disappearing in India and almost vanishing from the worship, Manjushri who was his counterpart threw into shade in the Indian Buddhism, and especially out of India, the numerous band of the competing Bodhisattvas.¹⁰

How can such a success be explained: Is it a strange coincidence, apparently marvellous, of sounds which has earned to Manjushri his popularity with the Tartars as it has procured later to the Emperor of the Mandchurians (-Manju) the honour of passing off as an incarnation of God? But the name of the Mandchurians seems modern and the relation is undoubtedly coincidence or chance. The traditional interpretations of the translators and Chinese glossarists help in no measure in the solution of the enigma.

Engaged as they were in explaining the thought more than the word, they have copied or reproduced to the imitation of the Indian doctors, false etymologies but more respectable to their taste than the literal sense of 'harmonious voice'. They have

translated 'manju' by 'marvellous', and 'manju-shri' by "marvellous virtue" or still more audiciously by "marvellous head" in confusing the substantive 'shri' (shiri in vulgar pronunciation in India, 'chi-li in Chinese transcription) with siras (commonly 'siro'), and chi-lo in Chinese transcription); thanks to this whimsical etymology, the name of Manjushri clearly showed that he was "at the head" of the Bodhisattvas. Others again translated manju-shri by "marvellous benediction", since his name was the best of omens". All these witticisms testify to the efforts made to place the Indian name of Manjushri to the height of his real role in China. In fact, the name of Manjushri is fairly disconcerting; it really ranks in appearance in the same series of so many known names: Jinashri, Jayashri, Padmashri, Dharmashri, etc.; but all these names have a character in common which differentiate them from Manjushri; the first element to which is added the word 'shri' is a substantive. In Manjushri, this first element is an adjective; it's enough from a grammatical point of view, to give a strange character to this word. The form Manjughosa, on the contrary is easily explained; it enters the same category of the name of Buddha-ghosa, Acvaghosa, etc.; and although the first term is again by exception, an adjective, the analysis of the combination raises no difficulty. Manjughosa seems well to be the primitive form of the name, of which Manjushri would be an adaption more honorary than correct.

Whatever it be regarding his name and origin, Manjushri has had the privilege of maintaining himself in the first rank of the pantheon, in spite of the multitude of rivals, through all the vici-

ssitudes of Chinese Buddhism. He holds already the foremost place in the first Buddhistic texts brought into China, for instance in the 'Wen-jon-chi-lis-wen pon-sa-chon-king and the 'Nei-tsang pai pas king translated by the monk Leon-kia-tchanu, native of the country of the Yue-tchi, between 147 and 186 of J. C. he is glorified in the Ratna-karandaka-vyuhā, translated by Tchou Fa-hon in 270. The triumph of the School of Tantrism with Vajrabodui, Amoghavajra and their successors strengthens again the rank attributed already to Bodhisattva by the School of the Perfection of Sagacity (Prajñā-Paramita). In fact, this god of speech, is the born patron of the speculations, in the manner of the Massorettes or of the Cabbale, on words, letters, on their mystical power speculations which are so dear to the mind of Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism; he is really qualified to reveal to Dharmashri Mitra, the deep meaning of the twelve vowels, as well as to teach the abracadabra (magical word) of the formulæ in conjuring-books (dharanis) which recapitulate and contain the sagacity and power of the Buddhas, to the barbarians of the North. As a fortunate rival of the Indian Brahma, he continues to incarnate the sovereign power of the sacred speech, the 'brahman' whom his rival has not succeeded in keeping; transplanted from the subtle monasteries of India to the country of the rude tribes of the Yu-tchi, Tukharas, Turuskas Cinas. Manjushri, prince of the speech found again outside the Aryan limits, the propitious strata of witchcraft and chamanism, in which the Aryan 'brahman' had at one time sprung up and grown, from Hindu-kutch to the China sea, he easily spread his uncontested empire. The Nevars have ended up by transforming Manjushri as a simple patron of manual

labours; but the consistent tradition does not nevertheless perpetuate in this symbol the memory of the Tartaric and Chinese influence on the southern slopes of the Himalaya.

The symbol is mythical; the influence itself is not a useless invention of the legend. Nepal, and by the road through Nepal, continuous action was exerted on beliefs, customs and civilization of their Northern neighbours; but two great races do not enter in a lasting relation without lending each other and borrowing from each other. The Chinese Buddhists who look upon Lao-tzen as Shakyamuni in person who had crossed through the East to preach his doctrine, and the Taoists who recognize in Shakyamuni their master Lao-tzen, who had mysteriously come out of China to visit the West, are equally justified one and the other. The history of the borrowings contracted by India is difficult to trace, in the disheartening dearth of historical documents; but it is a curious and suggestive indication regarding the request addressed to the Emperor of China in the VIIth. century by an Eastern neighbour of Nepal, the prince of Kamarupa, with the purpose of procuring the image of Lao-tzen and the sanskrit translation of his work, the Tao-te king. The passage of the pilgrims and merchants who often mingled with them, left traces on the soil of India. Immediately after the opening of relations between Nepal and Tibet, the Chronicle of Nepal mentions the introduction into Nepal of a new god, Maha-kala brought from Tibet by the savant Bandhuxatta in the reign of Narendra deva. The doctrine of Tantras which served as a connecting link between Buddhism and Shivaism, could not have drawn their inspirations of a ferocious, observe and

sanguinary mysticism from civilized India, it is elsewhere that it is perhaps necessary to search for the impure source. Several of the Tantras claim with candour China as their cradle. The tara-tantra who exalts in an ancient divinity, perhaps of a stellar origin, adopted and propagated by Buddhism, then gathered up by Hinduism, reveals that the knowledge of Tara has come from the country of Cina, even from China; it is there that Vasistha, the ancient prophet of Vedic hymns has had to travel to instruct himself from Buddha, whom he had not been able to meet in India or even in Tibet: Such is the secret that Shiva in person confides to his spouse Parvati, basing himself on the authority of the Cina-tantra. Besides, let no one mistake himself on this; Buddha is only here, as is proper, a form of Vishnu, at the same time as he is a great Bhairava, the manifestation of Shiva. The Maha-cina-kramacara, also named Cinacarasara-tantra, which pretends to dispel the last doubts of Parvati, disconcerted by the stupefying revelation of Shiva, relates in detail the visit of Vasistha in China and the informations he received there. On the advice of Brahma, who knew by experience the power of Tara, since it was through his help that he succeeded in creating the world, Vasistha, son of Brahma, goes to interrogate Vishnu in the form of Buddha (Buddha-rupi Janardana), who alone knows the rites of the worship of Tara. He enters in the "great country of Cina" and he sees Buddha surrounded by a thousand mistresses in erotic ecstasy. The surprise of the sage man borders on scandal. "Here were practices contrary to the Vedas" he exclaims; a voice from the void, corrects his error: "If you wish, said the voice, to win the favour of Tara, it is

then by these practices in Chinese fashion (cinacara) that you must worship me with. "He approaches Buddha and gathers from his lips this unexpected lesson: The women are the gods, the women are the life: the women are the adornment. Be always in thought among the women. "with a sprout of the tree of China (Maha-Cina-druma), the magical omnipotence is attained, if one practises the five rites generally designated under the name of the five M, their initial letter: 'madya', to drink alcohol; 'mamsa', to eat flesh; 'matsya', to eat fish; 'mudra' to make complicated moves with the fingers; 'maithuna', to fornicate. The last rite is the most efficacious of all, especially when one adds the adoration of a naked woman, whatever her birth.

The old doctrine of faith by the absurd, so dear to the Brahmans, finds itself surpassed by these teachings to which India pays honour to China and to Buddha. If one has the right to suppose and to search for reality in these whims, one would be tempted to suspect in these practices "Chinese fashion" the distant echo and little creditable of one of the secret societies that have abounded from all times in the Central Empire (China). If India has given Buddhism to China, China must have exerted reciprocally on India an action which still remains to be defined.

'Matsyendra Nath.-whilst Manjushri belongs to the ordinary pantheon of the Great Vehicle, Matsyendra Natha is a local divinity, exclusively proper to Nepal. The introduction of the worship of Matsyendra Nath in the valley is mentioned by the

tradition as belonging or pertaining to historical times. A precise date even remains connected to this important event. I shall have to discuss, in connection with the history of Nepal, this special point of chronology. The royal personage associated to this memory, Narendra deva, is fortunately known by positive documents; he reigned about the middle of the VIIth. century. But the chronicle has nevertheless treated on the subject as one concerning an epic poem; it has grouped, around the human authors, the half-gods and the gods and enriched with miracles the too simple foundation of the account.

Narendra deva had abdicated in favour of his son Vara deva and he had consecrated himself to a religious life. At that period Goraksa Natha came to Nepal in the hope of meeting and worshipping Matsyendra Natha who still frequented his most preferred residence, mount Kamani to the South of the valley. But the mountain was difficult to approach; the god, would conceal himself from his devotee. The saint's piety had recourse to a subterfuge: he enticed the nine great Nagas on a hillock, sat upon them to retain them as prisoners and waited with confidence on the events he foresaw.

The Nagas once prisoners, the heavens dried up, the rainy season passed without rain; the barren fields gave no more crops. The poor tribes died in great numbers. The scourge lasted twelve years and complaints rose from all sides, to such a pitch that king Vara deva became broken-hearted. He began roaming the streets without disclosing his identity, in the hope of

gathering a salutary advice. And thus it was that at the convent of the Three-jewels ('Triratna-vihara) he heard the old Bandhudatta speaking to his wife. Bandhudatta, in his long life, had already seen many calamities which he had known how to cure. He had extricated the king Chandra Ketu deva, from a strange predicament, when he was despondent and despairing himself to die of hunger; he had discovered and installed goddess Loniri Maha-kali, who had given peace and prosperity to the land; he had brought away from Tibet (Bhota) the god Mahakala and entrusted the care of the frontiers to the ten divinities of Wrath ('krodha-devatas'). And Bandhudatta said to his wife: "The only remedy to our ailments lies in Arya Avalokitecvara who dwells on mount Kapotals; but to fetch him, the prayers of a king are essential; and our king is young and frivolous and his father has secluded himself in a solitary retreat."

Besides, the Avalokitecvara of mount kapatola was none other than Matsyendra Nath, the god of Goraksa Natha. Avalokitecvara Padmapani Bodhisattva, who is also often called Lokcecvara, had one day transformed himself into a fish (matsya) to hear, in place of Parvati sleeping an abstract of the doctrines of the mystic union taught at one time by the primordial Buddha (Adi Buddha) to Shiva and which Shiva was repeating to his divine spouse on the beach of the ocean; Lokcecvara, since then, received and bore the name of Prince-of-the Fishes-Protector ('Matsyendra Natha'). Having learnt by surprise of the only means of salvation,

king Vara deva entered his palace in all haste, sent for his father and Bandhudatta and prayed to them to intervene. The old priest accepted the proposal of going to search for Matsyendra Natha but he enforced the plea that he should be helped by Narendra deva and a gardener (mali) with his wife (malini), as these were the only people qualified to offer gifts. The little troop started on its journey; at each stage special rites were performed; the protection of Yogambara-Jnana-dakini was thus obtained; thanks to this goddess, Bandhudatta was able to liberate one of the Nagas from his long captivity, this Naga was called karkotaka. The liberated Naga joined the four pilgrims and rendered them signal services; were they to find a river to cross or a difficult passage, karkotaka would spread his links and make a bridge.

Without stopping their journey on account of the obstacles which the gods had raised against them, they reached mount kapatola, and Bandhudatta began to worship Avalokitecvara. The god, always sympathetic, took pity on Nepal; he appeared to Bandhudatta, instructed him with the secrets of the future and returned near the goddess (yaksini) Jnana-dakini, whom he honoured as a mother. Bandhudatta, while conforming himself to the instructions he had received, recited the powerful forms of invocation (mantras). Avalokitecvara hastened to appear in the form of a large black bee, penetrated into the phial of lustral water without the knowledge of king Narendra deva, who had gone off to sleep; Bandhudatta had to awaken his companion with a touch of the foot. Narendra hastened to close the phial. But the gods and demons pretended

to oppose themselves to the carrying away of Avalokitecvara. Bandhudatta appealed to his help the divinities of Nepal who held council and decided to entrust the case and protection of the kingdom to Avalokitecvara in the vocable of Matsyendra Natha. A treaty signed with the opposite divinities satisfied them by its advantageous causes. Bandhudatta celebrated in honour of Matsyendra Natha the rites which are performed on the birth of a child; then he retraced his steps towards Nepal. The gods who did not wish to separate themselves from Matsyendra Natha ordered the priest to spread all along his route seeds of devadaru; the trees that would grow from these grains would one day show to the liberated king the path of return towards kapatola; but the crafty magician took care to sterilise the seeds up till the time he reached the pass of the Bagamati, in mount Kotpal. As he was about to enter the valley, he politely dismissed with gifts the gods of outside, summoned the divinities of Nepal and organized a great procession. Four Bhairavas undertook to carry the god willingly captive in the phial; Brahma swept the street in singing the vedas; Vishnu blew in his conch, Maha deva scattered about lustral water, Indra held the parasol; Yama burnt incense; Varuna spread rain water, Kuvera, riches; Agni, splendour. Vayu carried the banner; Nairrtiya brushed obstacles aside, Icanas dispersed the demons. Bandhudatta and Narendra deva alone saw this marvellous spectacle; the laymen only saw birds and beasts.

In crossing on the territory of Bagamati, at a distance of one league to the south of Patan, one of the four Bhairavas,

Harasiddhi, barked like a dog. Bandhudatta interpreted this barking; in making Bou, the Bhairava wished to mark the place where Matsyendra Natha was born ('bhu'). On the advice of the priest, the king founded the town of Amara-pura "the city of the Immortals". The god was installed in it; an image was worked out of the very holy clay from the mound of Hmayapido, and in it was transferred most solemnly the spirit of the god gathered in the phial.

Since the moment when the procession had formed at Kotpal, the wished for rain had fallen plentifully. Prosperity had returned. But the heroes of the legend ended up tragically: Narendra deva, in a rage for having received a kick from Bandhudatta, killed him by a magical charm, and died himself four days later; both were absorbed by the god. Bandhudatta in his right leg, Narendra deva in his left leg.

The legend mentioned in the Vamshavali seems to have omitted Goraksa Nath, who figured in the introduction of the episode. It is Goraksa Natha on the contrary who is and remains in it the central figure in the Brahmanic recension of the same legend. The Buddha-Purana, in which the Brahmans of Nepal have attempted to appropriate themselves with the popular legends of the local Buddhism, preserves Matsyendra Natha but ranks him second to Goraksa Natha. According to its account, Maha-deva gave a woman one day something to eat telling her that

thereby a son would be born to her. The woman did not touch the meal and threw it away on a heap of filth. Twelve years later, Mahadeva journeys back through the place, asks to see the child, hears of the transgression, gets angry, compels the woman to search in the filth and she discovers a small boy twelve years old; the child receives the name of Goraksa Natha. He had for spiritual master Matsyendra Natha and followed him faithfully; it was he who carried about the baggage of the master; one day Goraksa Natha went to Nepal; but angry for having been received without due respects, captured the clouds and imprisoned them under his seat in one of his packages; for twelve years he kept them under his seat, without wishing to stand up; fortunately, Matsyendra Natha happened to pass close by; Goraksa Natha could not help but stand up as a sign of respect; the clouds escaped and rain fell immediately.

The bringing together of Goraksa Natha and Matsyendra Natha in the two recensions of the legend is very significant. Goraksa Natha, in ordinary language Gorkha Nath is at the same time the patron of a class of Vivaitis (yogis) ascetics and the kingdom of Gorkha, for a long time the rival of Nepal and master of the empire to-day. Matsyendra Natha is the protector of Nepal and as the symbol of her independence: he presides over the destinies of the kingdom and appears at critical hours as the very soul of the country. On the eve of the catastrophes, which consumed the total ruin of the Nevar dynasties, Matsyendra Natha manifested himself at night, in a dream, to a humble peasant who lived on the consec-

rated soil of Bagmati and predicted to him in a sort of transparent allegory the coming calamities. The peasant at first saw the entry of a person who lighted a lamp, then the entry of others who spread carpets; a gathering soon gathered on them, and awaited a guest who excused himself and altered his visit for the morrow. The gathering dispersed. On the evening of the next day, the same scene happened, the same company, but the guest who was anticipated was present: it was Matsyendra Natha. A Bhairava came forward and asked to eat. Matsyendra Natha sent him to the country of Gurkha, dwelling place of Goraksa Natha and offered him the sovereignty of the place. "I accept, replied the Bhairava, if at the same time I can obtain the sovereignty over Nepal. "Matsyendra Natha consented and everything disappeared. The peasant thus learnt that the Gurkhas were about to reign in Nepal, since Matsyendra Natha had given up his rights.

Was Matsyendra Natha a creation of the local worships? His primary function of distributing rains seems at first sight to agree with the meaning of his name Prince-of-the Fishes-Protector. Prince of the Fishes must be an aquatic divinity and as such he is naturally in relation with rain. But the local legend assigns to Matsyendra Natha a foreign origin. The Buddhists who see in him a form of Avalokitecvara make him come from mount Kapotala, outside Nepal, beyond the country of Kamarupa. I ignore if mount Kapotala has ever existed in reality and in which region it could have been found;

I am tempted to see in this a whimsical designation born from an easy confusion between two of the resorts preferred by Avalokitecvara: the Kapota-parvata, in mount of the Dove, in Magadha, and the Potala paravata, in Malabar. From wherever he came, Avalokitecvāra in the form of Matsyendra Natha, is distinguished by a characteristic feature. He is red, whilst Avalokitecvara is usually white. The doll which figures to-day Matsyendra Natha in the processions is red: M. Foucher has already mentioned this peculiarity in a Nepalese painting which expressly represents "the Lokecvara of Bugama in Nepal" and which is met with again in a manuscript of the VIIIth¹² or the XIth. century. The details grouped by the legend around the essential fact: introduction of a new divinity into Nepal are borrowed from the present repertory of these accounts. One can compare with it for instance, an episode related by the Tibetan historian of Indian Buddhism, Taranatha: how the king of Pundravardhana, Cubhasara warned by a dream, entrusted the laic Cantivarman to go and fetch Avalokitecvara from mount Patala, so as to assure the happiness of his subjects: how Cantivarman triumphed over the obstacles accumulated on the road, helped by a snake that served as a bridge over the rivers and how he brought back the Lokecvara Kharsarpana.

The event was happening a century before Narendra deva since Cantivarman is the contemporary of Dignaga, the great logician who prospered in the VIth.¹³ century. Khasarpana, besides, had to rejoin

in Nepal Matsyendra Natha who had preceded him there. King Guna Kama deva introduced him in Kathmandu, precisely to compete with the Matsyendra Natha of Patan, the deserted capital, and he instituted in his honour an annual procession. Alike Matsyendra Natha, Khasarpa was red. The Swayambhu-Purana, which predicted his entry into Nepal has the caution to expressly mark its colour. (Ch. VIII).

Masyendra Natha came from

India. Yet his name is not figured in the Brahmanic or Buddhistic pantheon of India; but it is met with in the tradition of a mystical sect where he even shines in the first ranks. The adepts of the Hatha-Yoga, who pretend to teach the practical means of reducing the body, of uniting with god and of executing suspicious prodigies of the Hindu fakeers, worship as their first masters Matsyendra Natha and Goraksa Natha,¹⁴ who are once again found associating.

To be continued

FOOT NOTES

1. 'Vamc., 94

2. See in particular James Fergusson: "Tree and serpent worship.. in India London, 1873 (2nd. edition) and Winternitz, 'Der etc., Wien, 1883.

3. Kashmere also possesses a Svayambhu where the divinity is manifested by a flame:

Svayabhur yatra hutabhug bhuvogarbhat samunisan Raja tar. 1, Pee. 34. The locality, designated in current use by the name of Sayam, is the theatre of volcanic phenomena which occur periodically. In certain years the soil allows the escape from a reddish cavity of vapours warm enough to boil the funereal offerings which the pilgrims place thither (stein, trans. de la Raj-tar., note on 1,34) The author of the Svayambhu. P. brings himself the two countries closer to each other.

Kacmire ca yatha santi tatha ca tatra mandale.

Sv. P. IV. p. 248.

4. The Svayambhu - P. tursch describes China (ed. Bibl. Ind., III. P. 148 and IV. P. 248) in a very vague description undoubtedly, but which at

least shows, to what extent China dazzled the distant vassals. "The country of Cina is surrounded by the Ocean; it is not a deep Ocean which surrounds her... She lies on the borders of Nepal (cor.: Nepalabhyantare sthane), many mountains, villages, provinces, kingdoms of all sorts, towns, cities, fields and markets are to be found thither; there is the imperial capital of all the kingdoms, III, p. 148. And in the other passage, Nepal is compared to China.

Yatha Cina eva dece ('a corr. ainsi') tatha Nepalamandalam "because all the sciences and knowledges are studied thither and that labourers and traders of every profession are to be found thither."

5. The fact remains that as early as the VIIth. century, a similar legend was in existence in the kingdom of Kamarupa, very close to Nepal. When the messenger of Li-Yi-piao visited the country of Kamarupa between 643 and 645, king Kumara related to him that "the power was handed down in the royal family for the past four thousand years: the first had been a saintly spirit come from China (Han-

ti) by flying. (“Chen-kia-fang-tchi”) compiled in 650) in the Japanese edition of the Tripitaka, XXXV, 1.94b; and key ‘Hiou-tsang’ 111.77 and 79)

6. Foucher, ‘Studies on Buddhist iconography’, Paris, 1900, p. 114 sqq.
7. See ‘sup’, p. 161.
8. Besides the image of the Manjushri of China which I have described, the ms. Nepalese thamb. add. 1643 studied by Mr. Foucher shows an image of ‘Maha-Cina samants bhadra (Iconogr. bouddh.: p. VI, 4) where the Bodhisattva is represented on an elephant with wooded hills as a background to the tableau. Mr. Foucher is right in asking himself if these mountains are not meant to recall the O-mei-chan, the mountain on which Samantabhadra is particularly honoured in China. Whatever it may be, this image of China” is a further clue of the relations between India (specially Nepal) and China, at that period.
9. Grundwell, ‘Mythology of the Buddhism’, Leipzig 1900, p. 134 sqq; according to the ‘Pad-ma Pan-yig’, Tibetan biography of Padmasambhava.
10. The very lion which serves as a mag to Manjushri undoubtedly translates in the form of a concrete image, the usual metaphor in which is expressed the power of the Buddhist formula. The predication of Buddha is a “roaring of the lion” (Simhanada).
11. Remusat has already mentioned, in a note of his ‘Fahien’, p. 114, these etymologies proposed by the ‘Fan-yi ming-yi Asi’.
12. Foucher, op. land, pl. IV, I: Nepale Bugama Lokecvarah. M. Foucher has recognized himself in Bugama an abbreviated form of Bugmati, the village consecrated to Matsyendra Natha (p. 99 sqq.) One will find at the head of the 1st. volume of Oldfield a picture in colours of Matsyendra Natha in his chapel of Bugmati.
13. Taranatha, p. 141-145.
14. Hathavidyam....vijanate, says Atamara, in the beginning of the Hatha-Yoga-pradipika (Cat. Mss. Oxen., 233 and 234)- key also on Matsyendra Natha Wilson, ‘Works, ed. Rost, Essays. on the religion of the Hindus, 1862, vol. I p. 214; II, p. 30. Wilson is led to believe that Matsyendra Natha has introduced the Shivaite Yoga into Nepal, and he has realized the union of the sectarians of the Yoga with the Buddhists.



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प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या- ५७

वैशाख-जेठ २०२७

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक

रमेशजङ्ग थापा

Editor

Ramesh Jung Thapa

NEPAL

(Continued)

—by *Sylvain Lévi*

The History of the Triumphs of Shankara (Samksepa-Shankara-vijaya) al. brings them together in an episode which reminds one by certain features of the Nepalese account. Matsyendra Natha, having entered by magic in the body of a king who has just died, leaves his own body to the care of his disciple Goraksa Natha. "As the excellent Yogin was taking the best magical postures, prosperity knew no slackening in that kingdom: 'The clouds poured rain' at propitious periods and the wheat gave priceless crops." But among the women of the seraglio, Matsyendra Natha incarnated in the king, loses his virtue; luckily Goraksa Natha who watches over him, reminds him of his duty and persuades him to enter again his own body⁴. Often also in the lists of the masters of the Hatha-Yoga, Matsyendra Natha is replaced by Mina Natha which name is only an ordinary synonym². Nepalese Buddhism also knows this name; but it con-

siders Mina Natha as the junior to Matsyendra Natha³. The Buddhistic tradition of Tibet seem to ignore Matsyendra Natha⁴, but it knows Goraksa Natha as a thumaturgical (wonder-working) ascetic; thus it is that from his childhood he makes his hands and feet grow again by magic, which mutilation took place by order of a barbarious step-mother. One still believes even in the hearing of the noise of the drum which he beats in his rough practices⁵.

The ascetics with pierced ears ('Kaphatas') who make use of the name of Goraksa Natha, have left a remembrance to Buddhism that does them no honour; at the time of the fall of the Sena dyansty when the Indian Church thereby lost her last support, the yogis who followed the rule of Goraksa Natha who were

of a very ordinary intelligence, became the devotees of Icavara, in order to obtain a few honours from the heretic kings; they were even saying that they would not oppose the Turuskas⁶. In the orthodox society of India, the names of Matsyendra Natha and Goraksa Natha still serve as eponyms to two clans of the jogis of Bengal, uncertain caste that pretends to be of Brahmanic origin, in spite of the disdain with which it is surrounded⁷.

The accumulation of all these facts seem to enlighten up the origin of the Nepalese divinity. The first yogis who ascended into Nepal from India, enticed perhaps by childish piety of Narendra deva, found thither undoubtedly a divinity consecrated by use, but foreign to the regular lists. Perhaps it bore the name of Buga⁸, which the Nevars still make use of the designate Matsyendra Natha, whilst the Hindu element employs the vulgar designate Macchindra Nath. Faithful to the method of adaptation always practised by the Hindu religion men in contact with the barbarous people, they vouched to recognize in it, the Lokcevara of mount Kapota; the small dimensions of the image worshipped in Nepal and which tradition has faithfully preserved up till now, constituted at least a feature of resemblance with the idol of mount Kapots, remarkable for its small size.

It is in the name of Lokcevara without the addition of Matsyendra Natha, that the image is represented in the manuscript studied by M. Foucher. Later on, when the invading Brahmanism was able to struggle with equal weapons against

Buddhism, the yogis of Goraksa Natha who followed fortune and who passed into Shivaism, as Taranatha accuses them, imposed on the local divinity a new baptism and hailed it with respect as their Chieftain Matsyendra Natha, whilst they were establishing by the side of Nepal, in a neighbouring and rival kingdom, the parallel worship of Goraksa Natha. The appropriation by the yogis of the local worship appears still more clearly in the case of Pashupati who served to a certain measure as an auxiliary branch to the Shiva sects of India and particularly southern India but already the history of Matsyendra Natha discloses the insinuating action of these Shiva yogis who seemed for a long time to place themselves at the disposal of Buddhism, but who employed themselves with as much constancy as with happiness in disorganizing it, in bringing it nearer to Shivaism to end up by absorbing and destroying it. The apparent anarchy of the Hindu brotherhoods does not exclude the method nor the consistency.

Pashupati.—The hearth of Brahmanic activity in Nepal, its symbol and headquarters together, is Pashupati. From a Brahmanic point of view, Nepal is the country of Pashupati, as it is to the Buddhists, the country of Matsyendra Natha. Pashupati has even, over his secular rival, an advantage of national order; he is an indigene. It was not necessary to bring him from distant countries; He is like the flame of Svayambhu, a spontaneous manifestation of the divinity. The linga which rises on the right bank of the gagrati, surrounded by a world of idols of temples and chapels, reminds him an

authentic relic the miraculous sojourn of Shiva. One day the God was in Benares, his holy city and his sojourn of predilection, in company of Parvati his spouse, it took his fancy to conceal himself from the respectful attention of the gods; he carried himself to Nepal and transformed himself into a gazelle in the wood of Clesmantakas. The anxious gods rushed out on all sides in search of him and succeeded in recognizing in his new form. They prayed and begged him to return with them either to Kailasa, his Olympus, or to Benares, his Jerusalem. Shiva escaped them and sprang on the other bank of the Bagmati. The Chiefs of the gods then decided to lay hold of him by his horn; the horn burst in their hands. "Very well, said Shiva, since I have dwelt here in the form of an animal (pashu), I shall carry here the name of Pashupati (god animal). Vishnu piously took one of the fragments of the broken horn and made it into a linga; the three other fragments were carried, to be worshipped as lingas: On the beach of the southern sea, at Cokarna; on the banks of the Candrabhaga river and in Indra's paradise at Amaravati. All the gods assembled together to pay homage to Pashupati; Buddha himself set the example¹⁰. These events took place in very ancient times; however the inspired yogis have revealed the date of the event: 300 years before the end of Treta yuga, about nine hundred thousand years before our period¹¹. A little while later, Vishnu and Brahma wished to find out as to how far travelled the light that emanated from this linga; they travelled round the world without losing sight of it¹². But, in the long course of the times, the primitive temple crashed to the ground and buried

in its ruins, the splendour of the linga. A cow, which sent and spilt her milk every day over the miraculous place, drew the attention and curiosity of a shepherd; he searched among the ruins; the refulgence shot out and consumed him; nevertheless Pashupati was found again. Nepal had then for king Bhuktamana, founder of the dynasty of shepherd-king (Gopal) who was annointed by the hands of Ne Muni, Eponym and Patron of Nepal. The first historical sources which is connected with Pashupati seems to be the name of king Pacupreksa deva, who covered the temple, so they say, with gold sheets. The whimsical chronology of the Vamcalis dates this event with 1234 Kali-Yuga or 1767 before the Christian era.

Beginning from Pashupeksa deva, the Chronicle registers a series of donations, restorations and enrichings: in the reign of Bhaskaravarmangold; in the reign of Gunakama deva, the Thakuri, a golden roofing, in the reign of Cankara deva, the Suryavamshi, a statue of Nandi; in the reign of Sadaciva, a new roofing, etc. From the very oldest manuscripts which are known to us, the kings of Nepal have prided themselves in being "the favourites of the feet of the Divine Pashupati". "The most ancient coins of Nepal show, in alternation with the names of kings, the name of Pashupati, accompanied by speaking likenesses such as Nandi, the bull of Shiva, the trident of Shiva, etc. Pashupati is the political incarnation of Nepal, like Matsyendra Natha is the popular incarnation of her. All the dynasties even to very Gurkhas have treated him with an equal respect and fervour: it is a Gurkha, Rajendra Vikram Shah who, in 1829, conceived

the strange idea of offering to Pashupati 125000 oranges and to bury him up to the head under this mass of fruits. Towards 1600, the bigoted Ganga Rani, to whom is attributed the construction of the actual temple, had stretched a kind of ribbon between the temple of Pashupati and the palace of Kathmandu, on a length of four to five kilometres, to sanctify his dwelling-house by a purifying communication. She was thus following the example given ten centuries earlier by Sivadeva, the Suryavamci. Half-a-century after Ganga Rani, Pratapa Malla renewed the same practice. Like Matsyendra Natha, Pashupati participates in national life: In the XIIIth. century, Nepal is invaded by the King of Palpa, Mukunda Sena; the Khas and the Magars who compose his troops accumulate unscrupulously the horrors and abominations; Matsyendra Natha says nothing, won over by the courtesy of Mukunda Sena who has slipped a gold chain round his neck. But Pashupati undertakes to avenge Nepal; his merciless face (Aghora), the one which is turned towards the south, shows its terrifying teeth and suddenly the plague, which he has left loose in this way, falls on the invaders and decimates them in fifteen days. Mukunda Sena, terrorstricken takes flight, but too late; he falls dead at the frontier of Nepal.

Pashupati, by his popularity has forced himself upon Buddhism, like Matsyendra Natha upon Brahmanism. The Svayambhu Purana predicts the apparition of a Lokeshvara, on the banks of the Bagamati, in the Mrgasthala, "who will possess the empire of the three worlds;

Hari, Hara, Hiranyagarbha, Ganesha will surround him and also the Yoginis and the Mothers in numerous troops; and his face turned to the south will be ruthless; he will receive the homages of the Bhattas Ksatriyas and even the Shudras and his name will be Pashupati. (ch. VIII). Pashupati owes his salvation to the charitable intervention of Buddha, when the demon Virupaksa pursued all the emblems of Shiva with his insatiable rage. Buddha, to save Pashupati, covered him with his own headdress; and Virupaksa humbly bowed before the disguised idol. "This is why all the emblems of Shiva are slightly leaning on one side, with the exception of the only Pashupati." And this is also the reason why the orthodox Brahmans of now-a-days, stubborn preservers of traditional forms, to be more at liberty to change the background, continue to decorate Pashupati once every year, the 8 Karthika of the clear fortnight, with a Buddhist headdress in order to pay him homages.

The Pashupati of Nepal is connected at least by name to the ancient periods of the Vedic pantheon. The hymns of Yajur and Atharva designated in the name of Pashupati one of the forms of Rudra or Agni, specially of Rudra, violent and ferocious divinity that threatens the precious cattle with its ominous features. The bull which remains in the classical mythology and in the modern worship associated to the person and the legend of Shiva means undoubtedly, in image form, the ancient relations of Rudra and the cattle¹³. In the compound of the temple of Pashupati, in front of the entrance gate to the sanctuary rises a colossal statue of Nandi, the nag

and servant of god. But there is a long way between the Vedic and the Nepalese pantheon and the connecting link is missing. Between the two Pashupatis, the real inter-mediate are the Pashupatas. The Pashupatas are, according to the excellent definition which a disciple of Hiouentsang¹⁴, gives on them, "ascetics who cover themselves with ashes; they cover the whole body with ashes and now shave and now allow their hairs to grow. They wear soled and worn clothings, which only differ from the others, in that they are not red. These sectarians worship the god Mahecvara."

The sect of the Pashupatas is ancient. The Maha Bharata places their doctrine on the same rank as the Vedas, the Yoga and the Pancarata, as the authentic teaching of Shiva. (XII, 13702); It is Shiva in person, husband of Uma, the master of the Bhutas, who has published the Pashupata doctrine (13705); it is characterized by practices of a ferocious austerity (10470). The Puranas are agreed in proclaiming the orthodoxy¹⁵ of it. The canonical works of the sect are still unknown; but Madhava has given a systematic abstract of them in a chapter of the Sarva darcana-samgraha¹⁶. Under a patchwork of philosophical notions, the doctrine of the Pashupatas appear in it as a practical method of intense asceticism: the Pashupata must burst out laughing, dance, roar, snore, tremble, play the lover, speak absurdly, act absurdly, etc.

Hiouen-tsang meets the Pashupatas in the VIIth. century at Kapica in Jhalan-

dara (where they are the exclusive representatives of Brahmanism) in Ahicchatra, in Maharastra, the sect is powerful and well spread. At the same period, Bana mentions the presence of Pashupatas in the camp of Harsa¹⁷. They appear in the history of Cashmere as early as the VIth. century¹⁸. In 609 J. b. a prince of Central India, Buddharaja of the Kalachuris (Kaia-cchuri) vaunts his grandfather Krishna as a devotee of Pashupati¹⁹. An inscription from Cambodia, in the year 900 thereabouts, which shows the rule of the order of precedence in a Shiva temple, places the Acarya Shaiva and Pashupata immediately below the Brahma:²⁰. In the XIth. century, the erudite Lakulica or Nabulica reforms the sect and gives it a new lease of life; starting from the vicinity of Madras, the movement of renovation reaches Mysore, extends to Gugerat and soon shines on the whole of India²¹. A recrudescence of relations between Nepal and Deccan follows the awakening of Shivaism in the south of India.

More numerous than ever, the yogis take the road to the Himalaya, dear to Shiva. Behind the Yogis march the conquerors. It is the time when Nanya Deva of the Karnataka proceeds at the head of his Nareyas soldiers to found a dynasty in Nepal (1097). The princes of the Deccan, Somecvara III Bhuloka Malla, Bijjana²², Jaitugi, flatter themselves by turn in the course of the XIIth. century of having reduced Nepal to a state of vassalage, by the action of the religious brotherhood, undoubtedly more than by the force of arms. The traditions which connect Nepal to India in the south are then invented

or made to circulate again²³; it is related that one of the first kings of mythical Nepal, Dharmadatta, came from Conjeveram (Kanci) and had reigned there at first; one insists on the community of origin of the linga worshipped at Pashupati, and of the linga worshipped at Gokarna, on the northern coast of the Canara; a distant overflowing of the Godaveri is discovered in Nepal; there is not a wood even the one consecrated by the metamorphosis of Pashupati which does not remind of an illustrious forest of Deccan, the Clesmatakavana, where Pulastya, the father of the demon Ravana, was mortifying himself by severe penances. The souvenirs and personages of the Ramayana are localized in emulation of one another in Nepal; Nepal even ends up by fraternizing with Lanka. The Buddhists persist in playing a losing game and introduce in the history of Nepal the trader Simhala, eponym of Ceylon and famous among all the anterior beings to Buddha. After the restoration of the Mallas, Pashupati becomes a real fief of the religious men of Shiva of the Deccan.

Yaksa Malla "name Bhattas Brahmins, native of southern India, as priests of Pashupati-Natha" in order to conform himself to the rules drawn up at one time by Cankara acarya when he came to Nepal, in the course of his triumphant tour of controversies against heresies: He had then expelled the Bhiksus from Pashupati and had instituted in their place Brahmins from the Deccan. In the reign of Ratna Malla son of Yoksa Malla, a Svamin of the name of Somacekhara

Ananda, native of Deccan and conversant with the Tantric ritual of the Khodha-vyasa, came to Nepal and was named as priest to Pashupati. The title of guru was given him. However, two Nevars as Bhandaris, had to serve him as assistants during the time of ceremonies; two other Nevars were entrusted with the administration of the properties and treasures of the temple." A century later, towards 1600, a new Svamin equally conversant with the Khodha-myasa, came also from southern India; he was called Nitya Ananda, Ganga Rani nominated him as priest to Pashupati. As also, in the course of the XIth. century, "the Svami Jnana Ananda, expert in the Khodha-myasa came to Pashupati from southern India. Pratapa Malla examined him and named him priest of the temple".

The exact history of the Nepalese Pashupati, allows one to perceive its probable origin. Pashupati in every respect like Matsyendra Natha, is the work of these yogis, vagabonds, philosophers, magicians, conjurers, who have made and held in spite of the irregularities of the surface, the profound unity of India. Enticed towards the Himalaya taken up by the presence of their god. on the way towards the inaccessible pinnacle of Kailasa or towards the frozen lake of Gosain-than which shows without being approachable a natural image of Shiva, the yogis substituted their god to an indigenous divinity. Perhaps this name of Pashupati still reminds one by its transparency, of a protecting spirit of the flocks, contemporary of the pastoral tribes that peopled

Nepal

the valley at one time, as they still people the mountainous districts of the neighbourhood. The metamorphosis of the god into an animal (mrga) means perhaps to the Brahmanic way of thinking the incorporation of a local worship with Shivaism; a local worship shown to animals; the element worship were supposed to have been divided by differentiation between the god Shiva and the bull Nandi which serves him as a riding animal, as a companion and as a vigilant guardian. Perhaps this name only commemorates like resisting stamp, the work proper of the yogis Pashupatas. However it is always so that it testifies and shows in deed the procedures of the expansion of ancient India and the continuity of the efforts of the Brahmanic missionaries.

Narayana - Vishnu, the rival and equal of Shiva in the classical mythology of India, has not succeeded in taking as vigorous and prominent a personality in Nepal. Instead of materializing himself into a chosen figure, his religion and legend have scattered themselves. He is very popular in the whole valley and among all the classes of the population, in the name of Narayanas excel in holiness and reputation above all others. Cangu-Narayana, cesa-Narayana, Icangu-Narayana and Cayaju-Narayana. Canju-Narayana is incontestably the first among them all. The temple which is consecrated to him rises on the Dolagiri, at the Eastern extremity of the valley, between Bhatgaon and Sankon. Cinsu is associated in it, to the goddess Chinna-masta "Head cut-off" The Nepala-mahatmya relates in fact that Vishnu has had his head cut-

off by an enraged Brahman, in application of the law-of-retaliation; the god, in an angry moment had beheaded a demon (Daitya) of Brahmanic caste who was a disciple of Cukra; and Cukra, in a rage, had cursed the murderer. Garuda, who serves as riding-animal to Vishnu and who is always associated to him like Nandi is to Shiva, has by a treaty in due form and good order with the snakes, his secular enemies, assured to the hillock the privilege to possessing snakes without venom. The Buddhists of Nepal have adopted Cangu-Narayana as they have adopted Pashupati; Vishnu only serves to manifest the power of Avalokitecvara. One day that Garuda was struggling with the Naga Taksaka, as he was on the point of winning, thanks to the help of Vishnu, the sympathetic Lokecvara intervened, concluded an agreement between the adversaries; passed Taksaka round Garuda's neck; Vishnu borne on his nag, took the Lokecvara on his shoulders as a sign of humiliation; and suddenly there appeared a griffin, who carried the three superposed divinities to the Summit of Dolagiri. A sculptured group still testifies to the faithful the reality of the event. The pillar to the inscription of king Mana deva, erected before the temple, testifies on the other hand to the critical minds, the antiquity of the local worship.

An inscription of Amcuvarman which stipulates a donation to Jala cayana, also guarantees the long past of Vishnu under this vocable. To the indigenous tradition, the origin of Jalacayana traces back very much farther: it is under Dharmadatta of Kanci, mythical king of the imaginary Vieala-Nagara, that a yogi edified the first sanctuary of Jalacayana, at the foot

of mount Shivapuri. King Vikaramajit, another hero of tales, made a tank with a stone image with four arms; his successor Vikramakesari saw the tank suddenly drying up; anxious, he consulted the sage men, and learnt that the gods were asking for a human sacrifice, and he sacrificed himself as a victim. Real history seems to begin with king haridatta varma, of the Suryavamci dynasty, who distinguished himself by his zeal for Narayana. On a certain night Jalacayana appeared to him in a dream, and revealed to him the place where he laid under the ruins; the king ordered to clear away the rubbish and the statue re-appeared to light. Unfortunately, a clumsy stroke of the pickaxe had broken its nose; care was taken not to repair the accident, and the Jalacayana of to-day has always the nose broken. Haridatta named the image Nilakantha, unexpected name, since it is exclusively applied to Shiva; but the religions syncretion of Nepal still appears with the feature: with the four arms and the ordinary attributes of Vishnu, the statue stretched in the middle of a tank does not recall any the less the Nilakantha authentic which is worshipped at the lake of Gosain-than. Jala-cayana is only known as "the Old Nilkantha" (Budha-Nilakantha²⁴), ever since the XVII th. century, king Pratapa Malla has installed "the New Nilkantha" (Bala-Nilakantha or Balaji). Pratapa Malla has had sculptured in the compound of his palace of Kathmandu, in the middle of a pond, a reduction of Nilakantha²⁵; then he has had brought, at the price of persistent labour, water from the sacred bank. The Old Nilakantha then appeared to him in a dream and

warned him that if ever a king of Nepal came to visit him, this king would certainly die of a sudden death. Since then, it is the New Nilakantha, Balaji, who receives on prescribed days the visit of the kings.

It is in the aspect of Krishna that Vishnu is the most intimately mingled to the legendary history of Nepal. Krishna, and especially Prodvumna his son, are the heroes of an epic and gallant romance, as it suits the Krishanaite cycle, and so popular, that he serves as the nucleus to the two great religious compilations of Nepalese Brahmanism: he takes up eight songs (VI-XIII) in the Pashupati-Purana and six songs (VII-XII) in the Nepale-mahatmya.

Surya ketu, king of Cvetaka in Campakaranya (Champanan), and fervent worshipper of Vishnu, is besieged by Hamsadhvaja, king of Mithila (Tirhout); in his distress he invoked heaven. Narada the indefatigable messenger, hastens to him from paradise and advises him to retreat to the stream of the very holy Bagamati, on the mount with the "Lion-Summit" (Mrgendratickhara), consecrated at one time by the presence of Vishnu, in his avatar of Man-Lion (Narasimha); already Prahlada the pious progeny of the demon Hiranya Kacipu, has felt the place; the mortifications that he practised have drawn a hearty burst of laughter from Shiva, which laughter caused the outflow of the Bagamati. Surya ketu obeyed; he fled from the capital with the beautiful Candravarti, his daughter.

In the valley of Nepal over which lords the Pinnacle of the Lion, there

reigned at the time a powerful demon, several times conqueror over the gods, Mahendra damana; Suprabha, was his capital at the foot of Candragiri, at the place where Thankot stands to-day. The sister of this demon, Prabhavati, was a princess of matchless beauty. By one of these mysterious effections which the Hindu romance loves, she had fallen in love, without having ever seen him, of Pradyumna, the son of Krishna. In order to distract his sister, Consumed with a love of which he is ignorant, Mahendra damana stops the course of the Bagamati and turns the submerged valley into a pleasure lake. In his turn, told by a complaisant mediator of the charms of Chandravati, he falls in love with the princess and pretends to obtain her hand in marriage. Surya ketu who feels reluctant to such an union, invokes once again Narada. Narada reassures him, promises him that Pradyumna alone will be his son-in-law; after this he goes to Prabhavati and foretells to her the success of her passion. A war is declared. Under the leadership of Pradyumna, the gods finally triumph. Krishna comes from Dvaraka to congratulate his son. The Bagamati addresses him a request. "You can at will, O'Hrisikeca, either unite or separate the lands. Open to me an outlet that I may rejoin the Ganga." Krishna with a stroke from his disc separates the mountains and the Bagamati flows out. A demon, Kacchapa, pretends to throw the Dolagiri into space; Krishna buries a linga, like a nail in the mountain and strengthens it: such is the origin of the Kilecvara. He erects many more commemorative lingas (the Svarnecvara, the Gopalecvara), he adopts as a sacred territory, the southern portion of the Mrgacrnga at Pashupati, in order to be associated with Shiva in a mu-

tual worship. Nemi, as the very symbol of Nepal who has taken his name says: "He who sees Hari (Vishnu) in the form of Hara (Shiva) and Hara in the form of Hari, is a follower of Vishnu and a follower of Shiva. Whosoever distinguishes between Hari and Hara is a scoundrel, a miscreant and a heretic; hell is his path-" and Pashupati in person corroborates this language. The seducer, Pradyumna espouses afterwards the two princesses; Krishna brings back Surya Ketu to Cvetaka and Hamsadhvaja returns to Mithila.

The list is undoubtedly ordinary; the puranas and the Mahatmyas appendants abound with similar adventures. It is nevertheless a surprise to meet again the same personages grouped in an analogous account, consecrated to the glorification of a distant region, ever since a fairly distant period. The author of a biography of Vasubandhu translated in Chinese by an immediate disciple of this doctor between 557 and 569, mentions the passions of Vishnu with Prabhavati, sister of (Maha) Indra damana, as the origin of the name of Purusapura, the modern Pechaver, on the North-West boundaries of India. The antiquity of the puranic material is thus brilliantly demonstrated and further also the unceremoniousness of the Brahmans has carried the legend from one point to another. The Sanskrit name of Prabhavati, given to a streamlet in the South of Patan the Nakhu Khola, may have suggested the local application of known romance.

Vishnu has just appeared associated and even mingled with Shiva; still more frequently, he becomes connected as closely with Buddha. The legend of Changu Nara-

yan has already shown the Brahmanic god connected with a divinity of the Buddhist pantheon and who emerges from the adventure rather humbled; but the adventure dates too far back to compel a conviction on undeceived minds. A more recent episode has proved to the hesitating Buddhists, the superiority of the divine or godly personnel. Towards the beginning of the XIVth. century, a little while before the invasion of Harisinha deva (1324) a couple of honest people who were living at Kathmandu found one day, its provision of fuel transformed by miracle into gold ingots. The two of them wished to show their gratitude to the gods, authors of this miracle; but here their good understanding came to an end. The husband favoured Buddha, the wife, Narayana. They had to choose. It was decided to place the two divinities under an ordeal: the husband sowed a grain of bhimpati; the wife, a grain of tulsii; each god had only to manifest his power by the help of his favourite plant. The bhimpati, dear to Buddha, bloomed first. The proof was irrefutable; the wife gave in without further obstinacy on her part and a great festival celebrated the triumph of Buddha over his rival.

The trial was indispensable; true to their tactic, the Brahmans had gradually drawn closer to Buddha in an enveloping movement; powerless to overthrow their adversary, they resigned themselves by accepting him so as to entirely consume him. The convenient system of the avatars permitted them to represent Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu. The Nepala Mahaumya (I) shows among the crowd of gods assembled together to worship Pa-

shupati "Janardana (Krishna) who had arrived from Saurashtra (Kathiawar) under the guise of Buddha (Buddha-rupi,²¹). The Brahmanic adaptation of Buddha's history in usage in Nepal was revealed in a special Purana which was immediately lost after discovery; the manuscript of "this rare and valuable work" which Kirkpatrick was able to procure in himself, disappeared²⁷ from the collection of manuscripts in Fort William²³ after becoming part of it. Fortunately, in place of the text, we have at least a partial analysis due to Father Marco della Tomba²². According to him, "the Buddha Purana is the thirteenth of the Puranas; it treats on the ninth incarnation of Vishnu into Buddha, dumb divinity. It mentions how a certain king named Surghdan ('Gidhdana') had a wife named Mayadevi, which signifies the great Bhavani, who was the wife of Mahadeva ever since the beginning of creation. Well their came to this Mayadevi something under the arm, which she knew not herself what it was. One day in lifting the arm, to pluck fruit from a tree, there fell out from under her arm-pit a son which they called Buddha, because he was born dumb and that from the day of his birth all the statues and idols became dumb. However, in history, they make him speak in spite of his name. This Buddha, once born, his father (I think, putative-or supposed) became very rich. When the child reached the age of twelve, they sought a wife for him, but he persisted in declaring that he did not wish for any women but the daughter of a giant, named Paramecvari. Finally, Buddha's father was compelled to ask the giant for his daughter in marriage to his own son.

The giant refused; Buddha wished to take her by force. A struggle ensued and the Buddha with a kick hurled the giants elephant 16 miles away; and he did likewise with the other giant companions. The giant seeing that he could do nothing by force, proposed a battle on theological argumentations, for which argumentations he presented his doctors; but these were quickly outwitted by Buddha and at the end Buddha took away the girl from the giant, her father. The gods who were jealous, attempted to remove by any means the wife of Buddha, but they did not succeed. The Buddha then went away to do penance in several parts of the world, in one place he remained 37037600 year a penitent. And yet this Buddha has existed after Krishna, from which period one can count 4830 years. Custom of the Gentiles to swell up the number of zeros at their whim. The penance of Buddha was so well received that all nature was in ecstasy; to such an extent that no more rain fell on the earth. The gods wished to interrupt it by all means: the god Indra threw a rain of fire, but it changed into flowers. He let loose arrows and thunderbolts, but without succeeding in reaching him, except a toe gangrene set in the wound and the fowl would come and pick out the vermins. This is why the Gentiles do not eat fowl. A few young persons went to entice him but in approaching him they were transformed into old beasts. The giants wished to remove him with the entire land, but they failed. They sent a large army, but on reaching there they scattered in all directions. At the end, seeing that all attempts were useless

went in all together: Brahma to worship him served as a sweeper, Vishnu served as a blower of trumpet, Mahadeva as a parasol bearer (and yet the Buddha was none other than this same Vishnu incarnated); the other gods—some singers, some dancers.

In this way, they were able to distract him and placed all things in their natural order. The Buddhists, Viz., those who follow this Buddha with a particular devotion like the Tibetans and the mountaineers still worship a certain Macendranak (Machhindra natha) . . . ”, This is what has happened to the biography of the sage of Kapilavastu, accomodated by the Brahmans and recapitulated by a Capuchin Priest. A collection of common tales and of childish marvels.

Thus Vishnu who had been declared as identical to Shiva, has again become identical Buddha. But the fever of identities which tormented the Hindu talent demanded a third equation between Shiva and the Buddha. This equation, the Nepala-mahatmya (1) proclaims through parvati's lips, “Satisfied by the authorities of the Buddha, the daughter of the Himalaya told him: your practices are good; ask for a favour at your own choice. The saint replied: How may people there are in this country who conform themselves to my law. The Blest who cherished her devotees then said to Buddha: This sacred land has been created by Shiva; you, you have practised ascetism. Therefore, on this incomparable soil, the devotees of Shiva will be the devotees of the Buddha. No doubt existing. This time the cycle is completed: Vishnu, Shiva, the Buddha are brought

nearer one another, penetrate and are consumed under the august patronage of the Great Goddess whom all the religions worship.

Devi- The Goddess, 'Devi', owes it undoubtedly to her sex the privilege of an universal popularity in India; virgin and mother, she has grace and dignity. Shiva's spouse, she follows him faithfully without being enslaved to him and willingly consents to share her worship with other associates. None of the gods, however powerful he be, have ever obtained the honour of bearing the exclusive title of Deva, the God pre-eminently, in the Hindu pantheon. Devi alone has no need of another designation all the religions recognize her as the Goddess. She nevertheless does not mind being worshipped under various names, which express the variety of her attributes or of her functions, or again which recalls the numerous episodes of her life. Under the vocable of 'Gyhyecvari', Our-Lady-of-the-Secret, is the ancient patron of Nepali Manjuceri discovered her and worshipped her hidden, in the root of the lotus that carried Swayambhu, manifested however, in the clear source that escaped from the soil. The town of Deva-pattana (Dev Patan) was erected later on the marvellous site, but the Goddess did not cease receiving a consecrated worship by the ancient tradition. The Brahmans who do not believe in the history of Manjushri have nevertheless a reason for worshipping the Goddess at the same site. When Devi, while living anteriorly, was the daughter of Daksa, her father was very disrespectful to Shiva-her husband; wounded in her pride and dignity, the goddess killed herself and requested a re-birth under a better parentage: She then became the daughter of Himalaya. Hearing of the suicide of his adored wife, Shiva wrenched himse-

If free from his ascetic macerations to hasten-towards the pyre where Devi has willingly ascended, giving thus a vivid example to virtuous spouse; he gathered in his arms the half burnt body and returned towards the summit of Kailasa, laden with his precious burden; but the burnt limbs fell off one by one all along the way. The secret organ (of generation) (guhya) of the goddess fell off on the Bagamati; the soil closed up jealousy over the holy relic; but a temple marks the spot and in the sanctuary an Eight-petalled lotus adorned with mystical syllables carries an emblematic triangle which the Brahmans worship as the symbol of the generative vulva, whereas to the Buddhists it expresses the sacred Triad, the Treble-jewel. The "Alphabetum Tibetanum" (p. 104) gives a picture of this lotus, due to the Capuchins in Nepal and also describes according to their testimony the multitude of faithful who crowd in the temple at all hours; indigenous or pilgrims come from far, men and women scatter profusely their gifts in the deep cavity which opens in the shape of a triangle; but the offers absorbed or appropriated by an easy artifice, disappear under the very eyes of the amazed faithful, and Devi remains insatiable without tiring herself by being impregnated or ever not producing. The exegesis, strictly speaking, varies with the sects, the learned Buddhist in such number that they remain, honour Gyhyecvari as an incarnation of prajna, the science-or of Dharmadevi, the goddess of the Law and alike identical to Arya-Tara; but the ordinary layman who does not discriminate refineries brings to the goddess, of Hinduism as well as of Buddhism, the same ardent homage.

One of the most popular names of Devi in the whole of India is, 'Durga' the

Not-Easily accessible; either be it that this word expresses the mysterious nature, inconceivable of the Universal Mother, or be it that it shows the terrible aspect of this divinity, as formidable to the wicked as she is favourable to the good, in order to fight the demons and triumph over them, she did not hesitate to struggle with them with horror and ferocity. Durga is often worshipped under the designation of 'Nava-Durga' "Nine-Durgas" as a kind of collective being embodying nine personalities. Nepal has adopted this vocable, but she has slipped under this borrowed name a local combination of nine "Our Lady" which differs from the usual list. They are: Vajrecvari, Notecvari, Jhankecvari, Bhuvanecvari, Anga'eecvari, Vatsalecvari, Rajecvari, Jayavagicvari and lastly Guhyecvari. They have not all acquired equal fame in spite of their pretension to an equal antiquity: Shivadev the Suryavanci is credited with having instituted, or to speak the language of the Chronicles, resuscitated these nine worships. The first after Guhyecvari is surely Vatsalecvari (Vacchlecvari) whom Siva already worshipped as "the principal divinity of Nepal", he even instituted in her honour a human sacrifice which was to be renewed yearly. One of his successors, Vicva deva, wished to suppress this ceremony which was a barbarous one, but the howlings of the goddess brought him back quickly to the respect of the tradition. Jaya Vagicvari is the tutelar divinity of Deo Patan: she is credited with coming from lake Masana, on the Tibetan plateau.

But the nomenclature of the Nava durgas is far from exhausting the list

of our Lady from Nepal. At the time of the foundation of Kathmandu, king Guna Kama dev "resuscitated" another series of Nava-durgas. The most notable of the icvaris are: Ksetrapalecvari, divinity-protectress of the soil; Kankecvari, worshipped under the name of Rakta Kali and worshipped yearly by a human sacrifice, Kulicecvari; Mahecvari; Candecvari who has for original residence (pitha) the valley of Banepa, in the east of Nepal; it is from there that Guna Kama deva brought him into Nepal; it is there also that she spread her protection on the first Mallas. Manecvari is the protectress of the Licchavis, predecessors of the Mallas; but in accepting the crown, the new dynasty did not neglect to adopt the patroness of the royal clan she was replacing. The dynasty of Harisimha deva also introduced as superaddition a new form of Devi; her name, carefully kept a secret, has changed hands with embarrassing alterations: Tulasi, Tulaja, Taleju, Talagu. Among the ordinary titles of Devi, she is given in preference that of Bhavani. The authentic image of the goddess, which blends with the very person is supposed to have descended from heaven: removed by Ravana, she had escaped from this demon; Rama found her again; installed her at Ayodhya; she had then crossed over to Simangarh, from where she had led Harisimha to the conquest of Nepal. Her prestige was so great that the Tibetans, impatient to procure themselves with this powerful auxiliary, attempted to ravish her by forceful measures. Having been bequeated by the dynasty of Harisimha deva to the

Mallas of Bhatgaon, she excited the envy of the Mallas of Kathmandu, up to the day when Mahindra Malla had the satisfaction of erecting in his capital a temple to Tulaja Bhavani (1549). The magic formula which enthralled Tulaja to his devotee would be regularly handed down with the badges and marks of the king to his heir: but king Lakshmi Narasimha, father of Pratapa Malla died mad and the powerful formula was lost. The temple of Tulaja would only open to the kings.

Under her most horrifying aspect, Devi takes the name and attributes of 'Kali' or 'Maha-Kali', "The Great dark woman". Her dark complexion, her distorted features, her red hands, red with blood, adorned with arms and dismal debris, her hanging tongue, her dishevelled carriage (deineanour) suggests and prompts the faithful with terror and awe. The Brahmanic chronicle mentions four Kalis in Nepal: Guhya Kali, Vatsala Maha Kali, Daksina Kali and Kalinge sthanamako (?) Kalika. The first one is identical to Guhyecvari and this is the reason why the primordial tank which covered the mysterious goddess received the name of Kali-hrada, the tank of Kali. Vatsala has already been met in the list of the Nine Durgas. Daksina-kali, the kali of the South is the patroness of Phirping in the south of Nepal. But the four Kalis do not exhaust the list. One must still mention Lomri-Maha-Kali, who was instituted by Candra ketu deva and whose temple is

situated to the East of Kathmandu, is very frequented.

'Kumari' the virgin, is still another name of the great Goddess, but in particular relation with the rites of the Tantras and their mystical sensualism, Kumari is less the transcendent goddess than her official incarnations into unknown little girls, recognized and proclaimed by the priests after terrifying tests and offered to the adoration of the faithful. Nepal has her four Kumaris divided at the four cardinal points; the principal one is Bala-Kumari, the tutelary goddess of Themi.

More so even than the Kumaris, the Yoginis express the inspiration of the Tantras. The yogini is the companion of the Yogin, otherwise expressed, of the Sadhaka, who proposes to realize by a sexual embrace the union of the soul with God; it may be due to a lack of verbal resources, or a real and profound analogy, but the fact remains that the sacred love and the sexual love speak willingly the same language and leaves the mind sometimes puzzled as to which to distinguish. The Virgin being the companion of Shiva, the great ascetic, becomes naturally the Great Sweetheart; their fecund union, eternally fresh and eternally renewed, sets an example to those in love. The Yoginis of Nepal number four³⁰, like the Kalis and the Kumaris. Vajra yogini is the most illustrious; she is the goddess of the Vajra-yoga, of the union of the

diamond, inestimable and infrangible like it; she is also the patroness of the town of Sankon. Her name recalls an episode of struggles against the Buddhistic Tantrism and the Shivaite Tantrism; it is Cankara-Acarya, the invincible doctor of the Brahmanic orthodoxy who has replaced this vocable to the ancient designation of Mani-Yogini, consecrated by the local traditions: Mani-Yogini had favoured the old legendary kings in their magical works, Vikramajit and Vikmanti; she had persuaded king Mana deva to edify the great temple of Buddha-Natha (Buddhnath) in expiation of a patricide. Under her new name, Vajra-Yogini does nevertheless remain indulgent and even benevolent to the Buddha. When the Buddha had gained the good-will of Devi by dint of penances, she appeared to him in the form of Vajrayogini. She continues to bear the name of Ugra-Tara which associates her to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Another of the four Yoginis, Nila-Tara-Devi, belongs on an equal footing to the two churches of Tantrism.

In the middle of the XVIIth century, a king of a Brahmanic dynasty, Pratap Malla shows to the Nevari sects of Pashupati, on the instructions of a Svamin from southern India, 'a Devi in the Adi-Buddha', a goddess of the Shivaism in the supreme God of the Nepalese Buddhism, and the Nevars convinced by the royal demonstration, worship the goddess with an annual rite. On the other hand, the Swayambhu-Purana, in glorifying the

goddess named Khargamana who is enthroned on the crown of the five Buddhas, recognize her as a Sakti of Shiva, one of the feminine energies whom the Tantras worship. "She is the perfection of sagacity and as such the mother of the Buddhas. She is Vajrinis to the Buddhists, Yogini to the Yogins: she is the multiform mother of all beings. To the followers of Shiva, she takes the form of Shiva, to those of Vishnu, the form of Vishnu, to the Brahmans, she becomes Brahmani. Lastly Kumari, the Virgin and Kali, the Black woman, appear united in another combination with Maha-Laksmi, the very spouse of Vishnu, in the name of Tripura-Sundari; sitting on a bull, a trident, a crown, and a skull in her hands, her body is of a russet colour (reddish). In the morning she is Kumari the sympathetic virgin, at noon she becomes, Mahalaksmi, the courtesan of great love; at evening time she is Kali, an old decrepit woman, of great cruelty, voracious eater of men and of living beings.

The Bhairaves- Behind the principal characters, there presses forward a great mass of secondary divinities invented at leisure by the rival religions. In the first rank are placed the 'Bhairvas', with their female companions the 'Bhairavis', "The Terribles". Under this disquieting name are designated those spirits that have emanated either from Maha-Deva, otherwise Shiva, or from Devi, the male and female energies wherein is manifested the divine omnipotence. The territory of Nepal, however much limi-

ted it be, is the sheltering asylum of 5600000 Bhairavas and Bhairavis. The Bhairavas are generally represented open-mouthed, the teeth showing prominently, dishevelled, a superadded eye on the forehead; as enemies of the demons, they crush them under-foot; their images thus recall the Saint-Georges and Saint-Michael of Christianity. Alike the majority of the Nepalese divinities the Bhairavas go willingly in fours, undoubtedly to face the four sides of the horizon; it is a strategic disposition of this nature which, for instance, the Bhikshu Cantikara adopts after having consecrated the soil of Swayambhu. The immense number of Bhairavas allow of an infinite variety of combinations. There is nobody including Buddha and the prophet Vasistha who does not figure among the Bhairavas. The most famous group of Bhairavas and held to be the most ancient is made by the Bhairavas of Nayakot, of Bhaktapura (Bhatgaon), of Sanga (to the East, beyond the valley), and of Pancalinga another group unites the Bhairavas. Harasiddhi, Hayagriva, Lutabaha and Tyanga. Their very names betray in general their origin and their strictly local function. The most popular is the Bhairava Pancalinga, protector of the soil (Ksetra-pala) of the southern regions of the universe and by reason of it, of the Jambu-Dvipa wholly, India included. The founder of Kathmandu, Guna Kama Dev, has established it in the East of Nepal. The Bhairava of Harasiddhi has come from Ujjayini, brought away by Vikramaditya, he is associated to Nila Tara-Devi. The Prayaga Bhairava comes from the East; Amcuvaman has introduced it.

The Bhairavas are, by virtue of their divine power auxiliaries as precious as they are difficult to deal with. It is necessary to be well versed in them before benefitting by their use. The sage Jaya sthiti Malla, wishing to calm down the rage of citals, goddess of small-pox, instituted the Unmatta Bhairava; but he took care to place above the Bhairava an Agama-dhveṭa, entrusted with the control of his swervings and to maintain him in his role. Bhupatindra Malla of Bhatgaon had no reason, on the contrary, to establish a Bhairava in a new temple, on which Bhairava he relied for the protection of the country. The Bhairava emancipated, played pranks up to the day when qualified advisers indicated a remedy: It was sufficient to instal near the Bhairava an "Our-Lady" ('icvari) of Tantra; her presence compelled respect on the Bhairava, who was hence-forth pacified. The royal authority is even sometimes obliged to intervene in this world of gods, with the purpose of re-establishing order. Jagat Jyotir Malla of Bhatgaon found out that a Bhairava was entertaining guilty thoughts regarding a Cakti; to punish him; he ordered in a procession the violent collision of the Bhairava's chariot against that of Kali's.

The Dii--Minores. - "Ganeca" is not less popular in Nepal than he is in Hindustan. Prince of obstacles, he presides over all enterprises, the most humble and even the most commonplace ones; without his help no success is

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possible. Besides, his singular and good natured countenance draws attention and sympathy; his corpulent body crowned with an elephant's head with large round eyes, his hand that carry a festoon and a hatchet, the snake hanging from his neck, the mouse crouched at his feet compose the most amusing harmony. Everywhere associated to the religions of the other divinities, he also has his sanctuaries proper. The first of all is Surya-Vinayaka (vulgo' Suraj-Binaik), to the south of Bhatgaon. The name recalls of a miracle of god, according to the Nepala-Mahatmya (VI). The son of a Brahman who resided to the West of the Dolecvara, in a wood, suddenly fell down dead; his parents and neighbours secured, invoked Pashupati who sent them away to the wood of Prakanda. Arriving there, they saw Ganeca manifesting himself in a ray of the Sun (Surya), and the child resuscitated. The Buddhistic chronicle mentions a different legend: immediately before the reign of Anshuvarman, Ganeca in the guise of Surya-Vinayaka appeared to king Vikra-majit and gave him as a gift fabulous riches to enable him to create his era. The Ganecas of Nepal class themselves willingly in groups of fours, after Surya - Vinayaka the most popular are: Rakta-Vinayaka (the red) at Pashupati; Chandra-Vinayaka (The Moon), at Chobhar; Siddhi-Vinayaka (the Success), at Sankon; Acoka-Vinayaka (vulgo Assu-Binaik) at Kathmandu.

Ganeca has very often Maha-kala (vulgo Mahankal) "The Great Dark-man" to counterbalance him and who is identical to Shiva and who corresponds to

the Devi-Maha-Kali, but who has taken a distinct personality. Maha-kala carries a trident adorned with human skulls on the handle.

'Indra' is a classical figure of the Hindu pantheon; but in Nepal the influence of the Buddhistic legends wherein he often figures has modified his character. Ancient master of the thunderbolt (vajra), he has followed the evolution that has transformed his blustering weapon into a religious emblem and metaphysical symbol. The feast of Indra, Indra-Jatra, one of the most popular solemnities in Nepal has nothing in common with the feasts of Indra consecrated by the Hindu Puranas. Indra is the patronal divinity of Kathmandu.

One must also mention the 'du minores' Bhimasena the epic hero, who has also considerably changed on the way; according to the Notizie Laconiche, he now presides over the traffic. His temples, his chapels can be found all along the route which runs from India to Nepal; Bhimphedi, at the foot of the mountains owes him his name. His worship is so widespread that a sensible mind like Hamilton was led to believe him anterior to Buddhism. He was the first to have penetrated into Nepal and to have introduced thither a semblance of civilization. The chronicle, however, does not give him so much honour; without establishing him as a rival of Manjushri, it only relates that Bhimaens came from Dolkha where he possesses a famous temple, on the Tamba-Kosi; to the East of Nepal and amused himself by paddling about in a

canoe made of (bricks) stone on the waters of the lake which covered the valley, at the time a demon became virtually its master.

"Balbala" (The Stutterer) is a local hero associated to agrarian legends and rites. Before him nobody has ever cared to till the soil; the grain essential for subsistence was brought from outside. King Vṛṣa deva the Suryavamci or his brother Balacana deva, offered to the audacious man who would set an example, regular portion of the annual crops. Balbala has no family; he risked himself. Then, before dying, a statue sprung up from his own hands; Balacana honoured this statue with a worship and decided that he would be presented yearly, at the full moon, with a rice loaf. The tradition still shows at Patan, near the temple of Matsyendra Natha, the field where Balbala struck the first blow with his pickaxe (mattock); it is forbidden to cultivate with the help of oxen.

The only goddesses who are worthy of mention by virtue of their local function, outside the many incarnations of Devi, are the Eight Mothers ('Asta-matrka') who are known to be the patronesses of the Nepalese towns. They are in the order of hierarchy: Brahmani, Mahecvvari (or Rudrani), Kumari, Vaisnavi, Barahi, Indrani, Chamunda, Mahalaksmi, spouses or energies (caktis) of the three great gods, reducible however, to unity since as well we have found already

Mahalaksmi, the caktis of Vishnu, mingled in one person with Kumari and Kali. Guna Kama deva, the founder of Kathmandu passes as having worshipped Mahalaksmi and established, on her indications and under her patronage, the new capital.

Whether they borrow their official names from the Buddhistic pantheon or the Brahmanic pantheon, the divinities of Nepal do not any the less keep a manifest characteristic of local origin. Each town, each village, each watercourse, each tanks, each one of the irregularities of the soil has its special patron, immaterial whether goddess or god; and each one of these patrons has a sanctuary proper, however modest it may be, dedicated to his glory. It is not surprising from now that Nepal prides herself in possessing 2500 temples, or even 2733. Speaking truthfully, religious Nepal spreads beyond the limits of the valley: taken in its largest sense, she extends to the North up to Nilakantha, the sacred lake of Gosaintan, at 8 day's journey from Kathmandu; to the south she reaches Natecvvara, at two days journey; to the west, she is limited by Kalecvvara, equally distanced by two days from Kathmandu; lastly to the east, she spreads to Bhimecvvara, at four days journey, on the right bank of the Tamba-Kosi; the temple, erected in honour of Bhimasena the Pandava, in the small town of Dolkha, has a Nevar (pujari) for priest. But the total given, does not represent the temples dispersed on this vast domain; it is confined to a strictly defined perimeter, which comprises besides the valley of Nepal two annexes of small dimensions in the East, the valley

of Banepa upto the confluent of two streams, the Niravati (or Lilavati) and the Rosamati; in the west, a strip of land situated on the Western slopes of mount Deochok (or Indra Than).

The pilgrim's circuit - It is a work which is infinitely more meritorious and commendable than to visit the sacred places, scattered about like land-marks, all along this circuit. The Nepala-mahatmya gives in its XXIXth section, a detailed list and instructions on the directions to be followed on this long pilgrimage. Starting point Pashupati; it is also naturally a point of return, since it concerns a closed circuit. The pilgrim must move along in keeping the valley constantly on his right, as a sign of respect: this is the ceremony of the pradaksina. Of course, the origin of the rite traces back to the gods.

The first person who made use of it, on the advice of Shiva, was none other than Gunadhya, the immortal author of the Brhatkatha. The Mahatmya has no lack of opportunity to relate in its whole length, the so very popular story of this narrator whom tradition holds to be a fallen genius; but on several points, the account of the Mahatmya, compared with that of the Ksemendra and Somadeva, presents fairly considerable divergences that it may be useful to mention, either be it that they are derived from the whim or ignorance of the author, or that they reveal an indepen-

dent source. The fallen genius is no more Puspādanta, but Bhrngin; he transformed himself into a bee (or wasp) in order to penetrate in the Chamber where Shiva was relating his marvellous tales to Parvati. When found guilty on his requesting from the god who had cursed him (or damned him) to fix a term to his malediction, Shiva imposes on him as a first condition to publish on the earth, in 900000 verses the tales he had indiscreetly overheard; then he must erect a linga on a sacred soil difficult to reach; only then he would return to mount Kailasa. In consequence, Bhrngin-Gunadhya was born in Mathura; then he travels to Ujjayini where reigns kings Madana, married to Lilavati, daughter of the king of Ganda and who has Carvavarman as minister. King-Madana commits the remarkable confusion between 'modaka' "cake" and 'modaka' "no water"; crushed with humiliation by his ignorance which made him look ridiculous, he asks for a Sanskrit grammar; Carvavarman composes the Kalapa. Gunadhya retires from the court, meets the monk Pulastya who reminds him of his real conditions and induced him to write his tales in the Paicaci dialect; after this that he should go to Nepal. Gunadhya follows his advices, refuses to return to king Madana to whom he hands over the manuscript of his work and proceeds to the temple of Pashupati. He traces a pradaksina around the valley, assembles together all the religious men of the neighbourhood and before ascending to heaven erects a linga which bears the name of Bhrngicvara. "And even to-day at each node of the moon, Bhrngin retu-

rens in the form of a wasp (bhrnga) to see his linga once again."

The pilgrim having paid his homages to Pashupaticvara, takes a bath in the Bagmati, comes out of the temple by the south gate, travels towards Rajarajecvari, visits Bhairava and Vatsals, proceeds then to worship Guhyecvari, crosses the Bagmati, then the Celanganga, he passes successively through Gokarnecvara which recalls to memory the holy metamorphosis of Shiva into a gazelle; Karunikecvara, the commemorative linga erected by Buddha-Vishnu the Sympathetic at the junction of the Bagmati with the Manimati; Sundari, where the Bagmati enters the valley. From there to Vajrayogini (the tutelary goddess of Sanku); then a visit to Garuds and Narayana (of Cangu to Valecvara, to Vagicvara (at the junction of the Virabhadra) and to Valmikecvara which recalls the sojourn of Valmiki. Near the linga of Valmiki there rises another consecrated by Hanumat; it is there that the heroic monkey reposes, auxiliary (assistant) to Rama, when he returned from the Himalaya, laden with rocks intended for the building of a bridge between India and Lanka.

After this tiresome day, the pilgrim must spend the night lying awake, distracted by song and dance; he must also feed the Brahmans. Early at dawn, he bathes in neighbouring pond, takes leave of the linga and continues his journey in an Easterly direction. He first reaches lake Tricampaka, where Madhava (Vishnu)

rests on the links of the snake besa; he scatters in the holy water, offerings to the Gods and the Priests. Entering the valley of Banepa he proceeds to worship Candecvari, protectress of Banepa and Candecvara his companion, then visits the Dhanecvara-linga erected by the god of riches, the Gokhurakecvara, "which still shows the print of a cow's hoof," and which was founded by Kamadhenu, the cow of Plenty; The Indrecvara established by Indra at the junction of the Nivavati (to Lilavati) and the Rosamati; the Aca-purecvara established by the Thirty three gods. He enters the valley of Nepal which from the very beginning he skirts by the south, and visits the Dolecvara (to the south of Bhatgaon) which recalls a miracle of Shiva. A Brahman of Benares, gad person, lover of women, drunkard found himself suddenly seized with remorse; he consulted the ascetics (monks) of Vicvecvara, who gave him a stick. "Go, they said to him, go in pilgrimage; when your stick shall grow into a bough, you will be purified." He proceeded on his journey in increasing his strict behaviour; reaching Nepal, on the actual spot of the Dolecvara he planted in the ground his pilgrim's stick and lo! there grew on it a bough. Such is the origin of the Dolecvara. This spot is the second halting place of the pilgrim: he bathes in the Dhara-tirtha, spends again the night awake listening to song and dance and hearing the reading of the Puranas. At dawn he leaves behind the Dolecvara not before having announced to it his intention of continuing the pradaksina undertaken and proceeds on his journey. He at first visits Surya-Vinayak, then Ananta-linga;

bathes in the neighbouring pond presents in the water an offering to the Priests, distributes presents to the Brahmans (as he does besides at all the stages); he visits Vajra-varahi in his town of phirping, ascends a high mountain to worship Ganeca who dwells in a grotto accessible by a narrow crevasse; he is careful not to enter, and he is careful to cast his eyes only on the Bharabhutevara. From there he proceeds to the Manahciras tirtha, where he worships Hari-Hara, then to the Matr-tirtha (Matatirtha) where the dismal offerings are so efficacious, and "where one can still see to day gold fishes". A night halt at Gopaleca (Cesa-Narayanga). The pilgrim again spends the night, the third during the journey, to the noises of song and dance; and the fourth morning refreshed by a bath, taking leave of Gopaleca, he proceeds to Pandukecvara bathes in the Pandunadi, crosses the mountain, goes to Catu-vaktrecvara, to Indrecvara, crosses the mountain once again and re-enters in the valley of Nepal by the North-West. He then proceeds towards the Narayana to the West (Icang) and spends the fourth night listening to legends which concern Vishnu. On the morning of the fifth and last day, he bathes, takes leave of the god and travels to the sojourn of Buddha (Buddhasthana, the hill of Svayambhu). It is there that the god Buddha stopped willingly on arriving from China (Maha-Cina). It is there that live the monks (bhiksus) who have abandoned son and family, for the desire to see Buddha, entirely imbibed with science and beatitude? He worships Buddha with special pradaksina, descends to bathe in the Visnumati where he makes

offerings to the priests, and proceeds to Luntikeca (Buddha Nilakantha, Jalacayana) where Hari-Vishnu is lying on the snake Ananta. He then takes the road to the north up to foot of the mountains in such a way as to rejoin the origin of the circuit, re-descends again to the south towards Jaya-Vagicvari (to Deo Patan) and "while thinking of Vishnu" he appears before Pashupati. He spreads over the linga the five ambrosias: milk, whey, butter, urine and cow-dung, he then offers him perfumes, incense, feeds the Brahmans, pays them a worthy salary, and informs Pashupati that the pradaksina is completed. To close his vow, he descends to bathe in the Bagmati, offers dismal presents, returns to salute Vatsala, then Vasuki, the Naga at the southern gate Vinayaka at the eastern gate and then returns to his home freed from all his sins.

I do not know the Guide of the Buddhist pilgrim around the valley, but it is not doubtful that this chapter of the Nepala-mahatmya has had its Buddhist counterpart. A great number of the sites mentioned are equally sacred with different titles concerning the two religions. Even each one of the mountains has the name of a Buddhist saint to consecrate it: Vipacyin has dwelt on the Nagarjun (Jat-Matroccha, Cikhin on the Champadevi (Dhyanoccha), Krakucchanda, on the Manichur (Cankhagiri) Manjushri, on the Svayambhu (Gocrga), Cakyamuni, on the Pucchagva, behind the Svayambhu. The sacred territory encroaches also on the environs of the valley and includes the

valley of Banepa. It is even outside Nepal, at three leagues east of Bhatgaon that are situated the village of Panavati and mount Namobuddha, witnesses of the sublime charity of Shakyamuni; it is there that struck with compassion at a famished tigress suckling her cubs, he generously offered her his own body to eat.

It would be childish, as well as trifling to pretend, to enumerate the 2500 or 2733 temples included in the interior of the sacred circuit. I shall then only restrict myself to describe the general types of sacred monuments that are met in Nepal, and if necessary the principal representatives of each kind.

(End of Volume I)

FOOT NOTES

1. Aufrecht, 'Cat. Mss. Oxon., 256.
2. Koraksa-cataka, 2nd. verse: ... cri-Minanatham bhaje ('ib., 236). etc... Cavaratantra (see p. 355)-Nepal-): the disciples of the 12 Kapalikas are... Minanatha, Goraksa, Carpata... ('Notices of Sansk mss., 2nd. series, vol. I, p. 111, page XXXVII).
3. "Minanatha-dharmaraj, who is Sanu (or junior) Macchindra" 'Vamc., p. 149.
4. Unless one has to recognize him in the acarya Lujipa, surnamed na-lto-ba "belly of the fish" Matsyodara, in confusion of Matsyendra? and who is mentioned by the side of Carpata as in the preceding citation Minanatha and Goraksa. See, Taranatha, p.106 and the note of Schiefner.
5. Taranatha, p. 174 and 323.
6. Taranatha, p. 255.
7. Risley, 'Tribes and Castes of Bengal', I, 355.
8. The abbreviator of the 'Notizie Laconiche' calls him Bogha (op. land. fig. 9 and 10); Kirkpatrick (p. 190): Bhoogades; the 'Notice' of Father Ginseppe names him Baghere and Georgi, Bugr des; key 'Vamc', p. 242: Bug-devata; and supr. p. 353, n. I.
9. The 'Pashupati-purana' alone indicates this locality.
10. Nepale-mahatmya', I.
11. 'Vamc., 82.

12. The legend inserted in the Vamcavali is an imitation and almost a copy of the Brhatkatha, (key 'Katha-S Sag., I. I).
13. A Chinese commentary of Abhidharma-koca, the, kin-che-koang-ki, ch. IX in fact explains Pashupati by "the master or the bull". (You-tchou) "because this god who is Mahecvava Deva has for riding animal a bull".
14. 'Yi-tsie-king yin-yi' of Hiouen-Ying, mentioned and translated by Julien 'Hiouen-Tsang', III, 523, S. V. 'Pochau-po-to'.
15. Vamana-P. in 'Cat. mss. Oxon'. 46a; Varaha-P., 'ib', 58b; Vayu-P., 'ib', 50a; Padma-P. ib., 14a; Laghu-Shiva-P., 'ib', 75a.
16. I have published a translation of this chapter in the ('Bibl. de l' Ecole des Hantes-Etudas'), Religious Sciences, Ist. vol. (Paris, 1889), p. 281 sqq.
17. 'harsa-carita', transl. Cowell-Thomas, p. 49. The great grand-father of Bana had the name of Pashupata. 'ib', 31.
18. Raja-tarangini, III, V. 267.
19. 'Epigr. Ind., VI, 294; a Janmana eva Pashupati etc.
20. A. Bergaigne 'Sanskrit Inscriptions of Campas and Cambodia', Paris, 1893, p. 242. inscrip. G I, V. 6 and 7. Caivapacupatacaryan pujyan viprad anantaram etc. (see p. 363) footnote.
21. Key, the article of Mr. Fleet; 'Inscriptions at Ablur' in Epigr. Ind., v, 266 sqq. M. Fleet determines in the article by the help of epigraphical documents, the activity of Lakulica Pandita between 1019 and 1035 J. C.
22. Bijjana who according to the testimony of the epigraphy has rendered Nepal "without stability" (Sthiti-hinam Nepalam) is mixed up with the history of Ramayya Ekantada, founder of the order of the Viracavas or Lingayats. 'ib', 239.
23. I have already mentioned the legend which tries to draw the Nevars (Nevara) from the Nairs (Nayera) of the Malabar; I also recall the analogies already mentioned by Fergusson ('East. Architect., p. 305) "between the architecture of the Canara and the style that is found in the Himalayan valleys." Key also 'ib', 27-275.
24. Bhagvanlal (p. 6, n. 18) writes: Buddha Nilkanth and understands "Submerged Shiva". As the stream that flows out from the tank bears the name of Rudrainati, the Pundit supposes that the image primitively worshipped was a linga and that it was a Vichnouite King who substituted a statue of Visnu for it. The name of the neighbouring village, Civapuri, seems to him to corroborate this hypothesis.
25. "One sees at Kathmandu, on one of the sides of the prince's garden, a large fountain wherein is placed one

- of the idols of the country called "Narayan". This idol is of blue stone; it carries a crown on its head and rests on a pillow of the same stone. The idol and the pillow seem to float on the water. This construction is very large; I believe between eighteen and twenty feet long and a proportioned width; of the rest, it is of good workmanship and good state 'Descript. du Roy. of Nepal' in the Asiatic Researches, II. 354.
26. Key, the analogous passages, sup. p. 346.
27. Kirkpatrick, p. 148
28. Aufrecht, 'Catalogus catalogorum', s. v. Buddha-purana. The collection of Mackenzie contained an extract under the title of 'Laghu Buddha Purana; Wilson, in the catalogue of this collection, describes it thus (This is English. See p. 372).
29. 'Gli Scritti . . . p. 117 sqq.
30. Bhagvanlal Indrajī, 'The Banddha Mithology of Nepal', p. 103 enumerates six: Vajra, Mani; Dhvaja, Adarca", Piccha, Pajspa-Yogini, designated thus, according the attributes that distinguish them.



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प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या- ५८

असार-साउन २०३७

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक

रमेशजङ्ग थापा

Editor

Ramesh Jung Thapa

NEPAL

(VOLUME 2)

The worship

Monuments and Feasts

—*Sylvain Lévi*

THE MONUMENTS:—

The architecture of India commences with the reign of Emperor Ashoka who erected, according to the Buddhistic legend, 84000 religious edifices. It is in memory of Ashoka that Nepal also connects her most ancient monuments. During his sojourn in the valley, the august pilgrim is supposed to have erected five "chaityas"; one in the heart of Patan, and the others at the four cardinal points around the city. Ashoka was desirous of commemorating, by each one of these four chaityas, the initial date of each of the four ages (yugas) of the world. In spite of the legend being little authentic, it, at least justifies the designation applied to these monuments; they are not stupas, since they do not contain holy relics, but simply chaityas, monuments in the literal meaning of the word, intended to evoke pious thoughts. These chaityas of the four

cardinal points still exist intact in their main constructions and their general aspect does not contradict the tradition; a massive hemisphere of earth, lined by a casing of bricks, bordered by a plinth also of bricks which rests on a circular pavement; Four chapels, built on the four points of space lean up against the spherical calotte and fit in; each one of them contains the image of one of the four Buddhas, "Cardinals". The hemisphere is crowned by a cube of masonry slightly raised which supports a massive pyramid of bricks, tapering into thirteen sections of tiers. A column of stones rises on the summit; A scaffolding of wood fixed on the summit, serves to support, during the rainy weather a dressing of mats employed as a protection against the percolation of the waters. During the dry season this dressing is removed and a parasol of wood and cloth is placed instead for one week. The

chaityas of Ashoka have preserved the shape of the most ancient monuments of Indian Buddhism; they remind one directly of the famous stupa of Sanchi and the "topes" equally famous of the Gandhara. The plinth is the only embellishment, but still rudimentary, which has modified the unfashioned lines of the primitive stupa. But the crowning of masonry and bricks (oudamani) shows an evolution about to be accomplished; the parasol which it supports to-day for so short a period, is, so to say the natural attribute of the stupa, it is the symbol of the sovereignty and Buddha has a right within as (chakravartin) and as "dharmaraja" assumed to the 84000 foundation of Ashoka clearly expresses the union of the sovereignty with the religion. The most ancient representation figuring of the monuments show the stupa covered with the parasol. The emblem was in course of time doubled and trebled to better worship the saint, the number of parasols superimposed rises to thirteen, and whatever might have been the reason for this choice the number thirteen remained consecrated by use; on the large stupa of the Lorient, erected at the pachaver by Kaniska, the Chinese pilgrim Song-Yun, also numbers thirteen discs pierced through by an iron fixture.¹ A reason of stability as well as one of aesthetics compelled the parasols in tiers in decreasing sizes. At the same time in order to fix the pillar or fixture that supported them it was necessary to construct a foundation of masonry at the top. The usual parasols were naturally replaced by discs made of more resisting material, stone or metal; these came closer to one another, got soldered together in a conical trunk. Their original destination

was forgotten, the cone was changed into a pyramid. Such is the stage which is shown under their actual form at least, by the chaityas attributed to Ashoka. The repairs which have been followed one another in the course of time and which have been repeated until a recent date as is shown by modern inscriptions are perhaps responsible for the crowning with masonry and bricks which is the last touch in the construction of the chaityas; they have not altered their simple and robust structure of the original hemisphere.

Compared to these monuments the chaitya of Swayambhu Natha² (ordinarily Syambu-Nath) shows the changes which have taken place in the main proportions of the edifice.

The ancient hemisphere narrows from the base, lengthens in height and flattens on the summit. The plinth juts out and forms a kind of circular table around the base, with a width of two feet, built in stone slabs and supported on small stone fixtures. The crowning, independently of the superadded ornaments, has the same height as the chaitya itself, whilst in the chaityas at Patan, it is four times smaller. In the developing, it has assumed an architectural importance; the base of the rise had a projecting cornice; it is adorned with gilded copper plate and has alike all the Lamaical monuments; each one of the four facings, two wide open eyes painted in red, white and black, is the symbol of Adi-Buddha, the primordial Buddha. The thirteen sections

Nepal

of the rise are formed by thirteen separate parasols, thirteen wooden discs plated over with copper, gilded on the ledge, spread out in tiers at regular intervals round a wooden mast. On the highest discs rests a gilded wooden frame which supports in its turn a metal circle artistically designed; a kind of tripod fixed on this circle finally carries a gilded copper bell-turret, with a bell. The incomparable holiness of the chaitya of Swayambhu compelled it to undergo reparations. Built on the spot on which bloomed at one time the marvellous lotus flower which carried the divinity (1,333), the original chaitya is credited to have been the work of pracanda deva; king of the country of Ganda-(Bengal), he had abdicated in order to take or get into orders; in the name of Cantikara bhiksu which he had henceforth adopted, he came to worship Swayambhu in Nepal. Above the stone which covered the miraculous image he placed an immense jewel and the divine Vajrasattva piercing thirteen tunnel to enable gifts from worshippers to reach the divinity. The royal bhiksu then had recourse to the architect of the gods, Vicvakarman and asked him to edify a chaitya. In those days, the predecessor of Buddha Cakyamuni, the Buddha Kacyapa still existed on the earth. The name of the Bhiksu Cantikara is found again in another account of the Swayambhu-Purana associated to the institution of rites in honour of The Nagas, in the reign of king Gunakama (see sup. 1,322). But I would not wish to press this indication too closely and still less take the liberty of dating the foundation of the chaitya of Swayambhu. There do not exist any inscriptions anterior to the end of

the XVIth century, the first one commemorates a repair executed in 1593, under Siva Simha Malla. For a long time the religious zeal of the Tibetans seems to have taken up the responsibility of caring after the monument. In 1639 a Lama of Lhasa has had the bell-turret with its subbase-ment plated over with gilded copper and has had installed on the summit a gilded parasol in 1751; year 871 of the Nepal Samvat of the name of Prájapati (in the cycle of jupiter) year Keda to the Tibetans, year Simu-u to the Chinese. A Lama named Karmapa "who has a mind as luminous as the sun and the Moon, came from the North to secure the happiness of the king, functionaries and people", and "on a propitious day he began the restoration of the chaitya which the sins of Kali-Yuga had rendered uninhabitable". A long bilingual inscription still erected on the platform of Swayambhu, commemorates the details of that restoration, undertaken with the help of the gods Mahadeva, Ganapati, Kumara, Vishnu and also the Nepalese rajas. The king of Kathmandu, Jaya Prakash had undertaken the cost of the reparations; the Gurkha king, the would be conqueror of Nepal, Prithvi Narayan had promised to haul the principal beam to the very foot of the works. A war interrupted the work which was only completed in 1758. It was necessary to change the strong piece of wood which rose from the base crossed through the whole mass of the Chaitya and protruded above the summit. The cost for this purpose was considerable- 39 kilograms of gold were employed (or a sum of 120000 frs in metallic currency) almost 3500 kilograms of copper. The quantity of musk consumed.

during the course of ceremonies was worth 1000 rupees, an enormous sum in a country where the average means of existence runs to about a rupee a week. In 1816, a violent-hurricane completely threw down the whole portion of the crowning of the chaitya and broke the great vertical beam so laboriously placed in position in 1758. The periods of Nepalese Buddhism were no more. It was necessary to wait till 1825 to collect funds essential for the reparation. The greatness of the disaster necessitated a complete restoration; it was essential to open out the hemisphere or dome of the chaitya also to open the central chamber to remove the remnants of the broken axis. The occasion was unique one for the archaeologists, the inspection of the various objects enclosed in the shrine would have determined the original date of construction. Nobody, however, came forward to derive the benefit.

The evolutions of the chaitya of Swayambhu in the course of the last centuries show well the frequent transformations which the monuments of the same kind have had to undergo in Nepal; alone the proportions of the stupa itself and if such should be the case the substructures deserve to be considered as authentic indications of the primitive construction. Judged on these features, the chaitya of Budh-nath (Buddha-Natha) is less ancient than the preceding ones. Popular tradition associates its construction with expiation of parricide; but the names of the personages vary from one tale to another. Now it turns out to be the prince Bhupa-Kesari who is guilty of having killed his father unknowingly.

The fountain of Jalacayana Narayan having suddenly dried up, the old King Vikrama Kesari, anxious, consulted his astrologers; they bade him to sacrifice a human being marked with the thirty two signs (laksana). The king summoned his son; In four days, he said to him, you will find a man lying near the fountain, strike him dead, without looking at him. The prince obeyed and the murder accomplished, he goes to wash his hands in the Iksumati; to his surprise, masses of worms were floating on the surface. Soon he was to know his crime and horror-stricken; he entrusted the royalty to his mother then he went away to pray to Mani-yogini, the goddess of Sankou. She ordered him as a means of expiation, to build on the site where he would notice a crane roosting, a chaitya with a circumference of two yoganas with four circles of gods. Sometimes the prince is named Mana deva and his father Vikmanti; the head of the victim remains attached to the hands of the unwilling parricide and it is again the goddess Mani-Yogini who reveals the means of expiation. The goddess Varahi in person supervises the construction of the chaitya and to thank her Mana-deva erects her statue at the entrance of the temple, whereas he places in the interior all the divinities. The hymn in honour of Buddha, composed by Mana deva on festivities of inauguration, is still popular with the Nepalese Buddhists.³

Bhupa-Keshari and Vikrama-Keshari are whimsical personages; but Mana deva is a historical name. The first king of this name opens the series of spigraphical texts in Nepal, his inscriptions separated

by 386 to 414 of an uncertain era have been found again at Kathmandu and at Changu Narayan; he is anterior to Amcumarman who mentions in an inscription of Harigaon, "the monastery of ori-mana". The legendary founder of the chaitya of Budh Nath is closely associated to the memory of his mother a Blanche of the Castille of Nepalese origin well informed and pious woman, as skilful in handling or governing men as she is in conciliating the gods; "She built a number of monuments and as a last piece of work consecrated an image of Nava Sagara-Bhagavati made by the same artist as the Bhagavati of Palanchauk and the Shobha Bhagavati". The inscription of Changu Narayan shows Mana deva begging of his mother Rajyavati, to direct the affairs after the death of King Dharma deva; and the inscription of Iajanpat accompanies one of these pious images which the piety of Rajyavati, mother of Mana deva so they say, had increased in number. If the tradition which connects the name of Mana deva to this monument is exact the chaitya of Budh-Nath dates from the VIth century of the Christian era. The chaitya of Budh-Nath is of a remarkable complexity; the history of the parricide owes perhaps its origin to the antiquated (obsolete) proportions of the edifice; so rare a work must have concerned an extraordinary motive. The chaitya consists in three parts poised with a surprising symmetry; the base, the hemisphere, the crowning. The stupa of Swayambhu has already shown us the original crowning transformed by a technical development and treated as one of the essential elements; in the chaitya of Budh-Nath the base has taken a similar

development. The platform, transformed, forms three large terraces in tiers; this base the hemisphere and the crowning have each exactly the same height, of about fifteen metres. The three terraces are neither circular nor square shaped; the arris are rectangular, but on each one of the four faces (sides) the central portion projects out as a salient like a colossal treble shelf encasing itself a staircase with large sections (steps). The first terrace shows on Northern face two small stupas plastered with stucco. At the base of the edifice, a rectangular wall shelters a long line of small niches wherein are installed on transversal axes prayer boxes. At the base of the spherical calotte, a symmetrical plinth shelters in its niches a legion of Amitabhas. The crowning is in three sections; a cubical platform with two eyes painted on each face, above a four sided pyramid hewn in thirteen shelves and plated over gilded copper on the pinnacle are the parasol and arrow as with Swayambhu.

The multitude of chaityas scattered in the valley of Nepal originate in various combinations from the types that I have just described. The hemispherical calotte, which by itself constitute the whole monument, progressively narrows and diminishes in size whereas the sub-structure grows larger in importance and ends up by absorbing one's whole attention. The dimensions of these chaityas vary 'ad infinitum' between the monumental type and the various kiosks that decorate and often encumber the compounds of the viharas.

Nepal presents still another type of religious edifices that have disappeared from India actually, but scattered all over the Far-East and popular to-day in the West; the pagoda. The pagoda has for essential feature a number of roof that superpose one another from storey to storey all along a rectangular construction most often disposed in a gradual off-set. It is rare to see a pagoda rising directly from the soil; it is generally built on a square terrace, one can reach it by four stair-cases each one guarded by a pair of dragons. The interior hall, the largest is the principal sanctuary; it shelters the statue of god, sometimes offered to the worship of the faithful, sometimes concealed from profane looks. The gate of approach is nearly always worked over with a shield pannel on which are sculptures the attributes of the divinity, the door and the pannel are of wood or metal; but whatever be the materials employed they show by the skill and details of the work the gifts of whims, taste and invention which still render famous the sculptors and gold-smiths of Nepal. Pannels of wood delicately fret-worked allow of the filtration of light in the hall and at the same time give out more details to the mass of the building. The roofs sharply inclined rest on a framework of beams at close pitch decorated at will by the painter and sculptor. The lower roof is usually covered with red tiles, and loftier roofs plated over with gilded copper, glitter in the sun. The corners are turned upwards "Chinese fashion" and all along the edges, hang banderoles and little bells that tinkle merrily with the least breezes. On the summit there rises like on the chaityas a

bell-turret (oudamani) in the shape of an elongated bell, crowned with a lotus, a parasol, a sun or a Moon. The richest of Nepalese pagodas is undoubtedly Changu-Narayan a marvel of carving of sculpture and of colouring.⁴ The most monumental is the five storeyed temple (Nyatpol Devai), built in 1703 at Bhatgaon by king Bhupatindra Malla;⁵ the temple itself rises on a terrace of five storeys disposed in tiers all along the staircase, there rises five pairs of gigantic steps; at the base two giants, Jaya Malla and Phatta athletes in the service of the king and who are credited with having had the strength of ten men, above two elephants ten times stronger again; then, in following this decimal progress of muscular vigour, two lions, two tigers and the two goddesses Singhini and Vyaghrini. Similar gradations are to be found again in the adornment of other temples, either in Nepal or in India proper. The first storey of the construction is surrounded with an elegant colonnade of sculptured wood and worked in at leisure. Lastly, the most popular of this style is the temple of Matsyendra Nath in Patan, dedicated to the patronal divinity of Nepal; it is reproduced on a smaller scale at Kathmandu under the vocable of the "Small Matsyendra Nath".

The pagoda can in no way vie in antiquity with the chaityas; none among them seem to date back later than the XVth century. But their architecture reproduce undoubtedly the styles of immemorial date; perhaps they are directly connected to the primitive wooden architecture which preceded in India and which even inspired the most ancient stone monuments. A construction of the same type

is found shown on the plate of Sobgaura, which dates back to Ashoka's epoch.⁶ Among the several objects shown heading the inscription, one can recognize here and there a chaitya, two identical kiosks each with two stories, with two inclined roofs with a progressive set off borne on a belt of pillars.

The kondo and the temple of Horiuji in Japan, erected in the reign of Shotoku Taishi (593-621), prove that from the end of the XIth century the consecrated type of the wooden pagoda such as there still exists in Nepal, had propagated itself through the intermediary of Chinese Buddhism up to Korea who was the initiator of the Japanese artists. The nine-storeyed tower which provoked the admiration of the Chinese envoys in Nepal towards the middle of the VIIth century. (see sup. I, 159) belonged probably to the same style of construction. Nepal, here again, is the authentic image of lost (vanished) India.

Without losing sight of the forms consecrated by the tradition, Nepal did not neglect to borrow from India the new types she elaborated. Sometimes she (Nepal) attempted a faithful reproduction of a famous model; thus it is that the Mahabuddha-vihara of Patan seems to be a copy of the temple of Mahabodi, erected at Gaya on the holy site above all, where Cakyamuni discovered the illumination. In the reign of Amara Malla at the beginning of the XVIth century the Acarya named Abhaya Raja went on a pilgrimage to

Gaya with his young wife, there a son was born to him whom he named Bandhaju. One day he learnt by a supernatural voice that Mahabuddha was satisfied with his homages and induced him to return into Nepal to reap a just regard. Abhaya Raja took the precaution of carrying away an image of the temple of Gaya; having returned to his native country he had erected on the model, a three storeyed temple which was only completed by his grand-son. This temple still exists in perfect condition, preserved by the belt of houses that press round her and hardly allows of a narrow passage between. It is divided into five stories; in the chapel of the first floor (storey) is found, as at Gaya a large statue of Cakyamuni. Amitabha is the patron of the first storey, then come successively a stone chaitya, a dharma-dhatumandala and a vajradhatu-mandala who are respective patrons of the higher stories. A gilded cudamani in the form of a chaitya, crowns the edifice.⁷ In the other cases the Nepalese architects are inspired by the Hindu styles without being enthralled by them; the most fortunate of these adaptations is the pretty temple of Radha-Krisna which rises on the square of the Darbar at Patan.⁸ Set up in constructions of purely Nepalese style, it blends most harmoniously its elegant and refined outlines to this whole Fergusson, who is the most competent of judges does not hesitate to recognize, in spite of the original placing of the pavillions "A Bengali influence where no mistake is possible".⁹

Beside the religious monuments in

earth, bricks, plaster, wood, stone, there are still others and none the less reputed, which hardly comprise for construction an enclosure. The image of the divinity is offered thither to the adoration of the faithful in open air and under light shed; such is the sanctuary of Daksinakali at Phirping or of Surya-Vinayaka near Bhadgaon; but whatever be the nature of the construction and its importance, there spreads in more or less abundance or wealth, a little world of chapels annexed or adorned which justify the name of "town" (purs) sometimes applied in the religious nomenclature to these sacred enclosures. The most compact groups are the two religious hearts of the valley: Swayambhu and Pashupati. The numerous chaityas strewn on the flanks of the hill of Swayambhunath or closely built on the double summit which crowns it, the pavillions which fill up the precincts of Pashupati and which cover the steep banks of the Bagmati do not ask for any description, they reproduce, in the varying scales, the types I have already enumerated.

One of the most widely spread accessories in Nepal which is also common in the temples of Buddhism and in those of Sivaism, is the independent pillar, erected before the "facade", sometimes, rounded, sometimes squared, sometimes with the arris bevelled, sometimes buried in the ground, or circled with a ring at the base or even supported on the back of a turtle and crowned almost always with a full-blown lotus which serves as a crest and at the same time as the base for an image. The

custom is a very ancient one; the first monument dated in Nepal is the pillar erected by Mana deva in front of the temple of Gangu Narayan in 386 Samvat; this pillar, squared at the base, becomes octagonal, then is hewn out into sixteen sides, lastly is rounded off at the higher portion; it was originally crowned with a Garuda under the features of a winged man bending on one knee. The Garuda has fallen down only half a century ago, and its remains are preserved in the court of the temple. A royal doctor has had installed at his own expense, a new crest with a "chakra", the disc of Vishnu. The old pillar (or column) of Harigaon on which is engraved the hymn of Krisna Dvaipayana has preserved original crest; Garuda kneeling on a lotus; in other cases the figure on the summit represents the giver, like on the place of the Darbar in Patan or the vahana of the mouse before the temple of Vinayaka, sometimes even like, to the Matsyandra Natha of Patan, a line of small pillars carry all a gallery of small animals; elephants, horses, lions, griffons etc.

The pillar is often adjacent to a stone portico where hangs a large bell. The visitor priest or layman who wishes to make use of it to drive away the demons, knocks with the hammer, the sides of the bell; the bell itself is fixed and immutable. The dexterous melters of Nepal have excelled for a long time in the manufacture of bells of large dimensions as well as in the little bells in the sacred service of the rattles that joyously

play in the breeze every day from the roofings of the pagodas. It is also to their skill that the temples owe those metal banners that sometimes hang from the arrow to the portal and those metal flags that are gilded and fixed to iron staffs. Against these resisting accessories or perhaps through lack of them, are erected on the consecrated soil high bamboo poles which are garnished with multicoloured cloths in the style of oriflammes (flags). One also often sees on the summit of the chaityas threads on which hang small flags which get entangled on the neighbouring houses; the Tibetans in particular follow this usage in their temples at Buddhath at Badhmandal; I have already mentioned examples of the same practice borrowed from the history of Nepal. The niche for prayers is reserved to the Tibetan Buddhists. The Nevars who make them do not use them, one finds only at Svayambhu and at Buddhath these metal cylinders on which are stamped the all powerful letters: "OM MANI PADME HUM" a long paper band made into a roll and pressed into the interior of the cylinder repeats "ad infinitum the same characters traced by the untiring hand of copyists; the faithful who starts moving the mill on its metal axis, also mutters between his lips the same sanctifying formula, the alpha and omega of the Tibetan devotion. Amusing example of the might of the words. By a kind of pun, the faithful can "turn the wheel of the law" as did Buddha at one time when he preached his first sermon in his campaign at Benares.

Among those ordinary emblems of

Buddhism and Nepalese Shivaism there takes first place the "linga" and "yoni", the two sexual symbol which express by their union, the fertilizing power of the inexhaustible nature. In spite of the current prejudices, the forms adopted in usage in the whole of India could hardly offend modesty of the most sensitive; the most complaisant eye only recognizes a cylinder or a cone of stone encased in a stone disc. The most cared for lingas show sculptured the five faces of Shiva, four disposed symmetrically in a ring and the fifth on the summit. The linga of Pashupatit, the holiest of all has a height of about three and a half feet, it is made of hard grit-stone; from the shaft there stands out in relief four faces and four pair of hands; the right hands each carry a rosary of rudraksa, the left hands a pot of water (Kamandalu). Ordinarily the linga is concealed under the mass of gold and silver ornaments, which is removed at the time of religious service. Buddhism has been able to adopt without effort a symbol so popular and so assuaging. It got off, even after inventing a new interpretation; the Buddhistic linga represents the primordial lotus, the yoni shows the source of whence it sprang out. A serpent entwined on the border of the yoni recalls the Naga Karkotoka hidden in the depth of the waters. The higher portion of the linga, worked out in the shape of a cupola on the model of the chaityas interprets with the resources of the matter the immaterial flame wherein was manifested Adi-Buddha. The faces of Shiva and Shivistic emblems are replaced by the faces of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas and

by Buddhistic emblems. Guhyecvari, the goddess of common to the Tantras of Buddhism and Shivaism has an emblem proper; the triangle (trikona) which is frequently met traced on stones consecrated in the neighbourhood of temples.

The "vajra" is a Hindu emblem, but Buddhism has allowed it to the extent of adopting it as pre-eminently its symbol. It is Indra, the sovereign of the Vedic pantheon who at one time possessed and brandished this powerful weapon; but the humiliated god has had to deliver to Buddha the insignia of his power. Like Indra made use of it at one time to crush the demons, his rivals, the Buddhist priest manipulates in his turn the thunderbolt against the multitude of evil spirits. Reduced to its elementary form, the vajra consists of a stem raised up in the centre, to give better grasp to the hand garnished at both its ends with four or eight iron lances bent with their points bent again towards the extremities of the transversal axe. The finest specimen of vajra which is seen in Nepal is undoubtedly the gilded vajra, five feet long, which king Pratapa Malla had erected in the XVIIth century on the terrace of Sva-Yainbhu Natha at the outlet of the long staircase which ascends the hill and leads to the platform. But the Vajra is seen again everywhere in the monuments of Buddhism, beginning from the arrow of the chaityas and ending by the little rattle of the priest. The vajra and the bell form an organic couple like the linga and yoni; the vajra, male, represent the Buddha; the

bell (ghanta) feminine element, represents Sagacity (Prajna).

The divine feet (charana) are again an emblem common to the two great worships. Before the influence of the Greek arts, ancient India seems to have felt a repugnance in representing its gods in the human form, thus it is that the sculptors of Bharhut, to show "Ajatacatrou in adoration before Bhagavat" have represented the king kneeling before a throne which shows the stamp of two feet. The language reflects the same idea, an inferior being speaks humbly of the "feet of the king", of the "feet of the master", as if his prostrated attitude prevented him from recognizing nothing else without being disrespectful. The Nepalese represent profusely the feet of the Buddha carved on the stone or painted in colours recognizable with the eight good luck carriers (mangala) which adorn them; the crivatsa, the flat lotus (padma) the banner (dhvaja) the ewer (kalasa) the parasol (chhatra), the fly-flap (camara) circles feature the cakra, "the disc" which is dya a metaphor the symbol of the universal sovereignty. The same signs are to be found again on the marks of Vishnu worshipped in India, in particular on the miraculous stamp which the pilgrim never cease to worship at Gaya. As if to interpret the close relation of the two divinities it is Vishnu who succeeded to the Buddha on the very scene of the Bodhi.

Besides the feet of Buddha, the

Nepalese Buddhism also worships the stamps of Maujushri; they show an eye traced crosswise on the foot, similar to the one which is painted on the bases of the arrows of the chaityas. The most venerated stamp (or mark) is to be found on the western platform of the syambunath which a slight depression separates from the principal terrace.

The "dhatu-mandalas" exclusively belong to Buddhism. They consist of a stone cylinder or one made of masonry with a cavity reserved in the interior, it corresponds to the chamber of the relics of the stupa, but this cavity must remain empty to shelter the spirit of the divinity. A circular stone covers and closes the cylinder, it is ornamented with diagrams cleverly complicated (mandalas) where are entangles in a fixed order, emblems and figures of every nature. If the dhatu-mandala is consecrated to Maujushri, it is adorned with 222 drawings and receives the name of "dharma-dhatu-mandala", if it is consecrated to Vairocana, the most sublime of the Buddhas, they adorn it with 50 or 60 drawings only, and it is then a "vajra-dhatu-mandala".

The emblem preferred by Vishnu in India, the calagrama is exclusively of Nepalese origin; the cala-grama is an agglomerated concretion around a serpent-stone and gifted with magnetic properties. It is only met with in the bed of the Kali-Gandaki. However in spite of the

neighbourhood of the layer in spite of the high prices which the Vishnuists Hindu attach to these shells, the calagrama has only been introduced in usage in Nepal under the last of the Malla kings of Kathmandu, Jaya-prakasha.

Among the accessories which contribute to the exterior decorations one must mention apart, the inscriptions. The pious vanity of the donators, helped by an instructive taste of art, has multiplied the epigraphical texts of the detriment of archaeology; the old documents have had to cede their places to the new-comers, sometimes even the antique stone laboriously carved, has been itself changed into a palimpsest. The whim of the lapicides in varying the characters have known how to render them elegant and decorative like arabesques, whether be it that they cover high tablets or they adorn the bareness of the sides of a pillar, or again that they run on the very lines of the monument on the square of the Darbar at Kathmandu the steps of the temple erected by Pratapa Malla bear engraved the lucubrations of this too-voluminous poet; the insipid on mani padme hum, only appears in the sanctuaries of the Tibetans stubbornly reproduced with a surprising cleverness the head, the Tibetan calligraphy exercised undoubtedly by a continuous practice, excel in drawing among the most contradictory materials to spread out before the eyes the blessed formula".

I can only mention without stopping

the multitude of sculptures works in relief or statues that abound in the court of the temples. The inexhaustible pantheon of Buddhism or Shivaism spreads out enough to discourage the enumeration; a complete and double again mythology would be needed, to draw up the inventory of this enormous divine "personnel". Even the animals hold a large place, for instance the colossal bull in gilded copper which guards the entrance of Pashupati the face turned towards the door of the sanctuary. I must however mention a local singularity; the sculptured pannels of wood that work up like a frieze around the pagodas, illustrate with a science in which a science in which the whim does not disdain to smile the learned teachings of the kama-castra. Most unexpected sexual combinations are exposed to the indifferent eye of the faithful the intervention of clever animals, like the monkey and the elephant, often complicates the play of the figures. One can also notice particular houses adorned with friezes of this style. The explanation I have gathered is general. These scenes are credited with possessing the virtue (or power) of keeping away the thunderbolt.

Other ornaments not less strange also garnish the 'facade' of the temples. Certain among them receive by virtue of an immemorial usage, the utensils of the kitchen left to the scrap iron heap the walls then disappear under the odds and ends and scrap-iron hung about aimlessly (such for instance the temple of Cakyssimha in the Chaubahal at Chobbar) often also

the horns of bulls that have been sacrificed remain in possession of the temple, and those trophies of butchery end up by covering the walls. European chromolithographies and Chinese prints, come from which circuit? Complete this aspect of heteroclite bazar. The religious monuments to whatever church they belong have almost always for annexe a "dharmacala" intended to lodge visitors pilgrims and travellers. The dharmacala of the most elementary type consists of a wooden kiosk on a platform of masonry, four pillars support the tile roofing; being more comfortable, it is closed on three sides with brick walls, the largest have the dimensions of the real house with stories, with a compound in the rear bordered by service buildings; on the frontage, a verandah on the ground floor and a balcony on the first floor, the majority of the dharmacala reveal superb specimens of sculpture on wood (or carving on wood). An inscription on metal affixed on the interior wall commemorates the name of the founder and the date of the erection.

Another category of pious foundations is not less scattered in Nepal; they are the "dharas" (or "hithis") and the "pranalis". The pranalis are ordinary public fountains; a pipe brings the water from a neighbouring source, the stone orifice generally represents the fantastic mouth of an animal like the gutter-spouts of Gothic Churches. A pranali of Kathmandu still shows a commemorative inscription traced in the reign of Amcuvarman in the first half of the VIIth century. "Vibhuvarman

has had constructed this excellent water-pipe to increase the spiritual merits of his father (insor. Bhagvanlal, No 8. The dhara or hithi is a pit open skywards and dug out in the soil and bordered with a parapet; a ladder helps one to descend into it and sometimes the entire periphery (circumference) is worked out in tiers. Water trickles down at the bottom by several openings. It is in a ruined hithi that I have found my inscription of the Tulacchi-Tol in Bhatgaon, dated in the reign of Shivadeva towards the end of the VIth century. The most magnificent dhara of Kathmandu and of the whole of Nepal as indisputably that which general Bhimsena has had built, towards 1825, in the south-west of Tundi-khel, on the occasion of an astronomical phenomenon (maha-varuni); it vies in splendour and luxury with the monumental pranali with water-pipes erected in Bala-*Nilakantha* (Balaju) by King Jaya-Prakasha of Kathmandu, towards the middle of the XVIIth century.

The dhara pertains at the same time to the ghat (ghatta) and to the basin (tataka, talao) common to the whole of India. The ghat is a staircase of baths, built on a consecrated site (tirtha) which descends from the bank right into the river; the ghats are numerous, like the tirthas themselves. At Pashupati the Bagmati flows between two rows of ghats. The basin is in principle a reservoir dug out to remedy the scarcity of the waters of the source or the rain waters; it serves to most varied usages as

cistern watering-place and basin of ablutions at the same time; sometimes again they are erected without any real need, perhaps by a taste for the picturesque as an accessory of the landscape or by a taste of comfort as a corner of freshness; such for instance the basin of Rani-pokhari, in Kathmandu on the outskirts of the field of manoeuvres; a causeway reaches as far as the middle of the tank and terminates in an elegant pavillon whence the eye can encompass the panorama of the Himalayan glaciers; king Pratapa Malla has had dug this basin memory of his son who died a premature death and as an attempt to divert the queen's attention from her inconsolable mourning; being refined in his religious practices as well as in his pedantry, he took care to have the basin filled with the waters gathered from all the tirthas.

After the temples destined as the abode of the gods, come the edifices assigned to the religious communities. Nepalese Buddhism has inherited from the antique vihara, the general house where the monks of old would retire to study and meditate during the rainy season. The town of Patan the old metropolis of faith, prides herself in possessing fifteen great viharas, with about a hundred branches subordinate to the parent establishments; Kathmandu possesses eight great viharas, with eight lesser ones. The essential features are to be found everywhere identical; the vihara (Bihar, bahal, bihi) consists of a square of houses with two stories, built on the edge of an interior courtyard wherein rises a contr o

chaityā, often surrounded with smaller monuments. The gate of entry is narrow and low decorated on the exterior by a pair of eyes and ewers; the entrance is guarded on the right by Ganesha and on the left by Mahnakal; one, recognizable by his elephant's head, the other by his three red eyes his protruding teeth and to his festoon or garland or skulls, facing the entrance in the main building opposite there opens a chapel consecrated to Cakyamuni with the statue of Buddha attended by a numerous "personnel of gods geniuses and Bodhisattvas, painted or sculptured. The other three sides of the circuit on the ground floor form an enclosure which serves as a place for walking and at the same time as a lumber-room there, accumulate without honour, the accessories that co-operate in the worship and periodical festivities. The columns, the window, the doors, the pannels attest to the triumphant skill of the Nepalese chisel in the sculpture of wood. Several of the viharas that are in existence to-day pretend to connect their origin to the most distant past of Nepal. The Vihara of Carumati (vulgo, Chabahil), to the North of Deo Patan should owe its name and existence to a daughter of Ashoka; she had accomplished the Emperor on a pilgrimage, having reached Nepal she became a witness to a prodigy which decided her to remain there for good; an iron arrow had suddenly changed into stone; Ashoka marries his daughter to a ksatriya of the country, Deva Pala. The married couple resided at Deo Patan, believed and multiplied, lastly barumati becoming old erected the monastery which hence-

forth bore her name, retired from life and died in the monastery. The Cakra-vihāra at Patan passes for a creation of king Manadeva the Suryavamci the Maha deva of the pillar of Changu Narayan and of several other inscriptions; it is undoubtedly this convent that an inscription of Amcuvarman designates as the Shri-Mana-vihara, because Cakra-Vihara still bears today in the literary usage the title of Manadeva-samskarita-cakra-mahavihara other viharas also mentioned in the inscription of Amcuvarman have now disappeared; such for instance the Kharjurika-vihara the Gum-vihara etc. The testimony of the epigraphical texts attests at least to the great number of convents in Nepal as early as the VIIth century; one among them the Gum-vihara is designated by a name drawn from the local dialect instead of the usual Sanscrit names. The case is repeated at an epoch nearly as ancient for the Hlam-vihara as a manuscript of the XIth century, extols as "a foundation of ancient dynasties erected to adorn in a worthy manner the land of Nepal and where shines for ever the wood of the Sugata". The Chinese I-tsing mentions at the close of the VIIth century, the Nepalese convent of the the king of the Gods (T'ien-wang-seu). A son of the wet-nurse who had accompanied the Chinese princess married to Srong-tsan-gam-po, was then residing in that Vihara. "This religious being adds I-tsing, knows the Sanscrit dialect-very well and has compared himself with all the Sanscrit books. Thus the sanscrit culture was then flourishing in the Nepalese monasteries and the people of Tibet who felt the monastic

vocation would cross over into Nepal. The Sanscrit original of the Chinese name mentioned by I-tsang is doubtful; 'T'ien-wang, (king of Gods) is one of the designations of Mahesvara, otherwise said of Siva; it is then permitted to suppose with Mr. Chavannes a form such as Shiva-vihara. But a convent of this name has not yet been discovered in the Nepalese documents, we know on the contrary from a positive source a Shivadeva-vihara. An inscription dated 143 Samvat (Bhagvanlal, No. 13) bears a donation in favour of Shivadeva-vihara, it emanates from king Shivadeva the Thakuri, who reigns half a century after the voyage of I-tsing; but the monastery or a monastery of the same name could have had for founder and eponym another more ancient Shivadeva. The Vamcavali relates precisely that Shivadeva the Suryavanci predecessor of Amcuvarman constructed a vihara wherein to retire after his abdication. This monastery repaired at first by king Rudra deva after his abdication then restored by Apious Never in 1653, still exists in Patan, to the S. E. of the Darbar. It is given the name of Rudravarna-vihara in Sanscrit and of Onkul-bahal in Nevari.

It is also necessary to mention among the ancient convents that exist to-day the Yampi-bihar of Patan in the vicinity of the Chaitya of Ashoka situated to the North of the town. Tradition attributes a Brahman of Kapila-vastu, Sunaya Shri Mitra as its founder who had proceeded to Tibet to receive the teachings of the Iamas in the reign of Rudradeva, the Suryavanci; two of his disciples, Govardhana Mishra

and Kacyapa Mishra came from Kapila-vastu to join him in Nepal and founded one the Dunta-Bihar the other the Lalibana-bihar. At an epoch further back again, a queen of Marvar, Pingala is supposed to have founded a famous convent which sheltered no less than six hundred religious men in the days of Narendradeva, the Thakuri,

The population of the viharas has sadly changed; the ancient community of monks who were bachelors, learned and studious has disappeared. It has been replaced by unworthy heirs, the Banras. If the monasteries have been the abode of relection and paryer, they serve now-a-day as dwellings to a swarming multitude and boisterous crowd of men women children huddled together in defiance of hygiene in narrow and low-roofed rooms wherein are exercised professions altogether wordly; gold-smith's art, sculpture, decorative arts; other among the Banras are employed outside as carpenters as melters, as plasterers? Science is dying out or rather she is dead; a miserable pujari, entrusted by the community with the daily worship comes and mutters every day before the statue of Shakyamuni hymns (stotras) in barbarous sanscrit which he does not understand or recites a section of the Prajna-paramita in Eight Thousand stanzas (Astasahasrika) which he understands still less; it is he who detains the old manuscripts drawn up at one time by pious copyists and who allows with an astounded indifference, time and the insects consume on these relics their work of destruction. The tradition of the old talents disappears;

at the beginning of the XIXth century Hodgson still found real erudites to instruct him; Amritananda the Pundit who served him as initiator and guide handled Sanscrit with ease, his copy books, preserved by his descendants in the convent of Mahabuddha, in Patan show to his honour all that Hodgson owed him. His great grand sons have been compelled in order to live to engage themselves as translators to the British Residence. The old Pundit Kulamana of Patan earns his livelihood by teaching the rudiments of catechism and by copying manuscripts. Behind them one does not even see a successor.

These signaler guests of the Buddhist convents these carpenters, blacksmiths, scribes sextons are holden to their priveleges to the Brahmanic spirit, it is in the name of the caste that they claim a lodging in the vihara one part on the revenues of the vihara. The fathers of families chiefs of a numerous progeny, descend by a legitimate connection (filiation) from the revolutionary monks who rejected at one time the vow of chastity and created in their hovel a conjugal home. At what time did the crisis happen? the Buddhistic tradition of Nepal imputes this fall to the legendary champion of modern Brahmanism, Shankara Acharya; this formidable controvertisis who still leaves after twelve centuries his trace on the Hindu mind had in the course of his triumphant tours, visited the Nepalese valley. Several of the kings of Nepal have borne precisely the name of Shankara (deva). the

legend has profited thereby to introduce more easily the acharya in the chronology of Nepal, it makes him appear under the father of Shankara deva, the Suryavamei; and a few centuries later, it brings him back without serupule in Nepal, under the father of Shankara deva the Thakhuri. The system of transmigrations helps the chronology so easily from a confused state on his first passage, the Bhiksus and the Cravakas established in the monasteries do not even attempt to hold up against him; house chieftains (grhasthas) braver, summon to their aid Saraswati, the goddess of eloquence, but Shankara diverts her from them by the superiority of his magical means. Some flee; others are massacred, still others admit themselves vanquished and get converted; he imposes on them the practice of bloody sacrificer which the Buddha had forbidden, he comples the nuns (bhiksunis) to marry he compies the chiefs of the house to shave their heads entirely like the hermit without leaving a tuft of hair on their skull (cudra) like the Brahmanic style he renoves the Buddhism string; he destroys the 84000 canecical works of Buddhism and introduces the religion of Shiva in place of the vanquished religion. Yet he was obliged to leave the Buddhists in possession of a few temples through the want of back towards the sea, without attempting to conquer the Northern regions of the world.

When Shankara re-appeared in the period of king Vara deva, under a new incarnation he was contented with verifying in Nepal the maintainance of the

observances he had introduced, then he continued his course towards the North and entered into Tibet; but it was his doom; the lama of Tibet whom he accused of uncleanness opened his stomach with a knife to spread to the light of day the purity of his heart, Shankara frightened wished to escape, but the lama pierced his shadow with an iron lance and Shankara fell dead⁹.

The name of Shankara Acharya is in these accounts only a symbol; it represents the fortunates struggle undertaken by Brahmanism against its rival who was weakened. In fact, the fall of Buddhism was less the consequence than the cause itself of Brahmanism. The ancient discipline had really relaxed. The sympathy of the Chinese pilgrim may have been instrumental in concealing the evil; but the impartial testimony of the Kashmerian chronicle shows that about the XVth century a portion of the clergy in Cashmere was married. One of the wives of king Megha Vahana constructed in fact a great vihara, one half was reserved to the Bhiksus whose conduct was in accordance with the holy precepts (ciksacara), the other half, to those who had wives, children, cattle, property and who deserved blame for having adopted the domestic life (garhasthya - garhya). Numerous influences had combined to bring about this relaxation, among others the propagation of methods of simplified salutations, reduced to the recitation of a formula or name. Thus it is that in

Japan the sects Shin-shou founded on the continuous adoration of Amitabha, has eventually ended up by suppressing the singleness of the priests and the prescriptions of abstinence. The transformation is accomplished by degrees, slowly and gradually winning one and all. In the XVIIth century the kingdom of Patan, more faithful to Buddhism than the kingdoms of Kathmandu and Bhatgoan still numbered twenty five viharas "nirvanikas" where the monks would observe the vow of celibacy. The political power could not assist with indifference to a reform which fatally diminished the strength of the clergy; deprived of the prestige of chastity embodied in the sections of social life, the monks ceased from forming an invincible organism they were fatally divided into associations of unstable concerns, which the royalty could cultivate or stifle by opposing them.

In spite of so profound a revolution, the forms have partly survived to the spirit of the past. As a married man father of family, craftsman, the Banra is not less for these an ordained monk, he does not receive the less the protections which orthodox Vinaya prescribes. An ingenious solution has enabled the conciliation of the respect for the tradition and the exigencies of modern times. The candidate applies to his spiritual director (guru), he expresses to him the wish of entering the order, or becoming "Bandyā" (Banra). With the generous help of magical diagrams and consecrated utensils the Guru at first obtains for his disciple the three protections from the thunderbolt (Vajraraksa) by

means of a tun (cask) which he wields about; from iron (loharaksa) by means of a bell he brandishes; from fire (agniraksa) by means of a cup of alcohol; then he baptises him with holy water (kakaca adgiseka). Two days later, the Guru assisted by the superior (nayaka) of the vihara and the superiors of the four neighbouring viharas, confers the ordination, it is the vow or ordination which definitively separates the novice from the worked (pravrajyavrata). The novice receives at first the five prohibitions (vairamani); no attempt on life; no illegal appropriation on incontinency; no falsehood; no alcohol. His hair is shaved off, he is sprinkled over with holy water, they give him the name of a religion; then he receives the ten precepts (ciksapada) which forbid murder, theft, allurements of the passions, falsehood, liquor dance, gold and silver. He is then given a complete religious equipment under linen and those worn on top (civara and nivassa) the wooden bowl for alms (pinda-patra), the rod for the journey (kbikhari), a pair of wooden sandals, an ewer and a parasol; The orthodox rite or ordination is completed; but the intrusion of the Trantric doctrines has overburdened this ritual with supplementary ceremonies in honour of those divinities foreign to Buddhism; Bhairava, Mahakala, Vasundhara, etc. For four days running, the novice is made to play his role seriously; then after the lapse of this time he returns to his Guru and tells him, "My master, I cannot remain an ascetic, take from me the costume and the other appendages

of the monk; remove me from the practice of the Cravakas and teach me the practice of Great Vehicle" The Guru replies: "In truth in these days of degeneration it is difficult to practise the observance of the pravrajya, adopt then the one of the Great Vehicle, But if you renounce the pravrajya, you can not be relieved of the five prohibitions; no attempt on life; no theft; no adultery; no slander; no alcohol. "The trick is completed; the ascetic of yesterday returns to his home.

The Banaras are not all indistinctly qualified to the sacerdotal service; the functions of the priests are exclusively reserved to two of the groups of the community; the Gubharjus and the Bhiksus; and even then it is with different titles. The Gubharjus alone can claim to the dignity of "Bajracharya" lord of the thunderbolt. The Gubharju must to maintain himself in the rank where his birth has placed him, submit before becoming a father of family to an initiation which proves his capacities as a ritualist; he must be able to officiate at the daily ceremony of the home where the flame received to carry it to the gods an offering of melted butter and grains. If he neglects to procure or qualify himself in time for this diploma, he descends to the rank of Bhiksus and he drags in his fall all the descendants yet unborn. If he displays greater knowledge than that he learnt in the ritual of the homa, the Gubharju then takes the title of "Bajracharya" or more pompously "Bajracharya-Arhatbhiksu-Buddha" He is

the only priest authorized to celebrate the ceremonies of the religion be they private or public and to confer the regular sacraments of marriage, birth and death. While in sacerdotal garb, he wears on the head a mitre of gilded copper richly sculptured, adorned with a double row of shields on which are enchased the faces of the Buddhas and Taras, crowned with a transversal tun with an escutcheon above it; he holds in the hand the fund and the bell; from around his neck hangs to his waist a rosary of 108 beads with a tun and a bell run trough here and there and the end of the rosary there hangs again another vajra. He wears a costume of a dark red colour (kasaya) which consists of a tightfitting tunic (civara) and a skirt gathered up in folds at the waist (nivasa). He has a Levite to assist him; the Bhiksu. The Bhiksu wears the same costume but with different appendages; he wears on his head a coloured bonnet, of cloth with a gilded button or a vajra as a set-off; the rosary that hangs from his neck has no ornaments, lastly he holds in his hand the religious man's rod (khukuri) and the wooden bowl for alms (pinda-patra).

Under the old "regime" the convents possessed considerable properties, kings and individuals vied with one another in matters of charities and munificences. Several of the most ancient inscriptions commemorate donations in favour of the convents; I have already mentioned so above. Beginning from Vrsadeva, the Suryavamci, the Chronicle registers, nearly under every reign, new foundations. The Brahmanic propaganda and the conquest of

Nepal by Hindu dynasties carried a fatal blow to the prosperity of the Viharas. The struggle began, masked and underhanded. The reign of Siddhi Narasimha marks one of the most precise moments of the crisis (about 1620 to 1667). Siddhi Narasimha belonged to the dynasty of Harisimha which boasted of Brahmanic origin; he had vowed to the god Krisanha a glorified devotion, like this sensual and tender god can only inspire he practised incessant austerities fasted according to the severe methods of the candrayana which regulates the rations on the phases of the moon, spent the day in prayer, slept on a stone bed and disappeared one day in the garb of a fakeer. Patan his capital was the fortress of Buddhism with its fifteen great convents always ready to associate in organizations of resistance against the royal power. Without violence, without further weapons than legal measures, Sidi Narasimha undertook to subdue to the civil authority the religious communities. He began by destroying the semblance of anarchy which safeguarded their independence; he made them conjointly answerable to the crown, with regular representatives which answered for each group. The convents of Patan, Kirtipur and Chobahal, received a hierarchical classification which was partly based on the rights of ancientness (seniority), partly on considerations at random as if to better-point out the royal indifference. The most important had each for representative their superior (nayaka), officially designated under the title of Tathagatha, the secondary houses had only a delegate to represent them, chosen among their superiors to the benefit of

age. A regulation regulated the cattle of the elections. Thus invested with an administrative function, the superiors lost their posts of the religion, which was transferred to other religious men. Up to then the ten most ancient men of each convent, received on days of festival the worship of the faithful, who venerated them as the incarnation of the ten cardinal perfections (paramitas), would wash their feet and offer them rice-milk. In order to husband the resources of the people, Siddhi Narasimha reduced the number of those privileged to two; only those doyens of the convents situated on the two ends of the roads which was followed by the charriot of Matsyendra Natha were entitled to this homage. Having become fathers of families, the priests were made to submit to the rules of purity prescribed by Hinduism, to celebrated for example, a homa (sacrific offered as a libation) in case of death in the family, under the penalty of legal uncleanness. A ceremony of purification was imposed on Buddhist Nevars who had travelled or resided in Tibet, the ceremony was entrusted to five superiors of the convent, but the retribution extorted was appropriated by the king. The convents where celibacy, was still observed, attempted to evade the regulations, summoned to hear the royal regulation, ten out of twenty five did not send delegates. Siddhi Narasimha designated from his office, administrators, to replace the mandatories which they refused to elect, and submitted the refractory houses to special regulations.

A century after Siddhi Narasimha,

the Gurkha conquest precipitated the "denouement". The deliberate evil disposition extended even to hostility, the confiscation of goods of the communities, the stubborn refusal to the least subsidy have reduced the viharas to decrepitude and misery.

THE FESTIVALS;- The religious pass away, the festivals remain. The Nepal of old still survives in the yatras. The "yatra" is strictly a procession a solemn pomp, with a display of dance and music and under the aspect of a sacrifice a liturgic feasting. The taste of the Nevars was found to agree with their superstition to multiply the feast-days; the royal power has partly created and partly adopted them and has sanctioned them as state institutions. Distinct regulations issued from the sovereign authority, divide the organization of the yatras into fixed groups and stipulates the portion of contribution which is incumbent on each one respectively. In return for these pecuniary charges, the ancient regime granted privileges, indemnities and donations. The Gurkha government has suppressed the subsidies, direct or indirect and by its confiscations it has drained one of the sources which fed the budget of the yatras. Nevertheless, the yatras exist now, by custom and by the law; Whoever attempts to evade one of the hereditary obligations is punished with a fine and degraded. Willy nilly some have to manufacture the charikot for the procession, others turn out masks, others again have to paint dance and officiate. It is a state service and it benefits thereby, because the solemnity

constitutes a magical rite, laboriously combined with its origin, in view of a precise aim. The procession of Matsyendra Natha, which passes to be the most ancient brings the spring-rain, without its efficacious action, the heavens would refuse water to culture. The yatra of Devi, at Nayokot has for aim to drive away the "aoulo" the malaria in the low lands, faraway from Nepal. King Shankaradeva of the Vaicya dynasty instituted an annual yatra in honour of Nava-Sagara-Bhagavati to appease this frightful goddess the form of the yatra is not immutable, but it must only be touched with care. In the XVIth century Amara Malla of Kathmandu re-established the dance of Harasiddhi, introduced at one time by Vikramaditya of Ujjayini, renewed the Vara deva, the Thakuri and fallen afterwards in disuse; but one of the personages of the dance, the elephant, risked by its magical virtue causing a dearth of grains, in order to remedy this regrettable influence, Amara Malla adopted the dance of Maha Laksmi of Khokhna. The dance of Kankeshwari has disappeared by a measure of similar prudence; one day one of the dancers disguised as an animal was eaten up by Kankeshwari; to comply to the taste this shown by the goddess, it would have been necessary henceforth to regularly offer a human victim, it was thought wiser to suspend "sine die" the practice of the rite.

The idea of a human sacrifice had nothing about it to surprise or be repugnant to Nepal; those strange disciples of

the kindest of masters have never felt any repugnance in spilling blood, even human blood. As early as the epoch of the Suryavancis, before Amouvarman (VIIth century), the pious king Shivadeva institutes as a annual rite a human sacrifice in honour of Vatsala Devi on the date of the 12 chaitra badi. His great-nephew, Vishwadeva wishing to suppress this barbarous custom, the goddess came to claim in person her due. Gunakama deva the Thakuri, founder of Kathmandu, institutes the Sitikhasti, a battle with stones which ends up by a sacrifice to Kankeshwari of the prisoners retained in each camp. Towards 1750, the king of Kathmandu, Jaya-prakasa prohibits this strange rite, a supernatural voice heard in the night, induces the king to respect the tradition. In 1660, the king of Bhatgaon, Jagat-prakasa Malla in a struggle with his neighbours of Kathmandu and Patan over takes by surprise and captures an enemy post, brings back twenty one prisoners and sacrifices them to the gods. They say that Prithivi Narayan, lord of Kathmandu, offered human sacrifices in the royal temple of Taleju (Tulasi); but the goddess appeared to him in a dream to show her disapproval. Father Marco della Tomba mentions as an assured fact that "the people of the mountains have no horror to sacrifice to their idols, human victims and particularly the war prisoners, when in a pressing need they ask the help of their gods, thus it is, when preparing their cannons for war they colour them with the blood of a little girl killed on the cannons themselves. "Hamilton in the beginning of the XIXth century, mentions

that the Ghurkha king offers every twelve years a solemn sacrifice where are slayed among other victims, two men of a rank worthy to carry the sacred string. "They are maddened, they are carried to the sanctuary, their necks are sliced and the spray of blood is directed on the idols, then with their skulls, cups are made to be used in these horrible rites."

Man is only a victim of exception, the ordinary victims are the buffalo, the ram, the cock and the duck. In India, converted to the respect of life (ahimsa) by the heretics, Buddhists and Jains, a chapel stained with blood is a rare sight, which is shown to the curiosity of tourists, in Nepal the temple is a kind of shambles. Horns, bulls heads hung on the walls, blood stains on the soil and on the idols, small of the slanter-house which one, breathes are enough to indicate the sanguinary prodigality of the faithful. The sacrifice of the buffalo in particular is an unforgettable nightmare; the vigorous animal is firmly bound by the four feet, the head thrown back to clear and stretch the neck, in this priest deals two symmetrical incisions on the right and left of the neck, without haste or emotion he presses his fingers in the gaping wounds, widens and searches in the flesh for the jugular veins, he separates them from the enveloping tissues by dexterous jerks and brings them out slowly to the edge of the wound, in taking care not to cut them the half-choked animal, contracts and exerts itself to no purpose, around it the assistants discuss in a peaceful way the

manoeuvres of the priest. At last the critical moment has come; an incision dealt simultaneously in the two veins allows the escape of a flood of blood which spurts out towards the idol. Is it covered with blood, and the rice deposited as an offering in front of it? The divinity has approved the homage. Otherwise when the awkwardness of the operators has wrongly calculated the distances, the angles, the openings of the incisions, every thing has to be re-done. The sacrifice consumed the head is detached, placed before the divinity and the flesh roughly cut up, shared between the priest and sacrificer, serves to plentiful agapes (love-feasts).

The method of the Gurkha is less barbarous and quicker, the Khukhuri, handled with dexterity slices with one stroke alone, rarely with two the powerful neck of the beast. On certain occasions the sacrifice becomes an orgy of blood; fifty years ago to the testimony of Jang Bahadur the total number of buffaloes slayed rose to nine thousand for the ten days of the Durgapuja.

Besides the sacrifices, the drive of the chariot (rathayatra) is a regular feature of the programme of the feasts. The chariot intended to carry the god and his associate or his human representatives in an massive construction in wood. A combination of strong beams, of between thirty and forty feet long, is set like a platform on wheels made of thick and

broad wood. The platform supports a scaffolding of between ten and fifteen metres. The whole has a fair resemblance to our chariots during Mid-Lent. The structure is dragged by the hands without any team of animals; on the long course it goes over, it must resist the most severe shocks. The alluvial soil of the valley is furrowed with streams and ditches which are not crossed over by any bridge, and in the ascent as well as in the descent, the steep banks give away or sink under the weight of the chariot. The least hitch threatens to delay the procession by one day, because the the chariot and the divinity must necessarily pass a night at fixed stages; should the sun sink in the West without the preposterous halt having been reached, the morrows course will not go beyond the stage that was missed, however close it might be. The crowd watches with anxiety the incidents of the trip, ready to interpret them as omens. After two and a half centuries, one still relates the adventures of the procession of the chariot in the year 1654, in the reign of the mysterious Siddhi Narasimha, at Patan. Having commenced moving under unfortunate suspicions, the chariot of Marsyendra Natha advanced on the first day as far as the flight of an arrow, on the morrow, the journey was as slow. On the eighth, a sudden jerk (or jolt) broke the front portion. Five weeks later, the chariot still persude the stages of its arduous itinerary, when the right wheel was engulfed in the clay; a day later, the other wheel broke. A whole day was spent in repairing it, the journey was

hardly resumed, when the two wheels cracked at the same time, a new delay was caused. The chariot was repaired and crossed the stream of Nikku, the right wheel remains fixed in the sand; then the pole (of the chariot) broke. It was sorrowfully decided to remove the divine image from the chariot and to carry it on a stretcher back to its lodgings. The anxiety increased when the face of one of the Ganeshas was noticed to be perspiring. A special sacrifice was then offered with the view of keeping away the threatening dangers.

The yatra which commemorates an episode of the religious or legendary history and which professes to evoke the same in the mind of the faithful, would carry a dwarf of dramatic art whom the beliefs of Tantrism have vivided. The Tantras, wherein Buddhism and Shivaism communicate, prescribe ceremonies brutally realistic where the faithful assembled worship one of the divine couples under the feature of a small boy and small girl, consecrated by preliminary operations. The sexual mysticism which presides over these doubtful rites loves to express itself in the disturbing visions of the delicat-flash. Under this inspiration, the yatras have integrated in Bengal a renewal of the Indian theatre. In Nepal also, they seem to have transformed themselves at an early period into living pictures (tableaux vivants) "The Lakhya-yatra instituted by Gunakama deva the Thakuri to commemorate the victory of Buddha

over the tempter Mara, represented the gods in adoration before Shakyamuni triumphant. Even to-day on the scaffolding of the chariot of the Magha Purnima, truculent personages figure (or represent) the adventures of the demon Hiranya Kashipu and of his son Prahalada the enemy the other the devotee of Vishnu. From an early date also, the Kumaris the Virgins who incarnated the energies (Shakti) of Tantrism have been shown by little girls, carefully chosen for this glorious role. To watch them sitting on their thrones hierarchy and grave with fixed looks features faked laden with jewels and and sumptuous garbs, the nostril swollen with superhuman pride, beautiful as idols children by their frail grace women by their fascinating charm one does not feel surprised that a whole nation worships them, The expense is not without profit. The kumari who figures in the procession of the Indra-yatra is lodged several years in a special house and receives an important donation. But what a test also she has to undergo. In a dimly lighted hall the heads of bulls tinged with blood are at the close of the Dacakra. It is there that the little competitors are introduced and closed in, all aged between six and seven years and recruited in a small group of banras families. From outside their behaviour is keenly watched. The least expression of fear eliminates the child; the true Kumari, who rides across a tiger and visits cemeteries has no fear of blood or of the Charnel-house. The little girl who holds good, really deserves the homage of the king as the goddess in

person and to be escorted by the sabre of the State. When the occasion arises the Kumari makes uses of her figurants to manifest her wishes; when Prithivi Narayan young men then lived as a guest at the court of Bhatgaon with king Ranajit Malla, the two princes sat side by side to watch the procession of the Vijaya-dashami, go past The kumari who had to give a flower to the king handed it over instead to Prithivi Narayan, the Bhairava who assisted her did likewise. The divine approbation designated the Gurkhas for the Empire.

The dances and the procession of masks complete ordinarily the march-past; the odd and rather frightful whim of the disguiser recalls very vividly the diabolical dances of the lamaical chamanism and Buddhism. The actors, head dressed with heads of tigers beats, lions with profuse manes, stamp their feet, jump and shout. Permanent platforms built of masonry and bricks on the great squares serve as stages to these entertainments. A witness who knew these scenes in the days of their splendour, under the last of the Mallas, has left a detailed description of them.¹⁰ "The people of the country have the habit, during their feasts, of representing a story drawn from their sacred books or a satirical comedy in which they turn to ridicule the certain ways of a particular person. These scenes are represented on one of the public squares, to this effect they have erected on them square platforms of about twenty

each side and about three feet high. The spectators sit down on mats spread on the bare ground of the squares or roads. They have no theatre or getting up (of a dramatic piece); but the piece has to take place near a river, they spread a cloth on which is painted a river on the scene (or stage) on which the actors are playing, if it takes place in the interior of a (barcareccia), some of the actors then hold in their hands four or six branches of some tree or other; it takes place in a temple the actors place an idol in the middle, and so forth for the change of scene. The actors of these comedies have very little recitative work but on the contrary a great deal of motion, to such an extent, that the principal actor does not recite eight or ten phrases in various scenes in a comedy lasting two or three hours but the choruses do all the singing like in the Greek comedies the Nepalese have at least two choruses in each piece, and the third chorus is formed by the entire choir, that is to say by the two choruses together. The actor expresses for example in two or three verses that he recites the extreme pain (or sorrow) which he is suffering; the choruses, sing alternately, the sorrowful tune of the bitterness of grief, the various emotion which stand out by such a grief in the heart of the being, like hope, despair, fear etc., and thus with all other passions; and while the chorus sings the actor, by the help of his face, feet and hands also by constant dancing harmonizes his gestures to the meaning of the works which are sung. The orchestra of

these comedies consists of a few small drums, trumpets and of an instrument consisting of two small metal vases, which are knocked one against the other, according to the note they give out, and in each comedy these are at least eight pairs of these instruments which when played expertly combine in a harmonious chime (or jingle) four trumpets and three drums complete the orchestra. The drum directs the symphony and it is beaten with the hands.

So many divinities and so many sanctuaries only encumber the life of the faithful. The Nepalese calendar seems to consist of a series of general holidays. Pilgrimages, processions, abstinences, alternate with a monotonous regularity, trimmed with forced rests, which are imposed by the ceremonies of the domestic life and the accidental decrees prescribed by the astrologers. Astrology, which plays so considerable a part in the Hindu life is sovereign mistress in Nepal; the Chinese visitors of the VIIth century were already struck with it. The paths of planets the eclipses the conjunctions regulate the home life as well as royal politics. The astrologer who works out the horoscope of those newly-born, calculates the date propitious to marriages, treaties in declaring war interprets the signs and the prodigies and denounces the nefarious hours which delay the departure, interrupt the traffic, suspend enterprises. I shall not attempt to analyse here day

by day the religious calendar, true to the scheme that I have worked out, I shall confine myself to mentioning the characteristics festivals of Nepal. In the Gurkha calendar,¹¹ the year—whether it be reckoned in the Shakya era (78 A. C.) or in the Samvat era (57 B. C.) commences on the first of Vaisakha (April) badi, fifteen days later than in India where the 1st of Chaitra sudi is the New Year's day. The year of the Nevar computation (880 A.C.) began in Kartika. The procession of Matsyendra Natha (Matsyendra Natha Yatra or Bunga yatra) solemnly opens religious year. It commemorates the introduction of the new god under Narendra deva, the Thakhuri. The Nevars of the two avowals celebrate the procession with equal zest; the Gurkhas without acknowledging it as a religious festival attend to it nevertheless as they would a national festival. Matsyendra Natha is too big a personage that the people should risk provoking his rancours. A company under the orders of a sardar, forms an escort to the god during the whole of his trip, and also curb the suspicious enthusiasm of the crowd. The first day of Vaisakha badi, the Nikhus of Patan go and remove from the temple, red idol three feet high, consecrated by the veneration of centuries and carry it to the south of the town, under the very tree where Narendra deva and his associates stopped on their way back from mount Kapotala; the stone terrace sheltered under the tree is credited with dating back to Narendra deva.

The Nikhus deposit the statue there; they undress it, wash it (excepting the

head which they are not allowed to touch), it is the bath of Matsyendra (snana). The king's sabre, the equivalent of the sceptre in Nepal, is then presented to divinity. After this Matsyendra is brought back to his temple, he is painted, he is clothed and on the 6th he is exposed to the sun. The Nikhus who are Sivaites henceforth hand over the affairs to the Banras. The 12 and the 13, the Banras celebrate the ten ceremonies (dasha-karma) which, beginning from the conception, introduce as a child to be yet born in the regular sections of the society. The 1st of vaisakha sudi, the procession of the chariot begins. Previous to this two chariots have been manufactured; one the largest in the Western borough of Patan near the chaitya of Ashoka; the other at Patan itself in the court-yard of Matsyendra Nath's temple. The greater chariot carries on a vast wooden platform, a square chapel adorned with gildings, around it, a passage allows one to move about, the roof of the chapel supports a pyramid of boughs poles and interlaced strings with yards of ribbons, on the summit at a height of between twenty and twenty five metres is hoisted a gilded image (or statue) of Vajrasatamva which is again crowned with bouquet of leaves. The four wheels of the chariot have the eyes of Bhairava as ornament these eyes are placed on the axle-tree a long pole thin and bent in the fore part carries at its extremity a head of Bhairava. The other chariot is only a reduction of the first one but the doll of twentyfive centuries which it carries is the authentic image of the god. A crowd of faithful constantly renewed

yoke themselves to the chariots and drag them. The course to be travelled over is divided exclusive of accidental delays, in three very short stages, between half a kilometre and one kilometre each one has its regular programme of sacrifice and offerings. The most important stage is last one from the Suvarna-dhara (Golden fountain) to the tree of Narendra. The whole Nevar population of Patan takes part in the festival and the king accompanied by the Prime Minister and the other eminent men all mounted on elephants of ceremonies come and assist in person to the march-past (or go-past). The chariots trace a curve on the right of the tree (pradaksina), then they remain stationary there for two nights then they go to a short distance to wait, ten to twenty days a propitious date for the Gudri-Yatra. When the astrologers have recognized the favourable day the procession starts moving again and the chariots are dragged on the manoeuvring fields, to the south-west of the town; they remain there for three nights, Lastly the grand day arrives, saluted (hailed) by a whole nation eager to assist to the disrobing of the god. The Banras in full dress, garbed with a red robe, the head freshly shaven prop up the small chariot against the larger one, they bring out the sacred image from its niche, and they remove piece-meal its spangled fineries. But it is the chemise (or shirt) that is looked forward to, that is keenly awaited; it appears the priests exhibit it solemnly to the crowd which prostrates itself and worship it. Matsyendra can from this moment depart from Patan,

he carries away nothing that would be prejudicial to his faithful his poverty suffices to his happiness. The small statue once undressed is transferred under a shower of flowers and offerings into a kind of holy arch which the Banras saddle on their shoulders, a cortege of flowers and illuminations accompanies it to Bungamati, five kilometres to the south of Patan;¹² there is the ancient Amarapara which the miraculous barking of a dog designated as the site of the bitch of Matsyendra Natha.

Matsyendra Natha must reside thither, six months in his temple in the centre of the village; when the year is half spent, he will go back to Patan. But once every twelve year, Matsyendra is not content with the tabernacle to travel the route from Bungamati to Patan and from Patan to Bungamati; it is then necessary to construct at Bungamati herself, a solid chariot which will bring the god and take him back across a country furrowed with capricious streams deeply dug by the waters and without roads.

The procession of Matsyendra Natha is believed to infallibly bring with it, rain the population of Nepal lives almost solely on cultivation, awaits from the efficacious intervention of the gods the the beneficial showers, essential to the gohya (rice of the highlands) and the maize. Beaming spring then spreads out in all its gracious splendour; the orange tree,

lemon-tree (or citron-tree), the lilac, the rose-tree, full blown thickets perfume the air with their fragrance.

Whilst Matsyendra Natha is honoured at Patan the town of Bhatgaon celebrates with less pomp the procession of Bhairava, her patron. It is Jayay-jyotir Malla who is credited with having introduced in the XVth century, the custom of taking out for a drive, the chariot of Adi-Bhairava, on the day of the Mesasamkranti (entry of the sun into Aries). Actually the Yatra is celebrated on the 1st day of the vaisakha badi; it lasts two days. Two chariots which carry one of them Bhairava and the other Bhairavi, are dragged through the town; in front of the temple of Bhairava, a mast is erected (linga) and thither the chariots are taken to the people proceed with the worship then the sacrifices and the feast completed the mast is knocked down and the chariots are removed to their destination. In the same period also, Devi is honoured with two great festivals; one of them purely local, at Kathmandu, it is the 'Neta-Devi-Yatra'; the other outside Nepal proper at Nayokot but common to the whole of Nepal; the 'Devi-Yatra'. The procession which proceeds from Nayakot of Devi-ghat has more faithfully preserved than the others its original character of fierceness and sorcery. The centre of the rites of the Yatras is an ordinary heap of unhewn stones at the junction of the Tricula-Ganga and the Suryavati (vulg. Tadi), both deriving their sources from the Gosainthan. The

current, when the snows melt, is so impetuous that it carries away all the constructions erected on the banks; therefore in spite of the holiness of the site, in spite of the vows and zeal of numerous kings, it has been found necessary to do away with a temple. The divine idol remains at Nayokot the whole year round sheltered in a sanctuary, at the beginning of the month of vaisakha, it is solemnly carried to the heap of stones at Devi-Ghat; the place is then surrounded with a wooden fence and the rites begin. The Banras carry out the ceremonies; they recite the formulae, they chant the hymns, adorn the statue; but the operations of the sacrifice do not devolve upon them. Professional butchers are essential (kasains) to slaughter the numberless buffaloes which for five days running make bloody this barbarous chapel. The peasant class also plays its role, two jyapus (cultivators) disguised one as Bhairava, the other as a Bhairavi, receive the unanimous homage of the assiduous Ghurkhas and Nevars and drink the warm blood itself which trickles down the quivering cups. One can see them, led by their devoted gluttony, or by their exuberance filling themselves expanding swelling finally bursting into hiccoughs and rejecting a reddish vomiting which the faithful fight over with avidity as the remains of the meals of the gods. After five days of killing an orgy, the statue returns to its sanctuary at Nayokot and the spirit of the goddess is unchained unrelenting against the infidels who have refused her offerings. They will succumb to the "aoul" the fatal fever which starts.

haunting the low and sunken grounds from the very hour when the rites of Devi-Ghat are completed.

The 'Neta Devi-Yatra' of Kathmandu, repeats but on a smaller scale the same scenes of horror and disgust. It is celebrated at night, in front of the temple of Neta-Devi, on the 14th of Vaisaka sudi. The jyapus alone carry out the functions of priests and sacrificers; twelve among them disguised as divinities are entrusted with drinking the blood. Every twelve years the festival is celebrated by exception during the day.

Lastly the town of Sankho honours on the 3rd of Vaisakha badi, another form of Devi, common to the Buddhists, and the Sivaitis, Vajrayogini, who has her temple on mount Manichur. The statue of the goddess is taken out in procession in a tabernacle (khat).

The great festival in the month of Jyaistha (May-June), the Sithi-Yatra "The festival of the stone-throwing" is in course of disappearing. In dates back like so many institutions, to Guna Kama deva the Thakuri. Skanda, the son of Shiva appeared to him one night and asked him to gather all the boys of Kathmandu, the new capital near a spot consecrated to Kali Kankeshwari, on the banks of the Bisnhamati, between the town of Swayambunath; he would thus avoid all threats of revolt

and further, he would make sure of the defeat of his enemies. The young god added that his august parents had taught him since childhood to throw stones during the six first days of Jyaistha. Guna Kama understood the advice. He regularly summoned his subjects on the 6th of Jyaistha sudi, on the banks of the river, at the prescribed spot. The people would divide in two camps and would fight with stones the prisoners of the two sides were offered in sacrifice. They were only allowed to redeem themselves at a late period. Lastly, half a century ago the English Resident M. Colvin who assisted to this spectacle was struck and wounded with a stone; Jang Bahadur grasped the opportunity to abolish what remained of the feast. The little children only continued to bombard themselves with pebbles on the day of the Sithi-Yatra.

In Shrawana (July-August) when the torrential rains drive the snakes out of their holes and make them more than ever dreadful, Nepal, like India celebrates the festival of the snakes (Nagapanchami) on the 5th badi. The local exegesis seems to connect this feast to the memory of a great struggle between Garuda and the Nagas; the statue of Garuda at Changu-Narayan still perspires regularly on the anniversary of so severe a struggle. The priests wipe off this perspiration with a handkerchief which is sent to the king. A thread of this cloth, soaked in water, suffices to change it into an infallible remedy against the bites of reptiles. The rite properly (strictly)

speaking is celebrated on a confluent; it is a Nevar who officiates. After a morning ablution surrounded with ceremonies he deposits on a plate of rice some vermilion, milk, water flour of rice soaked in water, flowers, melted butter (ghee), spice, sandal wood incense kindles the incense and chants a benediction to the Naga-rajās to request them to bless the crops.

The 14th badi, the Nevars children take out for a ride through the streets, a good natured looking man in straw, baptized Ghanta Karna, in memory of a Raczshas who was expelled from Nepal, after having beaten the dummy each one in turn, they burn it in the evening.

The month of Bhadrapada (August-September) opens with the feast of the Cows (Gai-Jatras). The 1st badi, a procession of masks wearing all a cow's head with wreaths of grass around it, go past in the streets, singing and dancing; each Nevar family who has suffered a death in the course of the year is supposed to represent itself by a mask; behind these odd looking figurants is dragged an uncouth looking picture (or image) of a cow and a kumari closes the procession. On the following day the same procession begins again, but the tiger replaces the cow; it is the "Vijaghra-Yatra".

From the 6th Bhadrapada badi to the 10th Sudi, the Buddhists of Patan

visit successively all the monasteries of the town and bring their varied offerings to all the chapels. Every day, there forms a procession of banras carrying small trees made of wax with flowers of white paper; on the occasion of these visits the viharas exhibit their paintings, images of gods, of saints of Buddhas of Bodhisattvas religious or legendary scenes and also curiosities held to be sacred; such as the frying-pan where Vikramajit had himself cooked; such as again the rice grains "pre-historical" preserved at the Pinta-vihara and which are as large as nutmegs.

On the 8th badi the Hindus celebrate the birth of Krishna (krishna-janmastami). It is one of the two feasts (with the Dasain) where the game is officially authorized; and even this permission is very limited. The amateur of games can only indulge in their passions on a determined spot at the ghat of the Bagmati, in front of Thapathali, near the bridge which connects Kathmandu and Patan.

The procession of the Banras (Banra-Yatra) is not strictly speaking a religious feast since it does not entail special ceremonies in honour of a divinity, but it is a pious institution which must be repeated at least twice a year, in Shrawana, on the 8th badi and in Bhadrapada, on the 13th badi, but it can be renewed at all times if funds permit to meet expenses. The feast consists essentially in a distribution of money and food to the Banras and recalls the time when the residents

of the Viharas, in real Bhikhsus would live from alms. If it is a private individual who offers the Yatra, he summons by individual invitations the Banras of the town or even of the whole valley to a "Samyaksam-bhojana" (food for the body) the expense may be very heavy, because the number of assistants often number about ten thousand. Besides, the feast entails amusements, illuminations; the king must assist to it or have himself represented and this is again an honour which costs, because a silver throne must be offered him, a parasol and set of kitchen utensils. Facing the house of the donor is erected a wooden platform with an enclosure open on the road, the whole is adorned with tapestry and profusely illuminated. The mitre of Amitabha is brought from Swayambunath which the Vajracharyas come and honour. Then the procession begins; previously to this a covered path is prepared all along the houses which the cortege of the Banras has to follow, this covered path is separated from the pavement by a wooden fence and which becomes a foot bridge at each crossing of roads. The women of the Buddhists who wish to associate themselves to the feast come beforehand in full-dress, with flowers pinned to their hair, and take up their position on the road through which the procession passes, with baskets filled with victuals, each Banra of the procession receives on his passage, fruits, grains or money. The baskets when once empty it devolves on the donor to re-fill them again. Here and there, groups aged men or young men respectfully pour water on the feet of the Banras.

The walls are adorned with paintings, a committee of Banras first of all inspects the decency of the arrangements. At night the illuminations light up the whole path. Lastly on the following day the mitre escorted by choirs of young girls, solemnly returns to Swayambunath.

The month of Bhadrapada ends up in the orgies of the 'Indra-Jatra'. It is at Kathmandu that it is most brilliantly held. Indra is the patron of the town and the Gurkhas love to recall the memories which feast awaken. It is again Guna Kama the founder of Kathmandu who is recognized as the creator of the Indra-Jatra. The feast lasts eight days from the 11th Bhadrapada sudi to the 4th Ashwina badi. The day spent in visiting temples and in feasting; in the evening the houses are illuminated; the dancers of the caste gather before the palace disguised as women demons animals and dance to a late hour; the crowd flock together to assist to this spectacle mixed with comedies and buffooneries. The dancers receive from the Government an indemnity rather derisory. All over the town the images of Indra are seen, with outstretched arms, marked on the forehead, hands and feet with religious signs (tilakas); the Capuchins of the XVIIIth century thought they could recognize in them a disguise (naturally Manichean) of Christ on the cross. These images erected on trestles or under provisional shelters are consecrated to the memory of defunct ancestors and they are invoked on this title; strictly speaking the procession starts from the temple of Indra, on the

Indra-Than, at western extremity of the valley and it proceeds to the temple of Bala-Kumari, in the town of Thimi (between Kathmandu and Bhatgaon) visiting a great number of sanctuaries on its journey.

Another procession attached to the feast of Indra in the XVIIIth century has eventually become one with it. Towards 1750, a young girl of a Banra family declared in a fit of possession that she was kumari, in person. King Jaya Prakasha Malla who was informed would not be convinced; he banished the child and its family for imposture. On the evening of the condemnation, the queen is in the throes of the same fit as the child, she begins shouting that the spirit of kumari is possessing her. Jaya Prakasha, terrified hastens to recall the little exile, solicits her forgiveness. In order to wash his guilt he instituted a procession; a chariot in the shape of a pagoda was constructed with three stories and in the lower niche, the kumari would receive the homage of her worshippers, near her, on the platform of the chariot, priests and a general who held the royal sabre would stand. The king in person sitting on his throne would wait for her at the gate of the palace to wish her and to offer her his offering. The ceremony was renewed the following years. In 1763, the day on which the procession was to go past in front of the palace (the fourteenth day sudi, which is the Ananta-chaturdaci) the king of the Gurkhas Prithivi

Narayan, took advantage of the confusion to penetrate into the town by night helped by the betrayal of the Brahmans, the people and the soldiers all dulled by drunkenness did not even attempt to resist. Jaya Prakasha had hardly time to escape and fly towards Bhatgaon.

Prithivi Narayan sat on the throne erected at the entrance of the Durbar, wished the Kumari, received her homage (prasada) and gave orders for the feast to resume. Even to-day on the evening of the Ananta-chaturdaci a great mast is erected on the square of the Durbar on which (mast) is suspended an oilflame decorated with religious emblems; an artillery salute pays respect to the flag, which is hoisted and commemorates the precise hour of the Ghurkhas occupation of Kathmandu.

The "Dasain" is not less popular in Nepal than it is in Bengal, where it carries the name of Durga Puja; it is also called "Dasharha" the Ten-days or Navaratri, the Nine Nights. It lasts, in fact, from the 1st to the 10th Aswhina (September-October), sudi. It takes place at the time when they begin to reap the transplanted rice in Nepal and thus takes the character of an agrarian feast. On the first day the Brahmans sow barley on a clean pot and water it with consecrated water; on the tenth day uproot the young shoot and put them together in bouquets which the faithful pay for in various

gifts. It is then only that they crop all over the valley. The 'Dasain' however celebrates in principle a warlike exploit of the victory of Durga over the formidable foe, the demon Mahaisa (Asura). So then it is at the same time a military feast; on the seventh day the king escorted by the prime minister and high officials, assist to a grand parade of the garrison on the Tundikhel, the cannonade and volley of musketry, alternate uninterruptedly. The 9th, each regiment offers sacrifices to its flag adorned on the occasion with flowers and banderoles (streamers); Bulls with their horns daubed and with garlands around their necks, are brought before the flag and decapitated with a stroke of the Khukuri. The children of the troop in order to exercise themselves attempt the same thing on he-goats. Each officer is vain enough to offer at least one buli, without prejudice to the victims he sacrifices in his home. In the barracks of kot in the neighbourhood of the palace the king and the generals usually gather to relish the carnage, to the sound of shots and music; one after another, one hundred to one hundred and fifty bulls are slayed, without time being allowed for the removal of the corpses. The "Dasain" is further the beginning of the administrative and domestic year. The yearly distribution of employments is definitely stopped on the first day of their gratifications. At the end of the tenth holiday, the king gives a great reception (darbar) and the officials maintained in their employments or the new ones proceed to pay their homages together with their offerings to

their respective chiefs. The tribunals are empty during the whole of the Dasain; and the prisoners are transferred outside the premises.

The "Swayambhu-mela" is exclusively a Buddhistic festival which celebrates at the full Moon of Ashwina; it marks the close of the rainy season; the matings which shelter the bell turrets of the chaityas are removed and parasols erected on the ancient monuments of Ashoka in Patan.

The Diwali, (Dipawali) is an official festival and at the same time a period of popular rejoicings. It lasts five days in the month of Kartika (October-November) sudi. It recalls the victory of Vishnu on the demon Naraka and his victorious entry in the conquered town. The houses are adorned with flags and beautifully illuminated; the spouse of Vishnu Laksmi goddess of fortune, precedes over his rejoicings. The first day garlands of flowers are hung round the necks of dogs and a worship is given them. The pariahs of Nepal by a humiliating relaxation benefit by this exceptional good-will and spend this day without suffering affronts. On the second day (vrisabha-puja), it is the turn of the bulls and the cows which receive the same honour. On the third day, each one makes an inventory of his cash-account and worships Laksmi. On the fourth day each chief of house-

hold worships as divinities the persons of his family and house and offers them a feast. On the fifth day is the 'feast of brothers' (bhai-puja), the sister pays a visit to the brother, places a sign of respect (tika) on his forehead, a garland round his neck, washes his feet and offers him kindnesses; in return she receives a small present. But it is sport especially which makes the Diwali popular in Nepal; the Government fixes a variable period, usually of one week, during which time sport ceases to be a prohibition; every one is free to play, whenever and wherever he chooses, in his own house as well as in the road. The game played without security is disallowed; the players are compelled to deposit their share the game is played. This precaution has been deemed necessary to impose a restraint to the allurings of an irresistible passion; it is rumoured on this subject strange stories such for instance that of the player who from loss ends up cutting off his left hand enveloping it in a cloth summoning his adversary to hold the stake or return the money won.

During the whole of the duration of the month of Kartika, the most zealous devotees take up their abode in the temple of Pashupati and take only, so they say, for nourishment, the water poured in lustration over the linga. On the evening of the full moon at the close of the month the temple is illuminated; a great feast is held within its premises and on the morrow a joyous procession brings away to their homes, the heroines of this long abstinence.

On the 4th of the month of Magha (January-February) badi, the day is consecrated to Ganesha; the day of abstinence is naturally followed by a night of feasting.

The 5th sudi bears the name of Basanta-pauchami, in memory of the time it showed the beginning of spring; it is more commonly called the Sri-panchami, in spite of the fact that the day is consecrated to Saraswati. On the morrow the people gather on a plank with the books, copy-books, inkstands and kalam of the house they are sprinkled over with flowers all white and the people address a worship to Saraswati (puja). The inkstand is not used the whole day, in cases of urgent necessity the people write with chalk or charcoal.

The month of Magha closes up with a great procession in honour of the brave bathers who continued in spite of the cold to dip in the morning holy waters of the Bagmati. A procession goes and takes them from the ghat, they are carried on stretchers to the temples with lamps on their chests, arms and knees, their eyes covers with spectacles to protect them from the sparks other bathers follow who carry on their heads earthen pots filled with water and perforated with tiny punctures, the spectators gather the drops that ooze out and wet their foreheads with them.

The Shiva-Ratri which is celebrated on the night of the new Moon of Falguna (February-March) is considered by the followers of Shiva as the most impor-

tant of all the feasts of Shiva. The devotees of Shiva visit the most reputed lingas on this occasion; the notoriety of Pashupati, draws in Nepal far-distant worshippers, some of them even come from the most southern regions of India, the admittance into the country by the route of Shiva-garhi is then allowed without formalities or duties. The road is covered with exalted yogis, quackish fakeers and naive devotees attached to their sides the eternal procession of cheats and dupes. The Nevars, for their part, prepare themselves for the feast by a circular visit around the valley, in sixty four stages; the 'catuh-sasti yatra'. During the whole day of the Shiva-ratri, Pashupati is surrounded with a swarming multitude, keen on worshipping the four-faced linga, on spreading on it the refreshing leaves of the bilva to calm the painful erection of the generating god and on bathing in the Bagmati. The king himself does not fail to visit the place. In the afternoon, surrounded by the high 'personnel' of the state, he holds a review of the manoeuvring grounds of Kathmandu.

The 'holi' (full moon of Falguna) is the real feast of spring the Brahmans by a whimsical invention, have connected it with the worship of Krishna but the people are content in celebrating the carnival; each one pretends to joyfully bury the dying year, the symbolic corpse of which hangs on the gate of the palace; at evening

time the many-coloured tatters which represented by gone days are thrown to the ground and heaped up in a large brazier (furnace). Even the confetti are not wanting to the festival; each one lays hold of a sack (or bag) of red powder, and it is a mettle of him who can bombard best the passer by either by handfulls of the stuff or by means of a long tube.

The religious year which opens with the yatra of the small 'Matsyendra Natha' of Patan closes with the yatra of the 'small', very much different to the larger one, it is not red but white; it is not from of Padmapani, but of Somantabhadra. Its origin dates back to the period of Yakche Malla (towards the middle of the XVth century). Potters who were in search of clay brought to light a statue which dated from the reign of Guna Kama deva and which was none other than Sanu Matsyendra Nath. The king had repaired and erected a temple to it. In the XVIIth century, Pratapa Malla established in his honour a 'rathayatra' which has lasted. It lasts excluding incidents for four days, from the 8th to the 11th Chaitra, Sudi. The Nevars alone celebrate it; but the 9th is day of universal, because the Gurkhas celebrate on that date the Hindu festival in honour of Rama (Rama-navami).

(Contd.)

FOOT NOTES

1. This is at least the figure procured from several recensions. Others give fifteen or even twenty-five, key, Chawannes, Bull Ec. Franc. Extr. Or., 1903-420 sqq.
2. See the photograph, I, 173
3. The Tibetans, who frequent particularly the chaitya of Buddhanath and who consider it as their national temple in Nepal, relate with another tale, the origin of the monument. A tear of pity came out from the eye of Avolokitecvara, and gave birth in heaven to a divine virgin. But the young girl allowed herself to be tempted by stealing the flowers in paradise; punished with forfeiture, she went and took birth on earth, in Nepal, in a family of swineherds. Having grown big, she was married; she began to rear geese, became rich at this trade and decided to consecrate her fortune in building a chaitya. She went to interview the king and asked him as much land as a skin (hide) would cover (Taurino quantum posset circumdare tergo, "Eneide", I, 368). The king agreed. She then took a hide, sliced it in thin strips and made use of them to encircle a considerable surface. The anxious ministers pressed on the king to intervene; but respectful of his given word, he allowed things to proceed. The foundress died before the completion of her work; but her sons were able to terminate the construction; they deposited in the interior of the stupa a bushel of relics of Buddha kacyapa. As a recompense, they were born later in Tibet, one of them was Thon-mi Sambhota, who composed the Tibetan alphabet another was Cantaraksita, the first abbot of Tibet. The elephant who had carried the materials, furious that no reward had been requested for him was determined on revenging himself; he became king Glan darma, the fanatical adversary of Buddhism. But the last of

the three sons obtained on the other hand the pleasure of becoming the murderer of Glan darma (Waddell, *Proceed, As. Soc. Bengal*, 1892, p. 186-189). All this account is based on a series of 'popular etymologies. Another Tibetan legend current in Nepal considers king Mana deva as the incarnation of a Tibetan Lama named Khasa; hence the origin of the name Khasa-chaitya often applied to the temple of Buddhanath.

4. See the photograph I, 231.
5. See the photograph I, 373.
6. See buhler, "Wien Zeits Kunde des Morg", X, 138 sqq. Edifices of a similar style are also represented on the ancient coins of the Moumbaras, but they have only one roof. However, Mr. Vincient Smith has been in the hands of M. Rodgers a bronze coin of the Udumbaras which showed a two storied construction (*J. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1897, p. 9).
7. See the photographs, I, 195 and 287. It is particularly interesting to compare these photographs with the temple of Mahabodhi, unfortunately altered by a mass of so called restorations. Key, Cunningham, "Mahabodhi", London 1892, specially the plate XVI.
8. Father Ginseppe had already been struck by it: "I think that if the Europeans ever went to Nepal they could take example on these little temples, principally on two that are in the great court of Lalit Patan, facing the king's palace" *Rech Asiat*, II 352.
9. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern architecture*, London, 1876, p. 305.
9. On this "diabolical operation" still in usage among the modern lamas, See Huc, "Souvenirs of a voyage in Tartary, Tibet and China". Paris, 1850, I, p. 30759.
10. "Relazione"...of Father Cassien in the "Rivista Geographica Italiana", 1901, p. 6:1. The description which is given by Father Cassien does not only interest Nepal and her religious feasts, it mentions or rather brings a precious document to the history of the Indian theatre, it particularly illustrates the still doubtful question of the scenery.
11. Without entering in the complications of the Hindu calendar, it is essential to point out here, that the year in it, is divided into twelve months and each month into two fortnights corresponding respectively to the waxing phase of the Moon, "badi", from the full moon to the new moon. The month begins, according to the diversity or

the local usages either at the full moon or at the new moon in Nepal; it actually begins at the full moon.

12. It is undoubtedly the temple of Bungamati which is described in this passage of the "Notice" of father Ginseppe. "One finds to the west of Lalit Patan at a distance of three miles, a castle named "Banga" which confines a magnificent temple. No missionary has ever entered this castle. Those who are entrusted to look after it have such a scrupulous veneration for the temple that it is forbidden for any one to enter thither with his shoes on his feet; and the missionaries did not wish to extend this mark of respect to the false divinities which are worshipped in the temple. But during my sojourn in Nepal, this castle being in the

possession of the inhabitants of Gurkha the commander of the castle and the two forts which border the path, friend of the missionaries, requested me to call over to his place as he was in need of some medicine...the guards dared not compel me to remove my shoes.... he called me in the veranda situated in the interior of the great compound which faces the temple, thither they had gathered the riches the temple. It was due to this incident that I gained the opportunity of seeing the temple; I then crossed the great court which was in front it is entirely paved with almost blue marble but intermingled with large flowers of bronze artistically set. The splendour of this pavement surprised me and I do not believe that it has its equal in Europe. "Rech Asiat., 11, 353 sq.



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प्राचीन नेपाल

नम्बर- ५९-६०

अक्टो-नोभेम्बर १९६७

Ancient Nepal

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Editor
Ramesh Jung Thapa

NEPAL

(Continued)

History of Nepal

- *Sylvain Lévi*

Nepal figures in authentic and positive history only from the IVth century of the Christian era. The first dated document which mentions the name of Nepal is the panegyric of the Emperor Samudra Gupta on the pillar of Allahabad; the inscription enumerates the tribes (or nations) subdued in the character of tributaries vassals or direct subject to the authority of the powerful sovereign who gave to India for a while the imperial unity. The king of Nepal (Nepal-urpati) is mentioned in the inscription, but ranked second last among the prince who 'paid the tribute, obeyed the orders and came to prostrate themselves to satisfy the haughty will of the master (or lord)'; he is placed between the prince of Kamarupa one on the one hand and the prince of Kartripura on the other. The name of Kartripura has not yet been found elsewhere and remains enigmatic. The name of Kamarupa has lasted; it continues to officially designate the district

to the North-west of Assam on the Southern frontier of Bhutan. The names of Nepal and Kamarupa are frequently compared in literature as they are on the pillar of Allahabad.

Sanscrit literature in its whole sets too many problems to chronology to be of any useful help to it. The great epics and Puranas in particular, still wander at random in the chaos of the Hindu past. Whatever be really the date it is essential to observe that the name of Nepal is not to be found, as far as I know in the Mahabharata or in the Ramayana or again in the principal Puranas, in spite of the considerable place the Himalayas occupy in their accounts and legends. The general silence of the great epic compilations and mythological compilations leads one to conclude that the name of

Nepal was still unknown or was not then existing at the epoch of the 'diascevast'. While the neighbouring Kamarupa under the archaical designation of Pragjyotisa was admitted in the cycle of consecrated rhapsodies. Nepal remained the unknown asylum of the barbarous Kiratas, inaccessible in their mountains and dreaded by the plain.

A so called text of Vedic literature the Atharva-paricista, mentions it is true, Nepal with Kamarupa; but the work in spite of its claim is a sham supplement of the Atharva-Veda edited at late period; some of its astrological doctrines seem to reveal even into evidence, the influence of Hellenic ideas. In fact it is with the personal literature that the name of Nepal appears in India. One of the twenty-five tales of the Vampire, inserted in the Bharatkatha paicaci of Gunadya, has for its hero a king of Nepal; the two Sanscrit versions are in accord with naming him Yacahketu. This tale belongs of the popular cycle of Muladeva, the king of knaves; the name of Nepal, far from being essential to the narration, is only introduced in it by chance, but the comparison of the two versions attest that this purely arbitrary choice dates back at least to the compiler of the original pracrit, towards the second century of the Christian era.¹ Towards the same period a little later perhaps, the Treaties of Bharata's dramatic art, names 'the people of Nepal' among the inhabitants and neighbours of the mountains.²

In the VIth century the astronomer Varaha-Mihira mentions Nepal in the group of nations threatened like an evil presage, by the intersection of the orbits of Venus and the Moon; but his text reproduces in fact an anterior doctrine which goes back (traces back) to its predecessor Paracara.³

The literature of Buddhism presents several mentions of Nepal but it is difficult to assign to them a positive date. The Mula-Sarvastwada-vinaya-samgraha, compiled by Jinamitra and translated by I-tsing, in 700 J. C. shows in an episode relative to the wearing of wool a troop of Bhiksus on their way to Nepal (Ni-po-lo) whilst Buddha was residing at Cravasti.⁴ The author of this collection is undoubtedly identical to a doctor of the same name whom Hiouentsang extols as one of the stars of Buddhistic science, next to Sthiramati who flourished towards 550; precisely the Tibetan Bu-ston mentions Jinamitra as the disciple of Sthiramati.⁵

The Vinayasamgraha would then be of the VIth-VIIth century, and Jinamitra is borrowing an episode from the canonical texts, was able to introduce in it a name of more recent date. The name of Nepal is also found in the text of a sutra, the Candragarbhastuta, translated in Chinese by Narendrayacas between 550 and 557 J. C.; it figures in a long and interesting list of nations which betrays

either a fabrication or an altering of a late date, hardly anterior to the translator himself.⁶ In the course of the VIIth century, the *Eulogy of the Eight Great Chaitiyas*, attributed to king Horsa Cilditya places Nepal, in company with Kamarupa among the countries possessors of holy relics.⁷ The literature of the tantras drawn up at a fairly early date is naturally familiar with Nepal where the Tantras were honoured, The *Manjuvimala-tantra* translated in Chinese between 980 and 1000 J. C. designates Nepal with Kashmere the *Kapica* (Kiaiwei-chi), the small and the great China (Mahachina) among the kingdoms of Northern India where can be found suitable shelters to complete one's practices;⁸ in another passage it teaches the evil signs which foretells a calamity in Nepal; "When in the days of the nakshatras Hasta, Citra Svati, Vicakha Anuradha, Jyestha, there will be an earthquake, then in the kingdom of Nepal (Ni-po-lo) the small kings of within and those in the neighbourhood will invade, pillage and kill one another mutually."

The *Sarva Tathagatha* (maha-guhya rājhadbutanuttara-pracastamaha mandala-sutra) also mentions Nepal, pell-mell with Magadha, China, Samatata, Lata, etc. among the kingdoms in which reside the disciples of Vajra-pani.⁹

The first authentic personage who finds himself placed in connection with

Nepal is the famous doctor Vasu-bandhu who flourished in the neighbourhood of the Vth and VIth century,¹ according to the account of Taranatha, Vasubandhu already aged proceeded to Nepal accompanied by 500 students; he founded thither religious schools and the number of monks increased considerably. But one day he saw a guru, garbed with his ecclesiastical robes, who was cultivating a field; at the sight of this unexplainable transgression, he understood that the decadence of the doctrine was near at hand; thrice he recited the formula of the *Usnisavijaya dharani* and died. His disciples erected to his memory, a chaitya over the spot.¹²

The Jaina tradition mentions on its side, that the patriarch Bhadrabahu was on his way to Nepal at the time the council of Pataliputra assembled to gather the text of the *Angas* which was almost getting lost.¹³ The death of Bhadrabahu fluctuates according to the various schools, between 357 and 365 B. C. but the *Paricista-purvan* wherein is found the indication of his journey to Nepal is the work of Hemachandra the great Jaina doctor who lived at the court of king Kumara-pala in the XIIth century.

The name of Nepal, Nepala in spite of its Sanscrit feature, does not offer to etymology a satisfactory explanation. Lessen proposed to interpret it, by analogy with the words Himala, Pancala, etc. as

an abstract of the two terms; nipa and ala. Ala would be as in other names of this type an abbreviation of alaya 'abode'; nipa, strengthened into nepa would signify; the foot of a mountain. But even to suppose it as legitimate the modification of nipa into nepa, the meaning attributed here to this word has no other guarantee than that of a scholastic comment; besides it adapts itself rather badly to a country situated in the very heart of the mountains; Nepal is in proper only the great interior valley. The word nipa designates especially a variety of ashoka (the nuclear cadamba of the botanists) which is far from characterizing the Nepalese region. One can still call in the Nipas, princely race of the cycle of the Pandawas, who reigned at Kampilya in the Pancala.

The local interpretation prefers another analysis; it divides the word in 'nepala'; this last element signifies in Sanscrit; 'the protector'. The fantasy of the exegesis has been able to exercise in Sanscrit. The Buddhists see in it a formation drawn from the root 'ne', "to guide", 'No' would be the 'guide who leads into Paradise', Swayambhu Adibuddha. Ne-pala would signify: (the country) which has for protector Swayambhu.

According to the Brahmans 'Ne' would be the real or abbreviated name of a saint who lived at one time in Nepal. In the Pashupati-purana (XXI) Sanat-kumara speaks out: "A saint named

Ne has protected him at one time by his meritorious works; thus it is that the country in the heart of the Himalaya is called Nepala".¹⁴The Nepala-mahatmya(XII) names the same saint Nemi. "O! Nemi, says Pashupati to him, walk at the head of the saints of this sacred domain; it is you who must, O! treasure of austerities, protect this country, oh my lord." And since then the country, has taken the name of Nepala.¹⁵ Instead of Nemi, the eponym is also called sometimes Niyama.¹⁶ In this system of interpretation, Nepal is exacty the counterpoise of the Gurkha; the Gurkha in fact, derives his name from the patronal saint (Gorakha Natha) who protected the town and the country.

The saint Ne or Nemi is known to be the founder of the mystical dynasty of the Guptas; the Lunar dynasty (Somavamca), the first Hindu dynasty which seems to belong to history has for founder a prince named Nimisa; Nemi and Nimisa are undoubtedly only two variations of the same tradition or legend. It is again the same eponym ancestor who re-appears under a third formation in the king Nemita whom the sources of Tara-natha designate as the father of Ashoka. "In the kingdom of Camparna which belong to the people of the Tharus, Nemita, assisted by five hundred ministers dictated to the whole country of the North. The mountaineers of Nepal and the Khacyas rose against him. Ashoka, his son, quelled them without difficulty." Camparna is manifestly the Sanscrit Camparanya, the modern Cham-

Nepal

paran, situated on the frontiers of Nepal on the great road from Patna to Kathmandu; the Tharus continue to populate with their tribes more than-half savage the swampy low-lands of the Terai to the North of Champaran on the outskirts of Nepal.

The speech of Nemi or Ne-muni marks in the local chronology, the transition between the divine and the legendary period: it falls 600 years or 900 years before the commencement of the Kali-yuga (3101 B. C.) in the fourth millennium before the Christian era. The divine period traces back to the origins of the world; the legendary period descends to the very accession of Amsuvarman, founder of the Thakuri dynasty. It is from his reign that "the gods ceased from showing themselves in Nepal, under their corporal forms to the looks of human beings." A verse of the Bhavisya-Purana predicts in fact that; "Vishnu must reside ten thousand years on the earth; the Garga twice less; the Gram-Devas (local divinities) twice less again". But Nepal being the country of the gods, the Devas consented to prolong their sojourn in the country by three hundred years. The accession of Amsuvarman falls in this system in 2800 (10000-300) of the Kali yuga; by a

2X2

whom for found figures it was carried to 3000 K. Y. = 101 B. C.; a lucky chance permits us to correct with assurance the figures of the Vamsavali, the confrontation (or comparison) of the epigraphy; and the Chinese visitors fixes indisputably the reign of Amsuvarman to the beginning of the

VIIth century J. C. (595 J. C. - 3696 K.Y.). The difference is eight hundred years. To rely on the system of the Vamsavali one would have thought himself duty-bound to affirm that the positive history began in Nepal towards the year 600 J.C., after the disappearance of the gods always held suspiciously by the historian. But, on the discovery of this prevention the epigraphy readers, from now to history a series of kings of the Suryavansi dynasty beginning from the pious Vrisha deva who visited hell and came back; if the reign of Mana deva (1) dates as we believe having established from the close of the Vth century, Vrisha deva, his great-grand father, must date back to the thereabout of the year 450 J. C. less than half a century after the inscription of Samudra Gupta wherein is found the first authentic mention of the kingdom of Nepal. Beyond that, criticism argues the facts painfully with tradition.

The divine history of Nepal consists especially in the legends I have already alluded to, according to Bhramanic and Buddhistic compilations. It would be childish to attempt establishing a linking in these tales. I only (remember) recall the role attributed to Manjushri, who came from China to Swayambhu, pulled out Nepal from the waters and founded thither the town of Manjupatana¹⁷ between the Vishnumati to the west the Bagmati to the east and south and the Sheopuri to the North.

The actual town of Kathmandu

forms the S. Western angle of this legendary site He enthroned thither as king Dharmakara, a king of great China (Maha-china) who had followed him in his pilgrimage and who justified his name by his piety and his virtues; "Treasure of the law", Dharmakara organized Nepal on the model of China; science, knowledges, trades, culture, manners, commerce, all copied the Chinese examples. He even erected a religious edifice with stories on Chinese fashion. He left the throne to Dharamapala, who had come from India with the Buddha Krakucchanda. The dynasty of Dharmapala lasted to the end of the Treta age.

Sudhavan who reigned at this critical time, carried the capital to Sankasya on the banks of the Iksumati (the stream Tukucha to the east of the British Residence); but he risked the anger of Janaka, the father-in-law of the glorious Rama; Janaka had him sentenced to death and handed over the vacant throne to his own brother Kucadhvaava who founded (or established) a new dynasty. The episode of Sudhavan has been borrowed entirely from the Ramayana (l. 70th and 71th adhy) and betrays the intention interrupted to connect Nepalese antiquity to the cycle of Rama, where he could not find an authentic place. In the days of the Buddha Kacyapa, Nepal receives the visit of a king of Ganda (Bengal,) Pracanda deva, entering in religion under the name of Cantacri or Cantikara. The descendants of his

son, Sakti deva, come afterwards from Bengal, to occupy the throne left vacant; one among them, Guna Kama deva, learns from his grand father Cantikara, the rites which make the Nagas kind and favourable. The legend has here divided in two, in order to carry them back to the most distant past, Guna Kama deva, the Thakuri and his spiritual master, whose supernatural prestige adapted itself to the inventions of storytellers.

The hero of a famous Jataka, Simhala is afterwards introduced in the lineage of Guna Kama deva; he comes to establish in Nepal convent of Vikramacila, poor counterfeit of a famous convent erected in Maghada by Dharmapala, king of Ganda, in the IXth country J. C.

The procedure of division and of bringing forward applied to the dynasty of the Kiratas, furnishes a progeny of princes who fill up an interval of a thousand years. The last of these so-called Kiratas, Sahku is overthrown by a Hindu prince Dharma Dutta, who had come from Kanci (Coujeveram near madras), to worship Pashupati; he abandon Suprabha (Thankot to the S. West of the valley) which the Kiratas had adopted for capital and creates Vicalanagara on the longitudinal axis of the valley, between Budha Nilkanth and Kotwal (The breach of Manjusri). He established Hindus of the four castes and reigns for a thousand years; he built the temple of Pashupati,

chaitya which bears his name; this chaitya still existed in the dais of Vrisha deva, the Suryavansi, who had it restored and repaired. The demon Danasura then took possession of the country, floods the valley to create himself a pleasure lake; but he is vanquished and killed by Vishnu-Krana. The old towns have disappeared under the flood; Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva associated, established (or found) a new town between the upper course of the Bagmati (Sankha-mula) and Budhanilkanth and enthroned thither as king a ksetri, Svayamvrata, son of a hermit saint (risi). The kings of popular tales, Vikramajit (Vikramaditya), his son Vikrama-Kesari, his rival Bhoja who sits on a throne supported by thirty two speaking statues, succeeded one another afterwards in Nepal. The population increases; towns are built here and there; Matirajya, Irsyarajya, Padma-Kastha-giri (Kirtipur). A thousand years later a queen of Marvar, Pingala neglected by her husband, king Sudatta, proceeds of Nepal, wins the favour of Pashupati by her zeal; the intervention of the gods reconciles the home and Pingala founds in memory of her sojourn, the Pingala-vihara. There still remains 950 years to lapse of the Dvapara age, when the gods decided to re-establish in Nepal the authority of a king.

The sage Ne-muni was then residing on the confluent of the Bagmati and the

Vishnumati; he enlightened and instructed the people; they listened to him as if he were an oracle. He declared that the time had come to consecrate a new prince. As there were no more Ksatriyas left, his choice fell on a shepherd of Kirtipur who descended from a companion of Krishna who had come at one time to install him next in the list to the God. The father also of this shepherd had died a supernatural death, consumed by the fire of Pashupati at the moment he was removing from the ruins the divine emblem which had been buried for a long time. The dynasty of the shepherds numbered eight princes.¹⁸

1. Bhuktamana W. (Bhuktamanagatais B. Bhukta-mamgata V.) 88 years
Bhoorimahagah K. 48 years 3 months
2. Jaya Gupta 72 years W. B.
Jye Gupt 73 years 3 months K.
92 years V.
3. Parama Gupta 80 years W.B.V-
Parma Gupt 91 years K.
93 years W.B.
4. Horsa Gupta 95 years V.
Sree Hurkh 67 years K.
5. Bhima Gupta 38 years W.B.K.
(Bheem Gupt) 85 years V.
6. Mani Gupta 37 years W.B.K.
(Munni Gupt) 88 years V.
Mati Gupta

7. Vishnu Gupta	42 years W. B. 92 years V.
Bishen Gupta	66 years K.
8. Yaksa Gupta	71 years W. 71 years 1 month K
Jye Gupt	72 years B. 85 years V.

Altogether: 521 years W.-522 years B.-705 years V.-491 years and 4 months K.

Their capital was at Mata-tirtha, to the S. W. of the valley between Kirtipur and Thankot.

Without allowing one self to be convinced by the comparison of names and the precision of the figures, it is right to recognize at least, the probability of the tradition grasped in its whole.

Before becoming the seat of a policed state and of an organized nation, Nepal sheltered the pastoral tribes who drove their cattle at random among the pasture ground of the Himalayas. Whilst the shepherds of Hindustan continued to drive their cattle, during the good season in the rich meadow-lands of the Terai, the mountain tribes scattered in the high valleys, struggling against a rugged soil and severe climate, have no other resource than the pastoral life. With the shepherd of Krishna, the lover shepherd girls, the Hindu thought binds a fatal knot, the Goals (Gopals) of the present day Bengal

naturally pretend connection with Krishna, as the Nepalese chronicler connects him with the primitive shepherds of his country.

The first political rivalries are only the quarrels of shepherds disputing from one another the best meadow-lands an Ahir (abhira,) who comes from Hindusthan, supersedes the Gopals. The Ahirs are still found in present day India, an ordinary subdivision of the Goals; often even the two name substitute each other to the chances of local preferences; Gopal is more used in Bengal; Ahir in Bihar. Manu (X, 15) holds the Abhiras as the issue of an irregular union between a Brahman and a daughter of Vaisya. The Abhiras were predominant by their number or their power, in the reign between the Indus and the Narmada, in the early days of the Christian era. As an instance to this one can see the Greek texts of the (Periple, 41; of the Ptolemee, XII, 1, 55) and the inscriptions (Nasik, No. 10). The list of Kirkpatrick transforms the first Abhira into a Rajput; having descended from the Gopals by a strange lineage, he is supposed to have raised an army in the Terai between Simroun Garh and Janakpur. The Ahirs kings (Abhiras) are:

1. Vara Simha	75 years V.
Bhul Singh	49 years K.

2. Jayamati Simha (75 years V.
Jye Sing (21 years 7 months K.
3. Bhuvana Simha 45 years V.
Bhavana (41 years K.
Bhowany Singh

In all: 195 years V.-111 years and 7 months K.

The valley enriched by the settlement of a sedentary population offered to the barbarians of the neighbouring mountains a tempting bait. Tradition once more in accord with likelihood, introduced at this time an invasion of the Kiratas; they come from the east and take possession of the country.

The Kiratas are from a long date a name familiar to India. A vedic formula (Vajasaneyi Samhita, XXX, 16), connected to the distant memories of the human sacrifice, despatches 'the Kirata back to his caves'. The mountain is in fact his domain; it is there that he continues to live and dominate during the epic period; Bhima meets the Kiratas in leaving the Vedeha on his victorious march towards the eastern regions (Maha-Bharata 11, 1009); Nakula also finds them on his track when he conquered the west (11, 1190); Arjuna, whilst he was ascending the Himalayas towards the north, is stopped and defined by a kirata or rather by Shiva under the features of a Kirata

(11, adhy, 38-41); it is the famous episode which Bharavi has taken up and treated with all the resources of smart poetry in the Kiratarjuniya classic. After the Kiratas figure in the lists of the Maha-Bharata in company with foreign tribes which border the frontiers of India; Yavanas, Yaksas, Pahlavas, etc. are especially to the Cinas that they are associated; Kiratas and Cinas fraternize under banners of the glorious Bhagadatta, emperor of the Pragjyotisa (Kamarupa); they form the contingent of the yellow. "The Cinas and Kiratas soldiers seemed to be of gold; their troops had the appearance of a forest of karnikaras with yellow flowers" (V534). The Ramayana (IV. 40, 26, Bombay tribes are not organized as a nation and formed several kingdoms; Bhima subjugates "the seven kings of the Kiratas" (11,1089); the figure is in accordance with the usual nomenclature of the "Seven Gandakis" and the "Seven Kosis" in the Nepalese Himalaya. Several of these kings are particularly designated; Subahu (11, 10863), who commands to the kiratas and Tanganas and who receives as a friend the wandering Pandavas (11,12351); Pulinda (11,119), Sumanas (11,120). The customs of the Kiratas are simple; they live on fruits and roots dress in the skin of animals (11,1865), raise their hair in a pointed knot: they are nevertheless amiable looking (Ramay, IV. 40, 26) their knife, like the Nepalese Khukuri, is a dreadful weapon. (M, Bh. 11,1865). Such are at least the kiratas clans which live in the most remote part of the Himalaya; towards the mountain where the sun rises in the Karusa which is at the extremity of the ocean

and in the region of the Layhitya (Brahmaputra).

Other Kiratas who live with the populations of the littoral (II, 1002) and who dwell in islands are ferocious; they food themselves on raw fish, move about in water; they are called tigermen (Ramay, IV, 40, 26). This portrait is perfectly applicable to the of the Periple (62) the tribes dwelling to the north of the Dosarene, near the mouths of the Ganges; "These kinds of men have their nose flattened on the visage; they are barbarous", their immediate neighbours, the Head of Horses and the Long Heads, are even understood to be cannibals. Ptolemee places the country of the Kiratas at the mouths of the Ganges, to the east of the most important mouth (VII, 2,2); it is from them that one can obtain the best quality of Malabathron. But they are only intermediaries; we know by the Periple (65) that the Malabathron comes from the country of the (Cina); they sell them to who are a race of small statured men with large faces, soft chracter and altogether similar to animals; these are evidently identical to the which Ptolemee (VII, 2, 15) almost exactly describes in the same terms, borrowed from a common source and which he places exactly on the limits of the (VII, 2 16). Commerce, thus connected the Kiratas and the Cinas. In effect, the Kitatas bring most varied objects as gifts to the joyous accession of Yudhisthira; loads of sandal wood and (agailleque) wood and odoriferous black wood (Kaliyaka, eagle wood), skins of animals precious stones, gold a heap of perfumes, a myriad of Kiratas girls as slaves and still other charming presents, animals, foreign birds and

splendid gold, drawn out from the mountains (II, 1866, 1869). In his famous list of 64 writings the Lalita-Visra, attributes a special writing to the Kiratas. In the theoretical organisation of Brahmanism such as it is regulated by the laws of Manu, the Kiratas are considered as Ksatriyas of origin, fallen to the rank of the Cudras by their neglect of the rites and their disdain of the Brahmans (Manavadh. c., x, 43-44).

From the majority of testimonies it appears that in ancient times, the Hindus designated under the name of Kiratas all the populations of Tibeto-Burmese families which spread out successively between the lofty plateaus of the Himalayas, the mouths of the Ganges and the neighbouring littoral. Pushed back or absorbed by the Hindu invasion, the Kiratas have only existed in the mountains to the east of Nepal. At the time of the Gurkha conquest, in 1768, the Kiratas still formed 'an independent nation' bordering on the east of the kingdom of Bhatgaon at a distance of five or six days from this capital; they professed no religion²¹ but the conquest of Nepal once completed the Gurkhas soon laid hold of the country of the Kiratas²². To-day, the Nepalese custom still designates under the name of Kirata (vaig Koranta) the country comprised between the Dudh-Kosi and the Arun. But the Kiratas' nation occupies a larger territory which nearly reaches the eastern frontiers of Nepal; it comprises the clans of the Khambus of the Limbus, of the Yakhas and what more the Danuars, the Hayus and the Thamis pretend to be connected to them more or less legitima-

tely. The religious indifference that Father Giuseppe mentioned among the Kiratas has not changed; in Buddhistic countries they murmur the 'Om mani padme hum' and present gifts to the Lamas; in Hindu countries they give themselves as followers of Shiva and worship Mahadeva and Gauri.

Like all the tribes of Tibetan race, the actual Kiratas are fond of beef and it is by force of arms that the Ghurkas have introduced in their customs, the compulsory respect of the cow. The Limbus have an expressive legend on their origin; they pretend to descend from a family of ten brothers who emigrated from Benaras (Kasi), their native land and who come to reside some in Nepal and others in Tibet; the brothers established in Tibet went afterwards to join those in Nepal; but their posterity maintains the nominal subdivision in Kasi-gotra and Lhasa gotra.

The dynasty of the Kiratas numbers 25 or 29 princes:

- | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------|--------------|--|
| 1. Yalambara | 13 years W. | 2) Duskhama | 37 years V. |
| Yalamva | 50 years V. | 4. Balamba | W. |
| Yellung | 90 years 3 months K. | Valamva | 21 years V.B. |
| 2. Pabi | | 3) Ballancha | 31 years 6 months K. |
| Pamvi | 35 years V. (missing to K.) | 5. Hirti | 19 years V. (W. B.) |
| 3. Skandhara | W. B. | 4) Kingly | 41 years 1 month K. |
| Dhaskam | 36 years V. | 6. Humati | 21 years V. (W.B.).
continuation in K. |
| | | 5) Hunnanter | 50 years K.
6.1/2 Tuskhah 41 years
8 months (=9) |
| | | 7. Jitedasti | 9 years V. (W. B.) Arro-
puar 38 years 6 months (-10?) |
| | | 8. Gali | W. B. 8. Jetydastry
60 years (-7) |
| | | Galimja | 61 years V. |
| | | 9. Puska | W.B. 9. Punchem
71 years (12) |
| | | Tuska | 69 years V. |
| | | 10. Suyarma | W. B. 10. king-king-king
56 years =(12 bis) |
| | | Snyasya | 45 years V. |
| | | 11. Parba | 45 years V. (W. B.)
11. Soohund 50 years
8 months (13) |
| | | 12. Thunka | B. 12. Thoomoo
58 years (14) |
| | | Bunka | W. |
| | | Pamca | 37 years V. |

12) bis Kemke	38 years V. (missing to W. and B.)	22. Puska	W. 22. Soegmeea 59 years (24)
13. Savanda	41 years V. (W.B.) 13. Jaighree 60 years 1 month (15)	Puskara Pumska	B. 35 years V.
14. Sthunko	W. B. 14. Jennes 73 years 2 months (16)	23. Kesu	31 years V. (W. B.) 23. Joosha 63 years (3)
Thumko	59 years V.	24. Suga	W. 24. Gontho 74 years (26)
15. Gighri	71 years V. (W. B.) 15. Suenkek 60 years 1 month (17)	Sunsa Samgu	B. 29 years V.
16 Nane	59 years V. (W.B.) 16. Thoor 71 years (18)	26. Gunan Gunana Gumnamja	W. B. 35 years V.
17. Luk	W.B. 17. Thamoo 83 years (19)	27. Khimbu Simbu	W. B. 27 years V.
Luke	53 years V.	28. Patuka	W. B. (missing to V.)
18. Thor	39 years V.(W. B.) 18. Burmah 73 years 6 months (20)	29. Gasti	41 years V. (W. B.)
19. Thoko	50 years V.(W.B.) 19. Gunjeh 72 years 7 months (21)		
20. Varna	41 years V.(W.B.) 20. Kush-koon, unknown period (22)		
21. Guja	W.B. 21. Teeshoo 56 years (23)		
Gumja	39 years V.		

The total duration of the dynasty according to K. (in counting as zero the reign of twenty Kush kon) is 1581 years and one month according to B. and V., it is 1118 years (but the total of the reign indicated in V. goes 1178 years). The three numbers, although they are different, present in common the three numbers 1, 1, 8, combined diversely with a 5 in K., a 1 in B and V., a 7 in the calculation by the addition of V. It is little probable that chance alone could have determined in three numbers of four figures, each one an identity of three figures. The three figures 1, 1, 8, common remainder of the

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three diverging numbers undoubtedly represent the stable and fixed element of the tradition; each one of the chroniclers has after this adapted it to his fancy.

The names given to the Kirata kings are precisely barbarous; it is sufficient to exclude the hypothesis of a clever fabrication. Strangers to the taste of local prejudice the Hindu chroniclers, if they find the opportunity of introducing foreign personages in their fanciful whims, cloak them with names purely Hindu. I have just mentioned the Kirata kings, who appear in the Maha-Bharata, are called Subahu, Sumanas, like the most authentic Aryan heroes. I do not pretend however that the Nepalese dynasty of the Kiratas preserve the positive souvenir of the barbarous princes who could have reigned in the Himalaya at the beginning of the Kali-Yuga, or even of the Christian era. The tradition mentioned undoubtedly that before the Hindu dynasties of the historical times, the country had been peopled with shepherds, then dominated by the Kiratas. The shepherds were unknown beings, without personality, whom one could baptize according to the minds inclination. A real family of Abhiras, installed on the throne towards the Amsuvarman epoch, had borne names composed with the word Gupta; the Gopals of primordial days received names fashioned on the same patron. But the Kiratas in the days of the first Vamsavali as in more recent times were perfectly real and familiar personages in consistent contact with the people of Nepal. The Kiratas, like

all the tribes of the Himalaya, had without the least doubt their royal genealogies; the compilers must have, according to the usage placed them in connection with three given capitals; the heroes of the Maha-Bharata, the Buddha and the most glorious patron of Buddhism, Ashoka. The Nepalese chroniclers are supposed to have incorporated 'en bion' in their history is the first legendary dynasty of the Kiratas. The name even of the first of the Kiratas; Yellung (K), Ya'amba, Yalambar seems to be connected with the legend which places on the banks of the river Ya-loung (Yar-loung), the cradle of the Tibetan race and the sojourn of his first king. Yalang (Yalamba or Yalambar) reigns exactly at the end of the Dwapara-yuga. Under his son and successor Pabi (Pamvi), the astrologers announce the victory of injustice over justice already lame and the beginning of the Kali-yuga. On running against the 'pouranic' doctrines which put a start to the Kali-yuga from the day Vishnu-Krishna ascended again into heaven after the definit triumph of the Pandavas over their rivals, the chronicles place the origin of the Kali-yuga before the epic war of Yudhishthira and his brothers. The figures of Kirkpatric carry the reign of Jitedasti, who was the auxiliary of the Pandavas at the battle of Kuruksetra, between 272 and 332 of the Kali-Yuga; the Brahmanic Vamsavali places it (the reign) between 132 and 141 of the same era. Further, Sthunko designated as the contemporary of Ashoka reign according to Kirkpatrick from 509 to 567 K.Y., according to the Brahmanic Vamsavali from 476 to 535 K.Y. and the Puranas are almost agreed on placing Ashoka

about twelve centuries after the reign of Pariksit, who inaugurated the Kali-Yuga. There is then a space of seven centuries between the system of the Puranas and that of the Vamsavalis. It is useless to determine its connection with the real chronology; it (the chronology) has nothing in common with these inventions.

Under Humati (6), Arjuna had visited the Himalayas and struggled with Mahadeva disguised as a Kirata. The successor of Humati, Jitedasti, proceeded with his troops to Kuruksetra on the command of Arjuna and participated in the final victory; it is at this moment that Shakyamuni is supposed to have come to Nepal to preach the doctrine and worship the holy sites; Sthunko (4) reigned when Ashoka undertook on the advices of his spiritual director Upagupta, a pilgrimage to Nepal. He erected several monuments thither, married his daughter Carumati to a Ksatriya Deva pala, who founded Deo Patan. The two lovers becoming old, wished to build each one a convent wherein to retire. Carumati alone succeeded in erecting hers.

The capital of the Kiratas was situated in the jungles of Gokarna to the N. E. of Pashupati. The invasion of Hindu conquerors compelled Paruka (28) to withdraw to the south, beyond the Sankhamula tirtha; his son Gasti (29) did not succeed in stopping the invaders and had to abandon the country to them.

The new masters of Nepal belonged according to some (W. V. B.) to the Lunar family issue of Kuru; according to others (K.), to the Solar family issue of Rama their dynasty number five princes.

1. Nimikha	W.	
Nimisa	B. V.	40 years
Nevesit	K.	50 years
2. Mataksa	W. V.	
Manaksa	B.	61 years
Mutta Ration	K.	91 years
3. Kakavarman	W. B. V.	76 years
Kaick burmah	K.	76 years
4. Pashupreksha deva	H.	
Pashuprekha deva	W.	
Pashuprassa	V.	36 years
Passhupush dev	K.	56 years
5. Bhaskara Varman	W. B. V.	88 years
Bhosker Burmal	K.	74 years

Total duration: 351 years V.-347 years K. The two totals are identical but for four units. The new dynasty changed its capital to the S. Eastern extremity of the valley at Godavari; it is under the reign of Nimisa that a miracle manifested in this locality the distant waters of the Godavari brought from the Dekkhan by a mysterious subterranean channel. Nimisa seems to be related by origin with Nemi the eponym of Nepal.

With Pashupreksha the chronicle seems to enter at last in the domain of more precise traditions; the very name of the king ("He who has seen Pashupati") seems to be connected to a legend on the invention of the Nepalese god; he is recognized in all the Vamsavalis as having introduced the organization of the Hindu society in Nepal either be it that he 'divided the inhabitants into four castes (Kirkpatrick, 189) or that he peopled the country with the four castes' (wright, 113). The first fact dated with the Nepalese chronology associates the memory of King Pashupareksa to the god Pashupati; he is supposed have built (Kirkpatrick) or re-built (Wright) the temple of Pashupati, crowned it with a gilder roofing in the year 1234 (W.) or 1239 (V.) of the Kali-yuga. Another memory equally precise and positive is connected to the son of Pashupreksha, Bhaskara varman²³. Returning to Nepal after a triumphant campaign in India, he consecrated all the gold of his booty to Pashupati, gave as an estate to the temple, the town of Deo Patan which he had enlarged, enriched and named Town of Gold (Suvarna-puri) entrusted the service of god to the Buddhist Acharyas and regulated all the details of the religion by a chart inscribed on a copper-plate which he deposited in the convent of Carumati.

The dynasty which continues or which replaces according to the various traditions, the family of Nimisa opens authentic history at last. These princes pretend to be connected to the Suryavamsa to the family of the Sun which has Rama for hero. According to the Bhuddistic Vamsavali, the adoptive heir of Bhaskaravarman, Bhumivarman was a Ksatriya Suryavamsi connected to the Brah-

manic clan (gotra) of the Gautamas. He came from Kapilvastu into Nepal with the Buddha and had definitely settled in the country. The inscription of Jayadeva to Pashupati gives the mythical genealogy of the Solar family of Nepal which it exposes thus.

Brahma had a great grand-son Surya (the sun) who begetted (or engendered) Manu who begetted Ikshvaku who begetted Vikuksi. Vikuksi had a son (Kakutstha) who had for son Visvagacva. In his posterity twenty eight generations later was born Sagara who begetted Assamanjasa, who begetted Asumat who begetted Dillipa, who had for son Bhagiratha. From the latter descended Raghu, Aja, Dasharatha. Eight generations later, the solar race produced Lichhavi. From Lichhavi, there sprung 'a race which is the unique adornment of the earth famous in the world worthy of the respect of the most powerful and even the gods and which further carries the very pure name of Lichhavi, triumphant white as a pencil (of rays) of Moon crescents, equal to the course of the Ganga'.²⁴

In the course of the time, this race engendered at Paspapura (Pataliputra), the virtuous King Supuspa. Without stopping at the twenty-three kings in the interval, one comes to Jayadeva the victorious separated by eleven generations from Vrisadeva.

The genealogy mentioned here is not entirely in accord, in its heroic parts, with the Puranas. Visvagacva is not in the Vishnu

Purana, for example, the grand-son of Vikusi, but the son of his great grand son. Between Visvagacva and Sagara there stretches not twenty eight generations but thirty two according to the same Purana. Beginning from Dasharatha, the bifurcation is definitive between the Puranas tradition and the official genealogy of Nepal.

Rama and his posterity are too popular undoubtedly for an adventitious branch to be grafted openly on their bough. The complainant chancellery prefers to separate itself from the parent stem with Dasaratha and boldly leap into the unknown, to unite again after an arbitrary interval of eight generations, to Licchavi, suddenly sprung from an unknown source.

The Brahmanic Puranas have not registered the name of Licchavi filiation. They have in emulation of one another, observed a silence around a too popular souvenir with the heretics not to be compromised. But the Buddhistic and Jainas texts, have in spite of the Brahmans, saved from oblivion the name of the illustrious family, who governed Vaicali, the most flourishing city of India, in the days of Buddha and Jaina. The Licchavis had established thither a constitution which recalls a little the consular institutions of Rome, the king seconded by viceroy and by a commander-in-chief, were besides assisted by the 'Ancients' of the clan, united in general assembly. Situated between the Maghada and the country of the Mallas, the Vaicali of the Licchavis harmoniously combined the institutions of its neighbours, monar-

chical in the south, oligarchical in the north. Buddhists and Jainas have disputed each other, in their legends as well as in their real activity, the honour of including the Licchavis among their patrons and zealots. The Licchavis solicit and receive relics of the Buddha after the cremation elsewhere, on learning of the death of jaina, they express their mourning by an illumination like a symbolic homage to 'the light of the intelligence which had gone'. The Jaina canon enumerates the Licchavis among the gotras (families) renowned of the same rank as that of the very clan of the Jaina as the Brahmans, as the descendants of Kuru and of Iksvaku, the Lunar race and the Solar race²⁵. The documents do not permit to follow in detail the vicissitudes of the Licchavi clan; but in the IVth century of the christian era, the family reappears suddenly in history without having lost nothing of its prestige. Chandra Gupta I, the founder of the imperial dynasty of the Guptas, the predecessor and the father of the glorious emperor Samudra Gupta, obtains a spouse in the clan of the Licchavis and powerful as he draws from this alliance a vanity which he displays with pleasure; his gold coins represent the king and queen side by side, designated each one separately by the legend: 'Chandra Gupta, Kumara Deva' and on the reverse the legend which accompanies a figure of Fortune sitting, carries: 'Licchavayas' (The Licchavis) Samudra Gupta in his turn glorified being 'the son of a daughter of the Licchavis' [Licchavidauhitra] and this mention is scrupulously added to the name of Samudra Gupta in the epigraphic formulary of the

whole dynasty. L.Pleet, followed by M. Vincent smith had thought that the Licchavis allied to the Guptas were the Licchavis kings of Nepal; he began from here to suppose that the Gupta era was of Nepalese origin. Nothing authorizes such a conjecture, neither from the Nepalese nor the Hindu side.²⁶

In spite of the notoriety of the Licchavi clan, and its prestige consecrated by centuries the tenacious rancour of the Brahmans assigns to it in orthodox society the lowest of ranks, The Manu code classified the Licchavis (X, 22) with the Mallas and the Khasas exactly the three names dominating of the Nepalese history like the tribes sprung from the Ksatriyas who had been excommunicated (Vratyas), indignant of the initiation by the Savitri.²⁷

Here we are a good distance from the genealogy which the inscription of Jaya deva pompously displayed. The Buddhistic texts mention a particular legend on the origin of the family. The spouse of the king of Benares conceived a ball of flesh red as the flower 'kin' (Hibiscus), which she hastened to throw into the Ganges; a hermit gathered it; fifteen days later, the ball divided in two after another fortnight, each half produced five placentas. Another fifteen days passed; one of the pieces then became a boy, the other a girl. The boy was of a yellow colour like that of gold; the girl was as white as silver. By force of compassion, the fingers of the hermit metamorphosed into breasts and the milk went down the childrens' throat as a

limpid water down a jewel Mani; as the refulgence was alike within and without the hermit gave to the children the name of Licchavi²⁸. Other exegesis interpreted this by name by 'this skin' or again 'in the same skin' in memory of the origin of the two children. All these explanations are based on a so-called popular or skilful etymology which thought of recognizing in the name of the Licchavis the word 'chavi' which signifies at the same time 'skin' 'colour' and 'refulgence'. The tale itself places in hand the work of a theme fairly ordinary; thus it is that in the Maha Bharata (1,115) the hundred sons of Dhritarastra are born from a ball of flesh which Gandhari through impatience has prematurely rejected.

The complaisance and skill of the genealogists saved the dynasty of the Nepalese Licchavis from a difficult choice between the disagreeing tradition; Licchavi, the eponym remains hanging in emptiness between eight anonymous kings, issues of Dasaratha and the uncertain lineage of anonymous kings which ended up in Supuspa; this personage unknown elsewhere seems to have been drawn out from the legendary annals of Puspapura. 'The town of Flowers' otherwise said pataliputra the Palibothra of Megasthenes and the Greeks. A new series of twenty three anonymous kings spreads from Supuspa to Jayadeva which seems to be considered as the founder of the Nepalese branch. The winding is fairly complicated and the stages obscure enough to awaken distrust; an authentic filiation would have better marked its direction. After the Licchavis of Nepal in

the middle of the VIIth century of the Christian era, the Tibetan dynasty which Srong-tsan Gam-po had just founded and which still showed the evident mark of its barbarous origins did not pretend the less to be connected to the clan of the Licchavis, especially to the Shakyas of the mountains. The Buddhistic church in serving their vanity of upstarts, rewarded their zeal and attached it to them more closely. Already by the same procedure, it had supplied to the victorious Mauryas, a genealogy which connected them to the Sakyas sheltered in the Himalaya after their dispersion. The Constantine of India and the Charlemagne of Tibet would in a loftiness of whim call cousins the Licchavis of Nepal.

The solar pretensions of the Nepalese kings were probably still more suspicious; they must have been worth those of the Gurkha king whom the Rana of Udaypur refused to sanction. In spite of this serious check, the Gurkha kings of Nepal continue to give themselves for the solar lineage, Surajbansis (colloquial form of Surya-vamcis); the Surajbansis lead the Clan Sahi, the first of the noble clans or Thakurs. The Gurungs of Darjeeling who are hardly (Hinduized) have a solar clan (Suraj-bansi). There is not a single tribe even including the Moghul tribes of Eastern Bengal, which does not claim this title; second rate Brahmans have revealed to them on return of a salary their distant and brilliant origins; their ancestors were authentic Ksatriyas; but when Vishnu, under the form of Parashu-Rama came to massacre, on the twenty first resumption,

the Ksatriya to avenge the honour of the Brahmanic caste, they threw away the sacred thread which marked them out to the fury of the divine hero. In 1871, they went and asked their zamindar (proprietor and responsible administrator) to return them the privilege of wearing the Brahmanic cordon; repulsed with disdain, they did not lose courage; they accompanied their second petition with an offer of 500 rupees; the third position was assisted with 2000 rupees and they found themselves heard. They have ever since organized themselves in three gotras, separated by the rules of matrimonial exclusion have forbidden marriage to widows, have adopted the usage of precious marriage and tended by a continuous effort, to make themselves worth of this solar race where the bakchich and their perseverance have introduced them.

In approaching positive history the compilations and the uncertainties of criticism come and throw confusion in the beautiful and simple order of whimsical chronologies.

The unity is maintained almost among the Vamsavalis up to the 28th (or 29) prince of the Licchavi dynasty.

1. Bhumivarman	61 years ^{V.} (W.B.)
Bhoomy Burmah	41 years K.
2. Chandravarman	61 years B. V. (W)

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Chunder Burmah	21 years K.	Basso Dutt Burmah	33 years K.
3. Jayavarman Joy Burmah Candravarman	82 years V. B. 62 years K. (W. probably by an error)	12. Pativarman Pativarsavarman Sreeputtry	53 years B.(W) - V 3 years K.
4. Varsavarman Bharkabarma Breesh-Burmah	61 years V.B. W. 57 years K.	13. Civavridhivarman Seobreddy	54 years B. 65 years V.(W) 77 years K.
5. Sarvavarman Surbo Burmah	78 years V. B. (W) 49 years K.	14. Vasantavarman Bussunt Deo	61 years B. V. (W) -K
6. Jyesthavarman Jeest Burmah	75 years V. B. (W) 48 years K.	15. Shivavarman Shivadevavarman Deo (16 bis) Rudradevavarman	62 years B.(W) 67 years V. 57 years K. 66 years B.(W)
7. Harivarman (3) Hurry Burmah	76 years V. B. (W) -K (but reversed -with the follow- ing one)	16. Vrisadevavarman Brikk Deo	61 years B. V. (W) 57 years K.
8. Kuveravarman (8) Kobber Burmah	88 years V. B. 76 years K.	17. Shankaradeva Sunker Deo	65 B. V. (W) 50 years K.
9. Siddhivarman Sidhe Burmah	61 years V. B. (W) -K	18. Dharmadeva Bhurma Deo	59 years B. 51 years V.(W) 51 years K.
10. Haridattavarman Hurry Dutt Burmah	81 years V. B. (W) 39 years K.	19. Manadeva Maun Deo	49 years B. V. (W) 32 years K.
11. Vasudatta Varman	83 years V. 63 years B. (W)	20. Mahideva Mahadeva Mahe Deo	51 years B. 36 years V.(W) 51 years K.
		21. Vasantadeva	36 years B. V.

Bussunt Deo	56 years K.	the Vamsavalis on the duration of the anterior dynasties but it must also be recognized that it differs from it very little.
22. Udayadevavarman	35 years B. 37 years V. (W)	
Oodey Deo	47 years K.	The years of the Kiratas and the Somavamsis added together would give 1118-351=1469 (according to B. and V.) and from this total must be deducted the reign of the first Kirata. Yalamba (ra) which precedes the Kali-yuga, remains in the lot 1450 years, with a difference of about 60 years on the date assigned to Bhumivarman
23. Manadeva (II)	35 years B. V. (W)	It does not enter my mind (I am keen on emphasizing this point) to hold these dates as authentic figures; it is a matter of following up the procedures of the author of the Vamsavalis in their chronological constructions. The date of the accession of Bhumivarman is solitary of the date assigned to the establishment or the restoration of Pashupati under Pasupreksa deva in 1234 K.Y. (B. W.) or 1239 (V.), again that the one adorns rather badly the other. The interval between them is 155 (or 150, V.) years; and yet Pasupreksa deva and Bhumivarman are separated by one reign only, long, it is true, by 88 (V.) or 74 (K.) years. Undoubtedly the Hindus are too little careful of chronology to pride themselves of introducing therein, even when they invent them, probability and logic; but these two dates, close to each other, and standing out clearly outlined in the very midst of the misty centuries which envelop them seem to be based on positive facts; they represent the unintelligent or faithless translation in year of the Kali-yuga of dates originally expressed in another era. I have already shown by authentic examples, how the real dates risked getting transformed by
Maun Deo (II)	45 years K.	
24. Gunakamadeva	30 years B.(W)	
Sunakamadeva	20 years V.	
Sookaum	50 years K.	
25. Shivadevavarman	51 years B. V. (W)	
Seo Deo	41 years 6 months K.	
26. Narendradevavarman	42 years B. C. (W)	
Nurrender Deo	34 years K.	
27. Bhimadevavarman	36 years B. V. (W)	
Bhem Deo Burmah	16 years K.	
Total duration: B. 1779-V. 1698 years-K. 1428 years, 6 months.		

The first prince of the Suryavamsi or Licchavi dynasty (or according to the Vamsavali of Kirkpatrick, the direct heir of the lineage of Nimisa), Bhumivarman ascended the throne in 1389 of the Kali-yuga (B. V. W.). This date which corresponds to the year 1712 B. C. does not exactly frame up the indication of

the inversion of figures and how the traditional dates represented arbitrary combinations of real figures. One could be tempted but it is a hypothesis which requires the most prudent reserves to observe thus that the numbers 1234 and 1389 present as common features; the figures 3 and 1 could restore in their place 3124 and 3189 K.Y.; for example, which would correspond to 23 and 38 of the Christian era and which would harmonize very well with the epoch of the Licchavi era such as I have thought myself able to calculate. The establishment of the first Hindu dynasty in Nepal would then recall by a tempting analogy, the subsequent establishment of the other Hindu dynasties in the country. Like the Musulman conquest expelled into the Himalayas, the Brahmanic kings of the Tarrai and the refractory Rajputs who prepared the greatness of the Gurkas the invasion of the Scythic tribes in the valley of the Ganges, in the thereabouts of the Christian era, must have expelled in the mountain the still semi-barbarous princes who had been dispossessed, togesher with their valorous adventures. The inscriptions attest that Mathura held sway over the Kouchans; the Murundas who had also hailed from the distant steppes, reigned in the glorious capital of India, at Pataliputra²⁹. And it is from Pataliputra that the official tradition brings Jayadeva into Nepal; Jayadeva was the descendent of Licchavi. Thus Jayadeva separated from Vrisadeva by eleven reigns, according to the inscription of the Pashupati, probably the Jayavarman of the Vamsavalis, the third of the Suryavamsis and the grand-son of Bhumivarman

separated from Vrisadeva by a lapse of thirteen reigns. The figures from both sides are in close connection; the Vamsavalis have been able to introduce in their lists, which always appears like the tableau of a continuous folio the names of two princes, who have not reigned, but which it was necessary to recall to guarantee the legitimate transmission of the power.

Most of the kings mentioned ending with Vrisadeva are scarcely more than names. Bhumivarman (1) is supposed to have changed the royal residence to Banavara. Jayavarman (3) or Jayadeva (Varman, key for this alternation of forms the name of (16) Shivavarman or Shivadevvarman) is designated in the inscription of Pashupati as 'the Victorious' (Vijayin) either by allusion to his name or to recall the victory which won the throne to the Licchavi race. Haridattavarman (II) alone seems to have left positive memories. The unanimous testimony of the Vamsavalis represent him as the Zealot of Narayana. He founded the temple of Cikara-Naranyana (K.) or again he unearthed and brought to light the image of Jalacayana Narayana (W.) or he edified the four most illustrious temples consecrated to Narayana, Gangu, Cainju Icangu Cikhara (B.V.). Epigraphy comes to the help of tradition; an inscription to Amsuvarman, at Harigaon, attributing a donation to Jalacayana proves that this worship is anterior to the Thakuries.

Immediately before Vriasadeva, the

Vamsavalis of Wright and of Bhagvanlal insert a King Rudradevavarman who is missing in other document. Under this prince a native of Kapilvastu, Sunayacri Mishra was supposed to have gone to Lhasa to be taught by the Lamas then he had crossed over from Tibet into Nepal, had settled in Patan and founded the Yampi bihar the north of the town, near the chaitya of Ahsoka; two of his disciples Govardhana Mishra were supposed to have called from Kapilvastu to rejoin him and had in their turn, each founded a convent; the Konti bihar and the Pinta bihar. The mention of Lhasa betrays the anarchism. Lhasa was still barbarous and closed to Buddhism. King Rudradeva has been introduced here by confusion. If the tradition which places Sunayacri Mishra in connection with Rudradeva contains a portion of the truth, it concerns perhaps the Rudradeva who, in the Vamsavalis precedes the first Mallas to whom he is connected and who has left a reputation of fervent Buddhist.

'Vrisadeva was very pious; every day he nourished Vajra-yogini before taking his meals; he repaired the chaitya of Dharmadatta, in the N.W. corner Pashupati and built several viharas to serve as lodgings to the Bhiksus' (Wright 117). The epigraphy is in accord with the Vamsavali. The great grand-son of Vrisadeva, Minadeva in his inscription of Changu Narayan, celebrates his grandfather in these terms: 'The incomparable king whom they called Vrisadeva majestic and powerful was faithful to his word; he could have been taken for the sun (Savitar)

with his luminous ray, when seen surrounded with his sons, eminently noble, learned, astute, constant the soul taught to perform duty'. Jayadeva at Pashupati, says the same; "Vrisadeva was a famous king, an excellent prince; he loved above all the doctrine of the Sugata (Buddha)" He owed his piety for having miraculously returned to life and Yama, the merciless, went even so far as to blame his too zealous providers for having taken so virtuous a man in their lake. After his resurrection, he erected an image of Dharmaraja Lokeivara near the Matirajya Chaitya in Patan and built a Panchabuddha near the Godavari. The worship of Balabaia, who was the first to dig the soil for cultivation, dates from this epoch. The brother of Vrisadeva, Balarcana was his rival in piety and virtue; but less fortunate than him, he lived long enough to assist to the triumph of Cankaracarya and to the ruin of Buddhism, he was compelled to allow his head to be shaved off and lost the Brahmanic thread; he was forcibly married to a nun. The legend, I have already shown it, has no other motive than the name of Shankaradeva, like the name of Vrisadeva and so many other royal names, is simply one of the sectarian appellations in which is expressed the zeal of Nepal for the religion of Shiva.

Shankaradeva 1st has left fairly faint reminiscence. The inscription of Pashupati is satisfied in naming him as the son of Vrisadeva; the stanza which is consecrated to him in the inscription at Changu Narayan is very vague; 'The son of Vrisadeva, who was called Shankaradeva, governed a florid

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shing empire; he was invincible to his enemies in struggles, liberal, sincere, his courage, his munificence, his dignity, earned him an abundant glory. He watched over the earth like a lion. The temple of pashupati received from this prince important donations; an iron tricola erected at the gate of the north; a linga, the Viratecvara in the south, close to the river; an image of Nandi at the western gate. All these monuments still exist, unfortunately without commemorative inscription. The convent of Mayuravarna in Patan was also founded by Shankaradeva in favour of the Brahman Jayasri.

Dharmadeva son of Shankaradeva was a prince respectful of the law; his acts were in compliance with the law; the law was his own person; he sought to drill his soul, his merits were excellent; he had legitimately inherited from a powerful kingdom, handed down by a series of ancestors and he legitimately extended it by his political sagacity. He shone with the rays of his energy, which possessed the power magical formulæ; his heart was as pure as his body; this prince of the earth had the brightness of the (Inscr. of Changu Narayan). This panegyric is only a paraphrase of the name of Dharmadeva, formed by 'dharma' (the law). According to Kirkpatrick, it was Dharmadeva, who had dedicated to Pashupati the large gilded statue of the bull Nandi, placed before the entrance of the temple; he is also known in certain legends to have been the founder of Swayambunath.

Dharmadeva's successor was his son,

Manadeva, the Suryavamci is not very prominent in the Vamsavali. 'They say that he built the Khasa-chaitya, in Patan, the complete name of this monastery is: Manadeva-Samskarita chakra-mahavihar'. The Vamsavali of Kirkpatrick adds 'that he had an interview, so they says with the god 'Sumbhoo' (Syayambhu) to whom he erected a temple'. Here, we have had already the legend invades history; it is so well developed, that it ends up dividing Manadeva in two; it has invented another prince of the same name, son of the mythical King Vikamanti; this prince, a parricide, through obedience, edified the Buddhath to expiate his involuntary crime, he further composed a hymn, which has remained popular, in honour of the Three Buddhistic jewels. His mother, however had governed the nation with great justice to such a degree that one and all were high in their praises for her. She built a number of monuments and lastly consecrated an image of Nava Sagra Bhagavati due to the artist who had already made the Bhagavati of Palanchauk and the Sobha-Bhagavati. Later, under Shankaradeva (11) the Thakuri, the people frightened by the terrible aspect of this image, buried it in the soil and covered it with stones.

The documents in fairly large number permit to analyse at least partly the legend. The mother of Manadeva, who has imposed herself to the capricious souvenir of the annalists, shows off by her vigorous personality, over the long series of personages without importance.

The inscription of the pillar of Changu Narayan, engraved by order of Manadeva, is almost entirely consecrated to the glory of the queen mother; Dharmadeva had a spouse of pure race and dignity the most excellent Rajyavati; one would have thought the Laksmi (Fortune) of this other Hari (Visnu) when he had illuminated the universe with his rays of glory; this sovereign departed to the third Heaven as if he had gone to a pleasure garden. And she then remained dazed, consumed, nervous..... languishing she, who took a delight before her widowhood, in feeding the gods with the performance of regular rites. This queen Rajyavati, who is called the wife of the monarch, would only be in fact but Shri attached to him, to follow him faithfully under this other aspect. she to whom was born here below the irrefragable hero, Manadeva the king, whose charm never ceases from refreshing the world, comparable to an autumn Moon. Having returned thither the voice choked with sobs sighing longingly the face streaming with tears; she said softly to her son: 'Your father is gone to Heaven Ah my son, now that your father has gone off, what have I needed to breathe? Exercise royalty my dear son. I shall follow the way of my husband, what shall I do with the chains of hope, which are fashioned in a thousand ways for the benefit of pleasure to live without my husband because the time during which we spend together passes like a delusive dream; I am going.' Then her son, afflicted to see her, thus tenderly resting his head on the feet of

his mother, addressed her his prayer; what am I to do with pleasures, what am I to do with the joys of life, if I am separated from you? It is I who will die first and you shall then depart for Heaven. Placed in the lotus of her mouth, mixed with the tears of bird captured in a net. And together with her virtuous son, she got busy in person over the funeral ceremonies, the mind entirely purified by virtue, alms, mortification, abstinence, voluntary practices and distributing all her fortune to the Brahmans to increase the merits of her husband, she seemed in the midst of the rites so much she had it to heart to be Arundhati herself. And her son vigorous, with energy, heroisin constancy, patient loving to his subjects, a man who acted but did not boast, who smiled when speaking, who always the first addressed the word valorous without pride having attained the height of the knowledge of the world, friend of the destitute and orphans greeting to his hosts removing ail shyness in those requesting it, manifesting his true virility by his praise worthy skill in the handling of weapons to attack and defence with his powerful and graceful arms the skin soft and smooth like wrought gold, the soulders fleshy, defiant with his eyes with the blood of the lotus into flower is like incarnated love; there is a festival for the coquetries of those loving one another. 'My father he soliloquized had adorned the flourishing earth with beautiful pillars. I have received the initiation according to the Ksatriya Procedure by combats and battles. I am going very soon to equip myself for a campaign towards the eastern regions to destroy my enemies, and I shall enthrone those kings

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docile to my orders". And bowing before his mother whose sorrow was vanishing, he spoke to her thus; 'O my mother, I can not acquit myself towards my father by austerities with stain; I can only humbly serve his feet by the rites of arms in which I excel, I shall go presently' and the mother of the king was extremely happy, gave him leave. He proceeded by the road which led to the East, the treacherous vassals who dictated in the East, prostrated themselves, bowed their heads and allowed the garlands to slip off their necks; he subjugated them to the respect of his sovereign authority. Then fearless like a lion with a thick and formidable looking mane, he proceeded towards the Western regions. He learnt that his vassal was badly behaving himself thither; then shaking the bead and slowly touching his arm which seemed like the trunk of an elephant, he said resolutely, "If he does not come to my call, my heroism will know how to bring him to obedience' But what need is there of long phrases which are of no avail? Few words suffice from even today 'O my uncle, beloved brother by my mother cross over the Gandaki, rival of the ocean in width, in unevenness of surface, in motions where the water rolls in billows in the awful tornado. With hundreds of horses and elephants caparisoned; I cross the river and I follow your army'. This decision taken, the sovereign held his promise to the last. He conquered the town of Malla, then slowly returned to his country, the soul was happy and gave an inexhaustible wealth to the Brahmans. And Rajyavati, the virtuous queen, heard

her son speaking to her firmly, 'and you also, my mother, if your heart is joyous, make pious donation'.

The mother of Manadeva, Rajyavati, does not cease from being foremost in the list of this long inscription. Her panegyric thrown into the shade, the funeral eulogy of her defunct husband and balances the panegyric of the reigning king At the death of Dharmadeva, it is she who calls as if by personal choice, Manadeva, her son, to the throne and who hands him over the power. The interview of the mother and son recalls the scene, portrayed with a picturesque conciseness in the inscription of the pillar at Allaha-bad, where Candra Gupta 1st designates in the presence of his courtiers moved by various emotions, Samudra Gupta as the heir to the crown. He is a noble, he said kissing him his emotion betrayed by a bristling hair; the court breathed with contentment and his equals of birth raised on him withered looks; the eye quivering with emotion, laden with tears, perspicacious, his father was looking at him and said; 'Govern then the whole world' (1,7). But here, the mother and son alone occupy the scene and their discourse is prolonged with an abundance, extremely rare in Hindu epigraphy. The mother,--Agrippine or 'Blanche de Castille'?--wishes to follow her husband in death and renounces to the pyre on the objurgations of her son. She lived to be the venerated adviser and well informed counsellor of the new king; associated to power, she endorses the military operations of her son, she designates

her own brother as commander-in-chief; Manadeva only gets away from his mother to fall under the tutelage of his maternal uncle. And when he returned victoriously from his campaigns, Rajyavati does not wish to mix her pious donations with those of her sons'. She has her Brahmans and her temples, her paupers and especially her debtors (those obligated to her).

The pillar of Changu Narayan is dated from the month of Jyaistha 386. Eleven months later, in Vaishakha 387, an image of Vishnu is dedicated in behalf of the queen mother Rajyavati with the purpose of increasing her merits. The formula (or inscription) has a character rather funeral; it leads to believe, but without positively establishing it, that Rajyavati had died in the interval. The monument which is consecrated to her is a bas-relief which represents Vishnu under the aspect of Trivikrama when he covered the world in three strides; around him 'Gods and Saints worship the unique protector of the world of beings'. The style of the work is violent almost brutal; the Nepalese of to-day believe in recognizing in it. Vajrayogini one of the Tantric forms of the goddess Devi. The Vamsavali mentions on its side that an image due to the mother of Manadeva, the Neva-Sagara Bhagavati, inspires the passers-by with an intolerable terror.

The filial affection which seems to be an essential trait of Manadeva character has also produced the long inscription

unfortunately anonymous of the pillar of Harigaon. The author, unknown, addresses himself to Saint Dwai-payana, more popular under the name of Veda Vyasa; he extols his science, sagacity, merits, services rendered to the world he had taught in the practice of duties, then his hymn completed, he speaks out; 'I arrange as best I can be very frail word. You pray instill happiness to my father'. The analogy of the sentiment, of the language, of the character, of the very monument brings close together the pillar of Harigaon to that of Changu Narayan. The pillar of Harigaon carries precisely a statue of Garuda, the Nepalese Changu, the riding animal of Vishnu associated to his religion on the hill of Changu Narayan. It is also an image of Vishnu which Manadeva consecrates to the increase of the merits of his mother Rajyavati, Thus, Manadeva seems to testify a real predilection in behalf of Vishnuism, like Haridatta had already done several generations before him. But the traditions which attribute him an interview with Swayambhu and the edification of the temple of Buddhanath, leads to believe that his devotions had nothing of a sanctity of exclusive nature.

The name, even of Manadeva evokes a religion of an enigmatic nature. Among the Nepalese kings and especially among the Licchavis, the names are often borrowed from the thousand vocables of the Shiva. Vrisadeva, Cankaradeva, Shivadeva, Rudradeva, etc. Others have the character of Vishnu; Hativarman, Hardidatta; others derive from secondary divinities; Vasanta

Kama etc. But the word Mana in the name of Manadeva seems to be completely foreign to the religious lexicon. Sanscrit really possesses the word mana, it even has two homonyms under this heading, differing in origin and meaning; one drawn from the root ma 'to measure' signifies the measure; the other from the root man 'to think' signifies the high self esteems. These two notions have no personal role in the Hindu pantheon. Must it be interpreted thus: (the king) who has for god the sentiment of his worth? if the word mana appears in the royal names, it also appears in those of saints or learned men; the Jainas number among their doctors Manatunga Suri, Manatunga Acarya, a famous hymn of this Acarya, the Bhaktamara-stotra, ends up in a pun which seems to enlighten the worth of mana in: 'tam manaturigam avaca samupaity Laksmih'.

'He who exalts in the sentiment of his person (or, this Manatunga), fortune follows him whether he wishes it or not'. Perhaps it is the motto which is suitable as a paraphrase to the name of Manadeva. Whatever the case may be created by king Manadeva or gathered by him the word 'mana', leaves a lasting mark in the past of Nepal. After Manadeva 1st, the Licchavi, the name of Manadeva reappears twice again in the dynastic lists; once among the Licchavis four generations later; and at another period among the second Thakuris a short period before the Mallas. Long after the Licchavis in the XIVth and XVth century of the Christian era, the Mallas continue

to worship as a tutelary divinity, in associating him to the glorious Pashupati, a mysterious goddess 'who has granted them the favour of her protection', and this goddess is Manecvari the Our Lady of Mana³¹. The formula is still more brightly illuminated when one sees a Thakuri of Nayokot at the same epoch present himself, in the same terms as the favourite of Gandaki. The Gandaki which bathes Nayokot with her course is naturally the queen of the valley which she gives over as a fief to the princes of her choice Manecvari disposes with the valley of Nepal.

The word Mana is also found in the name of the palace which serves a residence to the Licchavi dynasty Managriha 'the house of Mana' either it be that Manadeva founded it or that Manecvari protects it. An inscription of Amsuvarman at Harigaon mentions the convent of Mana (Sri-Mana-Vihara) and the linga of Manecvari, on which the king attributes donations. The successor of Amsuvarman, Jisnugupta has for grandfather a certain Mana-gupta. Lastly, a series of ancient coins in Nepal, of copper carries the legend Manuka '(Coin) with the mark of Mana'. They represent on the obverse a divinity sitting on a lotus throne, the left hand resting on the hip, the right hand uplifted with outstretched finger; the attitude suggests a Buddhistic figure as was indicated by M. Bendall at the foot in beautiful Gupta characters; Shri Bhogini (Cunningham) or Shri Bhagini (Bendall). The reverse of the coin shows a lion walking towards its right with the stem

of a lotus, a flower and a bird on the field; the legend in Gupta characters, show; Shri Manuka. Mr. Cunningham has not attempted to explain these legends. M. Bendall mentions the connection of the formula Manunka with Manadeva and Managriha, but in quite an unexpected manner, he interprets Shri Bhagini as a commemorative inscription, destined to recall the dedication of a linga by Bhogadevi sister (Bhagini) of King Amsuvarman. It is to swell up excessively the importance of quite an ordinary foundation one is within his right to feel surprised that King Amsuvarman, who coins usually in his name, has made himself scarce in circumstance and has not even mentioned the name of his sister, as he has done it in the commemorative inscription. In fact, the perusal Shri Bhogini seems positive. Bhogini really belongs to the language in vague according to the dictionaries of Amara and of Hemachandra, it designates the spouses of the king, with the exception of the one who has received the anointing; this spouse is called mahisi. According to Bharata, the Bhogini is a spouse of second rank who has a good character, little vanity, no pride, kindness, modesty and patience. But one hardly expects to see this title on a coin and less again without the name of a person. Bhogini is very fortunate in bearing the name of a divinity³², which would be precisely the figure represented? The lion on the right walking with the tail upturned is to be found again on other Nepalese coins of Amsuvarman, or Jisou Gupta.

The numismatists (Cunningham,

Rapson) are agreed to mention is the general composition of ancient Nepalese coins; a connection with copper coinage of the Yandheyas, which formed for a long time a powerful confederation of Ksatriyas tribes in Malava and which the powerful Rudraman, King Ksatripa of the Surashtra, glorifies in having vanquished (towards 150 J. C.). The one and the other coinage is independent of the coinage of the Kouchans. The Mananka formula seems to testify on the contrary a Gupta influence. It is the Guptas who seem to have placed in vogue appellations of this type; Samudra Gupta stamps his coin with the word parakrama 'triumphant march'; and in his inscription of Allahabad, he takes the title (1,17) of parakramanka '(the king) who has as a mark parakrama'.

His successor Candra Gupta II, affects a predilection for the word vikrama 'heroism' and stamps on a series of his coins the legend: Vikramanka (the king) who has for mark vikrama'. The procedure has found other imitators in Nepal; a series of coins analogous to the Mananka, bear the legend Gunanka. The obverse represents a divinity sitting in the same attitude as in the Mananka; on the reverse an elephant turned towards his left proper. The Gunankas are manifestly the stamp of a Gunadeva, like the Manankas of Manandeva; the Vainsavalis place precisely a Guna (Kama) deva Vth reigns after Manadeva 1st and the name of King Gana (Guna) deva is seen on an inscription of the Vth century Samvat, at Kisipidi.

Since King Manadeva has led me to speak of the ancient coins of Nepal, I shall mention here, the coins with the mark of Pashupati which coins are by far the most numerous since they comprise by themselves half the ancient coins of Nepal, actually known one of the new Vajrasana Buddha; another has been found in a small neighbouring stupa; others again, removed by workmen in the course of excavations have been acquired at the bazar at Gaya, neighbouring Mahabodhi. It is evidently Nepalese pilgrims who had brought them and left them behind as an offering to the temple. The other ancient coins of Nepal gathered today in public or private collections come from an old temple fallen down at Kathmandu; they have been taken out from the ruins; the most ancient manuscripts of Nepal have the same origin. How many analogous opportunities have been lost. The Capuchins of the XVIIIth century allowed among others the escape of a unique chance. Father Ginseppe mentions the event in details.

To the East of Kathmandu at a distance of about two or three miles, there is a place named Tolou bathed by a small watercourse, whose waters have been consecrated by superstition. People of high birth when in danger of death are brought thither. This place borders a temple which is in no way inferior to the richest among those seen in the capitals. Tradition mentions that in two or three places in the kingdom of Nepal, are buried in the ground precious treasures; the inhabitants are convinced that Tolou is comprised in those

places, but with the exception of the king; it is allowed to nobody to make use of these treasures and the king himself can only make use of them in an urgent necessity. This is the manner, so it is said in which these treasures have been accumulated; when offerings have enriched a temple, it was destroyed and deep caves were dug out in the ground one below the other, wherein were deposited the gold, silver, gilded copper and all other precious objects. During my sojourn in the kingdom of Nepal, Gainprejas (Jaya Prakasha), king of Kathmandu, being in very great need of money to pay his troops in order to resist. Prithivi Narayan ordered the research of the treasures of Tolou. After digging to a great depth the first vault was reached, from where was removed one lakh of rupees worth of gilded copper. Gainprejas paid his troops with this sum. A quantity of small statues in gold or gilded copper was also discovered, which the workmen in charge of the excavation secretly carried away. I have the positive assurances of this fact. One evening that I was wandering alone in the country, a pauper whom I met, offered me the statue of an idol in gold or in gilded copper which could have weighed five or six rupees sikhas and which he carefully carried under his arm; but I refused it. The agents of Gainprejas had hardly completed the removal of the wealth from the first cave, when the army of Prithivi Narayan arrived at Tolou, took possession of the place where the treasure was deposited and closed the gate of the cave after having replaced all the copper, which had been removed in the

exterior. During the same war, some soldiers of Prithivi Narayan who had entrenched themselves on the hill of Swayambunath in digging the trenches which bordered on the tombs, found large pieces of gold, the great men of Tibet being in the custom of having themselves buried with a great quantity of this metal. The old coin pieces which had found their way in circulation either secretly or publicly did not remain long in it; Prithivi Narayan, one who became master of the country, compelled forcibly the deposit in the Treasury of the gold and silver coinage and restamped them entirely so well that thirty years later, Hamilton was unable to procure himself at Kathmandu, coins anterior to the Ghurkas.

The coins in the name of Pashupati present types of great varieties; their diametre, between 21 and 22 millimetres is less by little to those of Mananka (24mm) and to the Gunankas (23mm), their weights go from 6gr. 15 to 9 gr. 85 in passing through the intermediaries 7gr. 40; 8gr. 30; 9gr. 45. All these coins are of bronze. The essential features of the Pashupati coins, compared to the personal stamps (Mananka, Gunanda, coins of Amsuvarman, of Jisnu Gupta of Vaicravana) are that they represent a unity of less value about the three fourths of the others. The answer almost exactly to the actual paisas of Nepal. The obverse of the Pashupati coins shows frequently the bull of Shiva, Nandi, either crouching or erect; sometimes it is replaced by the

trident of Shiva, the tricola erect and crossed by a hatchet, often also is figured a personage sitting in various attitudes, who carries a crown on his head. On the reverse, sometimes the Suna disc with star spangled rays, sometimes a vase from which comes out a flowery branch. The legend, Pashupati in Gupta characters is sometime arranged on a horizontal line, sometimes divided in symmetrical syllables around the central design, trident or flower vase: PA CU
PA TI

The name of Manadeva still actually survives in Nepal; it designates one of the Thakurs clans, otherwise expressed a clan recognized by royal blood⁵³. It is adjacent thither (Nepal) to the Mallas heirs of another dynastic title which we shall find in the Nepalese history. Perhaps the name of Manadeva is borrowed from the eponym of the Mana clan.

Besides the two inscriptions of Manadeva which I have already studied and which date from 386 and 387, there still exist two particular dedications which date back to his reign; one discovered by Bhagvanlal (No. 2) is engraved on a square stone, which formed at one time the plinth of a linga at Pashupati, and which serves today as a base to the trident erected by Cainkaradeva 1st. 'Jayavarman with the pure soul has thanks to the favour of the sovereign's feet. His Majesty Manadeva in the year 413, erected with devotion a linga named Jayacavara for the god of the world

with the sovereign and he has founded a perpetual income for the religion (or worship) of this venerable linga'.

The dedication opens out with a verse in *vasanta-tilaka* metre. The other inscription which I found at Kathmandu is traced on the sole a statue now vanished and replaced since by a *Mahakala*; 'In the year 402, whilst the king Manadeva is wisely ruling the earth, the fifteenth day of the clear (moonlight) fortnight, in the month of Ashoka, the manager of a company of merchants, Guhamitra has erected by devotion a holy Divakara under the name of Indra a field in the locality of Yathagumpadeum and a land measuring one pindaka. Excluding the indication of the given ground, the inscription is in anustubh verse. The dedication of Vishnu Trivikrama of Rajyavati forms a *srugdhara stanza*; the inscription of the pillar of Changu Narayan is a real poem in *Cardula-Vikridita*; the inscription of the pillar of Harigaon combines the most complicated metres. The culture of *sanscrit* is then very flourishing in Nepal under Manadeva; the king sets the example brilliantly and the private individuals endeavour to follow him. The panegyric of Changu Narayan is really of a classical style; the expression therein is never bombastic (high flown); the lexicon (dictionary) is simple and sound; the longest compounds do not exceed words or expression and rarely reach this number. If the literature is in honour in Nepal under Manadeva commence, flourishes

thither also. Guhamitra who dedicates the Bhagvat Indra Divakara bears the title of *banijam sarthavaha* chief of a company of merchants and director of caravans. The exchanges between India and Tibet enriched the Kingdom and fed a regular traffic. The history of the Y'ang, in his notice on Nepal written out on Chinese documents of the IIth century, notes that the merchants both those on the move and those settled down are numerous thither. The Hindu influence is profound enough to even exercise itself on the names of the merchants; the name of Sarthavaha Guhamitra is formed like the name of Sarthavaha Dhanamitra for instance in *Cakultala* (VI act) with the word 'mitra' (friend); the name of the god Guha, however much warlike it be at its origin is nevertheless more than once associated to names of traders such for instance Guhacandra and Gunasena in the *Brhatkatha* (Somadeva and Ksemendra). The worship of Vishnu Narayana is in favour in the royal household (Changu-Narayan, Vishnu Trivikrama pillar of Harigaon) but Pashupati is not neglected (linga of Jayavarman). The composite divinity erected and worshipped by Guhamitra is of an embarrassing suncretism. Divakara, the Sun, occupies undoubtedly an eminent rank in the official religion, his image appears on a great number of coins. Indra, on his side is one of the protectors of Nepal

The kingdom of the Licchavis in the days of Manadeva, spreads beyond the valley towards the East and West. In the

West, it stretches beyond the course of the Gandaki and incorporates the fortress of the Mallas. The organization of the kingdom is entirely feudal; the royal domain confined undoubtedly in the valley, is surrounded with refractory vassals who acknowledge having escaped the sovereign authority and who only recognize the same when it is composed by the arbitration of arms. On the faith of incomplete documents, one is able to imagine that in the epoch of Manadeva, the Nepalese kingdom was partitioned into two parallel dynasties, the Licchavis in the East, the Thakuris in the West. The last verses on the pillar of Changu Narayan given to science by the enlightened zeal of Maharaja Bir Shamsheer, definitively ruin this opinion. Manadeva was really the sole master of the whole of Nepal. The dates known from his reign are understood, if my hypothesis on the era of the Licchavis is correct, between 497 and 524 L. C.; or if one prefers to interpret them by the Caka era, between 464 and 491 L. C. In both case Manadeva reigns at the close of the Vth century, at the time when the empire of the Guptas was crumbling down shattered by the victorious invasion of the White Huns.

Nepal had not to suffer the consequence of this crisis. The empire of the Guptas had not succeeded in absorbing her or breaking into her. The panegyric of Samudra Gupta classifies Nepal with her ordinary neighbour the Kamarupa, with the Samatta (Mouths of the Ganges) and the enigmatic countries of Davaka and

Kartipura in the group of frontier kingdoms (partyanta) 'who paid the tribute in its entirely executed orders and came to prostrate themselves before the sovereign to satisfy his imperious authority'. This is a group by itself distinct from the kings who were 'captured and set free' from the kings who were 'vigourously exterminated' and from the foreign or barbarous princes who exchanged embassies with the Emperor Gupta. The rank attributed to the 'frontier' kingdoms in the imperial classification marks a link of mean spirited vassalage an amiable submission consented to without resistance, which leaves the autonomy intact. In the days of Great Moguls, the same conditions established relations of the same nature between the Nepalese Darbar and the court of Delhi. The King of Kathmandu gave as a yearly tribute an elephant to the emperor; he offered him on the occasion varied presents, even went so far at times as to pay him a visit. The emperor in return authorized the stamp of a Nepalese silver coinage; but the action of Mogul never exercised itself on the territory of Nepal. The Gurkhas in their turn entertain today with the empire of China, analogous relations; their embassies proceed to carry the tribute every five years to the son of Heaven, each new sovereign respectfully solicits from his chinese suzerain a nominal investiture; the court of Peking sends in return of politeness, certificates and titles of honour; but a Chinese official would not be well looked on if he attempted to interfere in the affairs (politics) of the country. The Licchavis did not behave otherwise with the Guptas they

Nepal

indulged in useless formalities but they yielded nothing. Other circumstances would have been necessary to introduce into Nepal the era of the Guptas; the adoption of a foreign era expresses to the Hindu the definitive submission and the loss of freedom.

Besides the term of 'frontier-kingdoms' (paratyanta) employed in the panegyric of Samudra Gupta is an expression consecrated, which defines with precision official relations. M. Fleet is wrong in saying that the word can be applied either to the kings in the interior of the frontiers of Nepal, etc., namely to the kings beyond the frontiers of these countries; and then according to the interpretation adopted it would be decided whether the empire of the Samudra Gupta comprised these countries or if it spread up to there, and had them for boundaries. Already the Emperor Ashoka employs the same expression in one of his decrees (Girnar, II, 2) and he clearly defines the word within. He opposes to the imperial domain (vijita) the frontier countries (pracamtapratyanta) among which he mentions the coda Pandvas and Antiochusking of the Greeks who was assuredly not the vassal of Ashoka; M. Senart precisely observes that the category of the pracamtas 'represent foreign people completely independent of piyadasi' (11,254). At the classical epoch, the dictionary of Amara (11,1,7) explains pratyanta by Mieccha-deca 'the barbarous countries' in contrast with Madhyadeca 'the Empire of the Centre', Hindushan. The astronomer

Varaha-Mihira in the VIth century enumerates as the pratyantas population (Brhat Samhita, XVI, 33) the Pahlavas or Sassanides, the Cveta-Hunas or White Huns, the Avagana or Afghans, the Maru or desert, the Cinas or Chinese; in two other passages (V, 3; IX, 17), the commentator criticises pratyanta by 'gahvara-vasinah' the Troloodytes. Thus from a Brahmanic point of view, the pratyantas are the people who had remained outside the frontiers of civilization, like from a political point of view, the pratyantas are the people who had remained outside the frontiers of civilization and outside the imperial domain, beyond the frontiers. Nepal had not then been absorbed in Samudra Guptas empire; the fall of the Guptas allowed her to remain indifferent.

The successor of Manadeva is only known by name; the inscription of Pashupati names him Mahideva; Kirkpatrick names him Mahedeo and gives him a reign of 51 years; the other Vamsavalis call him by confusion Mahadeva instead of Mahideva and give him a reign of 51 years or 36 years. The two numbers are certainly wrong, Mahadeva still reigned in 413 and Vasantasena reigns in 435. The interval between these two dates is of 22 years, the reign of Mahideva could not have surpassed this number of years and is probably less than it. Mahideva was the son of Manadeva; he had for successor his son Vasantadeva or Vasantasena.

This prince wit an idyllic name did nevertheless know how to impose respect and fear. 'Loved by the world as much as the spring (Vasanta), he appeared

hostile disagreements; his trained vassals worshipped him' (Inscr. of Jayadeva at Pashupati). The Vamsavalis with the exception of Kirkpatrick pretend to register the date of his accession, but they are not agreed. Wright and Bhagvanlal indicate 2800 of the Kali-yuga; the Brahmanic Vamsavali, 2785. The two numbers are equally impossible, they place Vasantadeva.

In 301 or in 316 before the Christian era. On the other hand to calculate on informations actually given by the Vamsavalis the duration assigned to intermediary reigns from Bhumivarman who ascended the throne in 1389 of the Kali-yuga recalls the accession of Vasantadeva in 2883 (Bhagvanlal) or in 2830 (V.) of the Kali-yuga. The indication supplied by the Vamsavalis is then independent of their chronological contents; if it only expresses an approximation, it is difficult to conceive why Vasantadeva in preference to all the other Licchavis kings had obtained the privilege of being taken as a joining mark. In fact, the anointing of Vasantadeva could not be made to coincide with a change of century of the Kali-yuga; The XXXVIIth century opens in 499 J. C. The XXVIIIth in 599 and the reign of Vasantadeva falls in the course of that period. An inscription of this prince is dated of Samvat 435 which answers, in Licchavi era, to 546.7 of J. C. I would be tempted to believe that the so-called date of the Kali-yuga is the whimsical transposition of a real data. Vasantasena is known to have ascended the throne in 428 Samvat and last two

figures separated from the cumbersome hundred would have been swelled by two zeros: $4/28$; 2800.

Vasantadeva is the author of the first chart of donation which is known to have been discovered in Nepal; the anterior inscriptions engraved during the reign of Manadeva are some of them, dedicating the other panegyric. But the first specimen already marks the definitive characters of the kind such as they last afterwards through-out the centuries. The chart is engraved on a stone slab, carefully set up and rounded off on the top and adorned by way of vignettes with sacred or favourable figures; here for example, a disc (cakra) between two conches (sea-shells) (Cankhas). The text begins with formula of benediction; then the king states his titles and qualities, and addressing himself directly to those interested whom he specifies, he positively wishes them and conveys his will to them; he stipulates the nature, condition, the beneficiaries of the donations, invites his successors to respect, threatens with severe penalties the offenders. Beginning from Shivadeva II, the famous verses of Veda-Vyasa on the donation are regularly recalled and mentioned. The chart ends up by the date and designation of the official entrusted to watch its execution (dutaka). This formulation is borrowed from the chancery of India; it has most probably created by the scribes of the last Gupta emperors; the kings of Valabhi have then also adopted and reproduced in numerous exemplaries since the beginning of VIth century for the first time and already almost complete in a chart of Maharaja Prativrajaka Hastin dated from Gupta 156 (475.6 J. C.) in the Bundelkhand,

it is found again later in a chart of the same prince dated 163 Gupta (482/3 J.C.), in the chart of a neighbouring prince, the Maharaja Jayanatha of Uccakalpa dated from 177 Gupta (496/7 J.C.), in a chart of the Maharaja Laksmāna from 158 Gupta (477/8 J.C.). But all these documents with the difference of the Nepalese charts are engraved on copper-plates. However, the pillar without date of Bihar allows one to perceive through its endless fragments the remains of a decree of the Emperor Skanda Gupta (between 136 and 146 Gupta; 456-466 J. C.) who also employed the same formulation³⁴. The date of Vasantadeva corresponds to the diffusion of this diplomatic personage who takes birth towards the middle of the Vth century on the lower course of the Ganges.

The king does not carry the name of Vasantadeva in his inscription which the inscription of Pashupati gives him and which the Vamsavalis have perpetuated; he is named Vasantasena. He bears the title of Bhattaraka Maharaja which seems to be the official title of the Licchavis kings; Vasantasena applies it to his own father and Shivadeva 1st takes it also in his inscriptions.

The affected title of parama bhattaraka maharajadhiraja which the Gupta emperors bear is only observed in Nepal beginning from Shivadeva II. Vasantadeva resides at Managriha whence his chart is given. To believe him, his science, his practical sagacity, his compassion, his generosity, his urbanity, his piety, his majesty has given birth to the purity of

his glory. Every detail of the donation is lost. The official in charge of the execution (dutaka) is Ravigupta. Commander-in-chief and great usher, who exercises his functions at Brahman Mahicila. Date the first day of the month of Aswaja (or Ashwina) clear fortnight, Samvat 435.

The same Ravigupta titular of the same functions is delegated to the execution of another decree which I found at Kisipidi, near Thankot in the immediate neighbourhood of Matatirtha, towards the West of the valley; this decree is dated from 449, 10th day of the clear fortnight of the first month of Asadha. The name of the king has unfortunately disappeared with all the formulations of the introduction; but it concerns undoubtedly Vasantadeva or his successor. Who is the successor of Vasantadeva? The Vamsavalis call him Udayadeva; the inscription of Pashupati also names next to Vasantadeva, a king Udayadeva, but in connecting them one to the other by an enigmatic link. In fact, an almost illegible inscription which I discovered at Kisipidi, near the decree of 449 and which present exteriorly identical characters permits to partly decipher at the end name of the official delegated; it is the Yuvarajoda. The restitution which offers itself is 'yuvarajodayadevah' (the heir apparent Udayadeva). Udayadeva would have probably been the son of Vasantadeva and his designated successor. But the successor designated was also the actual and real successor, the effective heir of the power. The discord of the traditions the casual

mysteriousness of the inscription of Pashupati reveal a political and dynastic crisis. Epigraphy gives uncertain and fleeting glimpses, an inscription of Kisipidi, dated from the Vth century of the Licchavis clearly shows the name of King Ganadeva who resides at Managriha; but the terms and units of the date are undecipherable. I think it is justifiable and almost legitimate to recognize in this King Ganadeva, the King Gunakamadeva of the Vamsavalis, grand-son of Udayadeva and great grand-son of Vasantadeva. The similarity of the names may have led the chroniclers to an easy confusion; the unknown Ganadeva recalled too closely a glorious name to defend his humble memory against familiar syllables which he was wrong in evoking. It must be further observed that the names or the surnames formed with the word Kama only appear among the Thakuris in the VIIIth century; Ganadeva or the contrary regularly enters in the series of the Licchavis where so many names are merely the epithets of Shiva. Ganadeva is the god of the Ganas, servants of Shiva; he can like Ganapati for instance, apply himself either to Shiva or to Ganesa, the son of Shiva and prince of the Ganas. The delegate of Ganadeva is Prasadagupta. Between Udayadeva and Ganadeva (Gunakamadeva), the Vamsavalis place Manadeva II. Under this reign, Nepal suffered for three years from a terrible drought; Manadeva brought an end to it by offering all his treasures to Pashupati. The Vamsavali of Kirkpatrick alone registers to Pashupati. The Vamsavali of Kirkpatrick alone registers this tradition. After Ganadeva (Gunakamadeva) the Vamsavalis are agreed in

placing successively Shivadeva, Narendradeva and Bhimdeva to whom they grant a total of 91 years(K.) or 129 years (B. V.) of reign. Departing from this point, they widely separate. Before discussing their testimony, it seems to me useful to present in parallel columns a tableau of their divergencies.

28. Bhimadevavarman

Bhim Deo Burmah	
W. V. B.	K.

29. Vismadevavarman 47 years

(During the reign of 28 years, the Ahirs who were originally the sovereigns of Nepal regained their domain: 'Ahir or Abhira dynasty restored')

30. Visvadevavarman 51 years (W. B.)

Vica Gupta deva	V.
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(The 30 marries his daughter to Amsuvarman, founder of the Thakuri dynasty).

(29) Bishen Gupt	74 years (Vishnu Gupta)
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(30) Kishnoo Gupt	61 years (Kishu Gupta)
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(31) Bhoomy Gupt	40 years (Bhumi Gupta)
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(Seo Deo Burmah (Shivadevavarman) of the posterity of Nevesit (Nimisa) expells the Gupts (Guptas) and again subduces Nepal.

Restoration of the Suryavamcis.

(32) Seo Deo Burmah	41 years. (Shivadevavarman)
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(He is followed by Unghoo Burmah (Amsuvarman) 42 years).
(Contd.)

FOOT NOTES

1. (Not French)
Somadeva, as is seen further places of Nepal in connection with Shiva.
2. (Not French)
3. 'Varaha-Mihira' 'Bṛhat-Samhita', IV, 22. The corresponding passage of Paracara is mentioned by Kern in a note of his translation, Journ. Roy. As. Soc., n. s. IV, p. 454, -Varaha Mihira also names Nepal, V, 65.
4. 'Tripitaka Chinese', Japanese edition, XVII, vol. 6, p. 32a (Nanjio 1127)
5. 'Memoirs', II, 47. On the date of Sthiramati, key my 'Religious donation of the kings of Valabhi' in the VIIth volume of the Library of the School of high studies of religious sciences. Paris, 1896, p. 87.
6. Japanese ed., III, 4, 61a (Nanjio, 63). Nepal is inserted in this list between the "Head-of-dogs" (Svamukhas) and the 'Kin-na-so' (Gonaras?)
7. An unknown poetry of King Harsa Cilditya by Silvain Levi, in the acts of the Xth 'congress des orientes'. Geneva, 1896, V. 3.
8. Japanese edition., XXVII, 9, p. 48 a (Nanjio, 1056).
9. Ib, 63a.
10. Jap. edition, XXVII, 3, p. 82b (Nanjio, 1018)
11. Taranatha, p. 125.
12. Key, 'Takausu, A study... and the date of Vasubandhu', in the Journ. Roy. As. Soc., 1905, I.
13. Nepala..., I. IX; key sup., vol I 225. Hemacandra in an interesting passage of his commentary on the Kavyanucasana (Kavya-Mala, 1900, p. 128), mentions Nepal in the countries situated to the East of Benares (Not French)

and again among the mountains of that region (Not French).

14. (Not French)

The Buddhistic Vamcavali gives him also the name of Ne-muni (Wright, 107)

15. (Not French)

16. Hamilton, 187.- Hodgson, loc. cit.-- Oldfield, II, 189.-A chapter of the Hor-sacarita of Band compares exactly in a pun, 'nemi' and the 'Niyama'.

The Buddhists priest Divakara Mitra is called in it; "Jama Yamasya, nemin-niyamasya, battvam tapasah" (Bombay ed., 266).

4. Taranath, p. 26 and 27,- Schiefuer translates "the Tibetan tharu-i brgyud" by "die Reihe der Erdg ranze", But according to the very testimony of Wassilief (mentioned ib, Introd., p. 9) "Sumba Khutukta understands 'Tharu' as the name of a tribe (of which is issued Asoka). The exactitude of this information does honour to the Tibetan tradition. It is certain in fact that one must translate 'tharu-i-brgyud' the country of the Tharus".

The Tibetan form of the name of Nepal "Bal-po" seems to confirm the traditional analysis which isolates the initial syllable 'ne'. The element 'po' is the substantive particle which attaches itself to concrete terms; the significant part is reduced to "Bal (pala, or rather a weaker form bala)", intermediary between the Sanscrit Ne)pala and the modern designation of Ne)vara. Nevars. The word 'bal' further signifies in Tibetan,

"wool". Nepal is often designated also by "Rin-po-cho-i-ghin" which corresponds to the Sanscrit Ratna-dvipa "country of precious stones" and by an extension "country of the fortunate beings" it is also called Klu (i) Yul. "The country of the Nagas" as being their favourites resort. The Chinese at the time of the T'ang say Ni-po-lo; at the time of the Ming, Ni-pa-la; the modern forms Pa-lo-pon, Pa-eui-pn, Pai-pou are transcriptions of the Tibetan name Bal-po. Key sup., vol. I, p. 186; and 1,223, n.1, for another etymology of Nepal proposed by M. Waddell.

17. Wright, 79; "From the hill of Padma (Swayambhu) to Guhyeswari'. The 'Svay' p. (e. Bi. li. Ind., p. 246) shows other limits but equivalent.

18. W. designates the Vamsavali of Wright; B. That of Bhagvanlal (some considerations on the History of Nepal); K. the lists of Kirkpatrick; V. my exemplary of the Brahmanic Vamsavali.

19. Bhagvanlal supposes that this name is a corruption of the formula: "bhuktamanaga-gata-varsa--in the year of the reign of..."

20. In fact the Kiratas attribute to their hero Srijanga, the invention of a special writing. Sarat Chandra Das mentioned in Vansittart, p.135. The parallel lists in the Chinese versions are worthy of mention, the most ancient (P'ou-yao king, translated in 308) replaces the name of the Kiratas

- by 'yi-ti-sas', expression which means from a Chinese point of view the 'barbarians bordering on the North', it is an exact equivalent by (translated in 587) transcribes ki-lo-to and adds as a gloss "the naked men". The third (Fang-koang ta tchoang yen king, translated in 683) simply gives the transcription 'ki-lo-to'. See the final note of my article; the country of Kharosta and the Kharostri writing in the Bulletin Ec. Fr. Extraror., 1904.
21. Description, p. 350
 22. *Ib.*, 362
 23. It is to be observed that the name of Bhaskara-Varman is carried by the prince (Kumara) who reigned over the Kamarupa, bordering on Nepal in the days of Harsa and of Hiouen-tsang (VIIth century)
 24. A copy of this inscription which I procured myself in Nepal clearly shows 'aparam' in verse 6 (cvaccham... vamcah) instead of 'aparo' which Bhagvanlal adopted; whiteness is the colour of glory; whence the comparisons with the Moon and Ganga, which are acknowledged for being white also.
 25. *Ib.*, p. 339.
 26. Taranatha mentions a prince of the Licchavi clan, 'The Lion' (senge) who possessed a great empire in Eastern India in the days when Candragomin was born, then in the beginning of the VIIth century (p. 146). The grand son of this prince, Pancema Simha, son of Bharsa, commanded in the North as far as Tibet (p. 158). Key, perhaps the Adi-Simha of the Magadha mentioned in the inscription of the Dudhpani, Ep. Ind., 11,344.
 27. Buhler (The laws of Manu, I,1) re-establishes rightly as Lassen had already done before him (*Ind. Alt, Ir*, 170 note), the 'Licchivi' perusal and in a subsidiary manner Licchavi instead of 'Licchivi' given by the vulgate (Latin Bible) Besides the annotators share out among them the perusals of the Licchavi, Licchikhi, Nicchivi, N. Jolly has admitted in the text of his edition the Licchivi perusal.
 28. The legend is thus mentioned in the dictionary of S. V. Litche, Li-tohe-pi, according to the Chou-tsoung-ki (or more exactly the Sou-fau-lin-chou-chou-tsoung-i-ki) glossary on the commentary (chou) of the Dharmaguptavinaya (Sou-fau-lin) in ten or twenty chapters by T'ing pin. The Sin-tsi-tsang-king in-i-soei hau lou of (K'o-houng preserved in the Korean collection and printed in the Japanese edition of the Tripitaka (XXXIX). 1-5) gives the name legend in a condensed form an analogous legend drawn from the South is found again in S pence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, p. 242.n. The story related by Fa-Hien in connection with the 'Tower of the bows and arms deposited' at Vaicali, is evidently only a variation of the same tradition; one of the wives of the king conceives on the banks of the Ganges, a ball of flesh, which her riva! the

- first queen has had thrown into the water enclosed in a casket. A king recovers the casket, opens it and finds within a thousand children, he brings them up. Once they grow big; they invaded the kingdom of their father. But their mother, to make herself recognizable to them and to stop their invasion, climbs to the top of a pavilion, squeezes her breasts and there by causes the outflow of a thousand spirits of milk which fall into the mouths of her thousand children (trans. Remusat, ch XXV). According to the *Tibetische Lebens beschreibung Cakyamunis* of Schiefner mentioned in Kern (*Buddhismus*, trans, Jacobi, p. 312) the ancestor of the Licchavis as well as those of the Mallas was a grand-son of Virudhada named Vasistha.
29. (See) V. Sylvain Lévi, *Two disregarded nations in the Memoirs in honour of Ch, de Harlez*, 176 sqq.
30. Even in Nepal a gomin ancestor of king Jusnugupta, bears the name of Managupta.
31. Sri Manecvaruvarakavdhaorataoa... (Joyasthiti Malla, Nev. S. 506), ms. cambridge Add, = 698,--varalabdhaprasadita... (Jyotimalla, Nev. S. 533) Insc. No. 16 of Bhagvanlal-crimanmanecvarista devata-vara-labdha-prasada (chart of Jayaprakash Malla Nev. 862 in favour of the Capuchins; see, sup. i.e. 110, note--cri Gandakivaralabdhaprasada... Nev. S., 512; ms. Cambridge, Add., 1108.
32. Perhaps in connection with the clan of the Mankharis, according to the analogy of the names Bhogavarman, Bhogadevi.
33. Vansittart—p. 81; Hodgson mentions it *Essay, s, part. II. p. 43* under the form Maun (Mana; key, Nepal--Nepala).
34. See, for the charts of Valabhi my memoir on the 'Religious donations of the king of Valabhi'; for the charts of Hastin and Jayanatha, the corpus insc. Ind. Vol 111; for the chart of Laksmana the 'Epigraphia Indica 11,364; for the pillar of Bihar, the 'corpus', 111. No. 12.



प्राचीन नेपाल
संख्या ६१-६४
पुस २०३७-श्रावण २०३८

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सम्पादक
रमेशजंग थापा

Editor
Ramesh Jung Thapa

NEPAL

(Continued)

Sylvain Levi

The inscription of Pashupati is no more from here of any positive help. After Vasantadev, it jumps by the intermediary of Udayadeva right up to Narendradeva, father of King Shivadeva who reigns a century after Amsuvarman and grand-father of King Javadeva, author of this inscription dated from 153 a century and a half after Amsuvarman. The portion of the verse which expressed the filiation of Narendradeva opens (or begins) with a mysterious expression and is continued by an omission. The only positive fact is that from Vasantadeva to Narendradeva, the sceptre has been handed down in a broken line and that the legitimate dynasty has undergone an eclipse during an interval, not determined. The words *asyantare* which serve to connect Narendradeva to Vasantadeva, betray by their difficulties, the constraints of the official panegyris; one can attempt to interpret them by *asya (vamcasya) antare* 'in an interval of his race', or in a disappearance of this race or even 'in another branch of this race', and in other ways again because each one of these two names is susceptible to translations infinitely varied. The acce-

ssion of Amsuvarman, founder of the Thakuri dynasty is an authentic and unquestionable fact; but the fall of the Licchavis seems to be the result of a crisis which has become complicated with other accidents; the Vamsavali of Kirkpatrick which gives Amsuvarman as the successor direct and legitimate of Shivadeva retains the memory of an Abhiva conquest during the reign of Bhimadevavarman, the pastoral dynasty which was credited as being one of the most ancient dynasties of the kingdom would have tempted a restoration; three Abhiras sovereigns would have exercised the power during 175 years; but the predecessor of Amsuvarman, Shivadeva, brings back the Solar dynasty to the throne.

It is already on a prince of the same name (26) Shivadeva that I have separated myself from the dynastic lists, immediately after the reign of Gunakamadeva (25). This first Shivadeva is in three of the Vamsavalis (W.V.B.) an important personage hero of numerous legends and consecrated by a multitude of pious works. His successors Narendradeva (27), Bhimadeva (28), Vish-

nudeva (29), are only known by name: Vicva Gupta deva or Vicvadeva (30), who follows them is associated like Shivadeva to religious memories. The Shivadeva of the inscriptions, authentic predecessor of Amsuvarman is the author of numerous donations and foundations; not a single king is represented in Nepalese epigraphy by a greater number of documents. Perhaps the two Shivadevas of Kirkpatrick's list (26 and 32) the Shivadeva (26) and the Vicvadeva (30) of the other Vamsavalis must reduce themselves to a single personage, identical to the Shivadeva of the inscriptions. Narendradeva and Bhimadeva would then play the parts of Louis XVII and Napoleon II, they would be the essential intermediaries in order to guarantee the legitimate transmission of the power, right through revolutions and dynastic crises from the Licchavi predecessors of Amsuvarman, to the official successors of this prince.

With Shivadeva, the dynasty is displaced; it abandons its ancient residence of Banecvara where it had maintained itself since the accession of its founder Bhumivarman and it removes itself to Deva Pattana (Deo Patan), the town adjoining the temple of Pashupati, founded in the days of Ashoka embellished and enriched by Bhaskaravarman, successor of the ancient Pasupreksadeva. Shivadeva erects thither a palace with nine stories; he founds thither a gate, two wells, three fountains, four images of Nrtya Natya, five platforms for dancing, six blocks (of stone), seven Ishwaries, eight Agamas, nine Geneschas; then by reason of the circular

shape of the town he gives it the name of Gola, 'the ball'. He also founds Nava-tola, established thither four Ganesh, four Bhairavas, four Nrtya Natyas, four Mahadevas, four Kumaries, four Buddhas, four Khambas, four Gagancaris and four quadrants with images of Buddha. He is also the founder of Mahagara and other localities again. Religion especially interests him, he institutes and regulates untiringly. He instals at the sides of Pashupati Nrtya Natya of Mount Cataruda and Kamecvara Bhimasena; he erects a Vacana Vinayaka. He recognizes Vatsala Devi as the principal divinity of Nepal accords him a human sacrifice yearly creates or institutes a procession of the chariot in his honour. He restores the religion of Bhuvaneshwari, of Jayabagishwari and of Rajeshwari etc. He decides that the Vajrayogini (of Sanku) will be re-painted every twelve years only. Humbly attached to a yogi whom he holds as an incarnation of the irascible Durvasas and whom he adopts as a guru, he abdicates, leaves the throne to his brother Narendradeva and goes to live as a humble disciple near the yogi. The yogi once dead; he attaches himself to a bhiksus who he takes for guru, enters the Buddhist orders, constructs a convent wherein he retires; but at the end of four days of monastic life, he recognizes that he was mistaken on his vocation; asks to return to the world; takes out the yellow garment of the Bhiksus; receives the sacrament of Acarya and builds in the neighbourhood of the first convent, another convent where he goes and lives at home; it is the convent known today under the name of Onkuli Bihar in Patan. One day whilst

he gave himself up to mediation, his skull burst and whilst the soul escaped through there shot out a mysterious jewel enigmatic in form and size.

Punyadeva, a son of Shivadeva, when he had already become Vajracharya, accomplished the funeral rites and Narendradeva continues to occupy the throne which lets out to his son, Bhimdeva. Vishnudeva reigns next then Vishwadeva or Viova gupta deva. This king wishes to suppress the human sacrifices which was offered to Vatsala but a divine manifestation dissuades him from his intention. He is instrumental in the working out of a large statue of Vishnu, in stone on the Northern side of the Bagmati and Bishnumati (This is the Vishnu natha founded, according to Kirkpatrick by Vishnu Gupta the Abhira); he also erects, in order to win the favour of Jayavagishwari, a statue of the Navadurgas and Kumaries. Having no son, he gives his daughter in marriage to a Thakuri Vaicya of pure caste, named Amsuvarman who inherits the throne. But, before Amsuvarman takes over the power, Vikramaditya of Ujjayini arrives in Nepal to impose on this kingdom the era which he has just founded thanks to the fabulous riches which enabled him to liquidate everywhere, all the debts; it is at this price that a monarch can and must found an era; he further institutes at the village of Harisiddhi, a dramatic representation which Hindustan allows at last, Amsuvarman to reign over the country.

Three inscriptions expressly bear the name of King Shivadeva as their author;

one of these was found by Bhagbanlal at Buddha-Nil-Kantha (Jalacayana), is undated; another was discovered by N. Bendall of Bhatgaon in the Golmadhi-tol is dated from 516 or 518 (and not 316 or 318); the last one which I found myself at Bhatgaon in the Tulacchi-tol allows only in the clear reading of its date the figure of the hundreds 5 followed probably with the sign of the first ten. The first one the inscription of Buddha-Nil-Kantha is truncated; there only exists of it the formulary of introduction, but this fragment suffices to observe the identity of the protocol in out of three texts. Shivadeva resides in the palace of Managriha, he has not changed the 'darbar' whatever the Vamsavalis might say he is the 'banner of the Licchavis race'; the regular successor of his father (Bappa Badanudhyata) who continues to follow him with his thought. Like his ancestors the Licchavis, like Vasantadeva or Ganadeva, he is satisfied with the title Bhattaraka-Maharaja which seems very domestic in comparison to the royal titles customary in the VIIth century, but which tradition consecrated as the expression of the antiquity of the dynasty. The inscription of Buddha-Nil-Kantha declares that Shivadeva is 'learned, versed in politics, well brought up, heroic, constant and that here only began his merits where there is nothing wanting'. The two charts of Bhatgaon even renounce at this attempt at remuneration. 'Numerous the sum total of his virtues develop his glory.' Both the description testify to the persistency of the customs of the chancery. They take up each separately the elements of the formula employed a century earlier by Vasantadeva; 'learned,

well versed in politics sympathetic liberal, courteous, pious, majestic, he expanded the purity of his glory. After this preliminary the king addressed himself directly to those concerned, he informs them of his health, greets them good-morning and communicates to them his decision; but he takes care each time to carry back the initiative and as a consequence against it to his counsellor the 'great marquis' (Maha-samanta) Amsuvarman; by an unexpected reversing of situations, the vassal is more pompously praised than the sovereign; 'the great marquis Amsuvarman has an illustrious renown which is also immaculate and well spread, his active valiance has reduced to a state of calmness the power of numerous rivals' (Bhatgaon); or again 'the multitude of great battles which he has won, earns his heroism a lustre which crushed the might of all his adversaries; the pains he takes too carefully, watch over the people has earned him a splendid glory which fills up the disc of the earth' (Buddha-Nil-Kantha); on his request (Vihapitena), the king as a mark of consideration to him and compassion for those concerned confers privileges of some classical nature; the officers of the crown are only authorised to enter on the state territory, to collect the three contributions; they are forbidden to enter, thither, either to hand over written notes (summons to appear, notice for settlement of outstanding) or on the occasion of the five crimes usually reserved to royal jurisdiction. The favoured localities clearly bear barbarous names, otherwise said Nevars. Khrpun (Bhatgaon), Mahostanstsara (ib., Golmadhi-tol). The same delegate (dutaka) is

entrusted with the surveillance of the execution of the two charts of Bhatgaon; he is Bhogavarma-Gomin.

Two other inscriptions, badly mutilated, must also be related to Shivadeva by virtue of their date of their writing and by their formulation; they are located in two neighbouring localities, of Dharampur and at Thoka, in the North of Kathmandu and in the North West of Buddha-Nil-Kanth. The stele of Dharampur is dated from 520 the end of its alone is decipherable; it stated a double privilege conceded by the king. But there is a want of detail; the fragments mention a Lalla-kara who appears again in an inscription of Jisnu Gupta and indicate the use of the 'pana' of copper as the monetary unit. The stele of Thoka is dated from 519; it is a chart of donation which determines with its usual minuteness, the boundaries of the given land. The dutaka of Dharampur is Bhogavarma Gomin; that of Thoka, Vartta-Bhogacandra.

Thus, three times out of four, it is the same personage, Bhogavarma-Gomin who is delegated as the representative of the royal power. The other delegate, Bhogacandra, bears a name closely resembling the first one, equally formed by the word 'bhoga' in a combination. Well, names of this type are far from being ordinary; the Corpus does not mention for the period of the Guptas, any example outside Nepal; the lists of M. Kielhorn which includes almost the whole of the history of the middle-ages and modern times in India, adds in it one example only Bhogabhata. But in Nepal, besi-

des Bhogavarman and Bhogacandra, the dutakas of king Shivadeva the inscriptions mention Bhogadevi, sister of this Amsuvarman, who was the counsellor of Shivadeva before usurping his throne. Bhogadevi has a son nephew of Amsuvarman and who is called Bhogavarman. A century after Amsuvarman, a new Shivadeva, king of Nepal, marries a princess born in the race of the Maukharis in the family of the Varmans—daughter of a Bhogavarman who had espoused the daughter of a powerful king, Adityasena of Maghadha. The race of Maukharis was equal to that the Licchavis by its ancientness and surpassed it in purity in the VIIth century, a contemporary of Amsuvarman, Bana in his romanesque history of the Emperor Harsa, did not hesitate to declare that 'equal to the footprints of Mahecvara, the race of the Maukharis is on the summit of the earth's supports (kings or mountains) and whom the whole world religiously worship. The very sister of Emperor Harsa, Rajyasri had espoused a prince Maukhari Grahavarman. The names of Bhogavarman (Gomin), Bhogacandra, Bhogadevi compared with the names Bhogavarman the Maukhari, seem to denote the Maukhari consented in giving his daughter in marriage to a descendent of Amsuvarman (Shivadeva), a Licchavi of Nepal, should for better reasons accept willingly for son-in-law, Amsuvarman himself. In fact of alliances, the Licchavis of the mountains could not have been more exacting than the Maukharis of Hindusthan.

Bhogavarman, 'Dutaka' of the chart of the Golmadhi-tol, is undoubtedly identical to the nephew of Amsuvarman who bears the same name. The chart, dates of Samvat 518 is only five years anterior to the chart

of Amsuvarman (Samvat 39), wherein Bhogadevi, sister of Amsuvarman is designated as the mother who gave birth to the noble (sri) Bhoghavarman; this designation seems to point out that Bhoghavarman held a high position. Bhoghavarman-Gomin is certainly the same personage as Bhoghavarman. 'Gomin', in fact, is only a title tacked on to the name. The lexicons give us no help to exactly find the worth but they are at least agreed upon with the other documents to give it a significant essential Buddhistic. The Gomin is an 'Upasaka'; a faithful layman who takes the vow to observe the five essential abstinences and to come to the help of religious men.¹ But all the Upasakas are not Gomins. The most famous of Gomins Candra and the grammarian and theologian was simply called Candra and the grammatical system of which in the creator has remained known under the name of the grammar of Candra 'Candra Vyakarna'; he was originally an Upasaka, but he became Upasaka-Gomin on the express indication of Avalokiteshwara, when the goddess Tara had by a miracle carried him to island in the ocean which was still barren, but which soon peopled itself thanks to him 'Ever since then Candra received the name of Candra Gomin.² The Tibetan historian of Indian Buddhism still names 1st Kamala Gomin, another devotee of Avalokiteshwara who had cognizance of the Tripitaka, Upasaka, servant of those religious men who lived in the contemplation of Mahayana.³ This Kamala Gomin was a contemporary of Dharmakirti who lived in the reign of king Srong-Stdan Sgam-po, the very son-in-law of Amsuvarman. 2nd Mudgara (the name is doubtful) Gomin author of a famous hymn but especially known for having enlarged the monastery

of Nalanda; he was a Brahman by origin, but who observed 'the vows of Bhadanta of an Upasaka's 3rd Kumarananda an Upasaka-Gomin of the countries of the south who instructed 5000 Upasakas and made them understand the Prajnaparamita whilst another Upasaka Maitikumara engaged in domestic life, popularized the Dhyana of the Mahayana.⁵ The Singalese literature numbers among its illustrations a Gomin, Gurulu Gomin author of the Amavatura and of the Dharmapradipikava, which tradition classify in the reign of Aggabodhi 1st at the close of the VIth century (564-598).⁶

The name only has survived of Indra Gomin, the grammarian.⁷ The Tibetans regularly translate Gomin by btsun-pa, which signifies respectable, noble venerable faithful in the observance of religious duties. The Mahavyutpatti, which mentions the name of Candra Gomin in the five canonical language (177) bases all its translations on the Tibetan interpretation, for example, in Chinese, 'miaoyne, perfect Moon'. This interpretation bases itself on the testimony of Candra Gomin himself who in his grammar (IV, 2, 144) explains Gomin by puja 'honourable'.

The vartha Bhogacandra, the other delegate of Shivadeva, bears the title of vartha; the term vartha is regular derivative of the word 'varti' subsistence. The vartha would correspond exactly, as regards the form and actual worth with the varthiyas modern Nepal; the Vartthiyas are the vassals who have received in perpotual donation a fief free of charges but without any right of jurisdiction.⁸

The kings of Thakuri dynasty W.V.B. of Nepal are shown below:

1.	Amsuvarman	68 years. B.V.W.
	Unghoo Burmah	42 years.
2.	Krtavarman	87 years. B.V.(W.)
	Kirto Burmah	13 years. K.
3.	Bhimarjuna	93 years.
	Bheem Arjoon Deo	39 years K.
4.	Nanda deva	25 years. B.
	Nund Deo	95 years. V. (W.)
		13 years. K.
5.	Vira deva	95 years. B.V. (W.)
	(5) Seo Deo	16 years K.
6.	Gandraketu deva	
		B.W.
7.	Narendra deva	98 years. V.
	"	7 years. W.B.
	(6) Nurrender deo	37 years. K.
8.	Vara deva	8 years. W.B.
	Vala deva	23 years V.
	(7) Bul Deo	17 years K.
9.	Cankara deva	12 years. B.V.W.
	(8) Sunker Deo	12 years K.
10.	Varjganaba deva	13 years. B.V.S.
	(9) Bhem Arjoon Deo (the 2nd)	16 years K.
11.	Bali deva	13 years W.B.
	"	12 years. V.
	(11) Sree Bull Deo	16 years. K.
12.	Jaya deva	15 years. B.V.W.
	(10) Jye Deo	19 years K.
	(12) Condur Deo	7 years K.
	(13) Jye Deo (the 2nd)	42 years. 7 m.K.
	(14) Bul deo (the 3rd)	11 years. K.

13. Balarjuna deva 17 years. B.W.V. (3) Bul deo K. 12 years. V. Bd.
15. Ballunjoon Deo 36 years. 7m. K. 3. Padma deva W.B.V. 11 years.
Ragheeb Deo 63 years K. Puddiem Deo K. 6 years.
(16) Raghava deva 46 years 3 m. Bd. (4) Pradyaumnakama deva Bd
- Jaya deva 10 years Bd.
- (17) seeker Deo 38 years 6 m. K.
- (18) Soho Deo 33 years 9m. K.
14. Vikrama deva 12 years. B.V.W. 8 year 9 m. Bd. (5) Naug Arjoon K 3 years.
19. Bickrum Deo 1 year m. K. 5. Cankara deva W.B.V. 11 years. V.
(20) Nurrender Deo 1 year 6 m. K. 15 years Bd.
Narendra deva 1 year 6 m. Bd. (6) Sunker Deo K. 17 years.
(Thakuris of Patan of the family of Amsuvarman W.B.V.)
15. Gunakama deva 51 years. W.B. 65 years. 5m. Bd. 6. Vama deva W.B.V. 3 years V. Bd.
Gunadeva 51 years V. Eam Deo K. 3 years.
21. Goonokam Deo 85 years 6 m. K. 7. Harsa deva W.B.V. 15 years. V.
(22) Oodey Deo 6 years K. 14 years Bd.
22. Udaya deva 5 years. 5m Bd. Shree Horkh Deo K. 16 years.
23. Nurbhoy Deo 7 years K.
16. Bhojadeva 8 years W.B.V.
24. Bhaj Deo Budra 9 years m.K.
17. Laksmikama deva 22 years. W.B.V. 21 years. Bd. 8. Sada Shiva deva W.B.V. 21 years V.
Seo Deo K. 27 years 7 months.
Shiva deva Bd. 27 years 5 months.
(9) Indra Deo K 12 years
Indra deva Ed. 12 years
25. Letchmi Camdeo - 9. Mana deva W.B.V. 10 years.
Dutta 21 years K. 4 years 7 months Bd.
18. Jayakama deva 20 years. W.B.V. 10. Maun Deo K. 4 years 7 months
10. Nara Simha deva W.B.V. 22 years
(26) Jye Deo 20 years. K. (11) Nurrender Deo K. 5 years 4 months
Vijaya 31 years Bd.
- (Thakuris of Nayakot W.B.V)
1. Bhaskara deva W.B.V. 13 years. V. 3 years Bd.
- Bhaskur Deo K. (2) Oodey Deo 7 years 1 month. K.
2. Bala deva W.B.V. 12 years. V. Bd. 11. Nandra deva W.B.V. 21 years
Ananda deva Bd. 20 years.

12. Rudra deva
W.B.V. Bd. 10 years. B.V.
7 years W.
8 years 1m. Bd.
Rudro Deo K. 80 years
13. Mitra deva W.B.V. 21 years
Amrita deva Bd. 3 years 11 months
Omret Deo K. 3 years 11 months
(Rudra deva)
14. Someshwara
deva Bd. 4 years 3 months
Soomeesur Deo K. 6 years 3 months
15. Gunakama deva
Bd. 3 years
(Laksmikama deva)
16. Vijaya Kama
deva Bd. 17 years.
Buz Caum Dea "

The successor of Shivadeva Amsuvarman is among the ancient kings of Nepal, the spoilt child of fortune. He ascended to the throne without his birth entitling him to it; he has founded a dynasty; he has introduced a new era; the Chinese have recorded his name; the Tibetans have connected him to their legends. By the testimony of the Vamsavalis (excepting Kirkpatrick), Amsuvarman was the son-in-law of his predecessor; he left the palace of Deo Patan which Shivadeva, the Licchavi had erected and changed his residence to Nadhyalakh, a little further to the South; he erected thither a great 'darbar' with splendid courts (canka); he also built thither houses for his ministers and officials. He was vigorous, active, feared, indefatigable in the pursuit of his human ends.⁹ He was taken up with Prayagatirtha, and persuaded the local Bhairava, Prayaga-Bhairava, to follow him and dwell

near his palace; in return he gave him a meat offering every year. The gods who will then showed themselves to mortal eyes, ceased after his reign, to manifest themselves in their real form. The Vamsavalis of Wright and of Bhagvanlal place his accession in the year 300 of the Kali-yuga (101 B.C.)

Epigraphy permits us to follow the carrier of Amsuvarman. He appears firstly in Shivadeva's inscriptions in 518, 519, and 520 S., like the 'great marquis' privileged counsellor and unique dispenser of royal favours; the panegyric of the manifold virtues of the minister, cleverly grafted on the official eulogy of the king, shows in its contents a threatening countenance. The usurper already works under the mayor of the palace, Amsuvarman has vanquished numerous enemies; he is the hero; he has the 'pratapa', this dazzling brilliancy of majesty which is the stamp of the royal person.

The Revolution is accomplished with the inscriptions of Harigaon Shivadeva has disappeared; Amsuvarman alone occupies the scene. He has deserted, as is exactly indicated in the Vamsavalis, the old palace of Managriha, consecrated by the souvenir of the Licchavis; he took up his abode at Kailasa Kuta, the Madhya lakhy of the chroniclers and it was there that he organized his court. However, he has not yet taken the royal title, he continues to designate himself as the great marquis; it was only in the year 39 that he drops that title, but with daring assuming another; he is simply shree-Amsuvarman with the most ordinary of titular appellations (shree). He receives for the first time in the documents which are known to us, the majestic title of 'maharajadhiraja' in an inscription of king Jishnu-

gupta dated from the year 48. The embarrassment of a badly defined positions again betrayed in other details of the protocol Shivadeva, like his predecessors, declared in the beginning of his inscriptions that his loving father followed him with his thought and affirmed by this saying his birth rights to the throne, he occupied. Amsuvarman dares not at first employ this saying, when the recollection of the 'coup d'etat' was still so vivid but he adopts it after a slight modification. He substitutes the father to whom he cannot claim a personage much more important and whose authority suffices in concealing all; the saint Pashupati, the sovereign, it is this god who watches over Amsuvarman. The father only exists in the background, in the expression 'bappa-pade-parighita' remarkable by the conciseness of its distinction. The verb parigrah extracted from the root grah 'to take' applies itself to the solemn and legal introduction of a person who is a stranger in the family, in the house, etc. If Amsuvarman, as is shown by the Vamsavalis, has espoused the daughter of Shivadeva who had no son, has been introduced by a sort of adoption in the quality of a son-in-law in the royal family. Whereas the wife follows ordinarily the husband in this case, the husband has followed the wife to erect himself a throne. Besides Amsuvarman quickly drops this compromising title; beginning from the year 32 perhaps from the year 34 positively, he only employs the ordinary wordings, faithfully reproduced afterwards by all his successors; 'bhagavat-pashupati-bhattacharaka-padamgrhita bappa-padanuddhyata'. The Saint Pashupati favours him; his father (adored) follows him with his thought. A fairly long control of power, has as early as

the year 34, transformed the occupation into legitimate possession.

The panegyric of Amsuvarman sustains in the course of its inscriptions oscillations of the same nature. But from the palace, he pompously spreads his praises in rivalry with the king and he exalts by the medium of the scribes, his military virtues and his great victories; once in full control of the reins of power, he changes his tone and proclaims only the new administration, it is peace; 'His activity is only pleased in doing good to others'. After the year 30, the eulogy disappears from the protocol; but still in the year 32, in a misplaced verse tacked on like a tail to the inscriptions, Amsuvarman again protests against his social preoccupations; 'my purified heart has no other ambition than the good of the people. How can my people become happy: said I to myself...'. The eulogy does not appear in its proper place till 39 but the personage has once again changed his skin. Amsuvarman appears to posterity as an erudite and a philosopher; 'He has spent his days and nights on a great number of technical treaties (castras), he has pondered over their meaning he has ruined erroneous doctrines'. The eulogy unexpected as it seems appear however to be deserving. Hion-Asang, who passes near Nepal in the days of Amsuvarman had heard the boasting of this prince who distinguished himself by the wealth of his knowledge and the sagacity of his mind. He had himself composed a treaties on the knowledge of sounds (Cabdauidyacastra), he esteemed science and respected virtue. His reputations had spread to all parts.¹⁰ The Pandits of Bhatgaon in the days of Kirkpatrick still preserved a tradition which dated the intro-

duction of the first Sanscrit grammar in Nepal, in the day of 'Unghoo Burmah' (Amsuvarman) of the posterity of (Pussoo-push Deo) 11 The researches I have undertaken to discover the Grammar of Amsuvarman have so far been to no avail. Even the tradition recorded by Kirkpatrick in 1793 seems to have entirely fallen in oblivion. The inscriptions of Amsuvarman seem to bear manifest traces of the grammatical preoccupations of the king. Before Amsuvarman, the Licchavis have as a constant practice of reiterating the consonant which follows the letter 'r' either in the body of the same word or in the meeting of two words Panini (VIII, 4, 46) teaches that this practice is discretionary; it is, however followed most often in epigraphical texts. Amsuvarman, on the contrary constantly withholds himself in this case, of reiterating the consonant in a combination. The change appears in his name also. Shivadeva, the Licchavi writes Amsuvarman with an 'm' reiterated; Amsuvarman in his charts, writes Amsuvarman with a single 'm'. His successor, Jisnu Gupta remains faithful to this epigraphy; but the ordinary folks remain attached either through negligence or routine, to the ancient usage. In an inscription dated in the last years of Amsuvarman, but which commemorates a private foundation, the name of the king is written Amsuvarman with the 'm' double as also the name of the donor Vibhuvarman.

The first personal inscription of Amsuvarman in the year 30 shows him undoubtedly on the morrow of his accession, claimed by the organization of his court; it is the moment when he establishes his

personal around the new palace. The site, which the Vamsavalis call Modhyalakhya, bears in the inscriptions the name or Kailasakuta, the pinnacle of Kailasa' by allusion to the mountain where Shiva loves to dwell, on the high Tibetan Plateau, towards the sources of the Indus. This name of Kailasa Kuta still remains connected to a ridge situated to the North and directly above the temple of Pashupati Harigaon where I found this inscription erected against a chapel with the inscription of the year 32 serving as a counter-poise, is situated to the west of Pashupati separated by the 'Stream of Washermen' (Dhobi Khola) from the plateau which supports Deopatan, the town of Pashupati and which falls again with an abrupt slope to the East on the Bagmati. Modhyalakhya according to Wright, is situated on the road to the South of Deo Patan; for my part, I have not succeeded in having myself explained the site. In either case, the new royal residence was either to the North, South or West in the immediate neighbourhood of Deo Patan, the capital of Shivadeva and in the immediate neighbourhood of the palace of Licchavis. Managriha, since one of the gates indicated in the distribution of Amsuvarman is called 'the gate of Mana griha'.

The inscription in fairly good preservation has however, suffered a little; it regulates a certain number of donation but the statement of the circumstances is missing. It appears that Amsuvarman institutes 'Jagirs' in favour of those who have with different title contributed to his anointing; the temple of the goddess Sasthi, one of Durga's forms, the inspector general of armies, the prefect of the donations, the

elephants of the coronation, the horse of the coronation, the bearer of the fly flap, the bearer of the banner, the worker of the water, the watcher of the pithas, the bearer of the Pashupataka, the blower of the conch, even the sweepers, the gates, the great road, receive a sum in virtue of a rent undoubtedly rated in 'pu' and 'pa' probably in puranas and in panas.

The second chart of the year 32, attributes donations to institutions and religious organizations and also to individuals. It presents an interesting tableau of religious Nepal in the course of the VIIth century when Shivaism and Buddhism shared themselves without disagreeing the royal favours. Pashupati occupies the foremost rank but his Jagir does not exceed the others; behind him comes Dola-Cekhara-Svamin, the god of Changu Narayan. Then the Buddhist convents, foremost the Gum-Vihara, never came of the Mani Chaitya, situated on the outside of the town of Sanku; the Manavihara, probably the convent founded by Manadeva; the Kharjurikavihara, and following these the convents of lesser importance which are not particularly designated and which receive three times less than the first one. The secondary temples come after the viharas of the second order and are treated like them; the Rameshwara, the Hamas grihadeva, the Maneshwara, the Sambapura, the Vagvati para-deva, the Parvateshwara, the Narasimhadeva, the Kailaseshwara, the Jalacayana, the Bhumlakika receive each 3 pu (ranas) and 1 pa (na). The other temples of the gods (devakula) only receive 2 puranas and 2 panas. Lastly, the decree ends up with a few attributions, little

edifying; Bhattaraka padah, the brotherhood (Pancali) of Sapela (?), the brotherhood in general one of the servants of the palace, the gansthikas, the servants in general.

There remains two charts of the year 34; one of the month of Jyaistha (Bendall, 2) is to be found in Patan; it confers on the brotherhood (pancalikas) of the village of Matin, the revenues of several lands to be destined to the upkeep of an edifice a temple undoubtedly which Amsuvarman had restored and which was built of bricks and wood. It was necessary to replace its doors, the panels and windows. Amsuvarman entrusts the execution of his order to Vindusvamin, the inspector general of the army. The other inscription of the year 34 is dated in the month of Pausa (Bhagv. 6); it was discovered in Bungamati, the small borough which is known to be the cradle of Matsyendra Nath (in Navar; Bunga) and which keeps six months in the year, the image of god and a deposit in trust. The tenor of the decree is almost indecipherable. The king's delegate appears to be an official of the name of Vikramasena. A ksatriya (rajaputra) of this name is designated as royal delegate in a truncated (mutilated) chart of the year 535, posterior by seventeen years to the chart of Bungamati.

The first of the two inscriptions of the year 34 marks a new progress of Amsuvarman's authority. Shivadeva, his predecessor, would introduce according to the usage consecrated, at the foot of his donations, a prayer and a threat; 'let it be known and that henceforth nobody among those who live by my favours or any other act. And if anyone in disdain of this order,

acts or abets, the action otherwise, I shall not in any way support him. And the kings who will reign after me respectful of the law and attach to the favours granted by their royal predecessors, must observe exactly this order, (Bendall, 1). Amsuvarman in his first decree of the year 30 is content with appealing to the fidelity of his officials and kings to come; in 32, he even cancels this appeal. But in 34, he renews with insignificant variations of detail the final working of Shivadeva; the only difference worthy of mention is the substitution of the first person in plural 'We' (Vayam) to the singular 'I' (aham) which Shivadeva made use of.

The last decree of Amsuvarman dated in the year 39 (Bhagv. 7) spreads and develops this wording. This decree which is to be found in Deo Patan near the temple of Pashupati confers to the brotherhood of Adhacala (Adahacala-pancalikebhyah) the surveillance of three lingas, the curabhogecvara dedicated to Pashupati by Bhogadevi, sister of Amsuvarman and mother of Bhogavarman on behalf of the merits of Curasena husband of Bhogadevi; the Laditamahecvara founded by Bhagyadevi, daughter of Bhogadevi and niece of Amsuvarman; the Dak-sinecvara founded by the ancestors of Bhogadevi. The decree addresses itself to the vrttibhujah, to those present and those to come of the paccimadhikarana, the adhykara-rana or the Western province; the vrttibhujah are probably the feudal proprietors who enjoy (bhuj) the revenues of the territories given as a fief identical to the carttas and also the vrttiyas of modern Nepal. Lastly,

the royal delegate is the yuvaraja, the heir apparent, Udayadeva.

The last inscription of Amsuvarman's period emanates from a private individual, it is to be found at Kathmandu (Bhagv. 8). The date of it is doubtful; the sign of 40 is clear in it, but the unit which followed us indistinct. Bhagavanlal translated it conjecturally as a 5; M. Fleet is tempted to make out a 4 of it. 'By the favour of Shree-Amsuvarma, the vartta Vibhuvarman has had constructed this water pipe to the profit of his father's merits.'

Alike the inscriptions, the coins testify to the power of Amsuvarman. The first of Nepal's kings, he stamps the coins in his name. There exists several types described by Cunningham. The diametre is about 0.025 millimetres; the weight, very irregular, is of 11 grammes to 16-20. The constant emblem is a kind of winged griffon turning towards his right proper, a fore-foot raised in the attitude of walking; on the camp, the legend Shree-Amsuvarman or 'cru-Amcoh'. On the reverse, sometimes, the same lion with a moon crescent above its head; sometimes the sun radiated with the legend, 'maharajadhirajasya'. Perhaps it is useful to see here an allusion to the name of the king which contains the word 'amsu' 'ray'. In fact the legend on this coin exactly occupies around the solar disc, the place which in certain of Pashupati's coins is occupied by the prolongation of the solar rays. On another series, the reverse, shows a cow turned towards its right proper with a legend which has so far been read; Kama-dehi or (Bendall) Kaman dehi. But on the one hand, the ansuvara is missing clearly

on the facsimiles published and this king of prayer; 'give the desire' is hardly justifiable either by analogies or by arguments. It seems more natural to search in it for a designation of the cow abundance currently called Kama-dugh, 'which allows itself to be milked of everything wished for'.¹²

The distribution of Amsuvarman's inscriptions at Kathmandu, Patan, Deo Patan, Bungamati, shows that this prince exercised his sovereignty on the very centre of Nepal; the chart which regulates the maintenance of the lingas erected at Pashupati by his sister and his niece and which is addressed to the vrttibhujah, of the Western department (or province) leads to believe that the power of Amsuvarman spread fairly far in the East; from the point of view, of even the valley, Pashupati is certainly situated rather in the Eastern portion of Nepal. An indication of the Vamsavali seems well to confirm this supposition; 'Amsuvarman took to Prayaga Tirtha and persuaded Prayaga-Bhairava to accompany him into Nepal'. Wright adds, wrongly that the Prayaga-tirtha is the confluent of the Ganges, Jumna and Sarasvati, Prayagatirtha being the Hindu name of modern Allahabad. In fact, Nepal possesses a tirtha of the name of Prayaga; it is situated to the E.S.E. of the great valley, near the town of Panavati in a valley apart at a distance of two leagues, south of Banepa, at three leagues, S.E. of Bhatgaon. The mount Namobuddha which the local legend designates as the scene of the Vyaghrijataka is above Panavati. According to tradition, the ancient name of this region was Pancala-deca, the country of Pancala. Amsuvarman would then have submitted to his power, this distant region

and in order to connect it more closely to Nepal proper, he would have carried the local divinity into his palace; it is the Roman method renewed in the Himalaya.

Immediately after the reign of Amsuvarman, the Vamsavalis indicate an epoch of troubles; Vikramaditya of Ujjayini conquers Nepal and introduces thither his era. The Nepalese chronicles then interpret the dates of Amsuvarman by the aid of the Vikrama-Samvat; according to their system, Amsuvarman would have reigned towards the year 30 or 40 of that era or a dozen years or so before the birth of christ. Another doctrine seems to have interpreted the dates of his decrees according to the method of the Loka-Kala which omits the numbers superior to the tens and is content to enumerated the years in the interior of each century; the 0 of the era employed by Amsuvarman has been taken as being identical to the 0 of the XXXth century of the Kali-Yuga. Amsuvarman would have ascended the throne in 3000 K.Y. or in 101 B.C. Between two systems which admit of a difference of one century the agreement seems to be more than sufficient to the Hindu chronologists. Without speaking of all the arguments which are opposed to these whims the testimony of Hiouen-tsang is decisive; Amsuvarman belongs within a trifle, to the same epoch as the Chinese traveller that is to say to the first half of the VIIth century. Precisely at the beginning of this century the Emperor of Hindustan Horsa Vardhana Ciladitya founds an era which begins from 605/606 J.C. It has seemed natural and essential to Bhagvallal to bring back the dates of Amsuvarman to the Harsa era. Mr. Buhler believed in finding a posi-

tive proof in support of this thesis in a passage of the Harsa-carita where Bana, playing on the divine merits of his hero, expresses himself thus *atraparamecvarena Aucaracailabhve durgaya grhitah karah*. 'The phrase as it admits has a double meaning; it signifies; '1st' In him the supreme Lord (Shiva) has taken the band of Durga (his spouse), daughter of the snow-Mountains, (Himalayas)'2nd', In him a suzerain lord has taken the duty of the inaccessible region of the snowy mountains'. Mr. Bubler with his Pandit ingenuity recognized in this trait an evident allusion to the conquest of Nepal by Harsa.¹³ I admit that the allusion seems to me to lack transparency; an artist in ambiguity such as Bana would have known how to mark his intention by less vague traits; not a single detail evokes here in Nepal. The term 'tusara' seems to me to have been introduced here purposely to specify the witticism; *tusara* is identical to *tukhara*; the two letters 'sa' and 'kha' are constantly employed one for the other and the theorists place in principle their absolute identity in the puns. In the second meaning, the phrase then signifies that Harsa has received the duty of the mountainous and inaccessible land where live the Tukharas, the Turks, otherwise said of Hindu Kutch. The Tukharas had founded lasting kingdoms on the North-Western frontiers of India; the religious men of Tukhara had in the VIIth century, a particular monastery in the neighbourhood of Mahabodhi in the heart of Harsa's States.¹⁴ A concession of this nature, granted to a foreign state, did not go without a kind of royalty (*sine*) which the panegyrist had chance in changing into a tribute.

I have already mentioned in an analogous case in the history of India; when the king of Ceylon obtained a land from Samudra Gupta, also at Mahabodhi, to erect a monastery destined to the Singhalese monks, Ceylon, was registered among the tributaries of the Gupta Empire.¹⁵

Whereas Harsa Vardhana was being held in check in the North West by the barbarians whom India designated under the collective name of Hunas in the south by the Calukya Pulikesi, sovereign of Deccan founded in Hindusthan from Guzerat to Bengal an ephemeral empire which was not even destined to survive him a new nation was suddenly constituted on the lofty plateaus situated to the North of the Himalayas on the very frontier of Nepal and at the same time the secular equilibrium of Eastern Asia was shaken and broken. Inclined towards India since their migration to the southern valley learned organized, policed by India, half introduced in the Hindu world, the Nevars of the Nepalese country had undoubtedly forgotten their distant brethren who had been true to the rough alpine meadow of beyond the mountains to the wandering life of the shepherds in the frozen solitudes to the religion of the evil spirits and coarse fetiches. Two barbarians of talent sufficed to draw out in fifty years from this human cattle a formidable army which imperilled India and China and a learned clergy which was to offer a supreme asylum to Buddhist science. The Chinese who had in particular so much to suffer from these new comers have carefully noted the stages of their formation.¹⁶

Under the dynasty of the Soei in the period called K'aiOhoang between 581 and

600¹⁷ a chief named Loun-tsan-so-loung-tsan (Srong tean, who dwelt to the west of Tsang-ko (portion) of the Sse-tch'-oan of the Koei-tcheon Koang-si and Hou-koang, united the scattered clans into a kingdom determined the populations in the towns and gave his subjects the name of 'T'ou-p'o, transformed afterwards into 'T'ou-san by an erroneous pronunciation. In the indigenous dialect, however the name of the country is 'Bod' Yul, country of 'Bod' and it is this name that Sanscrit reproduces under the form of 'Bhota' or 'Bhotta' which is met for the first time in an inscription of Shivadeva dated Samvat 119 (Bhagv. No. 12, 1, 16). By an intermediary line, still dubious, the Europeans have altered this name into Tibet. The first king of Tibet extended his power towards the south-west as far as the country of 'po-lo-men; the country of the Brahmans or Indian. At the beginning of the dynasty of the T'ang (towards 620), he disposed of 100,000 soldiers.

The Tibetan tradition¹⁸ gives this personage the name of Gnam-ri Srong-btsan; this prince would have conquered the country of Gru-gu which touches India and also the gNa-zhur of the West; as early as his reign, Tibet would have received from China the rudiments of medicine and astrology. But however mighty might have been the founder of the Tibetan Empire, his glory was going to be eclipsed; his son and heir was to be the Clovis and the Charlemagne of Tibet. The Chinese call him Tch'i-tsoung-loungtsan; the Tibetans Srong-btsan agam-po. The Tibetan chronicles agree among themselves in fixing his birth in 618, his accession in 629 and his death in 698; but the annuals of T'ang on the faith of the official documents record his death in the year 650. The ordinary

exactitude of the Chinese historians is here again confirmed by the testimony of I-tsing and by other proofs; the Tibetan dates are worthless. Srong-btsan agam-po passes for an incarnation of the Bodhisattva into India a mission of sixteen persons under the orders of Thon-mi a-nu to study thither the secrets of the writing; the mission proceeded to Kashmere, received thither the lessons of the Brahman Li-byin (Lipikara? 'the scribe') and of the Pandit Lharig-pa song-ge-agra (Devavidya-simha-nada?) and brought away into Tibet, as the most precious of booties an alphabet which very nearly reproduced the writing current in the North of India and which adapted itself however, to the most delicate notation of Tibetan sounds.

Once he became master of the writing; the barbarian thought himself the master of the world and the event seemed to justify his naive confidence; one by one he conquered the Rtsa and the Shing in the East, the Blove and the Zhang in the south the Hor in the North; his domains covered the whole of Tibet, the basin of the Kou-kou north western steps of China, Assam and Nepal. He ruled on half of Jambudvipa.¹⁹ He determined to consolidate his power with alliances of a high rank; he solicited the hand in India of a Nepalese princess in China of an imperial princess Thon-mi a-nu surnamed Sam-bhota, who had already given proofs of her capacity, was requested to call on the King of Nepal who assumed the title of Devahla and the name of 'Armour-ray'.

I have already demonstrated in a preceding work that this prince is indubitably Amsuvarman.²⁰ The bodhimor of Moghul descent adds that the residence of this prince

was called Erdenin Dvip, which is equivalent in Sanscrit to Ratna Dvipa and that the palace was called Ku Kum GLui.²¹ Srong-btsan agam-po's envoy would bring as a present to the King of Nepal a marvellous casque adorned with precious stones, which seems to allude to the meaning of Amsuvarman's name 'the casque of light.'²² The princess whose hand he solicited in marriage was than sixteen years old;²³ her complexion was pure, the lines of her faces announced a marvellous destiny, she was perfectly virtuous and very beautiful; the perfection of her whole person left nothing to desire; her mouth exhaled the perfume of the blue lotus; she dominated by her delicateness and her grace.²⁴ Her name was the Lha goig (the princess) Bribtsun.²⁵ Even her birth was miraculous. 'When Chutuktu Niduler Rsoktschi recognised that the time had arrived when the being who breathed in the kingdom of snows in Tibet were about to convert themselves he omitted from his person four rays. The ray issued from his right eye sent to the Kingdom of Balbo (Nepal) and he filled the whole of this kingdom called Devahala and also his palace. And thereupon the spouse of the king became pregnant²⁶ Srong-btsan agam po was born, he also, from one of these rays; and the two others incarnation themselves in Thon-mi Sambhota and in the Chinese princess.

The Tibetan had too pressing arguments at the services of his matrimonial diplomacy to fear a refusal. Amsuvarman welcomed his request and gave him his daughter. He had not the forcious stubbornness of the Rajputs of Chitpr, so dear to Hindu legends and who preferred being buried in the ruins of their town rather than

give one of the daughters of their caste to a foreign prince. In order to assuage the bitterness of this misalliance, he was able at least feign to believe in the complaisant inventions of the genealogists who connected the Tibetan dynasty either to the Licchavis or to the Cakyas of the mountains or again to the kings of Magadha and of Pancala.²⁷ The Licchavis of Nepal and their ally Amsuvarman, would have reluctantly protested against the grafting of a new bough on a trunk already ladden with so many suspicious branches.

Besides, if the Brahmans grumbled Buddhism exalted, the young queen opened an immense domain to law. She carried away to her new motherland three supernatural images (Svayambhu), one of Aksobhyavajra, another of Maitreya and lastly one of Tara the white woman, made in sandal wood of tocirse; and further a complete court accompanied her as far as the town of 'Bschirgalangtu of the country of Manjul (where stands the pass of Kirong); a Tibetan escort led her from there to the palace of her husband.

Two years later on the hearsay on the Tibetans but certainly in the year 641, another princess came to join her thither equally in the name of a spouse as pious, as devout, but of still nobler blood and of a more distant origin. From 634 to 641, Srong-btsan agam-po at the head of his hordes who were irresistible had invaded and pillaged the Chinese territory in pushing as far as Soung tchou (Soung-pan-t'ing of the Ssetc 'can; to conclude peace, he demanded the hand of a princess of the imperial family, indignant at so exorbitant a pretension, the

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Emperor T'ai-tsong then at the height of his power refused to concede. The Tibetan weapons ended however in a triumph over the scruples of Chinese etiquette, as they had created preventions of caste in Nepal.

The princess Wen-tch'eng, kinswoman of the emperor had to resign herself sadly to proceed by a long and arduous road towards the frozen countries wither the political caprice of a conqueror claimed her. She also brought away her images and her books of Buddhist piety. Devotees of the same gods, the two queens did nevertheless reckon on placing them at the service of their influence and respective interests, the nobles, whom the Chinese arrogance had too often wounded refused to recognize Wen-tch'eng as the first queen and the Nepalese princess preserved her rank. But Srong-btsan sgampo nevertheless deeply felt the influence of China; as early as 641, he requested the admission of young Tibetans to the courses of the imperial school (Kouo-hio). He began wearing a silk garment asked for Chinese erudites to learn how to compose verses then for workmen capable of teaching the indigences the manufacture of wine, mills, paper, ink. The civilization of China was thus establishing herself on the boundaries of Nepal. India, on the other hand sent her doctors; Kumara came from Central India, Cilamanju from Nepal, Tabutta and Ganuta (?) from Kashmere. Viharas were erected; under the direction of Thonmi Sambhota, the translation of Buddhist Writings was undertaken. Buddhism, adopted by the king propagated itself among his subjects and the grateful Church deified the two princesses as two incarnations of Tara; united in the same veneration, identical images were assigned to them; sitting on a lotus throne with the left leg bent and the

right alone resting on the ground they hold in the right hand which rests on the knee, a blue lotus. The colour of their bodies alone distinguishes them; the Nepalese princess is white; the Chinese, green.²³

Father-in-law of Srong-btsan sgampo whom he would not have spontaneously selected for son-in-law, Amsuvarman passed in the sphere of Tibetan influence. Nepal was only a dependence of Lhasa; she was still a vassal in the beginning of the VIIIth century, according to the positive testimony of the Chinese. One must evidently taste the paradox to believe that this very Amsuvarman had adopted the era of Harsa Ciladitya; I have in my 'Note on the Chronology of Nepal' shown the difficulties of the calender wherein clashes this thesis; the historic impossibility appears in it so striking. The era inaugurated by Amsuvarman cannot come from India because it is separated from her by politics; it must have as a starting point as I at first thought, the accession of Amsuvarman or it derives its origin in Tibet and marks by its very adoption the subjugation of Nepal to her new suzerain. If Amsuvarman had founded it, it is surprising that none of the inscriptions of this king are anterior to the year 30; on the contrary the inscription of the year 30 which I discovered at Harigaon seems to be well associated with the ceremonies of the anointing.

For reasons of astronomical nature which I have discussed elsewhere the year 34 of that era can only correspond to 629 J. C.; the year 30 then corresponds to 625 J. C. The inscriptions in the name of Shivadeva as king and of Amsuvarman

as mayor of the palace dated in the traditional era of the Licchavis descend as far down as the year 521 which corresponds according to my calculations, at 631 J. C. One must, in this case, admit the existence of an intermediary period where the two eras would have employed parallelly, the personal authority of Amsuvarman not being recognized then by everybody. Amsuvarman would have adopted the Tibetan era to court them as if he spontaneously declared himself their vassal. The victorious excursions of Lous-tsan-so-loung-tsan, who had reached Central India (P'o-lo-men), had learnt by experience in India, what power was being formed in the North and the first victories of Srong-btsan sgam-po had proved the vitality of the new empire.

It is impossible, I admit, to positively demonstrate the Tibetan origin of Amsuvarman's era and that of the Thakuris; but the fairly numerous indications seem to corroborate this opinion. The encyclopedist Ma Toan-lin, basing himself on the Chinese documents, fixes the beginning of the Tibetan empire in the period K'ai-hoang, between 581 and 601. The learned historian of the Huns, of Guignes, concludes from his side that Tibet "had been subjugated to different kings up till about the year 589 J. C".²⁹ Dalai Lama in his diplomatic correspondence with Lord Cornwallis successively dates with 1203 and 1205 two letters written in 1789 and 1792 J.C.³⁰ respectively. The point of departure of this era would then be 586 J.C. An era, the use of which is confined actually in Bengal and which bears thither the name of San, begins from 593 J.C. as its first year; no information exists on

the origin of this era which is purely a traditional one. The initial epoch is with a difference of two years only identical to that of Amsuvarman; and to him who knows the complications of the Hindu calendar, the frequent confusion of year present and those spent an error of two years in a period of 2300 years seems unimportant.

Lastly, the Tibetans themselves teach that prior to the introduction (in 1025-6 J.C.) of the system called Kalacakra and founded on the cycle of Jupiter there stands a period named Me-Kha-Gya-tsho. The word is a compound numerical symbols; me the fire, expresses 3; Kha the space, 0; gya-tsho, the lakes, 4.³¹ Read according to the Indo-Tibetan method, me-kha-gya-tsho signifies 403 to 1025 J.C. would then be 622 J. C. But I have already more than once pointed out to what an extent these expressions in numerical symbols lend themselves to inversion of figures. If one re-establishes by hypothesis Kha-me-gya-tsho one will read 430 instead of 403 and the initial epoch (1025-430) will correspond to 595 J.C. It is the very date to which I was led by the astronomical calculation of the Thakuri. The year 595 can mark, either the accession of the first king of Tibet, Lountsang so loung-tsan or the birth of Srong grand son of young age. If he was born in 598, he had then in fact fifty five years (of age).

The Nepalese chronicles give to the dynasty of Amsuvarman the title of Vaicya Thakuri; the Thakuris even at the actual moment, are all the individuals who belong to the royal clan, whatever be their position indeed self-made, etc;

they owe to their birth certain exemption of charges, certain revenues and even a positive right to intervene in affairs of the state if the kingdom appears to them in peril.

Vaicya on the other hand is the name of the Rajput clan, whence Amsuvarman came out. It cannot be a question here of the designation applied by the codes to the third caste of the ideal Brahmanic society the merchant caste. Besides at the same time, the Emperor of India, Harsa is also a Vaicya, according to the exact and precise indication of Hiouen-tsang who has visited his court. General Cunningham thought he discovered the descendants of this clan in the Rajput Bais (Vaicya) who inhabit the south of the province of Oudh and who claim having reigned at one time on the territory between Delhi and Allahabad.

After Amsuvarman the history of Nepal enters into a period of confusion. The dynastic lists continue to give the names and the dates; but the epigraphy, however, much fragmentary it be, suffices to convince them of error.

I shall first relate the solid facts established by the inscriptions or by the testimony of Chinese documents.

Amsuvarman was dead towards 639-640. The first prince who appears to reign after him is Jisnu Gupta. Of this prince there exists scattering testify that Jisnu Gupta ruled over the whole valley. One only (Bh. 9) bears an exact date, it dates from the year 48, posterior by three or four years to the last one of Amsuvar-

man's reign, (48-643 J. C.). The inscription of Thankot, mutilated allows one to perceive the sign 500; the tens and the units have entirely disappeared. If my perusal is exact, Jisnu Gupta has employed parallelly or at different period, the era of Amsuvarman and the era of the Licchavis. The fact would be in agreement with the account of the Vamsavalis which mention between Amsuvarman and Narendra deva, the use of two eras in rivalry.

"King Nanda Deva, having learnt that the era of Calivahana (The Brahmanic Vamsavali says ; of Vikrama) was in usage in other countries introduces it in Nepal. But certain people through gratitude for Vikramajit (Vikramaditya) who paid off the debts or the kingdom, were not willing to renounce the era he had founded; and the two eras were maintained in usage side by side". The usage of the Licchavi era would be better explained by the fact that Jisnu Gupta seems to affect to present himself as the restorer and liegeman of the ancient dynasty. He resides at Kailas-Kuta, in the palace of Amsuvarman and it is from there that he dates his edicts but he names, first of all, at the head of his protocole a king of the Licchavi house hold residing in the old palace of Managriha. The titles which he confers on this puppet of affectation, manifest further significant variations. Dhruva deva the fictitious suzerain is in the inscriptions (Bh. 9 and 10) Bhattaraka maharaja shree Dhruvadeva; Manadeva on the inscription of Thankot, receives in it only the title of Bhattaraka shree Manadeva. The relation between the suzerain and the vassal remain obscure, by the fault of the stones which hardly offer reliable reading and by the will of the

official scribes who were careless about determining a delicate situation. It is evident that Jisnu Gupta was not the legitimate sovereign; his name formed with the participle 'Gupta' separates him at the time both from the Licchavis and the lineage of Amsuvarman. The royal names in 'Gupta' are only met within Nepal in the mythical dynasty of the Gopalas (Jaya-Gupta, Parama-Gupta, etc) who received the throne of Nemuni. They reappear nevertheless, in the historical epoch and very close to Amsuvarman in a dynasty of usurpers mentioned by Kirkpatrick. During the reign of Bhem Deo Burmah (Bhimadeva Varma), the Aheers (Abhiras) who had been from the beginning the sovereigns of Nepal recovered their domains: 'Bishen Gupt' the conqueror, reigned 74 years, then Kishnoo Gupt 61 years; Bhoomy Gupt 40 years. Then Seo Deo Burmah (Shivadev Varma) of the posterity of Nevesit (Nevesit-Nimisa) subjugated Nepal again, expelled the Guptas reigned 41 years; he then left the throne to Unghoo Burmah (Amsuvarman). Bishen Gupta in Kirkpatrick's pictorial represents Vishnu Gupta, Kishnoo Gupta which is an impossible name dissembles under an error of copy or impression (the case is frequent) Jishno Gupta, viz, Jishnu Gupta. The name of Bishen Gupta (Vishnu Gupta) given by Kirkpatrick to the first king of this series is carried in the inscriptions of Jisnu Gupta by the heir apparent to the throne. These Abhiras kings are missing in the Vamsavalis of Wright and Bhagvanlal but they appear to have left a slight trace in the Brahmanic Vamsavalis; the successor of Vishnudeva Varman and the predecessor of Amsuvarman bears in it the name of Vicva Gupta deva. One has then.

KIRKPA- TRICK	BRAHMANIC VAMSAVALIS	WRIGHT AND BHAGVAN- LAL
Bhem Deo Burmah	Bhima deva Varman	Bhimadeva Varman
3 Aheer kings:		
Bishen Gupt		
Kishnoo Gupt	Vishnu deva Varman	Visnu deva Varman
Bhoomy Gupt	Vishnu Gupta deva	Vicva deva Varman
Seo deo Burmah		

Unghoo Burman Amsuvarman Amsuvarman

Vishnu Deva, behind Bhimadeva is identical to Bishen Gupt, Vicva Gupta Deva mingles in a unique personality the dynasty of the Guptas and Shivadeva their victor, The remembrance of an usurpations has been preserved, but the chronological order has been upset. Jisnu Gupta would be an Aheer, an Abhira; he is born of an indigenous family which pretended perhaps having given kings to the country, in fact his ancestors are of a mediocre rank his great grandfather whom he recalls in the inscription of Thankot, bears the name of Mana Gupta Gomin he dares not even award him a title of honour as ordinary as the word shree placed before his name. The name besides has really a raciness (of style); it recalls the designations of Mana Deva, Mana Griha, which have already struck us with their local character. It is possible by basing oneself on the analogy of names that it be expedient also to connect to the same family the Ravi Gupta who appears in the inscriptions of Vasanta Deva, in the VIth century as great

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bailiff (maha-pratihara) and generalissimo (sarva danda mayaka)

So then Jisnu Gupta in default of formal titles, prides himself in having reached the height of power in consequences of a pure lineage (punyanvaya agatara-jyasampat, Bh. 9). This lineage according to the inscription of Thankot, is that of Soma (Somanvayabhusanah), the Lunar Race. The chronicles on the other hand classify the Licchavi dynasty in the Solar Race (Suryavamci). In imitation of the most legitimate kings he declares that "the saint Pashupati adored sovereign has him for favourite" and that "his adored father follows him with his thought". He is satisfied with the name of Jisnu Gupta, excepting at Thankot where he proudly joins the word deva. His devotion to Vishnu shown by his name, is also expressed in the symbols which adorn his stelae; the fish (Patan) or the cakra (Kathmandu) between two conches (Thankot).

Irregular successor of Amsuvarman, Jisnu Gupta does nevertheless claim to be his heir continuator. Whereas Amsuvarman had hesitated to adopt with the power, the royal title, Jisnu Gupta expressly designates it as maharajadhiraja. He reproduces his formulary and also reproduces his stamp (coin). The coins of Jisnu Gupta show on the obverse the lion marching which Amsuvarman had adopted as a stamp on the reverse they are decorated with a king of vajra. Their legend also imitated from Amsuvarman, simply gives the name of the king in the genitive case preceded by the titular shree:shree Jisnu guptasya. Their diameter is 0.025 millimetres and their weight 12gr, 37.

It seems in short, that on the death of Amsuvarman, the succession was once more troubled. The heir apparent Udaya deva, mentioned in an inscription of the year 39 disappears, either that a premature death had removed him or that a more enterprising rival had suppressed him. Jisnu Gupta in control of the power resuscitated to his benefit the political fiction which had so well succeeded to Amsuvarman. He installs on the throne as a nominal sovereign, a prince of the Licchavi family, and under covert of this, he exercises an absolute authority, separated from royalty by hardly perceptible shades which he always attempts to render more fleeting. One can well be surprised that the sovereign of Nepal. Srong-btsan sgam-po, had allowed others to despoil the heirs of Amsuvarman who were his parents, his nephews, undoubtedly; but the Tibetan armies were at that moment engaged in distant campaigns, towards the Konkounor or the Chinese frontier in an impossibility of intervening. No sooner did he have his hands free than the king of Tibet hastened to re-establish order in Nepal; Jisnu Gupta had to yield his place to Narendra deva.

The charts of Jisnu Gupta deal with various questions of administration. That of Patan dated Samvat 48 opens with a mention of Dhruva deva the Licchavi immediately followed with an eulogy in verse of Jisnu Gupta. The first quart of the stanza is missing; the remainder shows us that "Jisnu Gupta wishes for the good of subjects, has an irreproachable conduct, born of a pure race which has helped him to reach the plenitude of royalty and all the inhabitants of the towns allow themselves to be guided by his orders". A marquis

(samanta) of the name of Candra Varman informed him that a water pipe laid out for the benefit of three villages (Thambu, Gaugal, Mulavatika) by the emperor (maharajadhiraja) Amsuvarman was damaged, through want of repairs; he has had it restored and now he grants as a gift to the three villages a certain number of irrigated fields so that the revenues may be collected for the upkeep of the water-pipe. In faith of which he awards them a chart on stone (cilapattakacasana). The heir-apparent, Vishnu Gupta, is entrusted with execution of the order.

The two other charts are concerned with the village of Daksinakali, the one and the other, of analogous formulary, begin by an invocation in verse and in a complicated metre; literature in Nepal as elsewhere in India, has annexed itself the epigraphy. In the one (Thankot) dated it seems in the Licchavi era, Jisnu Gupta seems to confirm a donation made at one time by his great grand-father, Mana Gupta Gomin; the limits of the donation are traced with usual minuteness, then the village receives as an addition, a new favour; certain duties of a landed nature are reduced by half, one can see figuring in it a Malla-tax (Malla-kara) which has already appeared in an inscription of Shivadeva. The royal delegate is again Vishnu Gupta the heir apparent. The third chart (Kathmandu) regulates again a question of irrigation, the text is very badly mutilated; there was a mention of a great marquis (mahasamanta) whose name ended in deva. The revenues collected by the irrigation are destined for the repairs of the canal for the worship of a divinity (...lecvara Svamin) and for the upkeep of a pancali

for religious and administrative functions, company and brotherhood at the same time.

The fourth inscription commemorates a private foundation; it is traced on a stone which supports a parasol above an image of Candecvara in the temple of Pashupati. It begins with a complicated stanza in honour of Chattra-candecvara, "Candecvara with the parasol", follows the fragmentary statement of a donation of lands approved "Under the triumphant reign (vaiaya-rajya) of Jisnu Gupta by the Acarya Bhavtpranardana Pranakancika to the profit of Chattra-candecvara and of a water-pipe of the village of Ku, with the view of paying the restorations and repairs. The administration of the revenues is entrusted to several religious communities: Mundacrankhalika Pashupati-acaryas, Soma-Khaddukas...

The heir apparent of Jisnu Gupta, Vishnu Gupta did not take the throne or he only enjoyed it for a short time, because towards 645 the legitimate dynasty had recovered the power; Narendra deva reigned over Nepalese legend and history. His memory is indissolubly linked to the religion of Matsyendra Natha, the patron of the valley which he went for in search far and wide in company with the saint Bandhudatta; he has lived in exile at the court of Tibet, he despatched embassies to the Emperor of China; he received the visit of priests, pilgrims and Chinese ambassadors. And yet, there remains nothing of him to us, no chart, no coins or any other direct document. The ancient epigraphy has only preserved one mention alone of this prince, it is inserted in that genealogy of Jaya deva (Bhag. 15) which I have already mentioned and discussed more than

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once in connection with the Licchavis. After Vasanta deva the genealogy suddenly passes by an unfortunate transition to Udaya deva followed himself by Narendra deva. Bhagvanlal thought he read in the space which separates these two names in the body of the same verse, a collective recall of thirteen anonymous kings destined to guarantee the legitimate filiation of Narendra deva. But in fact the final syllable of the word jatas 'born' has not the long vowel indicated by Bhagvanlal and which would serve to support his interpretation the 'a' is manifestly short and inconsequence excludes the thought of the plural. M. Fleet has recognized it on the very stamping (metal) of Bhagvanlal; a copy of this text, executed visibly which I owe to the good-will of maharaja Shamsher, also bears the wording 'jatas' followed by two doubtful syllables and a gap of four syllables corresponding to the words "trayodaca tatas thirteen afterwards" of Bhagvanlal. It then seems essential to construct and translate thus: "A king Udaya deva born; ..Nareddra deva". Udaya deva is designated in the last personal inscription of Amsuvarman (Samvat 39) as the heir apparent (yuvaraja). This Udaya deva was the son of Amsuvarman? One would expect in this to recover in his name the element 'varman' which is equivalent to a family name; on the other hand one is surprised to see appear in its place the word deva which characterizes especially the Licchavi Prince chosen as heir by Amsuvarman in order to avoid every opposition to his authority. It would then be explained that Jaya deva retook, beginning from Udaya deva the thread of his genealogy. The Chinese annuals, well informed on this epoch of Nepalese history, mention that the father of Narendra deva was over-

thrown from the throne by his younger brother; Narendra deva fled to Tibet to escape his uncle. The usurper cannot be Jisnu Gupta himself, for reasons I have marked; it is perhaps one of those Licchavis whom Jisnu Gupta had placed on the throne to exercise the power in their name.

"Narendra deva had an exalted sentiment of honour (mana): all the kings prostrated themselves before him and the garland of their jewels appeared like dust on the stool for his feet." This is all that Jaya deva knows or recalls from his grandfather. The Brahmanic Vamsavalis, as well as the Buddhistic Vamsavali, associate Narendra deva to the introduction of the god Matsyendra Natha and both of them are in agreement regarding the date of this event, consigned in a mnemonical verse; the year 3623 of the Kali Yuga or 522 J.C. This date is inadmissible, but a correction offers itself. The annalists in order to build their chronology operated on date expressed sometimes in the Vikrama era, sometimes in the Caka era, since one and other were simultaneously in usage in Nepal. With the screen indifference of the Hindu historians, they have jumbled the two computations. The introduction of Matsyendra Nath had perhaps been carried by a first reduction to the year 579 Caka which corresponds to 657 J.C. and 3758 of the Kali Yuga. This figure of 579 transferred by substitution to the Vikrama Samvat, would give 3623 of the Kali Yuga (522 J.C.). The original date at the foot of these calculations would be the year 62 of the Thakuri era. The year 657 J.C. falls in the reign of Narendra deva.

I have already related in length (1,348) the history of Narendra deva of Bandhu-

datta of Gorakha Natha and of Matsyendra Natha such as it is given in the Buddhistic Vamsavali. The Brahmanic Vamsavali is less generous in details; it ranks in the foreground that was quite to be expected, Gorakha Natha and then leaves in the shade Bandhudatta. It places the introduction of the new god under king Narendra deva, who occupies the throne for 98 years. The Buddhistic Vamsavali carries the whole episode under the reign of Vara deva, son and successor of or Narendra deva. According to his account, Narendra deva holds the royal power for seven years only, just long enough to build a few viharas, then having renounced the things of this world, he abdicates and enters a monastery. His eldest son Padma deva and his younger brother Ratna deva had preceded him thither. It is there that Vara deva comes and begs of him to save Nepal which the drought was ruining. Narendra deva in dying bequeaths his crown to his two daughters, with a copy of the Prajna-paramita and after his death his soul enters into the left foot of Matsyendra Natha.

It is under the reign of Narendra deva that a Chinese mission visited Nepal for the first time, in 643. The king received with difference Li I-piao and his retinue who were proceeding to India the Emperor Harsa. In 647/648 a new embassy led by Wang Hiuen-ts'e, crosses the country; it soon returns almost annihilated; assailed by the usurper who had taken possession of the throne of Harsa. Wang Hiuen-ts'e and his assistant lost their escort, they asked for help to the allies of China. Nepal gave 7000 cavalymen; Tibet where Srong-btsan sgam-po still reigned, supplied 1200 soldiers. With these mountain contingents, Wang Hiuen-ts'e inflicted a sangui-

nary defeat on the Hindus and captured the king who had outraged him. Nepal proved already as she did in 1857, her loyalism at India's expense. In 657, Wang Hiuen-ts'e once more travels through Nepal. And during the whole of the reign of Narendra deva, the Chinese pilgrims attracted undoubtedly by his reputation for piety, visit the country. I have already mentioned their names (I, 155-165) Narendra deva on his side, had in 651 sent a mission to the son of Heaven, to convey to him his homage and his gifts.

The Nepal of Narendra deva, such as she is represented by Chinese documents, is a prosperous country of an advanced civilization. Hiouen-tsang, who had not visited the country and who described it on the faith of his Hindu informers, had made himself the echo of the malignant pretensions of the plain against the mountain; "an icy climate, customs stamped with falsehood and perfidy; the inhabitants naturally hard and forecious in their nature who absolutely neglect to notice good faith and justice, lacking in all literary knowledges with an ugly body and a repulsive face". A pandit of Benares would not speak otherwise today of the Paharis (the people of the mountain). On the other hand Hiouen-tsang knows nothing of the real state of Buddhism, or on the great number of the viharas which the epigraphy however testifies to us. At the very moment when Hiouen-tsang traces from far, on hearsays so grievous a tableau of Nepal, Wang Hiuen-ts'e visits the country in person and notes his observations. Aided with his documents which the testimony of the Nepalese ambassadors at the court of China (651) has permitted to complete and control

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the historians of the T'ang compile at a late date (Xth century) an official note on Nepal which in reality is connected with the epoch of Narendra deva. The description in its whole, is so correct, that it is still verified in the Nepal of to-day; houses of wood with sculptured and painted walls; liking for baths, for dramatic representations, for astrology; for the calendar; practice of bloody sacrifice. Narendra deva such as he is represented by this note, has the prestige and pomp of an oriental sovereign; the whole of his person is adorned with jewels; he sits on a throne among the flowers and the perfumes surrounded by nobles and soldiers. His devotion is marked to the image of the Buddha which he wears as a pendant. The pavilions of his palace are wrought with as much delicacy as with luxury; in the centre there rises a tower seven stories high the boldness, grandeur and wealth of which have amazed the Chinese.

The data of the inscriptions do not contradict this tableau; the great number of villages named in the charts proves the density of the population of the valley, the irrigation, largely practised, and scrupulously regulated, improves the whole of the land; kings officials private individuals vie with one another in zeal to multiply the canals and fountains. Buddhism and Brahmanism possess important temples enriched with landed properties; councils of brotherhood, laical and religious, administer their revenues. Numerous convents shelter the Buddhist clergy. Commerce is flourishing; the traders are organized in corporations governed by syndicates. The revenue is not an arbitrary levying but a tax in proportion clearly defined. Sanscrit is in the foreground; the scribes of the royal

chancery handle it with ease and even know how to make use of the most complicated metres; orthography reflects in its fluctuations the accademical discussions of the court. Nepal of the year 650 maintains a comparison with the most civilized states of India. After Narendra deva the chronicles lose touch with the epigraphy. It is useless to attempt a semblance of agreement between too diverging data. The genealogy of Narendra deva at (Pashupati) places after Narendra deva, his son Shiva deva and consecrates to this king a lengthy panegyric. "To Narendra deva was born Shivadeva; he distributed an honest silver, his riches were abundant; he triumphed over enemy coalitions; he pleased his parents; loke Yama, he protected the creatures; he knew how to assuage from all miseries good men who have sheltered under his care; his word was credible (veracious); loved by the people he was the support of the earth. He had a princess of that noble race of the Maukharis which has for good fortune the strength of his arm his father, famous as the crown of the Varmans, humbled the crowd of enemy kings with his glory. He was called Bhoga Varman; the princess was, beside, the granddaughter of Aditya Sena, emperor of Magadha; his name was Varsa devi; king Shivadeva took respectfully for spouse, as another shree". I have already mentioned, in connection with the name of Bhoga Varman, the eminent rank occupied by the family of the Maukharis in Hindu nobility; as to the emperor Aditya Sena of Magadha, his name and his reign are known by several inscriptions of which one is dated Samvat 66, this date, expressed in the Harsa era, corresponds to 672-73 of J.C. The Chinese I-tsing who visits India from 673 to 685, mentions a pious foundation of this prince. Shivadeva, mar-

ries the grand-daughter of Aditya Sena dates one of his inscriptions in the year 119. The year 119 in Amsuvarman's era answers to 714 of J.C. The chronological data are then here in perfect harmony. The alliance of Nepalese Licchavis of with a princess of so high a nobility testify that India had recognized and admitted the high land dynasty in the group of the authentic Ksatriyas.

The inscription of 119 (at Kathmandu, Bh. 12), separated by about sixty years from the inscriptions of Jisnu Gupta, shows the Nepalese epigraphy in course of transformation. The frame-work remains unchangeable; the wordings are consecrated by usage; the subject is uniform; and yet, in the whole, the tone has changed. Literature is invaded; a pretensions rhetoric tends to replace the simplicity of the ancient charts. The appeal to future kings is bombastic as also are the threats in case of infringement, and the stanzas mentioned in the name of Vyasa are lengthened like the peroration of a rhetorician. In fact Shivadeva simply informs the villagers of Vaidyaka that he has conceded their village as a gift to the Acaryas of Pashupati in order to defray the cost of upkeep of the Shivadevara he had founded. The village must however supply bearers every year for the labour of Tibet (Bhottavisti). The royal delegates is prince (rajaputra) Jaya deva.

The same final formulary with the designation of the same delegate is still read on the fragment of an inscription which I found at Timi. The numerical symbols of the date have disappeared but it is not to be doubted that this fragment also belongs to Shivadeva. Bhagvanlal also recalls two doubtful inscriptions of this king; the one (at Pashupati, Bh. 13) is

very mutilated; the name of the king is illegible and in the date, the symbol of the tens is almost undecipherable. Bhagvanlal declares that one can read at will 123, 134, or 143.

The royal delegate is bhattarakashree-Shivadeva. It is little probable that the king had designated himself as his own delegate, and yet the title of bhattaraka seems well to be in those inscription reserved to the king. One can surmise that Shivadeva has willingly abdicated in favour of his son Jaya deva and that Jaya deva once king has entrusted his father with one of his orders. The donation recorded has precisely for beneficiary a monastery which bears the name of Shivadeva (Shivadeva-vihara-caturdig-aryabhiksu-sanghaya); it is perhaps a monastery founded by Shivadeva and where this Nepalese Charles quint had retired after his abdication. The other inscription (at Patan, bh. 14) is dated 145; but the introductions with the name of the king are missing. The royal delegate is the heir-apparent Vijaya deva. The text which is very mutilated allows one to guess that is once again a question of water, harnessed and distributed.

The identity of the characters and of the formulary, closely bring together to these two inscriptions an inscription which I discovered at Naksal (E. of Kathmandu); the last lines and the date are illegible; the rest is in a fairly good state of preservation. Unfortunately the name of the king is obscure, I think I can read Puspa deva or Puspa deva in either case it is a Licchavi (Licchavi-Kula-Ketu). The community of Shivadeva-vihara gathers a new donation with the same clauses as in the other chart; the particular interest of

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this document lies especially in the number of monasteries which it mentions in connection with the fixing of boundaries to conceded lands; the Manadeva-vihara, the Kharjurika-vihara, the Yayapa vihara, the Abkaya (Kavi?) vihara, the Gupta-vihara, the Raja-vihara, the Saciva-vihara. Evidently the monasteries ended up by covering the greater portion of the valley.

The inscription of Yayadeva to Pashupati (Bh. 15) secludes for a long time the epigraphical history. I have already frequently had the occasion of mentioning the so-important genealogy which serves him as a preliminary. The inscription is dated 153 Samvat, or 748 of J.C. It is entirely in verse. Proud of his work, the poet was careful to sign it; he was called Buddha-Kirti; this is to say that he was a Buddhist. But the poem does not reveal the mind of a sectarian; Buddha-Kirti celebrates as an orthodox Brahman the god Pashupati "who has the three vedas for imperishable substance". The king Yayadeva has offered a lotus of gilded silver to his mother Vatsa devi, widow of Shivadeva and Vatsa devi in return had made homage of it to Pashupati; the poet of the court strives to the offer and the pious work. Besides he must have made it a point of honour; the king himself had entered the lists; he celebrated the master piece of metal; he had composed five verses which Buddha-Kirti has inserted in his panegyric; an express indication safeguard the (rights-copyright-of authorship) of the crowned poet.

It is just to recognize that these five stanzas denote a real skill of workmanship and as a rarer quality, a fairly lucid style.

Besides if Buddha-Kirti who is a Buddhist sings to or praises Pashupati king Jaya deva who is a Sivait salutes with respect Avalokitecvara Sivaism and Buddhism mingle with each other to the point of blending.

The panegyric gives on king on king Jaya deva himself a few precise informations; son of Shivadeva and of Vatsa devi the Maukhari, he had liked his father, contracted an alliance of the higher nobility; he had espoused Rajyamati, daughter of Shree Harsa deva, king of Ganda, Odra Kalinga, Kosala and other places, issued from the race of Bhagadatta. The ancestor of the race Bhagadatta figures with honour in the epic rhapsodies of the Maha Bharata; his descendants continued to reign over Kamarupa. An inscription found at Tejpur which relates the vicissitudes of the kingdom of Assam seems to designate a king shree Harisa as the last prince of a dynasty which had ascended the throne after the fall of the descendants of Bhagadatta; one has thought to identify this shree Harisa with the brother-in-law of Jaya deva, in spite of the evident contradiction of the texts. Jaya deva had received or taken the title (biruda) of 'Para-cakra-kama' desirous of his enemies domain which he owed to his heroism and his victories if one has to believe the poet Buddha-Kirti. He thus inaugurates in the royal onomasticon of Nepal the usage of the word Kama which appears later in the personal name of several sovereign: Gunakama deva, Laskhmi kama deva.

After Jaya deva the epigraphy and at the same time the positive history suddenly cease. The Vamsavalis it is true really present a continuous statement, but their

dynastic tableau for that epoch hamper the 'ctiyique' more than they serve or guide it, among the princes they enumerate after Amsuvarman one really rediscovers the names of Narendra deva, Shiva deva, Jaya deva. But Narendra deva is separated from Amsuvarman by four (K) or five reigns which cover 86 years (K) or 300 years (W) or 370 years (B). Shiva deva only appears on the list of K. (Seo Deo 5), but he precedes in it Narendra deva, instead of following him. Jaya deva is only the fifth successor of Narendra deva, he ascends the throne 45 years (V) or 61 years (K.W.B.) after the close of the reign of Narendra deva. The memories associated to all these princes are of a legendary of religious order. Krtavarman (2) is only a name; Bhimarjuna (3) also Nanda deva (4) has introduced in the local usage one of the eras of India; either that of Calivahana (W. Bh) or that of Vikrama (V). Vira deva (5) who is missing in K., seems a doublet of a Vara deva (8) he ascends the throne in 3400 K.Y. (W.B.;-299 J.C. or in 3600 K.Y.;- 499 J.C.) and founds Patan. Candraketu deva (6) who is also missing in K., reigns during an epoch of troubles; enemies attack the country from all sides and pillages the people. Overwhelmed with sorrow, the king shuts himself up with his two spouses and spends twelve years in lamentations over his adversity. A supernatural help due to the year intervention of the vajracarya Bhududatta restores the country's prosperity; the kings who had ransacked Nepal handed back their booty. Having reached an old age Candraketu hands over the crown to his son Narendra deva and dies (ascends to heaven). After Narendra deva (7) Vara deva (8) changes his residence from Madhyalakhya to Patan. The name of Cankaradeva (9) is the cause

through a fatal link of Cankara acarya appearing on the scene. The terrible adversary of the heresies visits Nepal under the reign of Vara deva and to commemorate so great an event, Vara deva gives his son the name of Cankara. It is undoubtedly a connection of the same sort which credits Cankara deva with being the founder of the town of Sanju; besides his successor Vardhamana deva (10) contests this honour, it is also Cankara deva who founded so they say the village of Changu Narayan near the famous sanctuary; under Bali deva (11) the vally of Banepa is annexed to the kingdom of Nepal (Kirkpatrick, p. 167). After Jaya deva (12), K enumerates three kings who are missing in the other lists. Coudur Deo (1); Jye Deo II (13); Bul Deo III (14). The general agreement is resumed with Balarjuna (13) who, besides has no history.

The history of the neighbouring states, reflects any light on this obscure period of the Nepalese history. The Empire of the Harsa, disemnered and partitioned, seems to reconstitute itself during the VIIth century around the sovereigns of 'Canoge' but the very rare documents allow the most varied intervals. Not one, besides, places Hindusthan in contact with Nepal. Tibet on the contrary certainly intervenes in Napalese affairs; in default of indigenous informations, the notes of the Chinese Annals allows to perceive Nepal in the background of Tibet as a distant factor of palpable perturbations.

After the death of Srong-btsan sgampo (650), his grand-son, K'i-li-pa-pou (650-697) had led an army of 200,000 men in the province of the Sse-tch'ouan subdued at the other extremity of the cen-

tral plateau Khotan, Kachgar, the borderers of Issayk-koul, the T'ou-Kou-houn of the Kouokunor, invaded and pillaged Kan-sou and dragged in his alliance the western T'ou-Kiue. In the South his domains spread as far as Central India (po-lo-men). His empire covered more than 10,000 li; since the days of the Huns and the Weis, no people (or tribe) among the nations of the West had been so powerful. The Chinese benefitted by the minority of the K'i-nou-chi-loung and by the troubles which followed the regency of K'in-ling, to reconquer the "four governments"-Koutcha, Kachgar, Khotan and the Issayk-koul (692); but Ki-nou-chi-loung took the offensive in his turn, he appeared before Liang-tcheon in 696 and in 702 and demanded the hand of an imperial princess which they dared not refuse him. But "at that moment the subdued states on the frontier south of Nepal (Ni-pa-lo) and Central India (po-lo-men) revolted at the same time; the tsan-pou proceeded in person to punish them, but he died during the war". The revolt however failed and the new Tibet, K'i-li-so-tsan knew how to maintain his sovereignty. In fact, Shiva deva's chart, dated 714 J.C., which concedes a village exempt from duties, stimulates nevertheless the obligation of supplying five bearers for the "Tibetan statue labour" (bhotta-visiti). It is on this occasion that the name given in Sanscrit to the Tibetan appears for the first time. The "Tibetan statue labour" probably consisted in carrying across the mountains, either the merchandises paid in tribute to Tibet, or the eminent Tibetan personages sent to Nepal. It is a labour of the same nature that the other inscription of Shiva deva indicates by a discreet allusion in stipulating the obligation of going in the countries beyond the frontiers (bahir desa gamana).

Central India herself, if she did not pay regular tribute to Tibet, did not remain immune from depredations; during the period of K'ai-yuen (713-741) an embassy of Central India came to request from the son of Heaven an army of reinforcements to punish both the Tibetans and another enemy still more dreadful, who had just made its appearance; the Arabs (ta-chi). The emperor Hinentsong who had great pains in defending his own territory, contented himself with conceding by virtue of a decree, a title of honour to the Indian army; he named it "the army which loves virtue (hoai-te-kiun)".

The embassy sent to China by the king of Kashmere, Muktapida between 736 and 747 had no better results and yet Muktapida was injuring himself in maintaining an auxiliary army of 200,000 men; he represented that in agreement with the king of Central India, he had blocked the five roads to Tibet and won several victories over the Tibetans. "The Tibetans would have shown pallor but for their sallow complexion which concealed their trouble. When monkeys are in rage can the redness of their face be distinguished."

Towards 760 the last of the country of Ko-long finally separates the Chinese from India. The Tibetan power continues to wax. In 763, So-si-loung-lie-tsan even succeeded in capturing Teh'ang-an the capital of the Empire but he is immediately compelled to retire. The appearance of the "Hoei-ho" (Ouigours) on the frontier of the North delays for a while the rush of the indefatigable invaders and does not succeed in stopping it. In 786, the Tibetans are the masters of Chen-si as far as the Great Wall; in 790, they capture Pei'ting (Ouroumtsi) and An-si (Kontcha).

Kashmere who sided with India against Tibet, and which an arduous anxiety for expansion pushed since the beginning of the VIIIth century, sometimes towards the Ganges and sometimes towards Central Asia, attempts at this moment to snatch Nepal from the Tibetans. Jayapida who reigns thither is a wit friends of the poets whom he assembles in his court and takes for ministers; glorified by their flatteries, he believes himself destined for the conquest of the world and blindly throws himself often in the most reckless of adventures. The legend accessory to the poets of the court, has forgiven everything to this Richard Coeur-de-lion; it has even endowed it with another Blondel. Jayapida, who has already pushed as far as Bengal and reduced Kanyakubja on his way and who has already known captivity with Bhimsena, king of the East, suddenly invades at the head of a strong army. Aramudi, king of Nepal, rushed to bar his progress; the battle begins; the army of Jayapida is hewn into fragments, Jayapida himself falls in the hands of his rival, who imprisons him "in a gloomy tower" on the banks of the Kaligandaki. The strict orders of Aramudi assure the inviolate secrets of the prison which holds the royal captive. But poetry and the song, triumph over brutal force; a minister of Jayapida wandering in the search of his king lends an ear to the lamentations uttered by the prisoner, recognizes his voice, penetrates by a ruse inside his prison and gladly sacrifices himself to enable Jayapida to escape.

Mr. Stein considers, undoubtedly rightly, this episode as a popular tale but the gist may be true. Aramudi does not figure, it is true among the kings of Nepal, and the barbarous twist of his name, is out of tune among the Sanscrit names of

authentic kings, but the very singularity of this name recommends it to one's attention; a story teller in the humour for an invention would have forged the name of the Nepalese king on the prevailing type. Thus proceeds for instance, the poet of the Brhat Katha. The strange consonance of the word Aramudi can conceal a Tibetan name. The Tibetan protectors of Nepal and keen on protecting their Southern frontiers against the renewed enterprises of Kashmere, would have perhaps taken upon themselves the defense of the vassal territory and opposed to Jayapida one of their own generals. In any case, it is impossible not to recognize in the river Kali Gandaki of the account, the name of the kala (or kali) Gandaki, the black Gandaki, the most western of the seven Gandakis; it is, in fact, the first barrier, where a Nepalese army must attempt to stop an invader come from the west and the mountains.

Nepal then remains under the yoke of Tibet. Khri lde srong btsan (816-838), also calls Ral pa ean (The Chinese name him K'o li K'o tsou and I-tai), was the suzerain to the North of Mangolia; to the west of the territories which border on Persia; to the south "of the countries of India bLo Mon Li and Zahora (namely, of Nepal and Hindusthan) as far as the majestic bed of the Ganga"³². But a religious crisis was soon about to bring and precipitate the decadence.

Whereas the political might of Tibet was developing, Buddhism had made immense progress. Introduced by the simultaneous influence of India and China under the auspices of two gracious princesses, it had soon received powerful stimulus due to the mishap

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of the times. Islam was born (hegora: 622 of J.C.) an irresistible expansion had borne it triumphantly as far as the Pameer and the passes of India, in less than a century. The monks of the yellow robed order were fleeing, terror-stricken, in the face of these singular apostles, who ransacked the temples and burnt the convents. Distracted India gathered round the Brahmans who represented this ancient order of things which they too long thought immutable; it detached itself from Buddhism, suspected of indulgence and tenderness to the barbarians. The successors of Srong-btsan sgam-po saw that they could benefit by the situation; they welcomed with open arms the exiled, those who were expelled and who brought into Tibet the human sciences and supernatural knowledges and who further placed at the disposal of Tibetan ambitions their ancient believers apostates by fright or by impulse but entirely disposed to enter in the pale of the church on the day of his triumph. The monasteries increase, under the guidance of the learned men from India and Nepal; holy book were translated. In 824, a Tibetan embassy came to request at the court of China an image of the mountain, On-t'al (Panch cirsa) where Manjucris dwells.

A formidable reaction followed these too rapid progresses. In 838, I-t'ai died; the throne passed to his brother who bore, by the irony of fate, the name of D(h)arma (Glan Darma; in Chinese Ta-mo). The buddhistic scribes have treated Darma as the Christians have Nero; he is in ecclesiastical history, the complete monster, the abomination and the dissolution. The very Annals of the T'ang, retraced under Buddhist influence represent him as a drunkard, amateur of violent exercises, given over to wo-

men, cruel tyrannical. He walked up (rendered immune) the monasteries, dispersed the monks, burnt the sacred texts, heaped up impieties on horrors until the day when a Jacques Clement laid him low with an arrow (842). Darma did not leave any heirs; they substituted posthumous children to him, who served as a valley to each one of the parties. Civil war broke out; the foreigner was called into assist. China who had waited for a long time profited by the opportunity to recover a portion of the lost territories (849); Chang K'ong, who had taken the title of Tsan-pou went and got killed in a battle against the Ouigours (866). The divided kingdom had two capitals, Lhasa and Chigatze; it soon had a third; it was the doom of the empire of Srong-btsan sgam-po.

This political upheaval which suddenly changes the face of internal Asia corresponds to a real revolution in the records of Nepal. Thursday the 20th October 879 (1st Kartika cudi of Vik. 936 current) is the starting point of a new era which bears the name of "Nepalese samvat". The foundation of an era is even to the Hindu eyes, who have abused of it, an important event; the prince who has a claim in that era must have killed the Cakas (Scythian invaders) by the million or at least must have paid the debts of the kingdom without exception. The Nepalese chronicles know nothing of the real fact which erected the Nepala-samvat; they mention (W.V.B.) a popular tale wherein nothing is authentic. A clever astrologer reveals to the king of Bhatgaon, Ananda Malla, a marvellous secret, under the wonderful influence of heaven, the sand collected at the confluent of the Bhadravati and of the Bishnumati

must spontaneously transmute itself into gold. The king despatches coolies to gather on the said at the appointed time the sand in bags full. Their task accomplished, the coolies return with their load to Bhatgaon. But a merchant of Kathmandu named Sakhiva,³³ meets them, he asked them to deliver him the sacks at his house; they would only need to take another load for the king on the way back. The coolies, without distrust, accepted the arrangement. They finally return to Bhatgaon; Ananda Malla who was getting impatient quickly opens the sacks; they were only filled with sand. The disappointed king hastens to the astrologers home, loads him with abuses, turns his science to derision and the astrologer seized with vexation throws into the fire his magic conjuring book. Ananda Malla having returned to his palace, discovers at the bottom of the bags a few grains of pure gold; he makes enquiries and understands the joke played at his expense. Possessor of an immense fortune, Sakhiva asks the king of Kathmandu Jaya deva Malla, the authorisation of paying off all the debts; he obtains it and inaugurates a new era. In testimony of gratefulness, he erects his own statue in stone at the gate of Pashupati where it is still shown.

The legend is undoubtedly a malice of the people of Kathmandu at the expense of those of Bhatgaon. The kings mixed up in the account date in reality from the IVth century of the Nepal-Samvat; the tale therefore leaves no residue to history. But the Vamsavali of Kirkpatrick, introduces after Balajurna deva (13), Ballunjoon Deo (15) a prince called Raghava deva, Ragheeb Deo (16) absent from the other lists and K. adds: "This prince introduced

the Tambul era (corr. Sambut-Samvat) or era of Bickermajeet, in Nepal, where the computation the most employed to-day is, however, among the parbutties, the Caka era. The Newars, on the other hand, have chronology proper on the origin of which I have been instituted about nine centuries ago, the year 914 of their computation beginning on the 15th Kartick or 28th of October 1793. Perhaps the beginning of this computation may be connected with the period of the first establishment of the Semroun dynasty in Nepal." The dynasty of Semroun is that of Hari simha deva who invaded Nepal in 1324; the "first establishment" at "Semroun" (Simangarh) is attributed by Kirkpatrick himself to "Nan Deo" (Nanya deva) in the year of "Bickermajeet" 901 (844 J.C.). Kirkpatrick separates formally Raghava deva and the era of Nepal.

Prinsep,³⁴ in "adjusting" the Nepalese chronology, substitutes the Nepala-Samvat to the samvat of Vikramaditya and carries the accession of Raghava deva to the year 880 J.C.; he thereby makes of this, the point of departure of the new era. Cunningham takes again to his account the assertrain of Prinsep as an accomplished fact, and M. Bendall who wrongly accuses Kirkpatrick of having omitted Raghava deva authorizes himself from Cunningham³⁵ to represent Raghava deva as "the traditional founder of Nepal's era"³⁶. He further observes that the duration of the accession of Laxmi Kama deva, gives about a total of 135 years. The first date known of the reign of Laxmi Kama deva is precisely the year 135. The combination of Cunningham or more exactly of Prinsep has then a chance of being correct.

(To be continued)

FOOT NOTES

1. See my article: The date of Candragomin Exole française Extreme-Orient; 1903, specially p. 15 sq.
2. Taranath, p. 151
3. *Ib* p. 193
4. *Ib* p. 64 sq.
5. *Ib* p. 268 sq.
6. Geiger. 'Literature and sprache der Singhaleson' p. 4
7. Kielhorn *Ind, Antiq., IV.* 181
8. Hamilton: p. 107
W. Vamsavali (Buddhistic) of Wright, B. Vamsavali of Bhagvanlal, C. Brahmanic Vamsavali (my manuscript, K. Kirkpatrick, Bd. Vamsavalis of Bendall (*Journ. As Soc. Beng., 1903*).
9. The parbatiya text of the Vamsavali of Bhagvanlal, such as it is mentioned in his article (p. 44, n. 35) is exactly identical to the text of my Brahmanic Vamsavali (V) on Amsuvarman.
10. *Memoirs, 1,408*—The mention of the Cabda-vidya-sutra of Amsuvarman in life and voyage of Hiouen Tshang, p. 50 is an addition purely arbitrary of St. Julien, the text simply designates the Cabda-vidya castra in general; castra and not: sutra, which is an oversight; Julien transcribes himself the Chinese expression 'Ching ming-lun.
11. Kirkpatrick, p. 220.—The graphy Ung-hoo Burmah of Kirkpatrick proves that his informers based themselves on a written tradition and of ancient date. The confusion of letters 'cu' and 'gu', impossible in modern Nepalese writing, is on the contrary difficult to avoid in the ancient writing. (key the exactly parallel error which I have pointed out gomin and svamin by M. Bendall).
12. M. Rapson (*Indian Coins, pl. V*) reads 'Kamadehi' which could be a feminine (irregular) of 'Kama-deha' a compound liable to several meaning among others: 'which is the body of the desire', 'which has in its body all the desires realized', a very slight modification would give the reading 'Kamadohi', parallel formation to Kamdugh dohi being an irregular feminine 'doha' in composition.
13. *Ind. Antiq., XIX,* p. 40. The passage is found in the edition of the *Nir-naya-Sagar,* p. 101; key, trad; Thomas. p. 76.
14. I-Tsing, 'The Eminent Religious Men', p. 80
15. 'The Missions of Wang Hiu-en-ts'e in the *Journ. Asiat,* 1900, l. p. 406
16. Ma Toan-lin, chap 334 annals of the T'ang ch. 256 and 257. This section of the Annals has been translated and annotated excellently by M. Bushell

- in the Journ. Roy, As Soc., New ser., XII, 435 sqq.—Description of Tibet; translated by Klaproth in the Asiatic Journal, 1829, 2, 81-158; 241-324.
17. Klaproth in the article mentioned gives by error as a date 'towards 630'.
 18. Emil Schlagintweit, Die Könige von Tibet (Translation of Rgyalrabs) in Abhandl. d.k. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., 1865. Koppen, Buddhismus, II, 47 sqq. Key also Alphabetum Tibetanum, p. 298 sqq.
 19. 'Geschichte.... Ordus' translated by J.J.-Schmidt, Petersburg, 1829, p. 328; 'His ministers entered in relations in the east with the Chinese and the Minak (Tangoutes), in the south with Hindusthan in the west with Balbo (Nepal) and in the North with the Hor and tge Gugi'.
 20. Note on the Chronology of Nepal p. 12 'Ssanang-ssetsen gives this name by Gerelun Chujak (gerel—light)
 21. J.J. Schmidt, p. 335. The word gLu regularly translates the Sanscrit Naga key sup. l. 54.
 22. Such is the translation which Hiouen-tsang gives.
 23. She was born in 624 according to the Tibetan tradition, which places her marriage in 639.
 24. I give here the translation of Ssanang-ssetsen according to a Chinese version of this author which the late M. Deveria had had the complaisance to communicate to me.
 25. Georgi (p. 293) calls her 'Lha-ci-thrit-zuns, filiam Sama briscio regis Jangbu tibetice, Kathmandu indostanice'.
 26. According to a document mentioned by Bogle and published by M. Cl. Markham (Tibet, p. 343) the Rani of the Raja Niwar of Nepal was called 'Dewalhaha-Maho-ye-ser' (perhaps Moho-ye-ses—Mahaprajna-Tara) and the princess, 'Palmosathi-Chua'.
 27. Koppen, II, 47.
 28. Key, Godefroy de Blonay, Materials to serve in the study of the goddess Tara, Paris, 1895.
 29. History of the Huns book III, Chronological tableaux of the Tibetan nations.
 30. Kirkpatrick, Appendix No. II, B.
 31. Csoma, Journ, As. Soc. Bengal III, p. 6; reproduced in Princep, Useful Tables, II, 162.
 32. Rgyal races, translated by Emil Schlagintweit.
 33. The Sanscrit form is Cankhadhara. The Nepalese almanac of 1902 (Nepal deciya Pancanga 1959 Vik.) calls the Nepalese era: Shree Cankhadhara Kira Nepala Samvat.
 34. Useful Tables, ed., Ed. Thomas, London 1858, p. 269.
 35. Indian Eras, p. 74.
 36. Journ. As. Soc. Beng., 1903, p. 5.



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ६५-७४
भदौ २०३२-चैत्र २०३३

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक
जनकलाल शर्मा

Editor
Janak Lal Sharma

NEPAL

(Continued)

- Sylvain Levi

It must not be lost to sight, however, that there does not exist one single text which expressly mentions Raghava deva as the founder of the Nepala-Samvat. The only published document so far (K) simply attributes to him the introduction of the Vikrama-Samvat. Other Vamsavalis which ignore Raghava deva, connect to one of his predecessors an analogous event. Nanda deva (4) introduced in Nepal either the era of Calivahna (W. B.) or the Vikrama era (V) and it is perhaps in this way that it is convenient to explain the origin of the Nepalese era. The years 879-880 which is the first current year of that era, is the first spent year of the IXth century Caka. We know exactly that the Caka era had at that epoch penetrated into the Himalayan regions of India. The pracasti of Baijnath dated from the spent year 7(26 ?) of the Caka era proves that this era was then in usage in the lofty valley of Kangra between Kashmere and Nepal. It is found associated precisely in this inscription to a date of undetermined nature, "the year 80". In it was recognized without hesitation the computation Saptarsi or Loka-Kala, which begins from 3075 B. C.; but which sidetracks in the real usage the figures of the hundreds and thousands. This kind of computation was very widely spread in Kashmere

and its accomodation must have extended its usage. The originality of the Nepala-Samvat seems to consist essentially in the application the Caka era of the appropriate proceedings of the Loka-Kala. Instead of counting 801, 802 etc. one counts 1 2 etc yet the year of the Nevar calender does not servilely copy the year Caka; this one if fact, begins in the month of Chaitra (March-April), in India at least.¹ The Nevar year begins in Kartika (October-November) as does the Vikrama year. The Nevar year thus combining the features of the two calenders, one can understand that the translation can thereby represent the foundation as the introduction of the one or the other computation Caka or Vikrama. If the Nevar era is only an adaptation of the Caka era, it is legitimate to ask oneself why this substitution has been operated. The pallid Raghava Deva has not the face of the founder of an era. I cannot prevent myself from believing that Nepal, delivered from the Tibetan yoke by the murder of Ghan Dharma and the anarchy which followed, hailed the new century as a new period of her history, we know what a superstitions expectation attaches itself even in Europe, on the birth of a new century. An astrological belief spread in Nepal, could have also contributed in the creation of the new

computation. The Nevars whom the Chinese travellers of the VIIth century already describe as "conversant in the calculation of the destinies and keep in the art of the calender"² believe in the dismal influence of the figure 8. In whichever year the figure 8 is met with the year is unfortunate.³ The best fun lies in that fate has been pleased to decide in favour of prejudice. It is in the year 888 of the Nepala Samvat (1788 J. C.). That the Gorkhas have conquered Nepal; the fright of living for a hundred years under so dreadful a threat would have sufficed perhaps in provoking a revolution of the calender among a tribe so pre-occupied.

The first successors of Raghava deva are only mere names and names fairly badly recorded. The list of K. enumerates Seeker Deo (17) with a reign of 88 years and 6 months, then Soho Deo (18) with a reign of 33 years and 9 months. The list of Bd. substitutes to these two princes a new Jaya deva with a reign of 10 years only opposite period of 121 years in K. To explain and correct so grave a divergence between documents so closely united usually one is tempted to consider the two numbers of K., 88 and 33, worked up one and the other with a figure repeated like a ditto, attributable either to the informer of K. or to K. himself or again to his editor. The two regions would be reduced to a total of 12 years and 3 months. The unanimous agreement of the Vamsavalis broken after Balarjuna deva (13), is re-established with Vikrama deva (14) yet the duration of his reign was fairly fluctuating; 1 year (K), 8 years 9 months (Bd) 12 years (B. W. V.) after him K. and Bd. insert Narendra deva (20) who reigns 1 year and 6 months.

Gunakama deva (15) is seen as a fairly vigorous personality in this long series of phantom-kings. His reign is prolonged for more than half a century; 51 years (B. W. V.) 65 years 5 months (Bd) 85 years 6 months (K). The legend, in default of positive history, has been pleased to represent him as a powerful and sumptuous monarch. He passes for the founder of Kathmandu. However, the tradition which associates to this memory the name of Gunakama dates the foundation in the year 3824 spent (lapsed) or 3825 present (corrent), of the Kali-yuga or 723-724 J. C. I have not been able inspite of persevering researches, to gather a more minute date which would have been susceptible of verification by calculation. In fact the date excludes the king and reciprocally. Taken by itself the date seems acceptable; it is fairly reasonable enough to avoid suspicions. An analyst in the mood for inventing would have freely taken back to the most distant past, as far back as the first among the Gunakama deva, the origin of the capital. Furthermore, it is towards the same epoch that the chronicles arrange the foundation of Patan and Sanku. The birth of these three great towns logically corresponds to the transformation of the economical life in Nepal. The inscription of the anterior period never mention but ordinary rural communities (grama); the population scattered in the fields lived especially on the cultivation. Deo Patan, leanin on the temple of Pashupati, was still the only town (pattana). The king dwelt thither near the divinity which protected him; the court and the pilgrims assured the bazars with sufficient business. But gradually the regular relations with India develop the commerce of exchange; the constitution of the Tibetan kingdom opens a new market which spreads continuously. Guardian of the passes which link

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at distant points the India of the rajahs with the China of the emperors, Nepal suddenly finds herself raised to an agent to two worlds. The not much lucrative soil is deserted and the people are keen on negotiation. "The merchants, whether wandering or established are numerous thither, the cultivators rare" says the notice of the Tang. The manual arts in which triumph the ingenuity and skill of the Nevars promise an easy earning. Goldsmiths, melters, painters, coulerers increase in number without crowding the market. The exigencies of the new professions favour social life, naturally dear to the Nevars. The growing might of the kings tends also to group around them a more numerous population. Towns spring up. It is not a question of a thorough creation, the ancient inscriptions still preserved in their place, how that they were formed by the assemblage of several villages, progressively enlarged and brought closer to one another until they mingle into one. It is probable, however that Gunakama deva had deserved by the works of improvement he executed thither, to be considered as another founder of Kathmandu. He had built among others, a fountain of gold of which the name only has been perpetuated; it is the Son-dhara (Suvarna-dhara) between the Darbar and the old bridge of the Bishnumati. The ancient name of Kathmandu, Kantipura, may have led, on the other hand, to a bringing together with Gunakamn 'Kanti' and 'Kama' are two connected formations, drawn both one and the other from the root 'kam' to 'love'. Among the religious institutions which tradition attributes to Gunakama deva and which I have already mentioned in studying their religion, I will recall here the 'yatra' in honour of Khasarpa Lokeshvara (Key, 1, 354) clearly destined to destroy, for the benefit of Kathmandu the

yatra of Matsyendra Natha of Patan. Pashupati also benefited by his fabulous munificence; he ordered to be poured for fifteen days, on the linga, gold water which flowed from two gold fountains and covered the temple with a gilded roofing. In spite of so many prodigalities he was still able to place in reserve a sum of five hundred and twenty millions which he entrusted to the Naga Vasuki in the hollow of mount Indrakala. His power spread beyond the valley toward the East; it is from there that he brought away Prayaga Bhairava.

By a disconcerting contrast, the direct documents taken up again on the very morrow of this long reign when it had not yet been mentioned about manuscripts or inscriptions of the days of Gunakama Deva. Udaya Deva (22) figures on the lists of K. (6 years) and of Bd (Bendall) (5 years 5 months). Nirbhaya Deva (23) is only named by K. (7 years); but the agreement is re-established on the names which follow. Here again, the list of K. is the most exact. Opposite Bhojadeva (16) it inserts Bhaj Deo Budro (24). We are clearly concerned here with a graphical confusion of the editor, who has read or transcribed B for R. We must read Rudro which pertains to Rudra in the usual transcription. Rudra does not appear on any other list. But two signatures of the manuscripts guarantee the authenticity of his name and existence. The collection of Cambridge possesses a copy (Add, 866) of the Prajnaparamita in eight thousand stanzas written in Samvat 128 (1008 J. C.)₄ under the dual royalty ('dvi-rajyaka') of Nirbhaya Deva and Rudra Deva sovereign of the earth. The expression "dvi-rajyaka seems well to designate as M. Bendall has supposed it, a government exercised by two kings. A drama of Kaidasa, Malavikagnimitra, presents, an almosts-

identical term, "dvairajya and the contestation allows to surely determine thereby the meaning. King Agnimitra, informed of a victory won by his troops, regulates the destinies of the conquered state (V Act, verse 13 and 14)". I have the intention of placing the two princes Yajna Sena and Madhava Sena on a dual throne (dvairajya). That each one apart governs the banks of the Varada, to the North and to the South, like the cool and the warm start sharing with each other the night and the day.

The king sends his council of ministers to consult on this project and the chamberlain brings him back their reply:

"The council of ministers has the same views. Let us share with them the burden of administration, like the pole between the horses of the chariot, held by the same hand; they will remain Sire, under your authority, without ever nearing the state of harming one another." The administration of the "dual royalty" is then exactly a consortium, as is meant to convey the translation of M. Bendall: 'joint regency' it is well defined government in the Hindu politics, where two princes share out in halves one state alone without destroying however the organic unit. This administration seems to imply, as in the case of Malavikagnimitra a foreign authority which adds itself as a moderator and suzerain above the two princes. The Tibetan hegemony could not be matter for contemplation at this epoch; on the other hand the history of Hindustan is known to us. It is not impossible that the dynasty of the Palas, reaching her zenith at this moment, mistress of the Ganges between Benares and the sea had subjected Nepal under her authority more or less nominal. The presence would thus be better explained, in Nepalese collections of the manuscripts

copied under the reign of the Palas, especially of Mahipala and Naya Pala who occupy the first half of the XIth century. Religion must have linked close and frequent relations between the highland kingdom and the Empire of the plains. The Palas possessed the holy earth of Buddhism; the two holy sites among others, Buddha-Gaya and Sarnath (near Benares) have preserved inscriptions of Mahi Pala. The monastery of Vikrama Cila which had replaced Nalanda as the hearth of knowledge and Buddhist piety, rose in the centre of the kingdom of the Palas. Among the masters who shone thither in the beginning of the XIth century, Tara-natha names three Nepalese: Ratna Kirti, Vairocana Pandita and Kanaka Shree. The Chinese mission surnamed 'the three hundred Samians' (Key I, 166 note) after having visited the Maghada subdued to the Palas return through of Nepal. The Tibetan mission sent to Vikrama Cila towards 1040 J. C., with the purpose of bringing away the erudit Atisa, encounters of the frontier of India the company of a Nepalese prince, who also proceeding to the same monastery and continued the journey together. On the other hand, the learned men of India willingly ascend into Nepal; in the days of Deva Pala (XIth century) it is Vajra Deva reaching Nepal, he sees thither a kind of bad fairy (tirthyā-yogini) who was committing irregular acts; he composes against her a poem of blame. In return, she curses him and he becomes a leper, but a hymn which he writes in honour of Avalokitesvara, the Lokeshvara Sataka, delivers him from this awful diseases⁵. A contemporary of Atisa, Vagisvara kirti, magician and sorcerer, spends in Nepal the second half of his life, especially busy with magical rites (siddhi).⁶ Under the immediate successors of Naya Pala, Phamnthin with his brother

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and Jana Vajra greets the people in Nepal.⁷ In short when the Musulmans overthrew Govinda Pala and occupied the country of Magadha in 1197, Buddha shree of Nepal who had been the president (sthavira) of the Maha-samghikas in the monastery of Vikrama Cila and who had published in Nepal many Paramitas and Mantras, resumes the journey to his native land, escorted by his disciples, and Ratna raksita the ancient, soon comes to rejoin him thither.⁸

Rudra Deva, associated in a dual royalty with Nirbhaya Deva in Samvat 128 reappears seven years later in the signature of another exemplary of the Prajnaparmita (Cambridge, Add, 1643),⁹ written in Samvat 135 (1015 J. C.).

The two manuscripts of 128 and 135, issue from the same monastery: the (shree) Hlam Vihara the most recent pompously glorifies this monastery. "The dynasties of old have founded it with pleasure for the adornment of the country of Nepal: it is the passion of all creatures the word of Buddha perpetually shines thither." Hlam is not a Sanscrit word it is evidently an indigenous designation, actually yet the viharas are known under two names: one Sanscrit, is only employed in literature, the other, Nevar is alone in usage in current life. But it soon happened that the reputation of real name caused harm to the clever name an inscription of Amsuvarman, mentions, in a list of temples and convents of Sanskrit name the Gum-vihara, under its indigenous appellation. The miniatures which adorn the manuscript of the year 135 have been closely studied by M. Faucher; they testify the degree of skill in which the painters of Nepal had attained at the epoch.

In 135 as in 128, Rudra Deva is not alone in power; but he has changed his company. He is associated this time with

Bhoja Deva (16) and with Laksmikama Deva(17) or rather he is mentioned with them, without it being possible to determine with precision the relations of these three personages. It seems that Bhoja Deva, designated as the king (rajni) has won over Rudra Deva by the multitude of his numerous merits, whilst Laksmikama Deva enjoys a half-royalty (Ardharajya). M. Bendall concludes that Rudra Deva preserve the half of the kingdom, whereas Bhoja Deva and Laksmikama Deva shared between them the other half. I have a tendency to believe with M. Foucher (Footnote "Studies of Buddhistic Iconography", p. 17) that Bhoja Deva is in reality the successor of Rudra Deva. The scribe seems to have taken pains to contrive a pun on "gana" which means "multitude" and "the talented men in the service of Rudra (Shiva)", at the same time. The word "alabdha" which characterizes the relations of Bhoja Deva with Rudra Deva is interpreted by Cridhara svamin, in his commentary on the Bhagvata-Purana (X, 57, 40) like "called upon" or "vitaly interested", and it is this last sense which Hauvette-Besnault adopts in the translation of the passage. ("Seduced by his conciliating words . . . etc) Bhoja Deva would not have succeeded Rudra Deva as his natural heir, but by virtue of a merited choice. Laksmikama Deva "thunderbolt of the world of his enemies" enjoys a "half-royalty". The same expression reappears precisely in the scene of Malavikagmitra which I have already mentioned. A maid-servant hears the decision of the king and immediately congratulates Malavika, sister of one or the princes to whom the power is about to be handed. "Princess, what luck" - The prince is about to be installed in half-royalty (in Pra-crit: "addharajje"). "The term has then a consecrated value: It is exactly applicable to the power of one of the two members of the "dvirajyaka" or of the "dvairajya".

Bhojadeva who occupies the throne towards 1015 is exactly the contemporary of another Bhoja Deva who reigned at Dhara and at Ujayini and who has left in the literary history of India and incomparable reputation as a writer, erudite and as a protector of learned men, at the same time. The Nepalese king has not been able to acquire by an aptitude for imitation, the name of the king of Dhara; the dates of the two princes expressly exclude this hypothesis. The vogue which had spread this name in India since the XIIth century had reached as far as Nepal. The signature of a manuscript which bears no date (Camb. Add. 2191) designates Bhoja Deva as the sole king.

In 159, Laksmikama Deva appears in his turn as the sole king (Camb. Add. 1683); the date shown (Vaicakha cudi, 3, Cukradine) exactly answers to Friday the 30th March 1039. The interval lapsed since the year 135, in which Laksmikama is mentioned for the first time, slightly exceeds the duration of the reign which the chronicles attribute to him (22 years B. W. V.; 21 years, K. Bd). He passes for the grandson of Gunakama Deva, the analogy of names seems to reveal some kind of relationship. Convinced that his grand-father owed his victories and treasures to the favour of the Kumaris, he dedicated a keen and passionate religion to these divinities. He built so they say, the Laksmivarma Vihara, called in Nevar 'Hatko' which Siddhinara Simha destroyed in the middle of the XVIth century to rebuild it on another site.

The successor of Laksmikama Deva is called Jaya Vihaya (Bd), Jayakama Deva (W. B. V.) Jaya Deva (K); his reign lasts 20 years. (Ed alone carries it to 31 years). He restored the religion of Naga Vasuki and made over to him as a homage, musical

instruments, with the purpose of safeguarding the protection of the treasures and the respect of the laws; if one has to believe the chronicle (W) the means had a complete success. The state of the country justified however, the king's preoccupations. Jaya Deva only reigned on half the kingdom at Patan (Bd); a powerful vassal, Bhaskara Deva dared to refuse the homage and claim the crown. Jaya Deva died childless, the clan of the Thakuris of Nayakot elected Bhaskara Deva to succeed him (W). Manifestly, it is feudalism which disposes then of the royal power. If the account of the Vamcavalis is exact, the valley of Nepal has lost her independence; the Burgaves lodged in the neighbouring mountains impose on her a master. It is the epoch during which the Manjucri-mula-tantra shows "in the kingdom of Nepal, the small kings of within and without who invade, pillage and kill one another". It is at the same time that Atisa while crossing Nepal to proceed from India into Tibet (toward 1040), goes and pays respect at first to the chaitya of Swayambhu, where the local raja welcomes him in his palace, and then he undertakes a long voyage towards the west, as far as Patpa, to meet thither the king sovereign of Nepal, Anantakirti (in Tibetan, "Grags-pamtha-yas" "infinite glory").¹⁰ Patan and Kathmandu having weakened by the rivalries which accompany their growth, cease to exercise the hegemony.

The chronicles (W. Bh. V.) consider Bhaskara Deva as the founder of a dynasty; a text unfortunately obscure, (Bd) however, mentions "the crown of his father". Tradition attributes to him the foundation of the gold monastery (~~Hiranyavarma~~ Maha Vihara or Hema-Varna) at Patan, he would have built it to shelter therein the divinity of the Pingala-Vihara, which had just crumbled down. A manuscript dated

samvat 167 (1046 J. C.) gives Bhaskara Deva the imperial titles "sovereign lord, king above great kings, supreme master" (parama bhattaraka maharajadhiraja, paramecvara). After Bhaskara Deva K. alone names Udaya Deva (2) who would have reigned 7 years and 1 month. The rest of the list presents no divergence. Bala Deva founds the town of Haripur, two manuscripts dated in the year 180 (1059-60 J. C.) name him as the reigning king.¹² Padma Deva (3) also called Pradyumna Kama Deva, receives one of the sovereign titles (parama bhattaraka) in the signature of a manuscript (Camb. Add. 1684) of the Saddharma pundarika dated in the year 185 (1064 J. C.).¹³

This prince re-establishes the usage of wearing crowns, which had been discontinued since the days of Balarjuna Deva (K). Nagarjuna Deva recalls a great number of memories by his name; but we know nothing of his reign but its duration: 3 years (2 years, Bd). Cankara Deva is better known to us, there exists three manuscripts dated during his name; one of them (Dharma-putrika) of the year 189 (1068 J. C.); another (Asta Sakasika) of the year 191, and the third (commentary of Prajnakara on the Bhodhicaryavatara) of the year 198¹⁴. The second of these manuscripts is adorned with interesting miniatures concerning the art and history of Buddhism;¹⁵ The scribe resided at Patan "the charming" (Lalita-pure ramye) in the monastery of Yacodhara. The chronicles give a precise account as to how this monastery acquired its name during the very reign of Cankara Deva, up till then, it was designated as the monastery of Vidhyadhara-Varman, and it still by this name that it is designated in the signature of Adikarma pradipa dated in the year 318 (1197-98 J. C.); but the widow of a Brahman, Yacodhara, took

shelter with her son Yacodhara, in the monastery and had him ordained a bonze by irregular rites. As the bonzes of the monastery had been ready to proceed in this violation of rites, the vihara was ever since then called "the vihara of Yacodhara".

Cankara Deva established an annual yatra in honour of Nava Sagara Bhagavati, built the Gatecvara in order to appease the turbulent souls of five hundred Brahmanic widows who had burnt themselves on the pyre to throw a curse on the murderers of their husbands. He instituted Tanadevata, in the character of family (household) goddess at Kathmandu (Kula Devata) and forbade the erection of any roofs higher than the pinnacle of her temple.

After Cankara Deva, the chronicles (W. V. Bh.) indicate a new change of dynasty. A descendant of Amcuvarman in a collateral line Vama Deva, helped by the Thakuris of Patan and Kathmandu, expels from the power the Thakuris of Nayakot and proclaims himself king. He reigns for three years only. Yet there exists a manuscript (Sekanir-decapanjika)¹⁶ written during his reign. It is dated in the year 200 (1080-81). Vama Deva received in it the very modest title of "raja". An inscription of Patan,¹⁷ dated in the year 203,¹⁸ commemorates the erection of an image of the Sun, due to Vana Deva son of the "Bhunatha" (prince of Ksatriya) Yaonatha. Seduced by the close analogy of the names and the proximity of the dates, M. Bendall had at first proposed to identify Vana Deva and Vama Deva but in fact Vana Deva and Vama Deva are entirely different names; furthermore, Vana Deva is simply gratified with the title "shree", the most modest and the most ordinary of titles. It is probably a question of some local monarch.

Harsa Deva successor of Vama Deva.

reigns about 15 years (14, Bd., 16, K.). A signature of the manuscript (Vishnu dharma),¹⁹ dated in the year 210 (1090 J. C.), names him with the simple title of "nrpa" "king"; he also appears in the signature of another manuscript (Saddharma pundarika),²⁰ dated in 213 (1093 J. C.). The new vamcavali of the Bendall records him with the date 219 current (1098 J. C.), without specifying any particular event. It is undoubtedly the close of the reign.

Between the last known date of Harsa Deva and the first of his successor (sada) Shiva Deva, there spreads an interval of twenty years (219-239); besides Shiva Deva is, according to Bendall's genealogy a son of Candra Deva, born in the month of Asaadha 177 (1056-57 J. C.); the power returns to the ancient dynasty. These perturbations have their origin outside Nepal, at the foot of the mountains. In 1097, on Saturday the 18th July,²¹ the tradition boasts in being very exact. A Rajput of Deccan, Nanya Deva takes possession of the royal power. The lists of Bendall ignore this personage; Kirkpatrick (who calls him Nan Deo) and Hamilton (who calls him Nanyop Dev) confine his conquests to the Tirhout; thither he selects Simraun for capital; according to Hodgson (who calls him Nanyupa Deva) he is even the founder of that town. The modern chronicles, whether Brahmanic or Buddhistic (W. B. V.), represent him as the conqueror of the whole of Nepal. He dethrones the two Malla kings who reign one at Patan and Kathmandu (Jaya Deva Malla), the other at Bhatgaon (Ananda Malla), compels them to flee into Tirhout, establishes his court at Bhatgaon and reigns over the three capitals; he introduced the Caka era and also the two divinities named Maju and Svekhu, and installs in Nepal a colony of soldiers him from the

country of Nayera and who are the block of the Nevars.

I have already mentioned (1,219), the biased inventions which claim to have been founded on resemblances of name and usage to connect to a common origin (the Nairs and Nevars) of Nepal and the Nairs (Nayera) of Malabar, Nanya Deva, in all the accounts, is a native of the Karnataka,²² in the neighbourhood of the Nairs, the legend in accepting him as the conqueror of Nepal, gives at the same time a powerful support in appearance to its claims. As early as in the XVIIth century, the Mallas (whom he would have, however, expelled) officially traced back their origin to Nanya Deva. He figures as the ancestor of the dynasty in the prologue of a drama, the Mudita Kuvalayasva, composed in 1628 by the king of Bhatgaon Jagay Jyotir Malla, and in an inscription of Pratapa Malla, king of Kathmandu, written in 1648.

The conqueror of Tirhout has scarcely left any trace in history; it was thought, however possible to recognize with a fair amount of likelihood, his name in an inscription which extols the victories of Vijaya Sena king of Bengal. Vijaya Sena was the grandfather of the famous Lakshmana Sena founder of an era (1119 J. C.) which is not yet entirely forgotten. The author of the panegyric, Umapati Dhara, is a poet of talent and wit. He knew how to praise his here by subtle dedges. "You have vanquished Nanya, Vira;- thus sang the poets, and through a misunderstanding the anger he concealed burst forth. He attacked king Gauda, overthrew the prince of Kamarupa and suddenly triumphed over the Kalinga; you take yourself to be a hero, Nanya. 'Why should you pride yourself, Raghava? Cease from being jealous, Vira' Your vanity is not yet then dead.

Nepal

The quarrels of the princes which prolonged this night and day helped the guardians of his prisons to struggle against sleep."²³

The Tradition which represents Nanya Deva as a Rajput from Deccan is acceptable his very name, badly expressed in Sanscrit, seems to be a transcription of the word (canarese) "nanniya" "affectionate, veracious, good". An inscription (suspicious) of the Xth century gives to a prince Ganga of the Karnataka (Carnatic) the title of Nanniya Ganga- "The faithful Ganga". One cannot, however, imagine Nanya Deva at the head of an armed band starting from the most remote spot in Deccan to throw himself in the assault of the Himalayas. The political state of India lent itself badly to such and audacious raid. The Deccan was subjugated to a powerful prince Vikramaditya VI the Calukya, who succeeded in founding an era dated from his accession (1076 J. C.); his capital was Kalyana, to the South-West and not far of modern Bidar, in the Nizam's States Mysore, Madoure, Goa, Koukon, Coromandel were compelled to recognize his suzerainty. To the South of Ganges, two powerful sovereigns, Karan the Kalacuri of Cedi and Kirtivarman the Candella of Kalanjar struggled for supremacy. On the lower course of the watercourse the enfeebled Palas struggled against the growing Senas. If Nanya Deva was really a native of the Carnatic, he had undoubtedly come to the North in search of a fortune; as so many adventurers who had founded dynasties he had engaged himself in the service of a local prince and helped by the soldiers whom he had led in victorious campaigns, he had overthrown his master.²⁵

Master of Tirhout and of the roads which lead to Nepal he was able to constrain the kings of the valley to become his vassals.

Documents, even official, confirm—we have ascertained it—the intervention of Nanya Deva in the history of Nepal. However the Vamcavalis the most ancient (Bd) overlook Nanya Deva and his successors; besides none of the manuscripts discovered so far in Nepal are dated from his reign or from that of the other princes of the dynasty. One can be induced by caution to provisionally revoke in question the tradition. But the submission, had it been only a nominal one, of the country to Karnatakas conquerors, towards the close of the XIth century finds its guarantee in the documents of Deccan itself. Nanya Deva is the contemporary of Vikramaditya VI the Calukya; the successor of the Vikramaditya VI, Somecvara III Bhuloka Malla "the champion of the terrestrial world" "places the lotus of his feet on the head of the kings of Andhra, of Dravida of Maghada of Nepal." The author of this posthumous panegyric, dated from 1162 J. C., does not hesitate to enumerate the distant Nepal among the vassals of the emperor Calukya.

After Somecvara the empire crumbles-down—his son Tailapa III Trailokya Malla "the champion of the three words" is dethroned in 1161 by Bijjala or Bijjana of the Kalacuri family. Bijjala dies assassinated in 1167; a posthumous panegyric dated in the thereabouts of 1200 J. C. extols him for having "crushed the Cola, lowered the Lata, deprived Nepal of stability (sthirihinam Nepalam), pulverized the Andhra, taken Gujara humbled the Cedi, shaped the Vanga, killed the kings of Bangala, Kalinga, Maghadha, Patasvara and Malava."²⁶ The list is too long to inspire confidence but the mention of Nepal is only perhaps the most interesting thing in it. Nepal has decidedly entered in the official poetics; she rejoined in poetics, Kashmere, Bengal, fami-

liar of old with the singers of royal grandeur. The renaissance of Shivaism could have increased at that period the real relations between southern India and Nepal; the minister of Bijjala and his murderer, Besava, are the founders of a numerous sect, the Lingayats, consecrated to the fanatical worship of the divine lingas. Had Bijjala erected in Nepal, on the road of the Gosainthan, a caravansary (inn) (Dharma-Gala) for the use of pilgrims from Deccan; it is enough to transform in a panegyric this pious work in an act of sovereignty.

Bijjala once dead the hegemony of the Deccan passes to the Yadavas, who were established a Devagiri (Near Ellora, E of Bombay). The second king of the new dynasty, Jaitugi Deva I (1191-1210) subdues Gurjara, Pandya, Cola, Lata, Ganda whilst his general (dandanatha) Sahadeva defeats the forces of Malava, Kalinga, Pancala, Turuska and Nepala.²⁷ And Nepal henceforth consecrated as a literary adornment reappears for the sole joy of alliteration in the panegyric of the grandson of Jaitugi, Maha Deva.

The king himself simply boasts in these inscriptions of having vanquished Telinga, Konkon, Karnata, Lata and of having inspired terror into the Andras. But his minister, the erudite Hemadri is not content with so little. At the head of one of the sections (Dhanakhanda of his Voluminous compilation the Caturvarga cintamani, he signs in these terms the praises of his master. His glory teaches sage reasonings to the sovereigns of the seven Isles: Hear says the song Gurjara 'wing his good will'. Prince of Nepal (Nepala pala)²⁸ learn to endure everythirge observe his orders king of Malava, Andhra, remember that peril is without result' (see 8) evidently the

grave Hamadri would have smiled this time to find himself seriously believed.

Tradition has retained only the names of the successors of Nanya Deva; these successors serve to connect, by an authentic genealogy, Nanya Deva to Harisimha Deva, the first conqueror of Nepal to the second. During that long period, the signature of the Nepalese scribes reveal to us a continuous series of local princes. (Sada) Civa Deva receives in a manuscript (Spho-tika vaidya) of the year 240 (1120) the imperial titles (rajadhiraja paramecvara). In 239 (Bd) he inaugurates a tank called Madana-saras or again Narendra-saras. The modern chronicles (W. B. V.) relate that Civa Deva conquered all the countries at the four corners of the otherwise said, that he subjugated to his authority, the whole land of Nepal. He gathered great booty from his wars, a portion of this booty he utilized in covering with a new roof the temple of Pashupati. W. indicates as the date of this work the year 3851 of the Kali Yuga (750 J. C.): V. gives 4015 of the Kali-Yuga (914 J. C.). The two dates which are equally unacceptable and incongruous seem the interpretation of a common datum which supplied the two figures 1 and 5 (51. 15), adapted as well as possible to whimsical systems. The same sources (W.V.B.) relate that Civa Deva was the founder of Kirtipur and the first to place in circulation the 'suki which were coins composed of copper and iron, bearing the stamp of a lion, which stamping of the coins continued as long as the beginning of the XVIth century.

Indra Deva, who succeeds Civa Deva is undoubtedly his son born in the year 199 (Bd); he is also designated as rajadhiraja paramecvara in a manuscript on astrology (Jataka) copied in 249 (1128-9).

Manadeva, who bears a glorious name, appears on all the lists. He reigned for the years then abdicated in favour of his eldest son and retired to the monastery of Caka Vihara (W. V. B.), which the ancient Manadeva had founded. Bd. only gives him 4 years 7 months reign. There remains two documents dated from the reign of this prince, but one and the other are through chance, of the same year. The manuscript of Asta Sahasrika (Camb. Add. 1643) of the year 135, which has already furnished us with valuable information for the anterior epoch, shows an additional note dated the year 259 Monday, 5 Kartika (10th October 1138) during the victorious reign of king (nrpati) Manadeva in those days, a pious Buddhist named Karuna vajra congratulates himself in having acquired a few merits in saying 'unddhrta' the mother of the omniscient (the Prajana Paramita) who had fallen in the hands of an infidel (craddhahina-jana) 29 An inscription found at Kathmandu (Bendall No 6) drawn in macaronic (poet) Sanscrit hardiy intelligible and which is related to a question of water, is also dated with 259, 7 bhadra-pada badi, during the victorious reign of Manadeva rajadhiraja paramecvara Paramabhattaraka.

Narendra Deva (Narasimha Deva W. V. Bh.) "performs the magical rites which causes snow to fall in Nepal for the first time" (K). He is the successor of Mana Deva, because we have a manuscript³⁰ (Panca raksa) dated in the year 261, Monday 13 pausa cudi (23rd December 1140), 'under the victorious reign of Narendra Deva "rajadhiraj paramecvara". But another manuscript³¹ has been shown, recently discovered and dated in the reign of Narendra Deva in the year 254 lapsed (1134) five years before the two documents of Mana Deva. One could be tempted to believe that Mana Deva, after having abdicated as relate the Vamca-

valis, would have retained or retaken afterwards a power more or less of a nominal nature.

Ananda Deva (Nanda Deva W. V. Bh.) "son of Siha Deva, born in 219" (Bd) reigns for twenty years. 'After consultation with Sunandecarya of Patan, he built for the Goddess Bhuvanecvari three lodgings encased one in the other wherein only those who had been initiated could enter' (W).

Several manuscripts are dated of his reign: in 275³² (Camb or 130), in 278 (Camb. Add. 2833), 284³³ in 285³² and in 286³⁵

Rudra Deva entrusted the care of the government to his son, became a Buddhist, and devoted himself to the study of the elements (Tattvajnana). he practised at first the Bauddhacarya, then the Mahayana-carya, lastly the Trividhi bodhi. He repaired the old monastery of Onkuli, built by Civa Deva, received thither the tonsure and resided in the place as a bandya. Once he sent in his place as a bandya. Once he sent in his place a statue of the Dipam kara Buddha to be for his food. He preserved for the benefit of his monastery a land given in entire property in the name of his ancestors, Vama Deva, Harsa Deva, Sada Civa Deva, Mana Deva, Narasimha (Narendra) Deva, (A) nanda Deva and in his own proper name (W).

Amrta Deva (Mitra Deva) has connected his name to the memory of a disastrous famine (Bd. K.). A manuscript (Caraka) copied during his reign shows the date of 296 (1176). A manuscript of 303 (1183) is dated during the reign of Rudra Deva,³⁶ which none of the lists discovered so far mention. Somecvara Deva, "son of Mahendra (Indra Deva), born in 240" (Bd) shows an isolated name in the royal onomasticon of Nepal; he recalls, by a striking coin-

cidence the memory of Somecvara III was still reigning; he has perhaps received the name of the distant prince who claimed to spread his influence to the very heart of the Himalaya.

The three princes who succeed one another afterwards reproduce with a regularity which excludes the thought of an accident, the name borrowed from the past of their dynasty; after the abnormal Somecvara Gunakama Deva, Laksmi Kama Deva, Vijaya Kama Deva seem to betray a decision to officially enter into the local tradition. These three Kamadevas have left few memories. A manuscript of 307 is dated in the reign of Gunakama Deva.³⁷ Laksmikama Deva is not recorded on any list; a manuscript of the year 313³⁸ is the only testimony of his existence. This manuscript has a further interest; it is the first to designate Kathmandu under the name of Yambu Krāma.³⁹ Two manuscripts are dated during the reign of Vijaya Kama Deva; the one in 316,⁴⁰ the other in 317.⁴¹

After the resurrection of these historical names a new type of royal name appears on the Nepalese lists wherein it is destined to soon gather preponderance. The successor of Vijayakama Deva is not the son of this prince; he is the son of an unknown personage; Jayaci (?) Malla Deva and a is called Ari Malla Deva. The modern chronicles (W. Bh. V.) name him Ari Deva and reserve to his son the title of Malla. "As Ari Deva and reserve to his son the title of Malla." "As Ari Deva was busy in the pastime of pugilism a son was born to him to whom he gave the name of Malla." History reproduces itself almost uniformly save for a few irregularities, in the Hindu world each time that tradition meets a Malla.² One of the principalities of feudal Nepal, situated at the foot of the Dhaula-

giri, at the confluent of the Marsyangdi and the Narayani, portrays the name of Mall bhumi (vulg. Malebbhum) 'Land of the Mallas'. It is related that the rajah of the country, Nag Namba, triumphed by his force and courage over a champion (Malla) of Delhi who had thither to beaten all his rivals; in memory of this victory, the Padishah conferred on him the title of Malla, which he afterwards bequeathed to his descendants.⁴³ Because as a matter of fact 'mala' signifies in sanscrit "boxer, athlete, champion." But the word has furthermore an ethnic function, consecrated from a long time past and connected perhaps by a direct link with its professional value. Ever since the epoch of the Buddha the Mallas form a confederation in the neighbourhood of Vaicali, the town of the Licchavis; it is on the territory of the Mallas that come and die the founders of the two great heresies, the Buddha Cakyamuni at Kuci nagara, the Jina Mahavira at Pava. The Chinese translators of the Buddhist texts regularly give the name of the Mallas with the equivalent Li-cheu "the athletes". The Mahabharata name the Mallas with the Kosala (the country of Oudh) in the account of the conquests (digvijaya) of Bhima (II, V. 1077). A thousand years after the Buddha, the astronomer Vahara-mihira records the Mallas in his catalogue of people (nations) between the Abhiras, Cabaras, Pahlavas on the one hand and the Matsayas, Kurus and the Pancalas (Central Hindustan)⁴⁴ on the other; the scholiast does not fail to glaze their names with "the boxers" (bahu yuddha jnan). The Markandeya Purana also enumerates the Mallas as a people from eastern India, with the Videha (Tirhout), the Tamralipataka (Tamluk, mouths of the Ganges) and the Maghada (LVII, see, +). The list of the local yaksas inserted in the Maha mayuri vidya rajni designates Hari-

pingala as the patron Yaksas of Cravasti of Saketa of Vaicali of Varanasi and of Campa,⁴⁵ A Brahmanic work of a distant epoch, the Rasika ramana also names in the middle of the XVIth century the town of the Mallas (Malla pura) together with Kamrupa, Tirhout and Bagmati⁴⁶. One tradition persists to say that they were close to the frontiers of Nepal. The code of Manu had gathered and preserved the name of the Mallas in its social organization; it classifies them side by side with the Licchavis and quite close to the Khasas, among the castes issued from the fallen Ksatriyas (X, 22).⁴⁷

It is again side by side with the Licchavis that the Mallas appear in the history of Nepal. The pillar of Changu-Narayan commemorates the victorious campaign led by the Licchavi Mana Deva, against the town of the Mallas (Mallapuri), to the west of the valley beyond the Gandaki. It is little probable that a useless whim had carried the ancient names of the two clans into the heart of the Himalaya.

The same inclination for adventures, the same passion for freedom had undoubtedly led the off springs whether authentic or doubtful of the old Licchavis and the old Mallas, outside their territory, bent henceforth on great empires; secluded in the independent and proud mountain, they had created thither, principalities as did the Rajputs later. Favoured by chance (fortune), the Licchavis had the central valley; but the Mallas continued to dispute with them this privileged soil; inscriptions of the VIIth century in the reigns of Civa Deva and Jisnu Gupta reckon among the permanent charges imposed on the titular of donations ("the Maellarvenue Malla kara") destined either to acquit a tribute or to prepare the defense.⁴⁸

The revolution of the calendar which introduced into Nepal a new era in 880

appears to interest the very history of the Mallas. After this date we find them in fact, in Nepal. The Buddhistic Vamcavali (W) mentions in connection with the year 111 N. S., the 6 phalguna cudi (Monday 23rd February 991) the foundation of the village of Chapagaon or Campapuri to the south of Patan, by Raja Malla Deva and Kathva Mall, of Patan. The chronology of this Vamcavali is generally too suspicious to deserve confidence; but an independent document comes here to confirm it. A manuscript (Devi Mahatmya) recently discovered is dated in the reign of one Dharma Malla, in the year 118.⁴⁹ The same Vamcavali relates that Nanya Deva master of Nepal by conquest expelled the Malla kings into Tirhout. The pillar of Acoka at Nigliva would still show the trace of the Malla domination in this region; if it is true that a king of drawing traced on this venerable monument⁵⁰ reads thus: Sri Tapu Malla jayastu sambar 1234. Eighty years after Nanya Deva, in 1177 J. C., a Malla prince is supposed to have then reigned on this portion of Tirhout. Unfortunately this recital is based on a testimony hopelessly inadequate.

Before belonging to the sovereigns of Nepal, the title of Malla had already been given lustre by the Kings of India. The first to adopt it seem to be Pallavas of Kancis (Conjeveram); in the course of the VIIth century Narasimha (Vishnu) (Rajasimha) bears among others, birudas (name of panegyrics), the titles of Mahamalla and of Amitra Malla;⁵¹ Mahendra Varman is called Catru Malla⁵², Nandicarman is Pallava Malla, Ksatriya Malla⁵³. The Calukyias of Badami, deadly rivals of the Pallavas, consecrate their victories by appropriating themselves of the titles of those vanquished. The fortunate rival of Narasimha, Vikramaditya I, thus becomes in

his turn Raja Malla,⁵⁴ in the VIIIth century the title had emigrated among the calukyas of Guzerate; one among them is named Yuddha Malla.⁵⁵ The posterior Calukyas resuscitate this title; the founder of the dynasty, Tailapa, takes the name of Ahava

Malla (973); Vikramaditya VI is Tribhuvana Malla; Somcvara III (it would be suzerain of Nepal) is Bhuloka malla. The vogue enters even Ceylan where reigned in the XIIth century Kitti Nissanka Malla and Sahasa malla.

(To be continued)

FOOT NOTE

1. V. Sup., p. 44.
2. V. Sup., I, 154.
3. Wright, 268, n.
4. The date is fairly precise to lend itself to a calculation of verification.

Abde cate Sastakavimcatigate
mase cubhe phalgunacuklapakse somavare
naksatraramy ottarabhadrasamjne.

Year 128, Phalguna moonlit fortnight, Monday, nakshatra Uttara-Bhadra. The day of the month of tithi is not given, but on the supplied data, one obtains the following results; in 128 N.S. (Nepala-Samvat), spent either 1007-8 J.C., two Mondays fall in Phalguna, moonlit fortnight, 7th tithi, the nakshatra is Rohini (IV) 15th tithi, the nks, is Purva Phalguni (XI).

In 128 N. S. calculated as the "current" year, against usage, either 1006-7 J. C., the Monday falls in Phalguna cudi: 5th, nks Bharani (II); 12th, nks. Alesa (IX).

None of these two results are convenient.

Calculated on the other hand in era of Amsuvarman, the date would give for 128 lapsed 724-5 J. C., the Monday 2 Phalguna cudi, nks, Uttara Bhadrpada (XXVI) -19th February 725 J. C.

(Here like in all the dates which

I have attempted to verify my calculations are made on the elements supplied by the tables of R. Sewell and C. B. Dikshit in 'The Indian Calendar' London 1896.)

5. Taranatha, p. 214. The cataka still exists; in the signature, the author is called Vajradatta, the great archivist (Mahaksapatalika).
6. Ib. 237
7. Ib. 249
8. Ib. 253 and 255
9. The data admit of a verification. I reproduce the text of the colophon such as it was re-established by M. Foucher (Studies of Buddhist Iconography)

Pancatriincadhike 'bde catatama-
pragate ...

Instead of 'pragate' the original shows 'pracate' but the resemblance of the two characters 'ca' and 'ga' in Nepalese orthography is so strange that the correction offers itself. M. Bendall has proposed it in his catalogue and M. Foucher had admitted it. Yet M. Bendall shows that 'Pragate' like 'pracate' which equals it in scansion ~~err~~ against the verification, the 'a' final of 'catatama' placed before the group 'pr' should lengthen itself by position. The classical usage in fact, does not admit the position, of a short syllable before the group; silent liquid. But the scribe author of the stanzas of signa-

ture of this ms., leaves in such an instance the optional quantity. In the body of the following verses it successively scans rajni shree, and labdha shree.... The author of the Adikarma-pradipa. (Lavalley-Poussin, "Buddhism: Studies and Materials", p 204) in the stanza of the signature of his work, scans also cirabrahma. This practice was then tolerated in Nepal, at least in the parts the least polished of a literary work. I can even point out an epigraphical example of the glorious classical epoch. A funeral inscription of Eran (Gupta Inscrps., p. 93) dated 191 (Gupta 510-11 J. C.) scans in an indravajra: bhaktanurakta ca priya ca kanta.

But another difficulty, graver, still, presents itself. In the year 135 N. S. lapsed (like the text specifies it: pragata) the 10th tithi of Caitra cudi (himabha) falls in fact on a Thursday (3rd March 1015 J. C.), if one admits that the Nepalese calendar follows at that epoch the system of true intercalations. But then, the month of Caitra is intercalary that very year, and in that case one does not fail to specify it the month then current is the first or the second of the months doubled by intercalation. M. Keilhorn (Ind. Antiq XVII, 248) boldly substitutes to 'pragate' the 'itare' which would designate the intercalary month. But this would be causing an injustice to the texts.

The system of the average intercalations, on the other hand causes the fall of the intercalary month in the course of the preceding year. The year 135 then begins instead of on Tuesday the 22nd February, on Wednesday the 23rd March and the 10th tithi of Caitra

does not also correspond to Thursday but to a Friday 1st April 1015.

Again in this case, by beginning from the Amsuvarman era, we have a satisfactory result. 135 lapsed - 731-2 J. C. the 10th tithi of Caitra cudi falls on Thursday the 22nd March 731.

10. V sup 1, 166 sq.
11. Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri. Report on the search of 'Sanskrit Manuscripts', Calcutta, 1901, p. 5; cf. of the same "Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc. Bengal LXVI, p. 312; and Bendall, ib; LXXII, p. 6. It is a copy of the Vishnu-dharmottara.
12. Haraprasad, loc. laud. p. 5; and Bendall, loc laud., p. 6, one of the two mss, is the Nicvasakhya Mahatantra, the other the Uparkarma vidhi.
13. Bendall; loc. laud., p 22, mentions another ms. (Camb. Add. 2197) also dated fixing the reign of Pradyumna Kama Deva, in the year 186 (1065-66 J. C.)
14. The colophon of the first of these three manuscripts has not yet been wholly published; I ignore if it admits of a verification. The dates of the other two are shown with great exactitude, and it is a singular occurrence that the data of the one and the other are in disagreement with the result of the calculations of verification. The ms. of 191 (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, A. 15) shows: year 191 lapsed, 10 Phalgun cudi, nks Rohini, Yoga, Cobhana, Thursday.

Well in 191 lapsed, the 10th tithi of Phalgun falls on Saturday the 12th February 1071, the nks, is Ardra, the yoga Ayusmat Besides the nks Rohini excludes the yoga Cobhana and reciprocally. The date expressed then certainly implies an error

The ms. of 198 (Lavalée-Poussin, Buddhism, p. 388) gives: year 198 current, 5 Cravan badi, Tuesday. In Amanta's system which is in usage with the Nepala Samvat, the 5 Cravana of 198 falls on 'Friday', the 11th August 1077.

15. See, Foucher, 'Studies on Buddhistic Iconography', p. 28.
16. S. D. Oldenbourg, Journ. Roy. As. Soc., 1891, p. 687.
17. Bendall, Journey, p. 80.
18. M. Kielhorn has examined the details of this date (Ind. Antiq., XVII, 248) and has given as an equivalent Wednesday the 26th April 1083. But it must be well observed that this result does not satisfy to one of the given conditions; the inscription gives: 7 Vaisakh cudi, Wednesday and the 7th tithi falls in reality on Thursday the 27th April.
19. Harsaprasad, Report..., p. 5.
20. Bendall, "Journey", p. 46, Camb. Add., 2197.
21. In appearance, the date varies with each one of the documents. The Brahmanic Vamcavali mentions traditional verse in Sanscrit, which notes the details of the date, month, tithi, nakshatra, day of the week:

induc ca somavasusammitacakavarase
 1 1 8

taccrhravanasya dhavale munitith-yadhastat
 svatau canaiccaradine ripumardalagne
 cri Nanyadevamripair vidachita rajyan

"In the year Caka 811, in the month of Shrawan, the clear fortnight the inferior portion of the seventh tithi, the nakshatra being Svati, a Saturday at the propitious moment to crush the enemy, Nanya Deva the king disposed of the kingdom."

In 881 Caka lapsed- (889-90), the 7th tithi of Shrawan clear falls on Wednesday the 9th July 889. In 811 Caka current (888-89) the 7th tithi of Shrawan clear falls on Friday the 19th July 888. The one

or the other solution is not satisfactory.

Kirkpatrick gives to the accession of Nan Dev (Nanya Deva) the date of Samvat 901-843 J. C. It is probable that Kirkpatrick, or the authority he followed has substituted by error or by oversight the samvat of Vikrama in the computation by the Caka era, uniformly employed in all the other sources; it must undoubtedly be re-established the year 901 Caka (978 or 979 J. C.). Hamilton, on the faith of a warrantor "of whom the ancestors had been (registrars) of Tirhout" again indicates another date; Nanyap Dev (Nanyupa or Nanya Deva) of a Ksatriya family, conquered the sovereignty of Tirhout and founded a dynasty in the year 495 of the Bengali era 1089 J. C. The date given by Hodgson differs in its turn but without showing much difference with that of Hamilton: Nanyupa Deva founds in 1097 J. C. the town of Simraun, where his descendants continue to reign to the day of Harisimha Deva 1097 J. C. 1019 lapsed or 1020 current Caka. And it is this date that we discover in a Nepalese document of an official source and anterior to all the authorities I have just enumerated. The Muditakuvalayacva, drama composed by the king of Bhatgaon, Jagay jyotir Malla in 1618, draws in its prologue the genealogy of the royal author as far back as Nanya Deva, whose accession he records in Caka 1019.

navendukhacar drayukte caka
 9 1 0 1

Let us recapitulate the various dates with their warrantors: Caka 811 (888 or 889 J. C.) "Vamcavalis" (W. B. V.) Caka 901 (978 or 979 J. C.) Kirkpatrick (rectified by substitution of Caka into Vikrama)

Caka (1012 or 1011)-1089 J. C. 496 Bengali.
 Hamilton
 " 1019 (1097 J. C.) Muditakuvalacjacta;
 Hodgson.

The peculiarities of the date as we have already ascertained do not verify themselves in 811 Caka, either current or lapsed. In the same way in 901 Caka in which the 7th tithi of Shrawan falls either on Monday the 14th July 978 J. C., in the case of the current year or on Friday the 4th July 979 J. C. in the case of the lapsed year. Also again in 1012 Caka current where in the system of genuine intercalations, Shrawan is doubled by intercalation and finds itself in consequence excluded here and in the system of the average intercalations, the 7th tithi of Shrawan clear, is a ksava tithi, annuled and comprised in the interior of Monday the 16th July 1089. Two dates alone conform themselves to the conditions required.

901, Vikrama samvat current-Saturday 7th July 843, naks svati, 1019 Caka lapsed Saturday 18th July 1097, naks svati. Let us sidetrack henceforth the date of Hamilton which can be considered as an accidental interpretation of the date 1019 Caka. If we compare this last date with the two others, it appears that those two are composed of identical elements; 1019 and 901 are various combinations wherein figure 1, 0, 9. One of the two figures 1, which appears in the number 1019 is wanting in 901. The date of 811, compared in 101 knows an 8 substituted to a 9 in appearance but the wavering of the two dates in the current and in the spent year, always admits of an oscillation of unit in the final figure. The dates of the Brahmanic Vamcavali (W), compared to the dates of the Brahmanic Vamcavali (V) regularly present this difference. The date of 1019 implies then as a kind of fatal necessity the parallel date of 1018. Established between these two terms, the comparison shows on either side three identical elements, 1, 1, 8; it is the 0 which is missing in 811. Let us now compare the statement of these dates.

navendukhacandra
9 1 0 1

Induc ca somvasu

1 1 8

Which are read according to the Indian method from right to left: "ankasya vama gatih." By a singularity which does not fail to surprise, the first symbolic word of the second date is isolated, softened and followed by the copulative enclitic "ca" absolutely unexpected in this place. Why this "ca"? The comparison of the first date explains this oddness: indu corresponds to indu (Moon-1); soma (moon) corresponds to its synonym candra; vasu (8) corresponds to "nava" (9); and the rest the unjustifiable "ca" has simply substituted itself to kha (the space - 0). The monosyllable being thus (misrepresented) disguised, the date should be read; 118 Caka (196-97 J.C.), it became inadmissible. These only remained as a last resource to read the number on the wrong side, from left to right, as may the exception (cf. Epigr. Ind., 1, 332, n). The inscription (of Nana minister of Bhojavarman the Candella) was composed by the poet Amara in Vik. 1345, number expressed in figures and in words; the words, contrary to the custom which state the units in the first rank are:

Ksanadeceksanagatacrutibhutasamanvite
samvatsare

1 3 4 5
one has successively

9101 8101 811 811

The date gathered by Kirkpatrick shows the method of alternation in work; one of the two words which designated the Moon (1) has been cancelled either through heedlessness, or a faulty repetition and the number remaining has been in the same manner established on the wrong side.

9101 901 901

22. It is the country of the Carnatique, the name of which comes back so often in

the course of our wars against the English during the XVIIIth century. The country of Karnatak has for clear boundaries; in the north, Bidar, in the centre the States of the Nizam, whence the frontier descends straight to the south towards Bangalore (Mysore) and Coimbatore (near the Malabar) it follows after this the western Ghats as far as the sources of a Kistna, towards Poona, whence it rejoins Bidar.

23. Epigr. Ind., I, 309 (Kielhorn). The misunderstanding of which there is question in the first verse consists of an erroneous analysis of the compound Nanyaviravijayi which the king separates in nanya; he then understands. "You have not vanquished other heroes", whence his anger and his new expeditions.

24. Epigr. Ind., III, 183

25. M. Bendall (Journ. As. Soc. Beng. 1903, p. 18. has reported on a new manuscript dated Samvat 1076, "the Tirhout having for king Ganegya Deva Punyavaloka Somavamcodbhava Gaudadhvaja (maharadhiraja punyavaloka somavamcodbhava gaudadhvaja crimad Gangeya Deva bhujyamana Tirabhuktan). In accepting 1076 as date in Vikrama era (1619 J. C.), M. Bendall concludes with certainty that this prince is identical to the Gangeya Deva the Kalacuri of Cedi, who reigns in 1030 J. C. to the testimony of Albirouni. The Kalacuris are really from Somavamca, but Gangeya Deva is a king really forgotten; the only document which exists of him (dated of Kalacuri 789? - 1013 J. C.) is very close to Reva (Pisvan Rock inscrip; in Acn. Survey XXI, 113) to the south of the Ganges, and far from Tirhout. The titles of the king are foreign to the prototype of the Kalacuris: the titles formed with av-loka seem to characterize the

Rastrakutas (Key, Fleet, Epigr. Ind. VI, 188) Gandadhvaja, if the recital is correct (cf. the expressions Hanumad-dhvaja, Pali-dhvaja, etc.) would indicate a power which would have had for centre the Gauda; Cedi was very far thence and if Karna Deva, the warlike successor of Gangeya Deva, is placed in connection with the Gauda in a posthumous panegyric (1160-1180 J. C.; insc. of Jayasimha Deva at Karambel), it is in a stanza of a literary plays without real importance of the same nature as the verses quoted sup. p. 170. The same date and the same name does not make the same person; key for instance, my observation on Bhoja Deva, sup. p. 192. Other proofs must exist to suppose that the Tirhout had been incorporated in the kingdom of Cedi under Gangeya Deva. Perhaps it is a question of a local branch of the Kalacuris, like that of Gorakhpur of which we have an inscription dated the 24th February 1079 (inscr. of Sodhadava, Epigr; Ind. VII, 85). One of the princes of this small dynasty, Cankara gana, had just won a great victory on the king of Gauda (yene ahra Gaudalaksmi; Another carries a title of the type Rastrakuta: Mugdhatunga.

26. Insc. of Ablur (Fleet), in Epigr. Ind. V, 249 and 257.

27. Insc. of Managoli (Fleet) in Epigr. Ind. V, p. 831.

28. The first example of this alliteration which I know is to be met in the Yacas tilaka of Soma Deva; composed in 950 J. C. Enumerating the ambassadors sent to king Yocodhara, he mentions:

- Kacmirah Kiranathah Ksitipa migamadair esa Nepalapalah (3rd Avasta, p. 470 of the edition of Kavyanala).

29. cf. Foucher; Buddhistic Iconography, p. 19.
30. National Libr. of Paris, B. 286. All the

- detail of the date are verified also included in it, the *naksatra*, which is *Mrgaciras*.
31. Bendall Journ. As Soc. Beng. 1903, p. 7 (wherein Mahadeva is a slip (or the tongue) for Mahadeva).
 32. *Ib.*, p. 23.
 33. *Ib.*, The date: *maghacukla 8 adityavara* (Sunday) does not lend itself to verification, neither in 284 lapsed (Saturday 3rd January 1164) nor in 284 current (Monday 14th January 1163).
 34. (a) *Asia Sahasrika* ed. Raj Mitra. Preface. p. XXIV, n. (recital re-established by M. Bendall). *Yate' bde madanastranagayana* (285) *mase site Phalguna sap-tamyam Bhrguvasare*. But in 285 lapsed (*yate*) the 7 *Phalguna cudi* instead of Friday (*bhrguvasare*) falls on a Tuesday the 14th February 1165. If one takes, contrary to the text the year as current one will have as a connection, Friday 27th February 1194.
(b) *Camb, Add, 1693 Samvat 285 cravana cuklastamyam adityadine*. The exact relation is Sunday 18th (and not 8, Bd) July 1165.
 35. Ms. of the Roy Asiatic Soc of London Samvat 286 *Phalguna cudi ekadacyam adityavara*. The corresponding date is in lapsed years: Sunday 12th February 1166.
 36. Bendall loc. laud p. 24. M. Bendall asks himself if the date of this ms. is expressed in Nepal's era. The verification sidetracks all uncertainties, Samvat 303 *chaitra cudi pancamyam somadine* in Nepal's era, corresponds exactly to Monday the 28th February 1183.
 37. *Ib.*, p. 24.
 38. British Museum or 2279- Bendall Catalogue 550. The date 313 *cviracadha paurnamasi cravana naksatra brhaspativasare* seems absolutely erroneous, whether one takes the current year or the lapsed year, there is no intercalation of *asadha* in 314, as true in the system of the average as it is in the genuine intercalation.
 39. *cf. sup.* 1, p. 54, n. 2.
 40. British Museum or 3345 - Bendall Catalogue 542. The date is very embarrassing; it comprises an intercalary *asadha* which calculation does not justify. M. Kielhorn (ad. loc. laud) proposes as an equivalent Thursday the 11th July 1196.
 41. Bendall. Journ Beng p. 24.
 42. *cf. P. ex.* Atkinson. 'Himalayan Gazetteer' vol. II. S. V. Malla.
 43. Hamilton, p. 271.
 44. *Brhat-Samhita*, V, 38.
 45. Ms. of the Bibl. National, D. 236; p. 59.
 46. Aufrecht, Catal. Codd. Oxon., 148 (b) and 149.
 47. Key sup., p. 87sq.
 48. The Mallakara recalls the enigmatic Turkish *danda* so often mentioned among the taxes without exemption in the inscriptions of Govinda Chandra of Kanang at the epoch of the Musulman invasions (1104-1154). V. p. ex. Ind. Ant., XVIII, 14; Ep. Ind., IV; 104, 107, 111.
 49. Haraprasad Shastri, Report, 1901, p. 5.
 50. P. C. Mukherjea, 'A Report ... on the Antiquities in Tarai, Nepal' Calcutta, 1901, p. 34 This work destined to 'execute' Dr. Fuhrer succeeded rather in having it regretted. The so called drawing of plate XVI does not reveal anything which resembles the inscription published.
 51. Insc. of the Rajsimhecvara (Hultzsch), South-Ind. Inscrps., I, 12.
 52. *Ib.*, I, 29
 53. *Ib.*, II, 342.
 54. Plate from Haiderabad (Fleet), Ind, Ant., VI, 75; XXX, 219. Their absolute authenticity is doubtful; M. Fleet considers them rather like the ancient copy of a genuine original; M. Kielhorn (Gotting. Nachr., 1900, p. 345) has a tendency to consider them authentic.
 55. Balsar grant. Ind Ant., XIII, 75



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ७५
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सम्पादक

जनकलाल शर्मा

Editor

Janak Lal Sharma

NEPAL

(Continued)

—Sylvain Levi

Becoming a common place, name, the word malla did not undoubtedly awake any precise notion, hardly did it still evoke the art of the pugilist, practised as a noble exercise at the court of the kings. But the first one who employed it had to attach to it a more precise value. The Gupta imperialists, at the height of the power loved to recall their consanguinity with the Licc havis; other clans could boast of drawing their nobility from the Mallas. In any case, it is odd, that Nepal here again should have as a pendant, southern India; the first Mallas of India have precisely for capital that town of Kanci, whence the Nepalese legend makes appear one of its first kings, Dharmadatta.

Three manuscripts copied during the reign of Arimalla deva (rajadhiraja paramecvara) give the dates of 322 (1201), Sundav the 27th May, 326 and 336.¹ As if to testify the fickleness of the Malla administration at its outset, a manuscript (British Museum, or 2208; Cat, 512) of 342 is dated during the reign of one Ranacura, completely unknown to all the lists and which however receives the highest imper-

ialist titles: parama bhattaraka maharajadhiraja paramecvara. But the power returns immediately afterwards to Abhaya Malla. The reign of Abhaya Malla (19 years, V.; 48 years; 2 months, K.; 42 years, 6 months, Bd.) is marked by all kinds of calamities; great famine, earthquakes very frequent. Already under Arimalla, the famine had devastated Nepal (K. Bd.).

The dates of the manuscripts copied during his reign are graduated over a duration of about thirty years; 344, 351 (1231),² 358 (1231), 357 (1247), 373.³

The modern chronicles (V. W. Bh) relate that Abhaya Malla had two sons Jayadeva Malla and Ananda Malla. Ananda Malla, younger brother, allowed his elder brother to reign over Kathmandu and Patan and founded for his own account, Bhatgaon and seven other towns Banepur, Panavati, Nala, Dhaukhel, Khadpu, Chaukot and Sanga. All these towns are situated to the East of Bhatgaon, outside the valley. It was also he who established Nepal's era; in short, it was during his reign that Nanya deva would have

invaded and conquered Nepal. It is difficult to understand the reason which led the legend to have connected events which took place, one of them four hundred years and another two hundred years before him. His very name has been falsified, he calls himself in reality Ananda Malla; we do not know lastly if Jayadeva was his brother. Jayadeva had a short reign (2 years and 8 months, Bd., 2 years 7 months, K.). A manuscript of his reign is dated 377 (1257). The country suffered in that epoch with earthquakes which continued during four months beginning from the 7th June 1255. Jayabhima deva is only recorded on Bd.'s list, with a reign of 13 years and 3 months; a manuscript of his reign is dated 380 (Wednesday 2nd April 1260) Jayacaha (or siha) deva, a son of Jagadaneka Malla, reigns 2 years and 7 months (Bd.). Then comes Ananta Malla, son of Rajadeva, born in 366 (Bd) his reign lasted about thirty years (33 years 10 months, K.; 32 years 10 months or 35 years 11 months, Bd.)

The dates of the manuscripts copied during his reign are: 399, 400, 405, 406,⁴ 422.⁵ Bendall records a donation to Pashupati in 417 (Wednesday the 26th June 1297), and perhaps another in 427. K. mentions that "during the reign of this prince, in the Nevar year 408 or Samvat 1344 (1287-1288 J. C.) a great number of Khassias (western tribes) immigrated into Nepal and settled thither; and three years later in Nevar 411, a considerable number of families from Tirhoot also settled thither". Bd. sharply explains the nature of this so-called immigration 'King Khasiya Jayatri invaded the country in 408, in the month of Pausa. The Khasiyas were massacred; those who survived retired (or withdrew) from the country which became

normal again. In the same year, the 13 Phalguna, clear fortnight (the second month after Pausa) Jayatri returned with apparently amicable dispositions, set fire to the village he visited the caitya of Syemgu (Shyambu? Svayambhu) saw the image of Lokecvara (Matsyendra Natha) at Bugama and Pashupati. He returned sane and sound to his kingdom-Samvat 411. Then (the king) of Tirhoot entered into Nepal in samvat 409, in the month of Magha. The modern Vamcavalis relate more or less the same story, and at about the same epoch but in changing the name of the personages. "During the reign of Hari deva, a Magar in the service of the king was expelled from his employment as a result of the machinations of the ministers. The Magar returned to his country and began to boast about Nepal as a land of gold roofs and gold water-pipes. King Mukunda sena, who was brave and powerful, excited by this account, came from the West to Nepal with a number of mounted troops and subdued Hari deva. Of the Nepalese soldiers, some were killed and others fled. The three capitals were completely upset. Through fear of the troops, the people buried their radish, cut the rice, piled and covered it with earth. The victors destroyed and disfigured the images of the gods and sent the Bhairava, placed in front of Matsyendra Natha, to their country, at Palpa and Butwal. The day when Mukunda sena arrived at Patan the Priests were busy celebrating the Snanayatra of Matsyendra Natha. At the sight of the enemies, they fled and left the god in his box. At that moment the five Nagas placed in the gilded canopy above Matsyendra Natha, spread five jets of water on the head of the god. Mukunda sena, seized with respect, threw round the image, the gold chain which adorned the neck of his horse. Matsyendra took it himself,

placed it round the neck. It has ever since remained there.

With this king, the castes Khas and Magar came to Nepal. These people who had without piety committed great sins, and the face of the south (aghora murti) of Pashupati showed its fearful teeth and it sent a divinity named Mahamari (plague) who swept the country of Mukunda sena's soldiers in a fortnight. The king escaped alone towards the east, in the garb of a Sannyasi; thence he proceeded to his country but in reaching Devi-ghat (near Nayakot) he died. It is from that time that the Khas and the Magars came into the country and is ever since then that the people prepare the sinki (fermented radish) and the hakuwa rice". (W.)

King Hari deva is, in the systems of W. and Bh., the last descendant of Nanya deva. He does not figure in any of the other genealogies of the Karnataka dynasty. V. who relates also the invasion of Mukunda sena, places him under the reign of Rama simha deva (of whom Harideva would be the son according to W. and Bh.). The name of Mukunda sena does not provide with a better mark. The chronicle of Palpa, gathered by Hamilton (Hamilton, p. 170), does not date so far back, and in the historical days, several of the kings of Palpa bear this name. But whatever be the authenticity or the solidity of the chronological 'set-up', the details of the account retain all their value; we have before unlike a stylistic image of these invasions which desolate then Nepal, with their suddenness, wildness and the dazed terror of the refined Nevars in the presence of the coarse barbarians projected by the western mountains and the supersti-

tous fright of the conquerors before the consecrated divinities, the disorders, the pillages and the eventual crushing of the enfeebled invaders. Even the date is in conformity to the known facts. The snanayatra is celebrated on the 1st caitra (March-April) badi (Vaicakha badi in the actual computation which is purnimanta); it is on that day that Mukunda sena enters Patan. Jayatri in 408, attempts his first invasion in pausa (November-December) and renews it in phalguna (February-March) in 448, Aditya Malla invades Nepal in phalguna.

The raids of the Khas and the Magars forebode still distant calamities; it is only four and a half centuries that Prithivi Narayan was to lead by the same road his Gurkhas on the conquest of Nepal. The invasion of the King of Tirhoot in 411 bespoke of an imminent peril. Ananta Malla, however did not see it realize itself. The troubled times that followed his reign are almost impenetrable to history; alone the documents of Bd. and the signature of manuscripts give some light. In 438 (Friday 13th March 1318) the day when a scribe of Patan completes his task as a copyist in the monastery of Manigala, the king is Jayananda deva. He has for successor Jaya Rudra Malla, who has for 'associate on the throne' (Samraja) Jayari Malla. After the death of Jaya Rudra Malla, his four spouses ascend the widow's pyre, in 446, asadha, day of full Moon. Nepal had just been subdued to a new master, Harisimha deva.

The descendants of Nanya deva continued since the close of the century, to reign over Tirhoot. In control of the routes allowing access into Nepal, they claimed

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to maintain a sovereignty at least nominal, over the country. Their history is unknown but their names have been preserved. The dynasty of the Mallas after the restoration of Jayasthiti (towards 1380), recognized them as its authentic ancestors, with exception of the indigenous kings. I have already mentioned in connection with Nanya deva, two documents of the XVIIth century, personal works of the two Malla kings which contain a continuous genealogy of the dynasty beginning from Nanya deva. The modern Vamcavalis, heirs to the same tendencies, have represented in the same manner the transmission of the legitimate power. To adapt this conception to the facts, it was necessary for them to upset the real chronology; this is a scruple which does not hinder a Hindu. The indigenous princes, contemporaries of the Karnatakas of Tirhoot, have been carried backwards in the indefinitely elastic past. Ananta Malla the last of the princes who had left a lasting recollection before invasion of Karnataka during the reign of Nanya deva. A fraudulent combination of the real figures has permitted to carry back Ananta (Ananda) Malla and Nanya deva, to the origin of the Nepalese era, towards 880. A tradition that I will soon have to examine fixed the invasion of Harisimha deva in the year 1245 caka or 444 Nevar (1324 J. C.). Nanya deva in this new system, had invaded Nepal in 811 caka. Between Nanya deva and Harisimha deva, there spreads in consequence an interval of 434 years. In this interval, the modern chronicles dispose the five successors of Nanya deva. During the last of them (Harideva or Ramasimha deva), the invasion of the Khas, led by Mukunda sena over-throws the legitimate dynasty. Nepal struggles in anarchy during

seven or eight years. The feudalism cut up to infinity, dominates the country. At Patan each tol (group of houses) had its king. Kathmandu was divided among twelve kings. Bhatgaon had a Thakuri prince. This regime lasts 225 years.

Dynasty of Nanya Deva

H. Hamilton.-P. Inscription of Pratapa Malla (Bh. 18).- M. Mudita Kuvaleyacva.

1. Nanya deva

W. B. V. 50 years 1. Nanya deva P.M.
Nan Deo K.

Nanyop Dev H. 36 years

2. Ganga Dev

W. B. V. 41 years 2. Ganga deva P.M.
Kanuck Deo K.

Gangga dev H. 14 years

3. Nara simha

deva W.B.V. 31 years 3. Nrsimha P.
Nersingh Deo K. Narasimha deva M.

Narasingha
dev H. 52 years (missing in M. ?)

4. Cakti simha

deva V. 39 years 4. Rama simha P.M.
Cakti dev

W. Bh. 39 years

5. Rama simha

deva W.B.V. 58 years 5. Cakti simha P.

(4) Ram Singh Deo K. 5. Bhava simha deva

(4) Ramsingha
dev H. 92 years M.

6. Hari deva

W. Bh. 6. Bhupala simha P.

- (5) Bhad Singh
Deo K.
(5) Sakrasingha
dev H 12 years
(6) Kurm Sing
Deo K.

6. Karma simha
deva M.

The names of the successors of Nanya deva are fairly well established; their order is less certain; in short the year of reigns which are attributed to each one of them vary at random with the documents. Their irreducible divergence does not fail to surprise. The surprise becomes of a different nature if one adds them. The numbers of V. give a total of 219 years; those of H., 226 years. The apparent difference is reduced to zero, because V. alone adds 7 years of anarchy which complete the total: 219-7 V-226 H. And this very total gives too symmetrical a counterpart to the feudal period of 225 years. We grapple here on the fact once again, the procedure of the analysts. The Karnatakas of Tirhoot had reigned for 226 years; at the same time as then the indigenous princes had reigned over Nepal. The two parallel series were divided in two and placed end to end. Motives of positive order have induced us higher up to choose among the diverging dates, the date of 1097 J. C. for the invasion of Nanya deva. Our choice finds here a new justification. From 1097, invasion of Nanya deva to 1324 invasion of Harisimha deva the interval is of 227 years.

All the genealogies are agreed upon to connect by a continuous filiation Harisimha deva to Nanya deva. Pratapa Malla (Bha-

gv. 18) calls him "the crown of the Karnata"; Candecvara who was the minister of Harisimha deva designates his master as "the offspring of the Karnata dynasty" in his two great works, the *Krty-ratna-kara* and the *Krtya-cintamani*. Kirkpatrick records a tradition which also connected to this prince an ancestor named "Bamdeb (Vama deva) of the Suryavamci princes of Ayodhya". Does it concern Vama deva, king of Nepal towards 1080, whom W. designates as "a descendant of a collateral of the Solar Race (Surya Vamca) of the ancient king Amcuvarman. One would believe in this case that Harisimha sought to pass as the legitimate heirs of the indigenous dynasties. Very well informed on the ancestors of Harisimha, the genealogists are even less so on his very father, Hamilton makes him the son of Cakrasimha; Kirkpatrick and Jagaj Jyotir Malla (prologue of *Mudita Kuvalaycva*), of Karmasimha; Pratapa Malla, of Bhupala simha; Micaru micra (who lived in the days of a grand-son of Harisimha), of Bhaveca (identical perhaps to Bhava simha of M).

Harisimha reigned over Tirhoot; his capital was Simraun. The great Brahmanic empires around had disappeared, submerged by the musulmane tidal wave Prithi raja, the hero of the Rajputs and the last rampart of Hindustan, had died in 1192; a year later, Deihi, Kalanjar, Benares, the holy town, fell into the sultan's sway; before 1200 Bengal was reduced as a province of Islam. Being out of the way of the great roads, Tirhoot had saved her independence leaning against the heretical mountain, she kept in a last shelter the old traditions of the

orthodox talents. The minister of Harisimha, Candecvara, presided over the drawing up of two Digests of Hindu law: he extended his devotion so far as to offer his weight of gold to the gods, in the solemn rite, on the banks of the sacred Bagmati, in caka 1236 (1314 J. C.). But in 1321, a military insurrection overthrows the Khiljis from the throne of Deihi; the new sultan, Gheyas u din Tughlak travels all over his vast domains to have the people to recognize the new dynasty. An accident of the route brings him back from Bengal by Tirhoot.⁷ Incapable of resisting, rather than to be subdued to a musulman master. Harisimha fled to Nepal. Tradition has recorded the clear memory of the event.⁸ "In caka 1245, the ninth tithi in the month of Pausa, clear fortnight, a Saturday, Harisimha deva deserting his capital penetrated in the mountain." 1245 caka if it concerns the lapsed year, answers to 1323-24 (and Kirkpatrick says in fact: "or towards the month of December 1323") if it concerns the current year, it answers to 1322-23 J. C. But these two dates are one and the other impossible; the 9 pausa clear would fall in the first case on a Wednesday (7 December 1323) in the second on a Friday (17 December 1322). Another impossibility of fact: Gheyas u din visits Bengal, to the express testimony of the musulman historians in 724-725 hegira (Mahamedan era) or 1324-25 J. C.; he dies by accident at the moment of his triumphant entry into Delhi in February 1325. His passage through Tirhoot is then placed with certainty in the winter of 1324-25. Must it then be necessary to substitute on the traditional stanza on Harisimha, the year 1246 caka lapsed to the year 1245. The verification lead to better

result; the 9 pausa cudi falls on a Tuesday (25th December 1324) one must go as far back as 1247 caka lapsed to obtain the necessary concordance; the 9 pausa cudi falls on a Saturday (14th December 1325). In this case a two years interval separates the date expressed in caka era from the real date. The name difference is observed in another date recorded by the chronicles a century later during the reign of Cyama simha deva. The order of things seem then to be established thus: Towards the close of the winter of 1324, Gheyas u din crosses the Tirhoot; Harisimha escapes; the sultan entrusts administration of the small State to Ahmed khan Harisimha benefits by the warm season to gather a band of partisand and Winter on, once again, he invades Nepal. Had he already exercised thither a real power? Had he already claimed rights over the country, as heir of Nanya deva ? Candecvara, his minister, prides in having "vanquished all the kings of Nepal" but we do not know if the work is anterior to the year 1325.⁹ Nepal became subdued without resisting subjugated less by the weapons of Harisimha deva than by her divine patroness, the goddess Tulaja come with all sorts of adventures from Paradise to Lanka, from Lanka to Ayodhya, from Ayodhya to Simraun. "Such was her influence that the nobles and the people of Bhatgaon peacefully handed the palace to Harisimha" (W). And his expedition records, however the death of the local king, Jayarudra Malla and the suicide of his widows in June 1326. "The goddess Dvimaju gave as a present to Harisimha all the riches she has accumulated since the days of Nanya deva; in return to reward her, the king instituted in her honour an ann-

ual ceremony, the Devali puja" (W).

The conquest of Harisimha did not succeed in assuring Nepal with the stable and peaceful administration. As early as the winter of 448 (1328 J. C.), a king of the Khasiyas, Aditi (Y) Malla, penetrated into Nepal as an invader (Bd). Already perhaps Harisimha had returned to Tirhoot, where the local dynasties issued from him continued to reign for a long time over prosperous principalities and protected with success the literature and the law.¹⁰

The direct descendants of Harisimha are enumerated in the modern chronicles as the legitimate sovereign of Nepal; they form in them together with Harisimha himself, the Suryavamci dynasty of Bhatgaon:

1. Harisimha deva 28 years W.V.
2. Matisimha deva 15 years W.V. Bh.
3. Caktisimha deva 22 years W, 27 years V, 33 years Bh.
4. Cyamasimha deva 15 years W. V. Bh.

The official genealogies of the Malla epigraphy ignore this lineal they pass directly from Harisimha to Yaksa Malla, who reigns a century after him. Kirkpatrick, the lists of Bendall do no more keep an account. In short, among the manuscripts during that period there is not a single one which in the scribe's signature mentions one of these kings. And yet, the modern chronicles are not content with recording their names; they claim to associate with them the memory of events. Of Caktisimha (3) they say that "he then

settled in Palamchok (outside and to the East of the valley, beyond Banepa); thence he despatched presents to China; the Emperor felt so pleased that in return he addressed him a seal which bore engraved the name of Caktisimha, followed by the title of Rama. An official letter accompanied the despatch, in the Chinese year (cinabda) 535." During the reign of Cyamasimha, a dreadful earthquake desolated Nepal. The temple of Matsyendra Natha and other edifices crashed down; an enormous number of inhabitants perished. The disaster occurred on Monday the 12th adhika-bhadrapada cudi, nakshatra Uttara, in N.S. 528."¹¹ Cyamasimha had no male issue, but only a daughter whom he gave in marriage to a descendant of Malla kings and he left the throne to his son-in-law.

No sooner does China enter in scene than the control is easy. The Annals of the Ming, in an extract which I have already reported upon (I, 168) mention in fact the resumption of relations between the Empire of the Centre (Central Empire) and the Himalayan kingdom in the course of the XIVth century. China had taken the first steps; the emperor Hong-won had sent in 1324 a bonze into Nepal to hand-over to the king a seal which conferred on him the official investiture. In return the king of Nepal despatches an ambassador who conveys to the Court "little pagodas of gold the sacred books of the Buddha, renowned horses and the productions of the country". The ambassador reaches the capital in 1337. The king of Nepal was called 'Ma-ta-na lo-mo'. In 1390 a new embassy from Nepal and another again before

1399. The successor of Hong-wou, Young-lo imitates his example and undertakes spontaneously the resumption of relations. In 1409, an embassy from Nepal comes with the tribute. In 1413, the Emperor sends presents "to the new king of Nepal", Cha-ko-sin-ti, who reciprocates in 1414. The Emperor confers on him the title of 'king of Nepal' and orders that a diploma be handed over to him containing this investiture, also a seal in gold and another of silver. There is a new exchange of gifts in 1418. In 1427, the Emperor Hieun-te attempts to renew the tradition; but his offers remain fruitless. No ambassador approached the court again.

King Ma-ta-na lo-mo who reigns over Nepal in 1387 can only be the Matisimha of the modern Vamcavalis, Ma-ta-na implies, it is true an original Madana rather than Mati, in Sanscrit, Madana Simha is if one can say so more likely also than Matisimha; the style Mati seems to have entered the lists by the analogy and neighbourhood of Cakti. The same alternation Madana Simha deva and Cakti Simha deva is found again in another branch of the same family towards the middle of the XVth century.¹² The syllables lo-mo coupled with the name of Ma-ta-na transcribe the title which the Vamcavalis (W.Bh.) give through Rama on their notice on Caktisimha. In both the cases it is Lama that one must re-establish opposite. I have mentioned in my study on Chinese and Tibetan documents, the political reasons which induced the dynasty of the Ming to lavish this title. The emperors of China were attempting at that time to place the universal Buddhism at the disposal of their interests; they believed on the faith of informations gathered that the sovereigns of Nepal were all bonzes (seng); they hoped

to flatter their vanity in qualifying them as 'Lama'. The politeness was not in vain; the Hindus believed they heard Rama and honoured themselves with a name which recalls so many heroic and pious memories.

The first embassy of Ma-ta-na lo-mo arrives in 1387, sixty-two years after the invasion of Harisimha in Nepal. In 1414, Cha-ko-sin-ti is "the new king"; eighty nine years had lapsed since that invasion. Now then the Vamcavalis (W. V. Bh.) give to Harisimha a reigns of 15 years (1325 J.C. + 28 = 1353), thus between 1353 and 1368; Caktisimha then ascends the throne; he governs till 1390 (W), 1390 (V), or 1401 (Bh). The disagreement is manifest; but a serious criticism would not hesitate between the Vamcavalis and the Chinese Annals.

The Vamcavalis themselves betray the artificial of their chronology; they interpret like a so-called "Chinese year" the date of 535, investiture of Caktisimha by the Chinese emperor. The Chinese calendar would be at great loss to explain this date at that period; the calendar of Nepal alone has a knowledge of the case 535 + 880 J. C. = 1415 J. C. The date thus obtained agrees completely with the Annals of Ming. It is in 1414 that Caktisimha announces his accession by a tribute; the Chinese embassy that proceeds to convey to him his royal diploma can not reach Nepal before the following year, 1415 J. C. Once more we perceive on the events the simple procedures of the Vamcavalis; the date of 535 N. S. dates too far back with their system, the reign of Caktisimha; his accession would fall after the earthquake of 528 N. S., which they place during the reign of his successor Cyamasimha. The awkward date is related to a special era and everything is immediately arranged.

One fact exists, positive and certain.

Between 1387 and 1418, the Chinese do not know other kings in Nepal than those descendants of Harisimha. The epoch during which Jaya Sthiti Malla reigns is yet partly at least one of the most glorious among the indigenous princes. It can not be said that the Chinese have allowed themselves to be beguiled by the lying pretensions of the envoys of Simha. Chinese officials have visited in person Nepal and it is on their initiative that relations have been opened and maintained. However strange the combination may appear it must be admitted that the Simhas exercised over Nepal an effective authority, compared with the indigenous princes. Perhaps they reside, at Bhatgaon as is indicated by the Vamcavalis, and left to their vassals the two other capitals. In any case, these modern Vamcavalis, that are willingly excluded today as a trifling quantity, show here the serious and original value of the materials from which they were made.

After the passage of Harisimha the internal history of Nepal is a series of obscure dissensions and revalries. Jayarudra Malla died at the moment of the invasion had left a daughter Sati Nayaka devi, who was made over to the charge to her grandmother Padumalla devi. She was crowned queen and married to Haricandra deva, king of Benares (K.) or simply connected to the king of Benares (Bd.). In both cases the union was honourable. It united the Mallas and the Rajputs of India and particularly the holy sacred town above all in the eyes of the Hindu. Haricandra died poisoned after a few years of marriage. His widow led a rough life, like the fiancee of the king of Garbe. She at first fell in the sway of her husband's brother Gopala deva, who had for ally a Simha prince of Tirhoot of the Karnata clan (Karnata

vamca ja), Jagat'simha kumara. Gopala and Jagat simha took together Bhatgaon and Patan; the throne fell to (devolved) Gopala; but the new king had his head cut off by a servant, undoubtedly too zealous of Jagat simha. Jagat simha gathered together the crown and the widow of his ally. He did not enjoy them long and ended his days in prison. A daughter was born to him from Nayaka devi, Rajalla devi; the mother died during her confinement and the young princess was brought up under the guardianship of her grand-mother, Devala Devi, mother of Jagat simha. In 467 (1347 J. C.) "the consent of the royal households ratified by general approval" (Bd.), called Jaya raja deva to the throne. The two royal households undoubtedly signify the simhas and the Mallas who were struggling for predominance. Jaya raja was the son of Jayananda deva, the successor of Ananda Malla, born on Thursday the 10th March 1317, he was thirty years old then. The manuscripts show that he still reigned in 474 (1353-54 J. C.) and in 476 (-56).¹³ His successor was his son Jayarajuna Malla, whom the scribes designate as the reigning prince beginning from 484 (1363) as late as 1297 caka (1376 J. C., Friday the 22nd February). Towards 503 (1383 J. C.) "the will of the gods dethroned him". Vanquished, he yielded his place to a more fortunate rival, Jaya Sthiti Malla. With this prince there opens a new phase of Nepalese history. The epoch of feudal anarchy is completed; a regular succession of legitimate princes is about to govern henceforth the three capitals.

The real genealogy of Jaya Sthiti has been systematically falsified by his descendants, with the view of connecting by a direct filiation to the household of the Simha. Jaya Sthiti thus becomes the legitimate heir to the throne and especially the authentic off-spring of a Brahmanic dynasty,

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renowned as much for its purity as for its orthodoxy. The prolegue of the Mudita-Kuvalayacva and Kirkpatrick cites the same genealogy :

1. Harisimha deva (Hurr singh deva K.)
2. Vallara simha deva (Bullal singh K.)
3. Deva malla deva (Sri Deo Mull K.)
4. Naga malla deva (Nay mull K.)
5. Acoka mall deva (Assoke mull K.)

The modern chronicles (W. V. Bh) adopt another combination. They take for starting point the last descendant of Harisimha in Nepal. Cyama Simha deva who is posterior in fact to Jaya Sthiti; and they represent the first known ancestor of Jaya Sthiti like the son-in-law of Cyama simha. They thus establish the filiation of Jaya Sthiti:

1. Harisimha deva
4. Cyama sima deva
a daughter married at
5. Jayabhadra malla 15 years
6. Naga malla 15 years
7. Jayajagat malla 11 years
8. Nagendra malla 10 years
9. Ugra malla 15 years
10. Acoka malla 19 years

These ancestors whether real or fictitious are practically unknown. The first list, more likely, turns abruptly after Vallara Simha and suddenly substitutes the Mallas to the Simhas. The name of Ballara or Vallara may be authentic; in the dialectal form of Ballala, it is very much in vogue in the royal families of the Deccan (Yadavas, Cilaharas, Hoysalas) in the course of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries; the carrying of this name into Nepal would only be another indication of the relations already alluded to, between Nepal and Southern India. Naga malla and Acoka malla appear on the two lists. Acoka Malla passes as having reigned over Patan and Bhatgaon.

In fact Jaya Sthiti was well allied with the Simha, but only by matrimony. He had married Rajalla devi, the daughter of Nayaka devi and of Jagat simha and this union recalled several times with a feeling of pride,⁴ designated him as the legitimate heir to the two great royal households. The chronicles give him a reign of 43 years but the positive documents, inscriptions and manuscripts, only cover a space of 14 years, from 500 N. S. (1380 J. C.) to 514 (1394); it is the very period when the court of China exchanges a series of diplomatic curtsies with Ma-ta-na lo-mo. The work accomplished by Jaya Sthiti testifies, however, to the reality and extent of his power; worthy continuator of Harisimha he definitively organised society on the Brahmanic type assisted by Hindu Pandits he fixed in lasting limits the different castes and classes (I, 229 sqq.). He also endowed Nepal with a system of weights and measures (I, 298). Torn by long civil wars, the kingdom seems to revive under the clever protectorship of this prince. He dedicated to Rama a passionate worship, and erected a statue to her, also to Kuca and Lava, the sons of the hero. On the occasion of the birth of his first son, he ordered the representation of the adventures of Rama (Bala-Ramayana). On another ceremony in honour of the heir apparent, a poet of his court composed a drama consecrated to Rama. In the prologue of this drama, Jaya Sthiti receives the title of Bala Narayana; later having reached the imperial power, he retakes on his own account the paternal title: Daitya Narayana (Bhagv. Inscr. 16). This evocation of Narayana may seem natural in Nepal, where Vishnu is especially honoured by that name (I, 366); but at the same epoch the appellations of this type abound around the valley. At Nayakot, a local raja calls himself Vira Narayan-avatamsa (Camb. Add. 1108). In the Tirhoot, the descendants

of Harisimha join nearly all of them, to their names the name of Narayana; Narasimha styles himself Darpa-Narayana; Dhira simha, Hridaya Narayana; Bhairava simha, Hari Narayana. The small dynasty of the simhas of the Champaran follows the same practice; Madan Simha in 1433, styles himself Daitya Narayana, the same as Jaya Sthiti himself. In the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, the royal family of Bihar is a continuous succession of Narayanas : Narayana, Laksmi Narayana, Vira-

Narayana etc. (Bhagv. Insc. 18). All these dynasties radiate around Harisimha; the community of the Birudas marked the community of extraction, Jaya Sthiti did not fail on this occasion to assert a lineage which did him honour. His worship to Rama was undoubtedly inspired by the same pretensions. Besides, Jaya Sthiti is the first to give himself as the favourite of the goddess Manecvari, who remains after him the official protecters of the Mallas.

(To be Continued)

FOOT NOTES

1. Bendall, loc. laud, p. 24. In fact the last of the three dates is positively read on the manuscript (Camb. Add. 1648); 226, to the testimony of Foucher, Studies on Buddhistic Iconography, Paris, 1905, p. 6. But it concerns undoubtedly a particular form of the 3, because the verification of the calculation justifies all the features of the date, nakshatra (vaicakha) included, for the year 336-1216, Thursday 14th January.
2. The date of 351 is supplied to me by a manuscript of the Kalyana samgraha which I brought away from Nepal. Samvat 351 Vaicakha cukla 8 cukra dine Abhayamala devasya. This date corresponds exactly to Friday, 11th April 1231. For the other dates I refer to Bendall's tableau.
3. This date published by Oldenburg, Journ. Roy. As. Soc, 1891, p. 687, is very suspicious. It gives : Samvat 373 margacira cukla divitiyayam cukravasare svatinakasatre (2 margacira cudi, Friday, naks. Svati). Calculated in lapsed years according to the procedure the date of the 2 margacira cudi 373 corresponds to : Tuesday 5th
- November 1252, with Jyestha for naksh. In the current year (against usage), the result is as incongruous; Thursday 16th November 1251, and naksh. Mula. Further the nakshatra Svati is absolutely impossible for the date indicated.
4. This date, given by a ms. of the British Museum (or, 1439, Cat. 440) is in disagreement with the calculation of verification. "Samvat 406 caitra cukla tritiyayam cukravasare krttikanakshatre rajarajadhiraja-paramesvara cri 2 Anantamalladevasya vijayaraje". Then 406, caitra cudi 3 Friday, naks. Krttika. or for the lapsed year, the corresponding day is : Thursday 28th February 1286, naks. Acvini, for the current year, it is : Sunday 11th March 1285, naks. Krttika.
5. The date (Camb. Add. 1306) is completely verified. "netraksavabdhivyutab dake ca samaye radhe cite pakshate/ acayam ca tithau divakaradine vaha- dvisaddaksake/rajye crimad Anantama- llanrpatch". Then, 422, vaicakha cudi 10 Sunday. The corresponding day is : Sunday 8th April 1302.

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6. Introd. to the Vivadacandra mentioned by Aufrecht, Catal. mss. Ox., p. 296.
 7. Kirkpatrick's names by error, instead of Gheyasudin Tughlak, sikandar Lodi (1488-1516). The Buddhistic Vamcavali (W. 177) introduce here the emperor Akbar.

8. banabdhuyugmacaci samvat cakavarse
 5 4 2 1
 pausyasya cuknavami ravisunvare
 tyaktva svapattanapurim Harisimhadevo
 durgeva daivaviparitagirim praveca.

(V.)

9. The date of 1236 caka expressed in the stanza of the signature of the Vivada-ratnakara (6th section of the kṛtya ratnakara, Cat. Ind. Off., p. 413), is exclusively in connection of the ceremony in which Candecvara gave his weight of gold, as M. Eggeling has rightly shown it; is wrong to have applied this date to the setting up of the work itself. The comparison with the parallel stanza of the kṛtya cintamani (ib., p. 511) shows it almost as an evidence. In connection with Nepal, the same stanza presents in the two works a difference which is worth noting. The K ratn (2nd section, Dana see, 3, loc. laud., p. 412) writes:-

Nepalakhilabhumi palajayina dhar-
 mendudugdhabdhina

"(Candecvara has vanished all the kings of Nepal; he is an ocean of milks who gives for the Moon the Law".

The K cint (loc. laud.) write :

Nepalakhilabhumi p alapari-
 khadbarmendudugdhabdhina

"He is the ocean of milk who gives for the Moon and the Law, ditch of protection against the king of Nepal."

If the difference is intentional as it appears to be, the political situation would have changed from one text to another. The Kr r would indicate a purely defensive attitude; the Kr r would mark a victorious offensives.

Nepal reappears in another stanza of the introduction of the Kr cint, but this stanza is a simple literacy game of the type I have already mentioned higher up (p. 170); besides, the passage relative to Nepal seems faulty :

Vangah samjatabhangac caki-
 tattavighat (it) ah Kamarupa virupac
 ... etc.,

One must in short observe that, in the two works, Candecvara designate his master solely as "king of Mithila" (Tirhoot).

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10. Regarding these dynasties of Tirhoot, see; Grierson, Vidyapati and his contemporaries, in Ind. Antiq. XIV, 182-196 and on "some-mediaeval kings of Mithila", ib., XXVIII, 57 sq. and Bendall, Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1903, p. 18 sqq; Jolly, "Recht and Sitte, p. 36.
11. This is the date given by V. But the year 528 of the Nepala samvat either current or lapsed has no intercalation of bhadrapada, whatever be the system of intercalation, average or genuine. There is an intercalary bhadrapada in 531 N.S. lapsed-1409-10 J.C; this year the 12th tithi of the supplementary bhadrapada (adhika) clear fortnight, falls on Monday the 11th August 1410. The Moon enters in the nakshatra Uttara-Asadha 3 hours 36 minutes after the rising of the sun (Kathmandu time). The relation is then perfect.

The difference which separated the date given from the real date is then a matter of three years here. For the invasion of Harisimha, I have already mentioned a difference of two years. The difference of these two differences hold undoubtedly in the place of the months considered in the Nevar calendar. The Nevar year begins with the month of Kartika, which is the 8th month of the Hindu year caitradi; for the months included between caitra and kartika (bhadrapada is in this case), the divergence between the year caitra increases then by by one unit. Otherwise expressed we have :

kartika..	caitra...	bhadrapada..	kartika
N. S. X.....	X.....	X.....	X+1
caka Y.....	Y+1.....	Y+1.....	(Y+1).

The wavering of the computation between the current year and the lapsed year easily ends up in a confusion of this nature if one crosses from one era to another. Kirkpatrick mentions the same wavering of two units for an anterior date of only

twenty-five years to his passage. He gives in fact for 1793, the year of his voyage in Nepal, the equivalence: N.S. 914, commencing the 28th October and on the other hand he places the conquest of Nepal by Prithvi Narayan "in the Nevar year 890 or 888, according to another computation" (p. 268), viz. according to his own account, in 1768 A. D." (p. 270).

12. Bendall, Journ. As. Soc. Beng., 1903, p.20. These princes reign at Champaran, in the Tirhoot; the order of the succession of the names inverse in it. Caktisimha deva is the father, and Madana simha deva, the son.
13. Liebich, Gotting, Nachr, 1895, p. 313. Ms. of the Candravyakarana: samvat 476 Phalguna cukla dacamyam cukravasare ardra naksatre rajadhiraja paramecvaraparamabhattacharaka cri cri Jayaraja devasya vijaraje. The dates corresponds, naks, included, to Friday the 12th February 1356.
14. "Rajalla devi pati", Inscrip. 16 of Bhagvanlal and also in a ms. dated 500 (1380), according to Bendall, 'Journ. As. S c. Beng.', 1903, p. 14.

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प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ७६
असार-साउन २०४०

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सम्पादक

जनकलाल शर्मा

Editor

Janak Lal Sharma

NEPAL

(Continued)

—Sylvain Levi

Jaya Sthiti had three sons from Rajalla *devil*: Dharma Malla, Jyotir Malla and Kirti Malla. They exercised the power together from 1398 to 1400. But between the death of their father and their common accession, the signature of a manuscript reveals in N. S. 516 (1395-96) the reign or the regency of a personage called Jaya Simha Rama. One of the Bendall's documents (V. Bd.) mentions thirty years earlier, in the date of N. S. 486, a personage of the same name (next to) by the side of king Jayarjuna. In 507 (1387), Jayasimha Rama accompanies Jaya Sthiti and his family in the procession of Matsyendra Natha, at Bugama. The term jaya is only title analogous to cri for example, before the personal name. The elements simha and rama necessarily recall the simhas king of the epoch adorned the one and the other with the title of Rama (Lama); Madana Simha Rama and Cakti Simha Rama. The Chinese texts show that these princes exercised an effective power in Nepal; it is not surprising therefore to see them appear in official ceremonies side by side with the indigenous kings or to see one of them occupy the throne during a period of transition.

The three sons of Jaya Sthiti resided at Bhatgaon; they had not then shared them-

ves the kingdom; they governed it in company. Dharma Malla is however, named alone in an inscription of Patan, which gives him the title of Heir-apparent (Yuvaraja) and the function of the reigning prince (vijaya-rajya) at the same time in N. S. 523 (1403)². Eight years later, the younger brother, Jyotir Malla is named alone in the signature of a scribe (Camb. Add. 1649) and he receives the imperial titles. An official inscription (in Pashupati Bhagv. 16) of the following year (15th January 1413) shows in fact Jyotir Malla as the one master of the empire.

His merits justified his success, if one believes the hired panegyrist; the princes of the earth, prostrated in myriads illuminated his feet as rosy as young sprouts; the stuffy of masters such as Canakya the Hindu Machiavel had purified him; the political sciences were deposited in him, like pearls in an ocean. He was a past master in the musical art; Civa had no more fervent devotee and the race of Raghu brightened his forest of lotus under the rays of this unique sun. The whole of his nature leaned towards propitiating the Gods, the Brahmans and the Gurus; the whole of his mind towards acquiring the six philosophical doctrines. All those indeed found in him the "Tree-of Wishes". He recalled the merits of his father to such

an extent that he ended up by being mingled and confused with him. Kirkpatrick who only knows Jaya Sthiti Malla by name (altered by the impression into Jestily Mull) relates that "Jeit Mull (Jyotir Malla) his son began by distributing kingdoms among his soldiers to provide for the maintenance of the army; then he shared out all the remainder of the lands of his kingdom among his subjects and by an addition of kindness he exempted them from the land-tax that was levied before him. He established lawful weights and measures and considerably enlarged the town of Bhatgaon wherein he resided." Inversely, the chronicles (W. V. Bh.) do not name Jyotir Malla; but they give to Jaya Sthiti a reign of 43 years; putting together thus in one total only, the years of the father and those of the sons They cite besides that Jaya Sthiti offered to Pashupati a Kalaca followed with a gift of ten thousand oblations (koty ahuti) on the 10th magha clear, 515. The inscription of Jyotir Malla commemorates the dedication to Pashupati of Kalaca of gold followed with an offering of one hundred thousand oblations on the 13th magaha clear, 533. Did the son follow the father's example or did the Vamcavalis deprive the son for the benefit of the father?

Zealous as he was towards Civa, Jyotir Malla prides himself nevertheless (Bhagv. 16) in having resorted the caitya to Svayambhu and the status of Dharma dhatu Vagicvara on mount Padmacala, close to Syambhu Nath.

There remains a monument of the studies of Jyotir Malla, the Siddhi sara (Camb. Add. 1649). It is a work "which treats on astrology and on favourable seasons" according to the summary analysis of M. Bendall. Apart from the ordinary taste of the

Nepalese for these knowledges so important in the practice of their life, a kind of pre-established harmony of predestination seemed to consecrate Jyotir Malla. "Jyotis" designates in Sanscrit the celestial luminaries. In the first verses of his treaties Jyotir Malla does not fail to outline his name and the subject chose, "King Jyotis, prince Malla, the sage composes the Siddhi sara in order to develop the knowledge of the jyotis."

Jyotir Malla was the contemporary of the last descendants of Hari simha in Nepal: Cakti Simhi deva and Cyamla simha deva. These princes had undoubtedly left him the whole of Nepal, since it is from Palanchok to the east and beyond the valley that Cakti simha deva sent his gifts to the emperor of China.

Jyotir Malla died between 1426 and 1428. He has his eldest son for successor, Yaksa Malla, to whom he had already entrusted while alive the government of Bhatgaon (Bhagv; 16). Yaksa Malla seems to (Kirkpatrick, who names him Ekshah Mull or Kush Mull) "he annexed to his domains, Mourung at the foot of the mountains, Tirhoot and even Gaya. In the west he conquered Gourkha and in the north he captured Sikharjong or Digarchi from the Tibetans. Besides, he subdued the rebellious kings of Patan and Kathmandu". Thus, even after Jaya Sthiti and Jyotir Malla, two out of the three capitals of Nepal still remained more or less independent. Kind to the Brahmans as had been his father and grand-father, he entrusted the religion of Pashupati to the Bhattas who had come from southern India. He erected the temple of Dattatreya in Bhatgaon and surrounded this town with a wall. He died towards 1480 after a reign of about 50 years (43 years. W. V.).

Before dying an untoward kindness or

a delusive prudence had decided him to work on the dismemberment of his empire, he formed four kingdoms, destined to ruin one another. Raya (or Rama) Malla, the eldest of the sons, received Bhatgaon with a territory bordered in the west by the Bagmati, in the east by the town of Sanga, in the north by the town and pass of kurti, in the south by the forest of Medini Mall. Rana Malla, the second, received the principality of Banepa limited in the north by Sangachok, in the west by Sanga in the south by the forest of Medini Mall, in the east by the river Dudh Kusi. But this principality had an ephemeral existence only. At the close of two or three generations, the house of Bhatgaon took possession of Banepa, which it was compelled to yield afterwards to the house of Kathmandu.

Ratna Malla, the third son, received Kathmandu with a principality bordered in the east by the Bagmati, in the west by the Tirsul Ganga, in the north by the mountains of Nilkanth, in the south by the domains of Patan.

Patan would have been according to certain accounts, given by Yaksa Malla to his daughter, with a territory bordered in the south by the forest of Medini Mall, in the west by the mountains of Lama-danda, in the east by the Bagmati and in the north by the kingdom of Kathmandu and was only again separated in the beginning of the XVIIth century to form a kingdom by herself.

Kingdom of Bhatgaon

The history of the first kings of Bhatgaon is only known to us by the meagre account of the Vamcavalis. Raya Malla (or Rama) reigned 15 years; but this number regularly attributed to each one of the successors of Raya Malla to Narendra

Malla, is purely whimsical; positive synchronisms demonstrate its falsity.

Suvarna Malla (or Bhuvana Malla) captured Banepa. Besides Bhatgaon, he possessed in the valley, Timi, Nakdes, Bude, Sanku and Changu.

Prana Malla (15 years, 21 years, V.) reigns at first in company with Jita Malla between 1524 and 1533; then he exercises the power alone.

Vicva Malla (Visnu Malla, V., Bessou Mull, K.) installed Narayanas around Pashupati, after having reported to the king of Kathmandu; he erected a three-storied temple in Dattatreya, gave it lands and handed it over to the Samyasis for whom he built a college (matha). Icangu Narayana was buried alive under a landslide.

Trailokya Malla, also called, Tribhuvana Malla, son of Vicva Malla and Gaggadevi, annexed to his kingdom the possessions of the house of Banepa. The inscriptions of his reign go from 1572 to 1585.

Jagaj Jyotir Malla instituted the procession of the chariot of Adi Bhairava in Bhatgaon and in Timi; one day that he was playing at dice with the goddess Tulaja, there crossed his mind an impure thought and the goddess disappeared. It also happened during his reign that grains of Indian wheat were introduced into the country from the East, mixed with chick-peas (dwarf-peas). The sage and wise men of the kingdom when consulted declared that this grain in question would bring about a famine, and that it was better to return it whence it came. Then toward off the evil presage, homages were paid to the gods and Brahmans were fed. (W.)³

The manuscripts, at the same time as they give precise dates (1617-1633) for this prince, make him know to us more inti-

mately.⁴ Jagat Jyotir Malla, like a true Nepalese was taken up with music dance and the theatre. He increased his efforts to procure himself from Southern India an exemplary of the Samgita candra which treated on all the questions relative to dramatic art; he studied it laboriously in company with a pandit from Tirhoot, Vanga mani and with the help of this learned fellow-labourer, he composed a commentary, the Samgita bhaskara "the sun of the musical art". He also studied the classical work of Bharata on theatrical art. the chapters of the Agni Purana, the treaties (unknown) of Vipra dasa and summed up his studies in the Samgita sara samgraha "the quintessence of the musical arts in a few words. "Music was, besides, a passion of the family. The son of a daughter of Jagaj Jyotir Malla, Ananta, ordered Ghana cyama to compose a commentary on the Hasta muktavali "The necklace of the jewels of the hands" which treats on expressive attituded; the commentary of Ghana cyama was destined for the instruction of Ananta's son.

Jagaj Jyotir Malla did not also neglect the erotic art so important in Sanscrit literature, he selected as a text for his studies the Nagaraka sarvasva "the treasure of urbanities" composed by a Buddhistic monk, Padma cri jhana who had received the lessons of the Brahman Vasudeva; to complete the teaching bequeathed by these two venerable masters, the king composed a commentary of the work.

But Jagaj Jyotir Malla was not satisfied with studying the theory of the theatre; he meant to embody in a work the knowleges he had painfully acquired. In 1628, he composed a drama, the mudita Kuvalayacva, that I have already mentioned several times for the historic references of the prologue.

The piece does not reproduce the classical type of the heroic comedy (nataka) consecrated by Kalidas and Bhavabhuti; it is a kind of opera where the verses alone are fixed; the prose portions are omitted to the improvisation of the authors. The language is neither Sanscrit nor the Pracrit of the grammarians, but the popular language set off with Sanscrit words. The principal elements are the song and the melody. On the following year, in 1629, on the occasion of an eclipse that occurred on the 21st of July, the royal writer played drama of his make, the Hara gauri vivaha "the marriage of Civa and Devi"; it is also a kind of opera, of the same character as the Mudita Kuvalayacva.

Narendra Malla (21 years) is missing in V.

Jagat Prakaca Malla (21 years) prided himself in literature like his contemporary the king of Kathmandu, Pratapa Malla. He composed five hymns in honour of Bhavani and had them engraved on a stone, in 1662. He also composed hymns of Garuda dhvaja, "the god who has Garuda for standard", Vishnu. He styles himself in inscription dated 1667, as "master of arts and of sciences". He built a ghat on the river Hanumati to the east of Bhatgaon and erected several monuments. It was him that father Grueber (sup. 1, 84 and 88) designates in his correspondence, in the name of Varkam.

Jitamitra Malla (21 years) was a great builder of temples and religious edifices. A coin stamped in his name bears the date of 1663, during the life of his father, chronicles related the pious foundations of this king in 1682 and 1683. Jitamitra Malla had composed a drama, the Acva medha nataka, the subject of which he had borrowed

from the Jamini Bharata.

Bhupatindra Malla (34 years) is the author of two of the most beautiful monuments of Bhatgaon: the Darbar (Royal Palace) and the Temple with five storeys. The Darbar which is still in existence has 99 courts; the principal court has a gilded door which all the travellers have celebrated for its wealth and beauty. In idea of the 55 windows of the palace the king has had inserted like a curiosity exposed to the admiration of his subjects, a bit of glass which a Hindu from the plains had offered him as a present. The Darbar was completed in 1697. The five-storeyed Temple was destined to shelter a divinity of Tantrism, that is ever still today not shown to anybody. To stimulate the zeal of the workmen, the king himself gave the example in carrying three bricks; and such was the enthusiasm that in the space of five days all the materials were gathered. The crowning (cudamani) of the temple was placed in position in 1703. The reign of Bhupatindra Malla seems to close in 1721; in the course of that year he still dedicates a bell to Vatsala devi; in 1722 a coin already bears the name of Rana Jit Malla.

The name of Rana Jit Malla is so closely mingled with the events that brought about the Gurhka invasion and conquest, that it is preferable to reserve the account of his reign.

Kingdom of Kathmandu

Ratna Malla, the third son of Yaksa Malla, who received for his share the kingdom of Kathmandu was active, bustling ambitious, without scruples. The legend relates that he plotted a clever ruse to receive from his dying father the mysterious wording of invocation to Tulaja devi, equally reserved to the eldest of the family. Designated to reign over Kathmandu, there still remain-

ed for him to take possession of his throne, if the town had recognised Yaksa Malla as sovereign, twelve Thakuris were thereby the effective rulers, like in the days of Hari simha deva. Ratna Malla did away with them with the help of poison. The Thakuris of Nayakot to affirm their independence, gave out the order to repaint the statue of the goddess Rajjecvari without having previously obtained his sanction; he declared war on them and defeated them in 1491 and to consecrate his triumph he brought away from Nayakot a heap of flowers and fruits which he offered to Pashupati. The Tibetans called Kuku and others again from the country of Deva dharma (Bhutan), attacked him in their turn; but four Brahmans of Tirhoot induced the king of Palpa their disciple, to help Ratna Malla. The Tibetans were beaten till they fled at Kuku-syanajor. The Brahmans were rewarded with Kuku-land donation. Allied with Brahmans the against the aristocracy that weighed upon the indigenous Buddhism, he nominated as a priest to Pashupati a Svamin come from Deccan and named Cekhara-nanda. The Nevans were regulated with secondary employments in the administration of the temple. Pursuing the work of Hindu coalition that was in progress since the invasion of Karnataka, Ratna Malla, on the advice of the svamin whom he had taken for guru pretended to recognise and show in Adi-Buddha a form of Devi.

In possession of the copper mines of Tamba Khani, in the valley of Chitlong in the south of Nepal, Ratna Malla ordered the stamping of "paisas" to replace the ancient coins denominated suki or sukivas which were worth eight times more. The development of transactions imposed undoubtedly the creation of a small coinage.

It was during the reign of Ratna Malla

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that Musulmans were first seen to appear in Nepal.

Ratna Malla died after a long reign (17 years, W. V. B.). He had for successor Amara Malla (47 years, *ib.*). Amara Malla was the suzerain of 26 towns or boroughs: Patan, Bandegaon, Thecho, Harisiddhi, Lubhu, Chapagaon, Phirping, Bogmati, Kholkharā, Panga, Kirtipur, Thankot, Balambu, Sataṅgal, Halchok, Phutam, Dharmasthali, Tokha, Chapaligaon, Lelegram, Chukgram, Gokran, Deo Patan, Nandigram, Namsal, Maligram. His residence was at Kathmandu. He was then in possession of the western half of the valley. Interested in the past he wished to know the origin of the towns of which he was the ruler and ordered the collection of current traditions; unfortunately the papers of the investigation have not reached us.

Amara Malla appears to have been a great amateur of dancing. He instituted or reformed a great number, over the whole stretch of his domains. He also created new chariot processions.

Surya Malla (8 years) took Changu Narayan and Sanku from the king of Bhāṅgaon. Devout adorer of Vajra yogini of Sanku; he went to settle down close to her, in her town and instituted a procession in her honour. He remained six years at Sanku, then returned to Kathmandu, where he died.

Narendra Malla (5 years); two documents drawn his reign bear the date of 653 (1533 J. C.) and of 671 (1551). The first four reigns cover then in reality a space of a little more than half a century.

Mahendra Malla (21 years) has perpetuated his name by his coinage in Nepal and the neighbouring countries. The Vamca-valis related that he went himself to pay

homage to the Emperor of India (Padshah) at Delhi and that he brought him as a gift a full white swan and also falcons. The Emperor was so pleased with the gift that he allowed him to stamp in his name coins called mohar and weighing six masas. History is at least suspicious. The reign of Mahendra Malla falls in fact between 1550 and 1570, in a period when the throne of Delhi is severely shaken. The Moghul Humayoun, beaten at Baxar by the Afghan Sher Khan (1539) flees from India, and his victor takes the imperial crown under the name of Sner Shah (1540-1545); the successors of Sher Shah exhaust themselves in civil war. Hrumayoun returns, retakes Delhi (1555) and dies six months later. His son Akbar is a minor, he only personally exercises the power from 1550 and spends at first seven years in reducing the seditions that have broken out on all sides.

The silver mohars stamped by Mahendra Malla received the name of Mahendra Malli and the coins that all the sovereigns of Nepal continued afterwards to stamp on this type, preserved this name. The value of them is about eight annas; they exactly reproduce the half rupee of the Mohammedans. The silver from which they are made comes from China in ingots that are stamped. The Mahendra Malli constituted a coin easy usage, in the transactions between India and Nepal, since it borrowed the monetary standard of the Mohammedans already accepted all over India. But it particularly owed its success to its adoption by the Tibetans. Tibet, who had no coinage, excepting that which came to her from China, welcomes with satisfaction the Nepalese mohars that still remained the current coinage of the country, they circulate either whole and intact or in fractions carefully cut up in halves, quarters, and eights. Mahendra Malla who had clearly fo-

reseen the profit he would derive from his coinage gave it a character half Nepalese and half Tibetan. According to what Kirkpatrick says, the ancient Mahendra Mallis showed on the obverse a representation of Lhasa and on the reverse the name title and emblems of the sovereign of Kathmandu. But a coin figuring in the Mission Apostolica simply shows on the obverse the effigy of the king and on the reverse a horse turned towards its right the head.⁷ The king of Kathmandu had as a monetary emblem, the sabre; that of Patan, the trident; that of Bhatgaon, the conch.

Mahendra Malla paid a visit to Trailokya Malla, king of Bhatgaon and during his sojourn a desire haunted him to erect to Tulaja devi, in his capital, a temple as beautiful as that Bhatgaon. The choice of a suitable plan prevented him for a long time; at last a Smanyasi came to the help of the architects, and the temple was completed in 1549⁸. It is from that time that authorization was given to build lofty houses in Kathmandu. Mahendra Malla took great pains to induce numerous families into Kathmandu by giving them houses and land.

The son of Mahendra Malla, Sada civa Malla (10 years) made himself unbearable by his luxury and his tyranny. Fond of horses, he quitely allowed the animals of his stable to graze on the crops of his subjects; if he met a pretty girl in a procession he took possession of her. The people at last chased him out with sticks and hammers and he was compelled to take shelter in Bhatgaon. The king of Bhatgaon who was cognisant of his misdeeds, retained him as a prisoner. One bright day, he disappeared with him died out the legitimate dynasty of the Surya Vamcis at Kathmandu.

After the expulsion of Sada civa Malla, Civa simha Malla (25 years) was chosen as king. The Vamcavalis that declare that the dynasty of the Surya Vamcis had died out with Sada civa do nevertheless make of Civa simha a brother of Sada civa. However the Brahmanic Vamcavali gives him the name of Civa simha Malla.

The unlucky Laksmi Nara simha Malla reigned at Kathmandu during the lifetime of his father, if it is true that he built the great wooden shed that owed to the ancient Kantipura its modern name (Katha mandapa, Kath mandao, Kathmadu). The construction of this shed is dated in 715 (1595 A. D.).

Fortunately for him, Laksmi Nara simha Malla had an intelligent and devoted minister in his service, the Kaji Bhim Malla. Bhim Malla took great pains in drawing closer and increasing the relations with the Tibet, where the civil wars turned loose by religious hatreds, offered Nepal a propitious opportunity to extend her influence. Bhima Malla went to Lhasa in person induced the Nevar merchants to settle down thither and concluded a kind of commercial treaty with the Lama. The properties of Nepalese subjects dying in the Tibetan capital were returned to the Nepalese government instead of being confiscated by the Tibetan authority. The legend more taken up with the military glory than with the economical successes has travestied the memory of Bhima Malla. On the road that leads from Nayakot to Gosain Than, near the village of Taria can be seen a natural shelter formed by an overhanging rock; it is the Bhimal Gupta, the grotto of Bhima Malla. While Bhima Malla was leading an army on the conquest of Tibet, a lama let loose by means of a powerful charm a rock of the mountain and allowed it to roll on the Nepalese troop; but Bhima Malla

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had only to raise his hand to stop with a jerk the fall of the rock. The king of Kathmandu owed again to the zest and the skill of minister the acquisition of Kuti which made him master of the most frequented pass. But envy and calumny snatched without difficulty from the feeble Laksmi Nara, a sentence of death, in return for his services, Bhima Malla was handed over to the executioner. His widow ascended the pyre and beyond being swallowed by the flames she flung a dreadful anathema: "May wisdom", she cried, "never inhabit in this Darbar." A little while afterwards the king became insane and the sequel to the curse was recognized. This occurred in 1639. Laksmi Nara simha lived until 1657.

His son, Pratapa Malla called upon to succeed him, exercised the power for 50 years (1639-1689). The Vamcavalis enumerate, with an indefatigable complaisance, the numerous religious foundation of this long reign; but Pratapa Malla was desirous of directly instructing the posterity of his glory and his merits. In spite of the ravages of time, his name arrests the eye at the all the temples of cross-ways of Kathmandu and her neighbourhood, enchased in skillful panegyrics composed by the king himself. If the poetry he courted for half a century was a thing he could hardly master, he at least succeeded in forcing the favours of versification. In other respects, he was an inquisitive mind, sharp, a Paul-Pry and who well deserved to leave in the people's mind the reputation of a magician. It is also related that he knew how to make smile the status of a Bhairava placed in front of the palace and that he even succeeded in making it move its head. An oblong stone inserted in the plinth of the facade still spreads to the passers-by the erudition of this odd pounce and serves to the disconcerted curiosity, a childish enigma

that the legend has not failed to swell. In the seven lines of this documents, Pratapa Mali has given specimens of fifteen writings which he learnt and of which he proudly enumerated the list: Golmol, Parsi, Tirahuti, Ranja, Maghapat, Devanagara, Seyadjaana, Gotriya Arbi, Kayathi, Nagara, Kata, Sava Umeta, Nevara, Kaspiri, Phiringi. The Golmol writing is a decorative modification of the Nagari writing; the Parsi is the Perso-Arabic writing; the Tirahuti is Tirhour; the Kanja is a Nepalese variety of the Nagari. I ignore what the Maghapat stands for and aspect of the characters is not made to clear up the problem; the Deva Nagara is the common writing of Hindustan; Seyala is the name of Tibet in the Never language; the Seyada Jara (Akhar) is the Tibetan writing; the Gotriya is again another modification of the Nagari; the Arbi is the Arabian writing; Kayathi Nagara designates undoubtedly the Nagari employed by the scribes (Kayas'ha, kaith); Kata is the writing of Orisssa; Sava Umeta is as mysterious as the corresponding writing; Nevar is the Nevar writing; Kaspiri is that of Kashmere; Phiringi the European writing (Phiringa, Frank). The specimens of the Phiringi writing, writing traced in beautiful capital letters of the XVIIth century Thakuri; it is probable in fact that the new king was chosen among the Thakuris of Kathmandu who were at least partly Mallas; as an instance we have Bhaskara Malla father of Keca candra who founded the monastery of the pigeon.

Civa Simha was married to Ganga Ranim who has left the memory of an ardent devotion; she was the person who appears to have really governed the affairs. She repaired the temple of Pashupati and installed thither for priests, a svamin from southern India, Nityanand. She connected, so they say, the summit (pinnacle) of

Pashupati to the summit of the palace of Kathmandu with a cloth (a band most likely). Civa Simha, on his side, had taken for spiritual director a Brahman of the Maha rastra (Mahratta country). The dates known of Civa Simha Malla proceed from 1585 to 1614.

Even during his lifetime, the kingdom of Kathmandu had been divided. The second of his sons, Hari Hara Simha, violent and hasty, had expelled from the palace, the eldest son Laksmi Nara Simha Malla, who was obliged to hide in Deo Patan in the house of a washerman. Hari Hara Simha established himself at Patan and took the title of king. He reigned thither since 1603. (see the photograph, I, p. 89), are the words: Automne (Autumn) Winter, L'Hiver (winter), which the cutting of the line and irregularities of the orthography conceal at the first sight (Aviomnewinterhiert). Two of these three words are French. German and English can equally claim the third, strangely framed between the other two. The solution of this little problem will remain uncertain, so long as nothing will be known of the informers of Pratapa Malla. The inscription is dated the 5 Magha clear 774 (Friday the 14th January 1654); it is (save for five days) exactly anterior by eight years to the passage of the Fathers Gruber and Dorville, before them, no European is known to have visited Nepal.

The inscription begins with an invocation of Kalika, followed by a verse written by means of the first fourteen kinds of writings. The Phiringi has not been employed in it; it has been rejected at the end of the inscription, either through disdain, or want of knowing its use. The pious Pratapa Malla may have felt scruples in transacting with the characters of

the most vile barbarians the sacred words of a prayer to goddess Kalika; perhaps also he was badly at a loss to adopt them to the transcription of the Sanscrit; the models were again wanting. However, the European words employed do not seem to have been picked up at random; the inscription is engraved in December-January; the equivocal aspect of the January in Nepal would quite naturally suggest the words "Autumn" and "Winter". The particularities of the astronomical date are minutely stated twice, in Sanscrit literature and in Nevar Sanscrit. It is in Samvat 774 Nevar, in the month of magha in the clear fortnight, the fifth day of Cukra (Venus), in the yoga called Civa, the asterism being Uttarabhadra, which the ornament of the race of the poets the jewel that crowns his hair, the noble Pratapa the king, has written this incomparable phrase. This incomparable phrase I must confess myself unable to decipher. And yet, what a humiliation. "The prince of poets" "the diadem of the literary family" "the Emperor king of kings Pratapa Malla" repeats it twice in the Nevar language as if the Sanscrit refused to lend itself to so much brutality: He who can understand the meaning of this cloka is a doctor: he who is not in position to explain it, his birth is useless; he who cannot expound it, his parents will become aged. He who understands the meaning of these letters, his birth is really useful; I have radically failed in deciphering this obscure language, certainly by the awkwardness of the scribe and crossed over by unknown writings. Another will have the glory and the profit of reading in the scrawl the exact indication of the spot where Pratapa Malla buried four kotis of rupees under the court of Mohan-chok, in the Darbar; because this conjuring language cannot concern anything less short of a hidden

Nepal

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treasure.

Pratapa Malla increased his hymns engraved on stones with an impartial liberality. In 1630, he dedicated one to Svayambhu the stela of it is still intact; in 1654, another to the goddess Guhecvvari which he ended up in discovering, by digging up a deep well on the indications of sorcerer. The steps of the temple erected in front of the Darbar also bear hymns due to royal inspiration. Proud of his talent, he officially took the title of Kavindra "Prince of poets" and tacked it on everywhere to his name, on inscriptions and on coins.

Poetry was with him, only another form of religious exaltation. He spent all the time of his long reign, with combination of divinities and with machination of creeds; he played with the gods as with writings; his syncretism good-natured child agreed with four spiritual directors, a svamin believer in Tantrism, a Brahmin fakcer, a magician, and a Buddhistic priest. The svamin was Hindu from Deccan, Jnanananda, who was nominated priest of Pashupati and who had himself built by the king a house in Deo Patan. The fakcer was a Brahman from Maharashtra, Lamba Karna Bhatta, who obtained from the king as much of the effect of it as possible was attempted to be annulled; Lamba Karna was told to get into a palanquin and they gave him for bearers and servants, lame, blind and paralytic men. The magician, Nara simha Thakura was a Brahman from Tirhoot who knew the wording with which it was possible to master Nara Simha. Lastly the Buddhistic priest called himself Jamana.

A prey to his influence, the king scattered a shower of alms on all concessions. As a young man, he had indulged in de-

bauchery and his concubines numbered then three thousand, he even went to so far as to rape quite a young girl who died of the effects of the sexual embrace. Seized with horror for his crime, he retired in the temple of Pashupati and spent three months in making with his own hands lingas by the myriad. Then, in 758 (Bhagv. 19), he accomplished the rite of the tula-dana which consists in presenting as an offering, a heap of silver, precious stones, gold and pearls equal in weight to that of the donor himself and he further added to it a gift of one hundred horses. He ordered the erection of lingas at every step all along the route between Kathmandu and Pashupati, and did, like his grand-mother at one time Ganga Rani, help to connect by a thread, the pinnacle of the temple to that of the palace. To avoid the evil spirits, the witches, the epidemics, especially the small pox, always so feared, he erected at the gate of the Darbar a statue of Hanuman, the epic monkey. He brought water from Buddha-Nilkanth to a tank in the interior of the palace and laid down the rule that the kings of Nepal should never more take in person their homages to Buddha-Nilkanth; otherwise their doom was sealed. He dug the pretty basin of the Rani Pokhari, east of Kathmandu, in honour of a Rani and built in the centre of it a temple wherein he sheltered the divinity and his family. Towards 1670, he offered to Svayambhu Natha the great vajra that can be seen at the entrance of the sacred plateau.

This peaceful raja and studious man was compelled however, to declare war. Before 1649, he had taken or retaken from the Tibetans Kuti, Khasakira, compelled the king of Bhatgaon Narendra Malla to offer him an elephant as a tribute, vanquished the king of Gorkha Dambara Caha (1633-1642), captured from Siddhi Nrsimha of

Patan several of his fortresses (Bhagv. 18). In 1658, he was obliged to sustain the attack of the kings of Patan and Bhatgaon allied against him, in 1660, the war renewed; but the king of Patan Cri Nivasa Malla, had changed over sides and supported Pratapa Malla, vanquished in a series of encounters, Jagat Prakaca of Bhatgaon was compelled to ask for peace in the January of 1662. The two Jesuits Grueber and Dorville were crossing Nepal at that time; they witnessed one of the last engagements and their intervention even contributed to the success; the small telescope (spy-glass) they lent the king of Patan permitted him to recognize the positions behind which the king of Bhatgaon had concealed himself.

Pratapa Malla had taken two royal spouses: one of them Rupamati was from the family of the kings of Bihar; she was the daughter of Vira Narayana, granddaughter of Laksmi Narayana. The formation of these names denote authentic or so-called descendants of Hari simha dev. The queen, Rajmati belonged to the Karnata family, the race of Nanya deva and of Hari simha deva⁹.

These two spouses had four sons: Parthivendra, Nripendra, Mahapatindra and Cakravartindra. On the advice of svamin Jnanananda he entrusted them successively with the royalty during one year, beginning from 1665. But the fourth, Cakravartindra, died after one day's reign only (1669); they incriminated the svamin who had chosen a combination of evil auguries for the coinage of this prince; he had been in the wrong for having associated the coins with the camara (fly-flap), with the kamala (lotus), with the ankuca (elephant driver's hook), with the pava (knot) the bow and arrow (banastra),

which presage death¹⁰. The alternation was to continue among the other three: a coin in the name of Nripendra bears the date of 1679; another, in the name of Bhupalendra the date of 1682¹¹.

Pratapa Malla had his third son for successor, Mahindra (Mahipatindra) Malla (1689-1694) who nominated the svamin Vimalananda, priest of Pashupati and instituted the procession of Cveta Vinayaka, the organization of which he entrusted to the Banras of Chabani; they were also entrusted with the funds of the procession.

Bhaskara Malla (1694-1702) was only fourteen years old when he became king; spoiled by the society of women wherein he confined himself, he did not fear, in the year 1700 (in which the acvina month was redoubled by intercalation), to celebrate the feast of Dasain during the intercalary month. To punish him for this derogation plague broke out. The symptom of the ailment was a pain in the head, near the ear; and death intervened on the spot. The number of deaths eventually rose to between 80 and 100 a day. Through precaution, the king was held closed up with two wives, a servant and provisions. At the end of six months, impatient by this cloister-like seclusion the king jumped out through the window and ran to the Darbar. He died that same night.

The king left no heir; the queens before ascending the pyre, gave the crown to a distant parent of the royal family, Jagaj Jaya Malla, who took the title of Mahipatindra. Jagaj Jaya had already two sons, Rajendra prakaca and Jaya prakaca; three more were born to him; Rajya prakaca, Narendra prakaca and Candra prakaca. In 1711, eldest, Rajendra prakaca died. Jagaj Jaya was desirous of

nominating his second son as heir, Jaya prakaca; but the khas soldiers whom he employed in his service refused this choice and claimed to impose Rajya prakaca, because he was the eldest of the sons born in the palace. These court disagreements favoured the progress of Gurkhas who were then pushing their conquest into Nepal. The Malla kingdom of Kathmandu had not long to live when Jagaj Jaya Malla died in 1732.

Kingdom of Patan

The founder of the Patan dynasty is Harihara Simha Malla, son of Civa Simha Malla, king of Kathmandu; Harihara Simha occupied the throne of Patan during the lifetime of his father; he was installed on it since 1603. He pretended that he owed his promotion to the protection of the Bhairava Panca Linga.

His son Siddhi Nara Simha (or Nr. Simha) Malla reigned for about forty years (thereabout of 1620 to 1657). His person and reign are veiled by the tradition of a cloud of melancholy and divine mystery. It was said of him that he was conceived whilst his father was living in a pious refuge in Pashupati and that he was born in a propitious hour. His father, to feast his birth, had dedicated the village of Bhu'u and had had engraved in commemoration an inscription on copper. Siddhi Nara Simha had dedicated himself to the worship of Kṛṣṇa, but to honour this god of grace and love he underwent terrible austerities. He slept on bare stone, spent his days in prayer and subjected himself to the diet of the Candrayana, regulated on the phases of the Moon; on the day of the new moon he only took for food, a handful of rice, gradually increased it till the full Moon, then decreased his portion by degrees. In

1652, he entrusted the public affairs to a regent and undertook a pilgrimage but events recalled him soon. Ever since, the disquieting presages increase in number; the procession of the chariot of Matsyendra Nath has remained famous by its accidents that delayed it; the journey was prolonged for nearly three months and it was given up to complete it regularly. At the same epoch, the perspiration poured off the face of Ganeca for fifteen days; in 1656, the lightning struck the temple of Matsyendra Nath; a little afterwards, during the procession of the divinity, a child of six months sat on the chariot and pronounced these words: "come, king Siddhi Nara Simha. I am not pleased to see you build so high a temple." The king did not go to the appeal. "It's all right," added the child, "I shall not speak anymore." In 1657, Siddhi Nara Simha disappeared, it was thought that he had gone to Benares as a wandering religious man. The Brahmans celebrated his memory by these verses: "Siddhi Nara Simha, the omniscient, has reached salvation alive, because he had triumphed over the senses; he was the friend of Madhava (Kṛṣṇa), the devotee of Sri (Radha), prince of the Yogis, the prince of poets, generous and disinterested, this son of Hari Simha. Whoever recites this eulogy is liberated from all sin".¹²

This mystic prince did not, however, neglect the administration of public affairs. He appears to have concentrated a good part of his energy in introducing order in the dangerous anarchy of the Buddhist monasteries. In order to check their rival pretensions, he distributed among them, ranks of precedence; he imposed on them a central organization, a common representation, rules of civil discipline. As the relations with Tibet were increasing,

he busied himself with instituting rites of purification for the merchants returning from Lhasa. The population of Patan had decreased, he attracted new inhabitants. He opened new professions to the Banras.

The Brahmans experienced on several occasions the beneficial fervour of his devotion. In 1637, on the occasion of the inauguration of the temple of Krsna and Radha at Patan he offered to the priests two hundred mohars of gold daily for forty days, to the Brahmans he offered "a mountain of rice" "a tree of wishes", food and other gifts. In 1647, on the occasion of a restoration of the time stroke musical or season of Degutale, he distributed a mohar to each Brahman; and in the same year in connection with some other ceremony, he renewed this generosity. In 1649 he distributed 250,000 pounds (lbs) of rice to the Brahmans (Nevars) and the beggars came from all sides for the alms.

He was obliged to struggle against his neighbours of Bhatgaon and Kathmandu; in 1637, he won a success over his enemies on the very day when he was dedicating a temple to Krsna and Radha; in 1652 hostilities broke out afresh.

The son of Siddhi Nara Simha, Cri Nivasa Malla continued to wage war first (1658) in the character of an ally to the king of Bhatgaon Jagat Prakaca Malla against the king of Kathmandu, Pratapa Malla; then by a sudden transfer, Pratapa and his rival of the day before Cri Nivasa became friends again; they exchanged a vow of friendship on the Harivamca, on a Nepalese knife (Khukuri).

In December 1659, Jagat Prakaca captured by surprise an enemy post at the foot of Changu, beheaded eight men, brought back twenty one prisoners and the next day sacrific-

ed them to the divinities. The troops of Kathmandu and Patan united, avenged this disaster; they captured Bundegram, Champa, Chorपुरi, Nadesgaon; the 19th January 1662, Timi was occupied. The fathers Gruber and Doville were then in the camp of Cri Nivasa "who was a well-made young prince"; they took him for a brother of Pratapa Malla. The 20th January, Cri Nivasa entered in his capital as a conqueror. In 1667, he built the temple of Bhimsena and repaired the temple of Matsyendra Natha.

The exalted and sad piety of Yoga Narendra Malla (1680-1700) and also his mysterious end recall his grand-father Siddhi Nara Simha. He displayed great zeal to Matsyendra Natha, erected the Mani mandapa in his honour and gave him lands. But he had the imprudence of allowing the king of Bhatgaon, Bhupatindra Malla, this indefatigable builder, to erect a temple in Patan, south of the Darbar, this was a perfidious trap of the king of Bhatgaon, who reckoned by this means to destroy the posterity of his neighbour. He succeeded to his object. Siddhi Nara Simha, the heir apparent to the throne of Patan, died young and Yoga Narendra, overwhelmed with sorrow, departed the world. Before disappearing, he gave his supreme instructions to his minister; so long as the face of the statue remains clear and bright so long as the bird on his head does not fly away, it will be known by these signs that he was still alive; thus it is that every evening those concerned continue to place a mattress in a hall on the facade of the Darbar, and leave open the window while waiting for the return of Yoga Narendra. But an inscription of Yogamati, daughter of Yoga Narendra (Bhagv. 22) dated of 1723 contradicts the legend according to

this testimony worthy of faith, Yoga Narendra had retired in the temple of Changu Narayana where he died, followed by his twenty wives on the pyre.

The Buddhistic Vamcavali places next, Mahipatindra or Mahindra Simha Malla, king of Kathmandu who would have united the two crowns until his death, in 1722. The Brahmanic Vamcavali does not name him. A coin dated 1709 bears, in fact, the name of Jaya vira Mahindra; two coins of 1711 and 1715 are stamped in the name of Mahindra Simha deva. But Mahendra Malla of Kathmandu was dead in 1694 and Jagaj Jaya Malla of Kathmandu was took the title of Mahipatindra, dies in 1732. Mahipatindra is followed (in the Buddhistic Vamcavali only) by Jaya Yoga Prakaca, whose name can be seen on a coin of doubtful date, perhaps of 1722. In 1723 Jaya Yoga Prakaca made the offering of ten thousand oblations.

After Visnu Malla a son of a daughter of Yoga Narendra, was elected king. He reign lasted 19 years, according to the Brahmanic Vamcavali (1723-1742). He built a new Darbar, avoided a threatening draught by the rites that Canti kara had taught Guna Kama Deva at one time, offered in 1737 a large bell to the goddess Tulaja, adopted Brahmins for his sons, distributed to them lands and nominated as his successor Rajya Prakaca, son of Jagaj Jaya Malla, king of Kathmandu.

Prithi Narayan and The Gurkha Dynasty

When Prithi Narayan (Prithi Narayana) ascended the Gurkha throne in 1742, at the age of twelve, his small principality was quite insignificant in the vast stretch of the Nepalese empire. His capital was a

borough of eight to ten thousand souls, at about sixty miles distant to Kathmandu on the hardly recognisable road that led from the central valley to the Western frontier. The sovereign of Gurkha was one of the twenty four petty kings of so-called Rajput origin, who formed in the basin of the seven Gandakis, a king of confederacy, presided over by the rajah of Yumila. Each one of them addressed yearly to this rajah an embassy with presents; each new prince asked him for the investiture, symbolised by the impression of the finger on the forehead (tika); in short, in case of conflict the role of mediator naturally devolved on him.

The kings of Gurkha, like all good families, from the mountain, prided themselves in having for ancestor a Rajput of Chitor, escaped from the disaster where so many noble Hindu had perished. I have already cited (I, 254) their origin as far as Dravya Sah (1559-1570). Among the successors of this king, Rama Sah (1606-1633) has left the memory of a legislator; his heir Dambara Sah (1633-1642) had always a row to pluck with the king of Kathmandu, Pratapa Malla who boasts of having beaten him. The father of Prithi Narayan, Nara Bhupala Sah (1716-1742) attempted to no avail, the enterprise in which his son was destined to succeed. He thought of taking advantage of the rivalries and dissensions that enfeebled Nepal in order to capture the country and crossed the Tirsul Gandak; but the autonomous Thakurs of Nayakot, the Vaicya rajs barred his progress; he was forced to fall back.

Nara Bhupala Sah had two wives, the eldest became pregnant. The younger, one night, dreamt that she was swallowing the sun; no sooner did she awake then she

related it to the king. He replied to her with offensive words, so much so that she could not sleep again until dawn. The Sun once arisen, the king gave the meaning of his brutal behaviour; such a dream certainly pretended the expansion of the kingdom; but followed with another sleep it would lose its efficacy. Indeed, the young queen conceived in her turn and seven months later she gave birth to a son who became Prithi Narayan.

The legend has surrounded with a miraculous halo the birth and first year of the Gurkha hero;¹³ it relates again for instance, the dream of this Nevar peasant (I, 352) to whom Matsyendra Natha announced in a dream the approaching arrival of the Gurkha conquerors. In fact, evident signs presaged the imminent close of the three Malla kingdoms. The reigning sovereigns, Rana Jit at Bhatgaon, Jaya Prakaca at Kathmandu, were undoubtedly not without merit. Rana Jit was intelligent and economical, derived a large profit from the coinage which he supplied to Tibet; he loved rareties and curiosities. Jaya Prakaca was active, courageous energetic. But their wills were spent on worthless dissensions. Rana Jit learns that Jaya Prakaca has erected a monolithic pillar in his capital, he asks him for his workmen to erect a similar one in Bhatgaon. Jaya prakaca does not refuse, but on his instigation, the workmen arrange it for the work to progress badly; they dropped the pillar which breaks into three pieces. On another occasion, it is Rana Jit who shows his pleasure in learning that Jaya Prakaca had lost his son; he keeps as prisoners the people of Kathmandu, who had come to Bhatgaon to assist at a procession, "because they are too proud of their dresses". Jaya Prakaca, in return, imprisons the subjects of Rana Jit who had come

to Pashupati.

In the interior of each darbar, the intrigues increase in the dark and are unravelled in crimes. To seven illegitimate sons of Rana Jit, "the sat Bahalyas", conspire against prince Vira Nara Simha the heir apparent to the crown, and provoke his death by a kind of foulplay. At Kathmandu Jaya Prakaca takes the crown bequeathed to him by his father, in spite of the oppositions of the khas soldiers who support the pretensions of Rajya Prakaca; he sends his father into exile who eventually goes to reign and die at Patan; But his arrogance estranges the officials of the Darbar (Tharis); they remove Narendra Prakaca, the last of the three brothers, take him to Deo Patan and proclaim him king of the five towns: Sanku, Changu, Gokaran, Nandigram and Deo Patan.

At the end of four months, Jaya Prakaca subdues the rebels and the small fallen king goes and dies in Bhatgaon. The Tharis humbled and cruelly punished take their revenge; with the complicity of queen Dayavati, they proclaim as king the son of Jaya Prakaca, Jyotih Prakaca is compelled to flee, continuously hunted from shelter to shelter, from Kathmandu to Mata Tirtha, from Mata Tirtha to Godavery, from Godavery to Gokarnecvara and lastly to Guhyecvari after two and a half years of anxious chase, a devotee hands him a miraculous sword. He throws himself on Kathmandu, under the partisans of his son, retakes the power and revenge himself by torments. His patient rancour spies upon his rivals; he waits eight years to revenge himself on Thapa whom he accuses with having disordered to hand over Nayakot to Prithi Narayan; he dedicates himself to the hatred of that powerful household.

In Patan the secular struggles between the aristocracy and the royal power end in permanent anarchy. Vishnu Malla adopts for heir Rajya Prakaca, the brother and the unlucky rival of Jaya Prakaca. But Rajya Prakaca is a benign devotee, who spends his days in worshipping Vishnu manifested in the shellwork caligrama. The six sheriffs (pradhanas) gouge his eyes out (1754); soon after he died. Rana Jit of Bhatgaon is requested to take the crown, but he displeases his electors who rudely dismiss him after a year, (1754-1755). Jaya Prakaca is next solicited (1755-1757); but his character of an authoritative kind renders him intolerable; after one year, Patan is once again separated from Kathmandu. The sheriffs appoint a grand-son of Vishnu Malla, Vicvajit Malla (1757-1761). He holds his position for four years. His electors then finding him a nuisance, accuse him of adultery and kill him at the gate of his palace. The queen who assists at the murder, calls in vain for help and asks the god not to succour Patan in her hour of distress.

The sheriffs then throw their choice on Prithi Narayan, who had already become famous by his wars, and who seems little dangerous by virtue of his remoteness. Prithi Narayan after deliberating over the affair, refuses but proposes his own brother, Dala Mardana Sah (1761-1765) to replace him. Dala Mardana Sah accepted at first as lieutenant of the Gurkha king is afterwards proclaimed king of Patan to check the growing ambition of Prithi Narayan. At the end of four years, he is deposed and the nobles elect "a poor man of Patan, who descended from the royal household" Tejo Nara Simha Malla, the last of the Patan kings (1765-1768).

The king of religious fermentation

accompanies as is usual these political troubles. The Buddhistic Vamcavali cites the singular story of a Buddhist, the gubharaji Codhana of the monastery of Bu Bahal who attempted a veritable revolution; every morning he proceeded to the temple of Vaisnavi, escorted by twenty or thirty companions. One bright day he overtakes by surprise a Samnyasi who had just sacrificed a human victim and was busy preparing the magical ointment. At the sight of the troop the Samnyas fled; Codhana takes his place and continues the operation. He completes it and distributes the magical ointment to his companions, thereby enslaving them to his empire. They proceed together to dwell in a house of the Nakavihara; Codhana, by suggestion, transforms each one of his acolytes into a god; then he exhorts the people to desert the temples and worship the gods manifested in his house. His audacity goes so far as to receive from the temple, the attribute of the divinities. At last Jaya Prakaca intervened; he stops the sacrileges and orders to have them offered one by one in sacrifice to the divinities whom they claimed to respectively incarnate.

Is it essential to realise with M. Wright, the memory, rather travestied of a persecution against the Christians of Patan? The hypothesis is little probable because the missionaries do not make any allusion to persecutions exercised against them. I rather believe it to be a result of the prediction of the Capuchin friars; to see them win over proselytes. Codhana and his companions may have been in a position to understand that the business was lucrative. Since 1715 (I, 101 sqq); the Capuchins were established in Nepal they had at first founded a monastery at Kathmandu; then to escape the vexations of the Brahmans, they had shifted to Bhatgaon, which they

took for central seat in 1722. Soon they acquired a house in Patan. In 1734, the unfortunate Rajya Prakaca in the course of his ephemeral reign gave them a plot of ground; in 1742, Jaya Prakaca had conceded them some land in Kathmandu, and in 1741, Ranajit had given a decree in their favour. The proselytes were hardly coming; but the presence of these strangers, who spoke of nations, dogmas and of unknown gods, awakened in the minds the taste and expectation of novelties.

Prithi Narayan was a man to take advantage of circumstances. He coupled to an insatiable ambition a pertinacity that nothing tired; he saw clearly, decided quickly, acted with sang-froid; he rewarded liberally the services rendered and punished resistants with savage cruelty; the religion, the gods, the priests were only in his eyes instruments of domination placed at the service of his will.

His first acts displayed the vigour of his temperament. While quite young yet, he goes piously to Benares to make his devotions. At the gates of the town, the receivers of the town-dues (Chauki) fail to pay him respects, he kills them. The police informed, began to search for him, he hides himself, wins by cajoleries and promises a religious mendicant (Vairagi). Disguised as a disciple, he comes out of the town with the holy man who takes him to Palpa, where reigns a cousin of the Gurkha prince, Mukunda Sena welcomes the young prince affectionately and has him led back to Gurkha. Prithi Narayan, once installed on the throne had nothing more in earnest than to conquer and annex three small principalities which had been until then vassals of Palpa. The vairagi, later knew by his experience the ingratitude of his

obligers: informed of the successes of Prithi Narayan in Nepal, he hastens thither at the head of a troop of 500 men, all of them mendicants and religious vagabonds, impatient, for the scramble, he claims his share. Prithi Narayan recognises the promises made, but declares them void, as having been wrested from him by danger. The Vairagi, who refuses to be duped calls his company to help and pretends to have himself paid by force. Prithi Narayan had them arrested, and submits to persecution the leader and the apostates. Wise observer and patient, he does not hesitate to present himself as a guest in the house of whom he had already selected for victims. Thus it is that he proceeds to Bhatgaon, where Rana Jit Malla receives him with a paternal kindness, and installs him as an intimate friend near his son Vira Nara Simha. Prithi Narayan secretly sows the seeds of discord, excites the "sat Bahalyas" against their father and against the legitimate heir to the crown, and plots the intrigues that end in the ruin of Rana Jit.

Prithi Narayan to train his troops wages war at first around his feudal castles. The successes of the company in Bengal have taught him the value of fire weapons and the utility of military discipline. Soon he believes himself strong enough to capture Nayakot, the key of the road that led to Nepal. Jaya Prakaca hastens from Kathmandu and repulses him. He awaits for a more favourable opportunity and scours the valley; he has married the daughter of a petty king of the same blood as his, but installed on the boundaries of the Kirata country, to the East of Nepal, between the Kusi and the Karnali. His father-in-law dies leaving his domains to an insignificant son. Prithi Narayan wins over the

army to his side, appears one bright day, confiscates the power and carries away his brother-in-law in captivity (1761). Father Ginseppe who assisted to the conquest of Nepal and who followed the doings of the Gurkha since 1764 has shown very well the manoeuvres that ended in his triumph: "The king of Gorch'a (Gurkha), at one time subdued to Gain prejas (Jaya Prakaca), taking advantage of the dissensions among the other kings of Nepal, induced several high-land leaders to throw in their lot with him, promising them to retain their kingdom and thereby increase their importance and authority. When any of them failed to keep their engagements, he captured their domains, as he had done with those of the kings of Marecadjis, although he was connected to them".

The king of Bhatgaon exasperated against his rival Jaya Prakaca, king of Kathmandu, calls Prithi Narayan to his help. Prithi Narayan seized the opport-

unity to intervene. He captured Nayakot and entered the great valley, where he besieges Kirtipur one league to the South-West of Kathmandu. He wished to measure his strength before attacking the capitals. Kirtipur had "eight thousand houses" (Ginseppe), a little less than half of Kathmandu. Perched on an almost perpendicular plateau, she was almost impregnable. The king of Patan, suzerain of Kirtipur does not act, but Jaya Prakaca rushes with his usual impetuosity, engages a battle and wins a complete victory. A brother of the Gurkha king was killed on the battle field; Prithi Narayan narrowly escaped death. A soldier of Jaya Prakaca had already raised his sword to slay him when a comrade imbued with Hindu doctrines, cried out: "He is a king. He must not be killed." He owed his escape to two men of low caste, a Duan and a Kasai, who carried him as far as Nayakot in one night.

(To be continued)

FOOT NOTES

1. All the kings are glorified in an inscription (date obliterated) which I picked up at Deo Patan and which commemorates the establishment of a fountain in memory of their mother.
2. Bendall, Journ. As. Soc. Beng., 1903, p. 15. The Devanagiri text printed with the note 2 gives 513 and not 523. But the verification shows that it really concerns "Wednesday the 18th May 1403", which gives the exact harmony of the day of the week, of the nakasatra (Revati) and of the Yoga (Ayusmat) of vaicaka badi 10. N. S. 523.
3. This account of the Buddhistic Vamcavali is the captivating counterpart of an

account by Hiouen-tsang. The Chinese pilgrim, in order to cross the Indus in returning towards China, had laden a boat with the manuscripts and rare seed of flowers which he was bringing away from India. But a storm arose and the boat was so violently shaken that fifty manuscripts and all the seeds were lost. The king of Kapica went himself to meet Hiouen-tsang on the banks of the river, and said to him: "I have learnt venerable master, that in the middle of the stream you have lost many sacred books. Were you not also bringing away seeds of flowers and of fruits from India?";- "I was bringing away in fact",

- he replied. "This has been", added the king, "the sole cause of the misfortune that befell you. Ever since antiffuity up to our present days, such has been the fate of persons who had wished to cross the river with a collection of seeds of flowers and fruits." (Life of Hiouen-tsang, trans. St. Julien, p. 263.)
4. On these works of Jyotir Malla, see, Haraprasad, Report, 1901, p. 10 and 11, II.-16.
 5. Analyzed in the Katalog der Bibliothek der Deutscheu Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Vol. II; ms. no. 6.
 6. Cambridge, Add. 1695.
 7. Mission Apostolica tibetano-seraphica... p. 202.
 8. The date supplied by W and V is doubly impossible. Mahendra Malla ascends the throne after 1551, and furthermore for 1549 the 5th Magha clear would give the Friday (and not the Monday) 4th January.
 9. An inscription dated N. S. 777, 1657 A.D., and which commemorates the installation of a Vicvarupa by Pratapa Malla, names the second Lalamati, and mentions thus her genealogy: Simha Narayana, king of Bhagavati pura- Vagha Narayan- Padma Narayana, Laksmi Narayana, Bhavana Narayana, Jiva Narayana, Kirti Narayana, father of Lalamati.
 10. According to Wright (220, n. 1) these coins are sought for which have become very rare, for the purpose of a magical remedy. The water in which they are soaked acquire the property of assuring a rapid confinement. The same virtue is attributed to the sword which has killed the man.
 11. The ms. Add. 1475 written in 1682 gives for king, Prithivindra Malla.
 12. I reproduce these verses, preserved in the Vamcavalis (W. V.) and which show the nature of the documents on which the author of these chronicles base themselves:
 Siddhi Narasimhah sarvajno jivanmukto
 jitendriyah
 madhavapriyah cribhaktto yogicvarah
 kavicvarah
 virakto bhavati tyagi Harisimhasya
 nandanah
 ity akhyanam pathan nityam sarvaih
 papaih pramucyate
 13. The Sanscrit epopee has taken it up. There exists in the Library of the Darbar, at Kathmandu, poem of Lalita Vallabha, the Bhakta Vijaya Kavya which deals the conquests of Prithi Narayana (Haraprasad, Report, 1901. p. 18).



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ७७

भाद्र-शरद्विन २०४०

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक

जनकलाल शर्मा

Editor

Janak Lal Sharma

NEPAL

(Continued)

— Sylvain Levi

The suspicious and brutal character of Jaya Prakaca deprived him of the fruits of victory. The people of Kirtipur asked him to become their king; the nobles chosen to settle the affair with him gathered together on his invitation. He arrested them with the help of his soldiers and handed over several of them to the executioner, in order to humble or definitively do away with this swarming and boisterous aristocracy that held him in check at Patan. A noble called Danuvanta was paraded in the streets garbed in a woman's clothes with several others dressed in a ridiculous attire; they were afterwards held in long captivity.

The nobility revenged itself by treason. The Tharis handed over to Prithi Narayan several of the places of Nepal which depended on Kathmandu. The Gurkha being now convinced of the insufficiency of his forces flattered himself of succeeding by means of famine. He posted troops at all the mountain defiles, to intercept all communications from outside, his orders were carried out strictly. Who-so-ever was found on the road with a little salt or cotton, was hung from a tree. He most cruelly put to death the inhabitants of a village found guilty of having

supplied a little cotton to inhabitants of Nepal; the very woman and children were not spared. It was impossible not to be horror-stricken at the sight of so many hanging from the trees by the roadway. At the same time the intrigue was consuming its work; two thousand Brahmans in the service of the Gurkha king, freely roamed the country buying consciences. At last Prithi Narayan re-appeared before Kirtipur; after a siege of several months, he ordered the town to surrender. The commander of the town, seconded by the approbation of the inhabitants sent him an injurious and insolent reply on the head of an skulls' (Ginespe).

Immediately afterwards, Prithi Narayan invested Patan. The inhabitants show sign of preparations for resisting. The Gurkhas threaten to cut them, besides the nose and the lips, the right wrist if they do not surrender within five days. A diversion saves the town from these horrors. The British company, solicited by the three Mallas and anxious at the progress of Prithi Narayan, thought the occasion suitable to extend its influence in the mountain. But the country is still badly known. Captain Kinloch who commands the Anglo-Indian detachment, penetrates as far as Hariharpur; the

swollen streams on account of the rainy season bar his progress sweep away the brigades he built; malaria ravages his troops; communications for the supply of victuals fail him (October 1767). He is compelled to retreat in the beginning of December 1767. The Gurkha chronicle naturally represents the failure of Kinloch as a positive Gurkha victory over the English.

Once free from anxiety, Prithi Narayan brings back his troops into Nepal and besieges Kathmandu whilst the Brahmans paid by him win over to their side the principal inhabitants. At last, on the 20th September 1768, whilst the population of Kathmandu was celebrating the Indra-Yatra by feasting and orgies, the Gurkhas penetrate the town in the evening without encountering the least resistance. Jaya Prakasa who was then in the temple of Tulaja spreads powder on the steps, flees to Patan, drags with him king Tejo Simha and both of them escape to Bhatgaon. At the moment when the Gurkhas enter the abandoned temple the gunpowder explodes and kills a great number of the victors. Prithi Narayan orders the feast to continue and receives in the title of king the present (prasada) of the Kumari.

He despatches on the morrow, a messenger to Patan, promises the nobility that he would not touch their properties and even would increase them. To dispel distrust he declares by the medium of his priest that he should happen to turn a perjurer, he would himself call the curse of the gods on his descendants up to five generations. The nobility welcomes him. For several months he manages it, even proposes to it to select a viceroy among its own. Before solemnly entering the town, he orders that the majority of children born should be handed over to him in order to connect them to his court, so he says; in reality he

keeps them as hostages. On the day of the ceremony he orders the arrested of the nobles gathered in a body, and hands them over to the executioner, and also orders the mutilation of the corpses.

Bhatgaon still resisted the three Mallas united in misfortune, remained threatening. A desperate resistance was to be expected; a straggling village, Dhulikhel (Dhaukhel) in the mountain, to the east of Bhatgaon had stopped the Gurkhas for six months. The resistance of Chaukot, in the neighbourhood of Dhulikhel has the beauty of an epic ballad in the Vacmavali. The Gurkhas besieged Chaukot. The people fled some to Pyuthana and some elsewhere. Nam Simha Rai went and found Mahindra Simha Rai, and said to him: we cannot hope to resist the Gurkhas with fifty houses only; the remainder of the population has fled; I come to tell you this. Do not delay; flee quickly. Mahindra Simha treated him as a coward; Do not remain for my sake; save your life. I shall repulse the Gurkhas. I shall earn great renown and I shall enjoy my properties in heaven and thereby assure the welfare of my sons and grandsons. He then gathered his faithful companions who also wanted the happiness of the next world and he encouraged them. (The battle was fought; the Gurkhas are repulsed). At last a soldier stepping behind Mahindra Simha, killed him with the blow from a lance; he wounded Nam Simha on the left shoulder with a knife and Nam Simha fell unconscious to the ground. The people of Chaukot fled at this sight and the town was set in flames. In this battle the Gurkhas lost 201 men; on the previous day they had lost 131. Nam Simha Rai, returning to consciousness, saw no Gurkhas around him; he attended to his wound with the cloth of his dress and then fled to Pyuthana through Basdol. He saw Mahindra Simha Rai stretched lifeless on the ground, pierced

Nepal

from behind with a lance but he had no time to stop.

On the following day, Prithi Narayan inspected the battle field and seeing the lifeless body of Mahindra Simha Rai pierced with blows, he praised his bravery, sent for his parents and told them that he would take under his protection the family of a so brave man. Morning and evening they were fed from the royal kitchen, after this he captured easily the five market-towns of Panauti, Banepa, Nala, Khadpu, Sauga and returned to Nayakot.

Eight months later, he appeared at the gates of Bhatgaon. He had seduced the "Sat Bahalyas" (the seven illegitimate sons of Rana Jit Malla) with beautiful promises; he would leave them the throne, the revenues and would be satisfied with a nominal suzerainty. The troops of the Sat Bahalyas fired blank shots, allowed the Gurkhas to approach within the precincts of the walls and even helped them with munitions. Having penetrated the town very easily, the Gurkhas rushed to the palace. Jaya Prakaca, always energetic and courageous faced the enemy; but a bullet struck him on the foot which placed him hors de combat (incapacitated him). Rana Jit Malla had taken Tibetan mercenaries in his service; but suspecting their fidelity he burnt them alive in their barracks.

Prithi Narayan entered the palace, followed by his companions. At the sight of the three Mallas, they burst out laughing. Gravely Jaya Prakaca said to them: It is the treason of our servants which has done everything; otherwise you would have nothing to laugh about. The Gurkhas then became serious. Prithi Narayan respectfully approached Rana Jit Malla and requested him to keep his kingdom. Rana Jit answered that

he was compelled to submit to the will of the gods and that he only wanted to leave to go to Benares; the treason of the Sat Bahalyas had definitely cured him of the world. He took the road to India and on the pass of the Chandragiri, he turned his eyes for the last time towards his kingdom and pronounced formidable curses against the Sat Bahalyas and their posterity. Then he bade adieu to Tulaja, to Pashupati, to Guhyecvari and descended towards the Ganges.

Prithi Narayan then summoned the seven traitors, publicly reproached them their infamy had their nose cut off and confiscated their goods. Then he enquired for informations of Jaya Prakaca. The king of Kathmandu simply asked to be carried to Pashupati on the spot of the cremation of kings, to die thither. His request was granted; a message of the conqueror even placed at this disposal everything he wished to give as alms. Jaya Prakaca only asked for a parasol and a pair of shoes. At this request which surprised the court, Prithi Narayan became thoughtful; he had well understood that Jaya Prakaca wished by these symbols to become king again, because the parasol marks the royal dignity and the shoes represent the land, spouse of kings. He got on horseback, galloped to Pashupati gave to Jaya Prakaca the parasol and shoes; adding: I give you what you want; do not enjoy it in my lifetime but under my grand-sons lifetime. Jaya Prakaca consented. He died shortly afterwards.

Tejo Nara Simha the king of Patan, grew stubborn in keeping silent. Nothing could decide him to speak; he was locked up in a prison and died in irons. The old mother of Jaya Prakaca, whom age had almost rendered blind, asked like Rana Jit to end her days in Benares. She was allowed to go, but they at first deprived her of a necklace of precious stones which she was wearing, she ended her

days in misery on the banks of the sacred river.

Ruler of Nepal, Prithi Narayan established the capital of the Gurkha kingdom at Kathmandu. But he was not lulled to sleep by success. No sooner was Bhatgaon subdued then he renewed his campaign against the twenty-four king confederates of the seven Gandakis, whom he wanted to eliminate one by one as he had done in Nepal. He at first succeeded by means of his two favourite instruments—war and intrigue. But the king of Tanahung inflicted on him a heavy defeat. Faithful to his method he went to mend and try his forces elsewhere he proceeded towards the east of Nepal, invaded the country of the Kirata which had so far maintained its independence almost whole and even threatened Sikkim. His troops under the leadership of Kaji Kahar Simha subdued

the North of the country as far as the defiles of Kirong and Kuti, the South as far as the Terai. Compelled to maintain an enormous army on the revenues of a fairly poor kingdom, he oppressed the people and especially the merchants who deserted Nepal. He thought of finding compensations on the side of Tibet. He wrote a letter, to the lama asking him to arrange markets of exchanges on the frontier of the two countries; he was disposed to allow the transport of Indian goods, but determined to prohibit the import of glass and curiosities of this nature. He asked Tibet to decline all relations with the Fringhis (Europeans) or the Moghuls and to refuse them admission in the country as he was doing himself. In short he intended remaining like the Mallas before him the supplier of the coined silver of Tibet and he addressed a first dispatch of 2000 rupees stamped in his name. (To be Contd.)

1) Letter analysed by Bogle in Markhan, Tibet, p. 158. This letter reached Tibet in January 1775.



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ७८

कार्तिक-मंसिर २०४०

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जनकलाल शर्मा

Editor

Janak Lal Sharma

NEPAL

(Continued)

— Sylvain Levi

This letter dated in the last days of Prithi Narayan exposes well to the light an essential aspect of his character; the hatred and distrust of the European: he carried his suspicion even to the very goods from Europe which he refused to pass through his territory. He feared to see the merchant following the merchandise from close. Prithi Narayan died at Mohan Tirtha, on the Gandaki, in the first day of 1775; three of his wives and two of his concubines ascended the pyre.¹

His successor was his son, Simha Pratap Sah who reigned three years² (1775-1778). Simha Pratap showed himself more generous towards the gods as his father, who during the whole of his life made only one gift to Pashupati. He engaged himself to offer in sacrifice to Guhyecvari, patroness of Nepal, 1,25,000 animals. He also honoured the goddess Tulaja; lastly he had conveyed to the darbar; the linga of Nayakot. He loved to dwell in the Tarai in the winter season and preoccupied himself to ameliorate this very neglected portion of his domains.³ At his death he left as heir a child in the cradle, Rana

Bahadur Sah. The disastrous administration of long minorities and regencies fought for at the dagger's point began with the grand-son of Prithi Narayan to continue henceforth uninterruptedly. Father Ginseppe, who wrote his memorandum on Nepal at the moment when the first rivalries of the court broke out after the death of Pratap Simha and who would not forgive the Gurkhas for the expulsion of the Franciscan missionaries, saw with a badly contained joy peep already the divine vengeance. "Perhaps, the vow Prithi Narayan did not fear to violate (the vow made to the nobles of Patan and that punished, in case of perjury, the king and five generations behind him, to the fires of hell) will have its effect with time." If his life had been prolonged by a miracle, Father Ginseppe could have congratulated providence on its punctuality in the retribution of faults.

The younger brother of Pratap Simha Sah, Bahadur Sah, who was then living at Bettia, on the British territory, on the boundary of Nepal with his uncle Dala Mardana Sah, the ancient king of Patan, hastened to reach Kathmandu to take

possession of his regency. He was an active and enterprising prince, but he found in opposition to him an adversary of his calibre, queen Rajendra Laxmi, mother of the young king, who claimed to exercise the power in the name of her son. From this moment until the death of the queen in 1795 the two rivals fought stubbornly interrupted with short reconciliations and marked in each fresh outburst by a series of massacres. The victor struck pitilessly on the partisans of the vanquished. A secret marriage, concluded so they say, between the queen and the regent and the inspired on both sides by the same ambition, did not bring any respite to the hostilities.

However, the impetus given to the Gurkhas by Prithi Narayan had not yet slowed down. The new administration did not lack in forces or men; the conquest was pursued with successes beyond expectations in the West, Palpa retained its independence, defended by a belt of tributary principalities. Bahadur Sah asked and obtained in marriage a daughter of Mahadatta, king of Palpa; under covert of this matrimonial alliance, the regent proposed to his father-in-law a political alliance, directed against the last chiefs who remained independent. The booty would have to be equally divided. Mahadatta fell in the trap, the Nepalese troops arrived led by a Khas officer as brave as he was cunning, Damodar Pante (Damodara Pande). Betrayed by the king of Palpa the only chief who was powerful enough to protect them the princes of the twenty four kingdoms, in the domain of the Seven-Gandakis and the princes of the Twenty-Two kingdoms in the basin of the Kali were in greater portion despoiled. The Gurkhas reserved themselves the lions share; Mahadatta received three small states, taken away from his ancient allies and which he was not

destined to retain long. Pursuing his victorious march Damodar went beyond the traditional limits of the Nepalese Empire and penetrated in the Kumaon which he subjugated.

In the East the expansion of the Gurkhas also progressed beyond the old frontiers. Already the Kiratas were subjugated; in September 1788, a force of 6000 men penetrated into Sikkim. A month later, the capital was occupied. Bhutan was threatened; Tibet saw her frontiers violated; the Tibetan province of Kuti was invaded. A skilful movement of the Tibetans recalled the Gurkhas in the rear but the movement stopped too soon. The Gurkhas certain about their communications, retook their offensive march on Sikkim, occupied her a second time and declared her annexed (1789).

Tibet with her enriched monasteries due to the piety of Asia, seemed to offer an easy prey. Under insignificant pretext, the Gurkhas scrambled to the assault of the lamaseries, crossed the defiles pillaged Shikar Jong (Digarchi) (1790); but they allowed themselves to be duped by the superb promises of the Chinese and Tibetans. Soon after being exasperated by the duplicity of the lamas and the mandarins, they appeared again in Tibet, impatient of vengeance and plunder (1791). The emperor of China K'ien long vainly addressed them a message of threats; the Chinese envoy was insulted, Tibet was in peril. K'ien long without delay assembled important forces which he placed under general Fou K'ang. In face of such number the Gurkhas were obliged to fall back; the victorious Chinese followed them on their traces and reached the very heart of Nepal, at one day journey from Kathmandu (1792). The terror stricken daibar sued for peace, recognized the suzerainty of China and bound himself to pay a regular tribute.

At the height of his terrors, the darbar, unfaithful to the lessons of Prithi Narayan had solicited the help of the English. Lord Cornwallis decided too late. The Gurkhas had thought better of it; they had wisely preferred a distant sovereign to close a protector. However, Lord Cornwallis insisted sending to Nepal a mission entrusted to settle there and then the usual difficulties and especially to reclaim the (enforcement of) a commercial agreement signed in March 1792, at Benares, between Nepal and the Company. This agreement stipulated fixed duties on imports and exports (2.5% ad valorem) on goods carried from one territory to another but Nepal had always known to evade it by substituting to the frontier customs, partial collectings portioned out at successive stages of penetration. Colonel Kirkpatrick penetrated Nepal (in March-April 1793), if he did not bring away political advantage from this very short sojourn he at least gathered the materials of an excellent work (I, 133 sq.).

The Chinese war had interrupted only for a short while the operations in the West. Jagaj Jit Pande continued the conquests began by his brother Damodar. After Kumaon, Garwal in her turn became a Nepalese province (1794). Nepal stretched at present from Bhutan to Kasmere.

Suddenly a (drama) tragedy of the palace abruptly terminates the regency. Rana Bahadur had grown as a minor king under the protectorship of ambitious regents, cloistered in his palace, given up to precocious debauchery which sapped all his vitality. In 1795, he suddenly wishes to reign, by caprice. He arrests his uncle Bahadur Sah, whom he retains in prison for two years until his death. From now there begins an

era of violences, furies and disorders such as Nepal had never known. Rana Bahadur is impulsive of nature a Nero of small stature; he loves music; he arranges the tune to be played in the large temples, at Guhvecvari, at Changu Narayan, at Vajra Yogini, at Daksina Kali, at Tulaja. When well disposed he gives unthinkingly, on days of great events he distributes one thousand cows in alms, he feeds the Brahman and saqueer troops, but on the first annoyance, he blasphemes the gods, and despoils the Brahmans. The Nepalese recognise in him the king of Kathmandu, Jaya Prakasa who was to return to the world in the posterity of Prithi Narayan.

His first act, is to confiscate the principality of Yumila, free so far by the prestige of her ancient precedence. Rana Bahadur espoused the daughter of the rajah of Gulmi, Lalita Tripura Sundary, intelligent and devoted princess of her husband but she gave him no son. He at first abandoned her and took to an ordinary slave from whom was born an illegitimate son. He then took the daughter of a Brahman who became the mother of king Girvana Yuddha Vikramah Sah. This prince was therefore of illegitimate birth because the king prohibited the marriage between a Ksatriya and a woman of Brahmanic blood. The Brahmans were shocked by this union which appeared to them as incestuous. In order to put a quick stop to the abomination, the Brahmans published a deep prophecy on astrology and that announced in the near future the sickness of the favourite and the death of the king. Indeed, the favourite soon fell seriously ill. The king anxious through love and worried by the prophecy that concerned him, consulted the Brahmans on precautions to take. They indicated costly ceremonies, that would

in spite of the rites; the young woman died in a few days. Furious to have been wounded in his heart and to have lost his money, the king summoned the Brahmans to return the money under threats of terrible persecutions; he orders to be handed over to him the idol of Tulaja which they have worshipped, breaks it to pieces has the fragments conveyed to the cemetery of Karavira, with the funeral cortege of Acaryas in tears, to the sound of trumpets; the remains are burnt on the pyre and the ashes thrown into the river.

This was too much the terror-stricken people dazes at the sacrilege committed benefit them by a lakh of rupees. Rana Bahadur was induced into the affair; but feared to pay the consequences. Rana Bahadur understood that an opportune sacrifice could save the dynasty and personally contrives to offer him chances of return. He gave out as an excuse that his mourning had severed him from the world, entered into the orders took

the name of Nirgunananda Svami and announced his intention of going to die a holy death at Benares. He nominated for his son Girvana Yuddha Vikram, in spite of his irregular birth; and in order to dissipate all preventions he requested of the king of Palpa, Prithivi Pala to come in the name of the most authentic of Nepalese Rajputs and place on the child's forehead the royal mark. The army and people took the oath of allegiance to their new king. At the time of departing the Svami felt his vocation already shaken, he went and settled in Patan, fortified himself thither, recruited partisans. But the opposition of the Brahmans condemned him to fail; he became aware of it and decided on a scheme. Queen Tripura Sundary had refused the regency in order to follow her husband; he nominated for regent the slave he had loved. Damodar Panre, the victor of the West was elected to exercise the functions of prime minister (1800).

FOOT NOTES

1. Bogle; ib., 159 - The date of 1775 is also given by the Vamecavali yet the date of 1771 is currently given. M. Mar-kham the editor of Bogle repeats himself, this error, p. 107 of his work. On page 159 in which Bogle mentions the arrival in Lhasa in March 1775 of a message announcing the death of Prithi Narayan and the accession of his successor of Simha Pratap (Sing Perterb); he died in 1775. - The date of 1775 for the death of Prithi Narayan is also confirmed by two other passages of the same book, p. 197 and p. 205.
2. Father Giuseppe says : two 'years at most'.
3. Hamilton, p. 196.



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ७९

दृश-माघ २०४०

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सम्पादक

जनकलाल शर्मा

Editor

Janak Lal Sharma

NEPAL

(Continued)

— Sylvain Levi

In Benares, Rana Bahadur did not take long to become enamoured of a new beauty, and to satisfy the exigencies of his passion he began by removing all the queen's jewels then he contracted loans with the company. The Darbar was frightened that Rana Bahadur would place the English to serve his ends or that the Company under the cloak, was seeking to meddle into Nepalese affairs; the Darbar offered to renew the commercial agreement interrupted since its conclusion and to receive in Nepal a British resident. Captain Knox was entrusted to fill the post, and he arrived at Kathmandu in April 1802. But tired of the incessant shufflings of the Darbar, which never yielded without retracting soon afterwards, Captain Knox accompanied with his assistant Buchanan Hamilton (I, 136 sq.), definitely returned to India in March 1803.

In the interval, important events had taken place. Queen Tripura Sundari, tired of the ill-treatment of her husband had left Benares and watched on the frontier for a propitious hour to re-enter into Nepal; she feared thither the hostility of her an-

cient rival. When the rainy season made the Terai uninhabitable (April 1802), she decided to venture on a bold stroke, encouraged perhaps by having dependent on her, Damodar Panre who had accepted with reluctance an ancient slave for regent. An escort of soldiers sent against her dared not act; the chief of the fort of Sisagarhi shut himself up with his men behind the walls in order not to arrest her. A final detachment was sent against her. She drew a dagger and struck a blow at the officer who fell back ashamed of his task and the soldiers disbanded. No sooner did she reach Nepal, than Damodar Panre came before her and bowed to her; the multitude welcomed her and led her to the palace whilst the regent who was a slave fled into a temple with her son, the young king, the treasures and jewels of the crown.

The queen handed the power to Damodar Panre, but she hastened to end back to Palpa, the king Prithivi Pala who had remained in Kathmandu since the accession of Girvana Yuddha Vikrama and whom they suspected of aspiring to the throne of Nepal. Rana Bahadur, who knew it to

be lawful to reckon on his wife's devotion, left Benares at the first news of events. Informed of his arrival, Damodar Panre led his troops to receive him and also to watch him should it be needed. But Bim sen (Bhima sena) Thapa who had been on intimate terms with Rana Bahadur at Benares and whom an old family hatred excited as much as personal ambition, against the chief of the Panre clan, counselled the king to decide at once. With his customary decision Rana Bahadur advanced towards the soldiers and shouted to them: Well, my brave Gurkas, who is for Sah, who is for Panre? The soldiers replied by acclamations and Rana Bahadur entered Kathmandu triumphantly, followed by Damodar Panre and his sons, all in chains. A short while afterwards, the ancient courageously without appealing to partisans through fear of provoking the complete ruin of his house.

Bhim sen Thapa then became minister. He was destined to preserve the power for thirty three years under a series of kings. He hastened to give his master the essential prestige, by new conquests. Prithivi Pala at first paid his suspicious manoeuvres; attracted in spite of himself, to Kathmandu under pretext of a marriage project between his sister and Rana Bahadur, he was massacred together with his officers. Then Amara Simha Thapa, the father of the minister Bhim sen was entrusted, with the English title of "general" to reduce Palpa. He only had to take possession of

town (August 1804). The last of the independent states had lived; Nepal in her entirety belonged to the Ghurkhas. Amara Simha continued his march towards the west and threatened Kangara; but he was compelled to stop in front of another conqueror, who was working to shape himself an empire in the Western Himalaya, like Prithi Narayan had done in the Central Himalaya; the famous Ranjit Simha (Rana Jit Simha) had grouped Sikh clans, led them to way by a secular struggle against the Muhammadans and had thrown them onwards to the conquest of the Punjab and the Kashmir. Kangara only escaped the Gurkhas to fall into the hands of the Sikhs.

Rana Bahadur did not fear to attack more dangerous enemies, the Brahmans. Becoming master of Palpa he declared that the country had forfeited to the laws of their caste by the unworthiness of their conduct and the abomination of their practices; in consequence all their domains were to be confiscated by the crown. The Brahmans were horrified at this audacity. They came to Kathmandu for justice and recited the known verses: "O king, the poison is not poison, the properties of the Brahman that is the poison; the poison kills the person but the goods of the Brahmans kill the sons and grand sons".

na visam visam ity ahur brahmasvam
visam ucyate

visam ekakino hanti brahmasvam
putrapantrakam.

(To be continued)



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ८०

फागुन-चैत २०४०

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक

जनकलाल शर्मा

Editor

Janak Lal Sharma

NEPAL

(Continued)

— Sylvain Levi

The king remained deaf, but a presage indicated that heaven had heard; on the 7th of the vaicakha clear, in 927 (1807) a big jackal entered the town, crossed through the bazar and left the town by the northern gate. It was the consequence of the sins of Rana Bahahur, who had retaken from the Brahmans their lands, closed the roads, badly treated the children, committed sacrilege and incest. Rana Bahadur, instructed of plot which his illegitimate brother had schemed against him summons him - Sher Bahadur - orders him to leave the capital and to rejoin the army in the western provinces. Sher Bahhdur replies with an insult; the King threatens to sentence him to death? Sher Bahadur draws the sword, mortally wounds the king and falls himself under the sword of Bala Nara simha Konvar, a Thapa who was destined to have for son, Jang Bahadur, the great minister (1807). Bhim Sen Thapa remaining the prime minister of Girvana Yuddha Vikrama, compels the youngest royal spouse to ascend the pyre, gives out the order to put to death the majority of the chiefs he fears, like the associates of Sher Bahadur and shares the real power

with the regent queen Tripura Sundari. The history of Nepal is henceforth, for thirty years the history of the ministry of Bhim Sen.

King Girvana Yuddha Vikrama Sah, who bore the royal title since the abdication of his father in 1800, does not possess any power and exercises no action until his death. He was two years old when a political combination of Rana Bahadur had borne him to the throne, nine years, when the death of his father had left him as a toy in the hands of the queen and the prime minister, eighteen years old when he died of small-pox in 1816. The chronicle represents him with a fair amount of probability as pious, devoted, peaceful worshipper of Vishnu. He deeply respected the Brahmans and the Holy scriptures (Sastras). He had himself explained the chapter of the Himvat Khanda which exalts the sacred place of Nepal (Nepala mahatmya), fasted the day and the night of the following Civaratri and dedicated the town of Deo Patan to Pashupati, the 14th phalgun dark of the vikrama year 1870 (1813 A.D.).

In 1810 a violent earthquake shook Nepal and caused several deaths at Bhatgaon; it was a dismal preage. Lastly during his reign a war broke out with the English in the terai; but the king struck terror in them and saved the country. Then he summoned the English made peace with and allowed them to live near Rhambahil (suburb of Kathmandu).

Such is the indigenous account and official also, of the Anglo Nepalese war that ended by the treaty of Segowlie and that definitively paralysed the Gurkha conquest. The persistent infringements of the Gurkhas on the southern frontier had ended in exhausting the Company's patience and making it necessary to have recourse to arms. From 1787 to 1813, more than two hundred villages had been seized by the Nepalese under unjustifiable pretexts. Lord Hastings, decided to intervene. When asked for their evacuation within twenty-five days, Bhim Sen replied to the ultimatum by a declaration of war.

Beginning on the 1st of November 1814, the war lasted till the 4th of March 1816. The Gurkhas had 12000 troops only a stand against the 30,000 soldiers and 60 canons that the English placed on the field no sooner the campaign began. Their military virtues, their bravery, their tenacity, their suppleness almost counterbalanced the disparity in numbers and their resistance deserved the esteem and admiration of their conquerors. The incapacity of the British commandants brought about at first a series of disasters general Gillespie, coming from Meerut crosses the Sivalikhs, penetrates in the Dhera Dun and is delayed for a month by the fort of Kalanga Oor Nelapani, backed by 600 Gurkhas under the leadership of Bala Bhadra. The British corps loses 31 officers

and 718 men and its leader fell mortally wounded. When the fort is no longer tenable, Bala Bhadra forces a breach at the head of 90 men who still remained him. General Martindell, who replaces Gillespie, leads his troops before Jythak but he suffers a severe check. He loses 12 officers and 450 men. In February 1815 a company of 200 Gurkhas routs 2,000 irregulars at the service of England. General Marley, told to march on Kathmandu through Bichakoh and Hetaura, allows himself to be 5000 of his men. Major Hearsey who is operating towards Almorah is beaten, wounded and captured. But Colonel Nicolls invested Almorah which capitulates, and the Gurkhas lose Kumaon. The cautious tactic of Ochterlony retrieves all the disasters. Opposed to Amara Simha, the father of Bhim Sen and the most formidable of Gurkha General, he tires him, wears him by small manoeuvres for him to fall back on Malaon, where he is obliged to capitulate. Ochterlony, generous in victory, allows him to walk out with arms and accoutrement "considering the bravery, skill, the fidelity with which he had defended the country entrusted to his cares."

Interrupted by the rainy season and by negotiations which the Darbar lengthly prolongs, the campaign renews in February 1816. Ochterlony, who was unable to force the pass of Bichakoh, manoeuvres round it and appears before Makwanpur. The Gurkhas forts oppose a desperate resistance but the artillery ended in gaining the upper hand. The road to Kathmandu is open. The Darbar sues for peace. On the 4th March 1816, a treaty signed at Segowlie consecrates the defeat of Nepal who loses Sikkim, Kumaon, Garhwal, the whole of that portion of the Terai to the West of the Gandaki and who resigns herself to accept

a British resident. Lord Hastings had made of this clause the fundamental condition of the peace and had side-tracked before hand all discussion on this matter. Edward Gardener was nominated resident in Nepal where Hodgson came to rejoin him as assistant in 1820 ‡

Nepal understood the lesson and profited by it; the Gurkhas did not risk again attacking England. The Government of India on the other hand showed her sagacity; she was careful not to provoke an adversary whose merit she had recognised. General Ochterlony confidentially declared to Lord Hastings that the Hindu soldiers of the Company would never be in a state to resist the shock of those energetic mountaineers on their own soil. "In consequence Lord Hastings gave instructions to Edward Gardener to work in transforming the boisterous neighbour into an amicable ally or at the very least peaceful. To better mark his intention, he consented as early as at the close of 1816 to modify a clause of the treaty in accordance to the dearest wishes of the king. The company bound itself to pay an annual indemnity of 200,000 rupees to compensate loss of the revenues which the relinquishment of the Terai caused to the anterior holders of these fiefs; by a new arrangement a portion of the Terai was ceded back to Nepal as an equivalent to 200,000 rupees of yearly revenues. The English discovered too late the bad bargain they had concluded. In 1834, Hodgson estimated at 991,000 rupees the annual revenues of lands ceded back.

Immediately after the war, the king Girvana Yuddha Vikrama was dead. He was replaced by his son of very young age, Rajendra Vikrama Sah (18.6). The change of princes that opened a new minority with a long term, consolidated the power of the prime minister Bhim Sen and of the queen Tripura Sundari, grand-mother of Rajindra Vikrama Sah.

Bhim Sen had to face a difficult situation. The Gurkhas were a military nation incapable of living otherwise than by wars and conquests. The revenues of the Nepalese soil could not suffice to maintain an idle population, and the war with British had shown to the Gurkhas that the era of raids had passed. Bhim Sen exerted himself to encourage the traffic between Nepal and her two neighbours India and Tibet. The revenues of the Customs estimated at 80,000 rupees in 1836, rose in 1853 to 250,000 rupees. But defeat had imposed on the vanquished new expenditures; the Gurkhas had understood that to escape the invading power that absorbed the whole of India by degrees, the rampart of the mountains did not suffice without the armies and the canons. Bhim Sen erected founderies for canons, arsenals, built large barracks, maintained and developed the discipline and military instructions. Money was lacking; Bhim Sen appealed in the name of Hindu patriotism, to the Brahmans and temples that possessed through donation, properties free of charges. Few answered the appeal. To secure of his power he then did not fear to charts

‡ For the period that corresponds to the sojourn of Hodgson, I have utilized the biography written by Sir W. W. Hunter: *Life of Brian Houghton*, London, 1896. Hunter has utilized a great number of documents that were half confidential. These can be seen at the India office and the very precise indication of which one can see in the notes of his excellent book.

and certificates that sanctioned them. He had let loose against him adversaries that did not forgive.

In 1832, the old queen Tripura Sundari died. Bhim Sen saw without regret the extinction of an authority which acted as a counter-poise to him. In fact, henceforth he remained exposed, alone for a paradoxical administration that for twenty-eight years left absolute power in the hands of an ordinary servant of the Crown. One of his brothers Rana Vira Simha Thapa had become intimate with the young king whom he had under his authority and whom he excited by ambition to seize the authority once again. In the seraglio, the old rivalry of the Thapas and Panres was preparing a new crash; the first spouse of Rajendra Vikrama was affiliated to the Panres; the second, by her birth and interests, was connected to the Thapas. Since 1833 (the very year in which Hodgson was nominated as resident in Nepal), it appeared that the authority of the prime minister was undermined; at the yearly ceremony of the pajni, when all the officials are subjected to a new nomination, Bhim Sen was not confirmed in his post which remained without titularity. His partisans to whom he had entrusted without discretion all the employments of the state, were replaced by adversaries. A few days later, Bhim Sen was recalled to the ministry, but this incident announced an early catastrophe. The very gods turned against him. A dreadful earthquake shook the whole country in the night of the 12th intercalary bhadrapada, clear fortnight (25th September 1833); four shocks succeeded one another which overthrew or damaged at Kathmandu 643 buildings, at Patan 824, at Bhatgaon 2747, at Sanku 257, at Banepa 269. Since the reign of Cyama Deva no such disaster had been recorded

in Nepal. In 1834, on the 6th of Asadha (dark), the thunderbolt fell on the powder factory at Timi which exploded. Fourteen days later, new earthquake shock and diluvian rains took place. The Bagmati overflows. In 1836, a woman of Patan gives birth to two children joined together. So many prodigies spoke only too clearly.

In the spring of 1837, the nephew of Bhim Sen, Matabar Singh the most popular chief of the army, is dismissed from the Gurkha government and his place is given to a son of this Damodar Panre who had been the predecessor and the victim of Bhim Sen. In June the eldest son of Damodar, Ran Jung Panre (Rana Janga Pande) is given again the titles and goods possessed by the father. A few days later, the youngest son of the first queens suddenly dies; rumour says that Bim Sen had desired to poison the queen and that the child becomes a victim of his guilty actions; he is arrested, thrown in prison together with Matabar Singh and the whole rest of the family. The doctors of the palace, who were the persons of Bhim Sen are also imprisoned. They are all expelled from the caste, tortured, their goods confiscated. Rana Jung Panre replaces Bhim Sen at the ministry. But the sudden return of the Panres causes anxiety to the other parties. The Chaurias, collateral to the royal family that Bhim Sen has held at a distance since 1804, the Brahmans who had lost the major portion of their revenues by successive spoils demand their portion, of the scramble. The rival ambition that exhausts all their strength to become neutral, provoke a semblance of general reconciliation. Bhim Sen humbles himself at the feet of the King who grants him a pardon; the prisoners were released and are looked upon with clemency; the army makes a trium-

phal entry to its old chief and his young favourite. Ran Jang descends from the power where he had just hoisted himself, and leaves the place to the chief of the Brahmanic party, Raghu Natha Padita, who seeks to manage everybody, but whom the army looks upon with antipathy as the representative of a dangerous rivalry. Ran Jang named commander-in-chief cultivates to his benefit this disaffection of the soldiery; he takes advantages of the departure of the officers attached to Bhim Sen and who have resigned to follow him on his enforced retreat.

In the palace, the two queens quarrel between themselves to gain the influence for the benefit of their parties. The first queen who had thought herself triumphant at the fall of Bhim Sen and who had seen with rage the Brahmans juggle away with victory, decides on a scandal. She leaves the darbar and settles down in Pashupati under the protection of her faithful Ran Jang. The unfortunate king comes daily to meet her, succeeding in calming her. She demands that Ran Jang be minister. Matabar Singh, who feels the approach of a new storm, goes to hunt the elephant in the terai, cautiously crosses the frontier, takes abode with old Ranjit Singh at Lahore. Raghu Natha Pandita gives his resignation as prime minister; a Chauntia is called to form a cabinet in which Ran Jang is all powerful; soon he unmask himself, dismissed his colleagues and retains alone all the powers, in the beginning of 1839. The accusation of poisoning flung against Bhim Sen in 1837 is immediately renewed supported by an arsenal of falsehoods that deceives nobody but that gives an air of dignity to the judiciary comedy. The old minister, accused of

treason by the king is thrown in prison, threatened, pushed to commit suicide because none dares to incur the responsibility of his death. They told him that they were going to bury him up to his neck in a ditch of human rejections, to exhibit his wife stark naked through the town. Horrified the old man strikes himself a blow with his knife (Khukuri) and dies of the wound nine days later. His body is dismembered, the stumps exposed to public gaze are afterwards thrown as food for the beasts. The doctor who had cared for (treated) the young prince, a Brahman whom the law forbids to execute is burnt on the forehead and on the cheeks, so that the skull and jaw bones are laid bare; his colleague, a Nevar is impaled, alive his heart is wrenched. A royal decree excludes the Thapas from all employments for seven generations (July 1839).

In order to mitigate these horrors and to gain public favour the Panres exploited the Ghurkha Chauvinism which Bhim Sen took so much pains to curb since the treaty of Segowlic. Prophecies were pronounced regarding the early downfall of the British; canons were manufactured and so were rifles; 800,000 pounds (lbs) of gunpowder were ordered, including bullets and balls, a military census was taken and showed 400,000 men capable of carrying arms. Secret relations were linked with the Rajput, Gwalior, Satara, Baroda, Jodpur, Jaypur, Kotah, Bundit, Reva, and Panna states; with the weak heir of Ranjit Singh who had just died, with Burma, with Parsia, with Afghanistan, and with China. But this policy cost dear and money was lacking. Ran Jang feigned to restitute to the State all the goods he had received free of charge and he demanded the same sacrifice from all those who had received royal donations

since the fall of his father, heavy fines were suddenly imposed with no reasons. The very pay of the army was for a moment under consideration of being reduced, under the pretext that the king had no resources to bring up his six children. The troops rebelled, demanded a war against India, the king was obliged to show himself to appease them.

The universal discontent served the ends of the first queen. To better seize the power and share it with Ran Jang, she worked to discredit the king in the hope that an upheaval would compel him to abdicate in favour of his son and designate her for regent. Death frustrated her calculations; she died of fever in October 1841. Already for the duration of one year the fall of the Panres was consumed. England weary of the ridiculous provocations, had imposed an agreement in Nepal of 1839. Then, in consequence of a movement of soldiers against the Residence, she had demanded the resignation of the minister Ran Jang. A Chauntia, Fateh Jang was been entrusted to form a cabinet of concentration.

The disappearance of the first queen hardly simplified the interior politics of Nepal; the second queen who had impatiently borne the supremacy of her rival, aspired to seize the reins of power; by the successive elimination of the king and heir-apparent, who would safeguard the throne to her progeny and become certain to the regency. The heir-apparent, then twelve years old was a king of sanguinary lunatic who delighted in the torture and mutilation of animals and men. He longed to reign and to do away with his father who was stubborn in existing. At last, king Rajendra Vikrama, dazed and idiotic, passed from one influence to another without

ever stopping. He fled from quarrels and only asked for peace, but nobody around him was disposed to let him have it.

The situation became so serious that the nobility, judging the state to be in peril, forgot for a while the rivalry of parties.

A general gathering held in December 1842, nominated a committee entrusted with the power of asking and of proposing to the king, the necessary measures for the protection of life, of goods and of the legitimate rights public and personal of all the subjects of the crown. The petition was successively submitted to the ministers, to the chiefs, to the municipal authorities of the towns, of the valley, to the officers, was approved of, signed and carried by an immense deputation to the royal darbar on the 7th of December. The king received it, signed and ratified it. The crisis had lasted twelve days.

The queen, who owed to this type of chart an increase of power destined to counter-balance the action of the princely heir, hastened to recall the Thapas to power. Matabar Sing who was living outside for the past four years is recalled. He asks and obtains the public vindication of Bhim Sen, the punishment of his accusers; at last he is nominated prime minister in December 1843. Maintained in power in spite of himself he loses the support of the queen, whom he refused to assist in her criminal schemes; on the 17th of May 1845, at night he is summoned to the palace, presents himself before the king and queen; three rifle shots wound him, he asks for mercy in the name of his mother and his children, stretches his hands towards the throne; a servant cuts off the wrist; the quivering corpse is

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let down from the window. The murderer who had slain Matabar was his own nephew, Jang Bahadur.

The personage who entered the scene with such a dismal exploit was destined to the tragedies of the palace. His father, Bala Narasimha had assisted at one time to the murder of Ran Bahadur and had slain the murderer with his own hands, who was the brother of the king. Grand-nephew of Bhim Sen he had obtained a high position at an early date; but tired of the barracks he had deserted, crossed the Kali, visited the provinces of the Company and thought of enrolling himself under Ranjit Singh; brought back to Nepal by his parents he obtained his pardon. Soon the fall of Bhim Sen compelled him to hide; he travelled over Nepal as a discreet observer, initiating himself in the practices customs and languages of all the races exercising his body muscles with the severest of toils. Reaching Kathmandu he shows himself in most brilliant fashion; an elephant who had run amok caused havoc in the town and nobody dares to stop it. Jang slips from a roof on to the back of the animal, throws a cloth over its eyes blinding it and masters it. The darbar offers him a dress of honour and a sum of money which he refuses; he joins the army as a captain, is employed on a secret mission with the rajah of Benares is arrested by the British who bring him back to the frontier. He has already envious persons who strive to ruin him; he baffles them with his audacity. Numerous instances are given. One day whilst he was crossing on horse-back a furious torrent on a bridge of two planks at a giddy height above the abyss the princely heir calls him back. Without hesitating he forces his riding animal to turn round by an audacious leap and rejoins the bank. Another day in

order to escape the ferocity of the same prince, he throws himself into a well, holds on till night time; when his friends come to pull him out, his nails are completely worn through hanging to the bricks of the sides. When Matabar Singh once again in favour returned from India, Jang was the first to welcome the return of the new favourite. In selecting him as the instrument for the crime, the queen had judged him well; he was a man daring enough for anything. She found it later to her costs.

After the murder, Jang Bahadur nominated as general with the command of three regiments was entrusted with the ministry temporarily then he ceded his place to the Chauntia Fateh Jang and remained outside the new cabinet; but the three regiments he commanded guaranteed his influence. The real power belonged general Gagana Simha ancient servant of the harem becomes the lover of the queen. The king threatened with being sacrificed to this adulterous love, hired the services of a bandit of profession who slew with a rifle shot Gadana Simha, whilst he was praying in his room (September 1846).

Mad with sorrow at the news the queen seized in her hands the royal sword, the emblem of supreme authority which the king had authorised her to carry since January 1843; she orders the trumpeters to summon the soldiers and assembles all officials of the State civil and military. The king, embarrassed, avoids the affair under the pretext of the Residence. The nobles hasten to assemble without taking the precaution of arming themselves. "Who among you has killed my faithful friend?" Shouts to them the queen; she rushes at one of the Panres whom she suspects of the crime and wishes to kill him with her own hands. She is held. She esca-

pes, rushed towards the staircase that leads to the higher storey where lay her apartment; three of the ministers follow behind her when light shot from apparently nowhere, stretch them dead on the floor. In falling Abhimana simha throws himself on one of the brothers of Jang and staircase and strikes him with his sword; he is about to strike another when Jang appears on the staircase and strikes him dead with a gun shot. In the darkness of the hall and the corridors, dimly lighted by the light of night-lamp a murderous duel takes place blindly between the partisans of Jang rallied around him and his adversaries; they hit, they throttle, they massacre without knowing the victims. Outside the regiments of Jang guard the exits; their knives slay mercilessly the enemies or those held in suspicion who hope to find safety in flight. The queen from a window exits them to avenge her. The king, who comes back from the Residence is horrified by the streams of blood which flow from the palace and flees towards Patan to reach Benares; he is brought back in spite of himself. The queen gives the order to expel the women and children of all those she had had slain and to hold under close surveillance the heir and his brother.

Jang, in appearance docile to order, places near the two princes, guardians entrusted in reality to defend them against the furies of the queen. Deceived the queen organises a new plot against Jang this time. But advised in time, the minister forestalls her, captures and executes the conspirers who belonged to the clan of the Bashniats; he appears before the king and heir-apparent, declares to them that the safety of the State depended on the removal of the queen finding herself vanquished becomes submi-

ssive; she succeeds however in dragging with her, the idiotic husband. The princely heir is entrusted with the regency and Jang of the offices of prime-minister.

The royal couple sheltered in Benares, intrigue with all those discontented and the exiles of Nepal who make a gathering place of the holy city the queen publicly shows the scandal of her adulterous loves. The unhappy king Rajendra Vikram Sah deceived by everybody takes the route to Nepal on the faith of lying reports that assure him of an upheaval; very near at hand and in his favour. The small bank that formed his cortege is scattered by the first attack and the king entered his capital as a prisoner (1847). He is deposed without a word being raised in his favour and the princely heir Surendra Vikrama Sah ascends the throne.

The policy of Jang tends from then to conciliate itself to the favour of the English perhaps with the view of an eventuality that his ambition and his talents permit him to look upon. In 1848, he offers the Government of India the help of the Gurkha troops to reduce the last defenders of the Sikh independence; he is politely refused. In 1850, after long negotiations, he leaves for England as the chief of a mission entrusted "to carry to the queen the respects of the king and the assurances of his friendship; to see the greatness and the prosperity of the country and the state of the people, to examine to what extent the application of arts and sciences is useful to the comfort and the commodity of life." Indeed he hopes to double his prestige in Nepal by his relation with the powerful nations of Europe, to gain by his allurements the English government to

his personal interests; he wishes also as a man of positive state to exactly understand those mysterious masters of India who make the people feel their might without showing themselves. In London, in Paris, whether he proceeds afterwards he is the lion of the season; the strangeness of his costume, the wealth of his attire, the legends published by the press, the prestige of a country that remains impenetrable singles him out for attention; Balls, feasts and representations are given to him. In Paris the minister of foreign affairs pays him a visit; he is officially led to the Louvre Museum; he gives a diamond bracelet to the Cerito who has dazzled him by her piroettes in the latest fashion ballet. The devil's violin. Strange rumours are spread on the cookery of the embassy, who prepares his meals in a corner of the hotel Sinet. Returning to India in January 1851, Jang and his companions (Jagat Shamsheer, and Dhir Shamsheer, his two brothers, the officers, a doctor, a painter, two cooks and servants) stop at Benares to accomplish at great costs on the banks of the Ganges the ceremonies of purification imposed on every Hindu who goes out of the country; the grand-priest of the Gurkhas the Rajya guru comes himself to preside to these rites in order to dissipate all preventions.

The precautions were not superfluous; ten days after the return of Jang in Nepal, a conspiracy breaks out. It has for chiefs a brother of Jang and the eldest of his cousins; these avengers of the Brahmanic purity declare that Jang has irremediably lost his caste by eating and drinking with foreigners, the brother of the king entered the conspiracy. Jang's good fortune serves him in good stead once again; informed in time, he captures the culprits but refuses to pass

sentence of death on them or blind them for life which the king wishes to impose as punishment; as an advised politician, he is satisfied in handing over the prisoners to the Government of India who accepts to retain them in a fortress to spare them a more drastic penalty. Since then Jang is all powerful; he marries his sons and daughters with the daughters and sons of the king.

The insolences and violences committed on the Tibetan territory against the Nepalese ambassadors sent to Peking was the cause of another war between Tibet and Nepal in 1854. In spite of the great efforts accomplished by Nepal, the hostilities are prolonged for more than two years without any marked advantage, for ever interrupted by the insurmountable difficulties of a diabolical region where the snow storms, the avalanches, the precipices, the barrenness of the soil defy the bravest of men. The passes of Kuti and Kiron at first occupied by the Gurkhas are lost, then retaken. Dhir Shamsheer, younger brother of Jang and father of the present maharaja saves the honour of Nepal by his untiring energy; the Tibetans terror-stricken in seeing him appear everywhere called him the "flying Kaji." On the 25th March 1856, Tibet ends in signing the peace treaty; the Gurkhas evacuate the territories they had occupied, but in return Tibet pays Nepal an annual indemnity of Rs. 10,000. She renounces to gather the customs duties on Nepalese goods; she authorizes Nepal to entertain at Lhasa a resident entrusted with defending of the Nepalese merchants.

In August 1856, Jang feigns to unexpectedly renounce to the power, passes the Ministry to his brother Ran Bahadur and

wishes to be satisfied with a king of secret dictatorship. The king on this occasion confers on him the title of Maharaja for himself and his heirs and cedes to him all the sovereign rights of the two principalities of Kashki and of Lamjang in the ancient territories of the twenty four royalities. The office of prime minister is to be perpetually transmitted in his family, to his brothers at first, and to his sons afterwards. Lastly Jang must exercise a power of absolute control on the relations of Nepal with Great Britain and China.

England refuses to abide by this combination which would impose a third party between her and the king the only authority officially recognized outside. Jang retakes the power in 1857 during the mutiny of the sepoy; when Hindustan was anxious to know if she was about to change masters; Jang offers on several occasions to join the British troops to quell the rebellion. England who is reluctant to have a saviour awaits till the recapture of Delhi, and the relief of Lucknow to accept the cooperation of the Gurkhas. Jang at first sends three thousand men, then he leads in person 8000 men. To recompense these services, England restitutes to Nepal by the treaty of 1860 (1st November) that portion of the Terai limited by the country of Oudh which had been taken away from her by the treaty of Segowlie. Jang however does not believe in becoming infeoffed to Britain. In order to show his independence and to provide for the future he discreetly opens Nepal to the vanquished. The famous chief of the rebellion Nana Sahib with about fifty of his principal lieutenants find a complaisant shelter in the inextricable Terai where he disappears carried away by fever or perhaps welcomed in Nepal. Nepal extends an official hospitality to the wives of Nana Sahib and to the

Begaum of Lucknow.

Jang Bahadur created a G. C. B. died in 1878, either from fever or from the effect of wounds received in fighting a tiger, Jang had in fact retained the passion for wild-game hunting; he loved to chase them and to bring them to bay himself without any other weapon than the Nepalese knife. These dangerous distraction pleased his indomitable courage, his infallible presence of mind, his intimate knowledge of nature and of human being. He willingly gave the spectacle of his vigour and sang-froid by his struggles with the tiger, or the leopard to spare himself the trouble to tame them more often against his rivals, at the expenses of humanity. After beginning with the murder of an uncle and gained power by a frightful massacre, Jang had the honour of revising and softening the ferocious severity of the Gurkha code and customs; he abolished capital punishment for all crimes, he reserved the mutilation employed till then without scruple to the chastisement of the rarest of faults; he even discreetly attempted to restrain the suicides more or less voluntary of the windows on the conjugal pyre.

At his death Ranodipa Simha his brother, became prime minister while waiting for his eldest son, to be old enough to accept the charge. In 1881 king Surendra Vikrama Sah died after thirty-four years of purely nominal reign. His grandd son Prithivi Vira Sah born in 1875 ascended the throne which he occupies even to-day.

On the 22nd November 1885 a new family tragedy brought to power the nephews of Jang Bahadur, the sons of his brother Dhir Shamsher. Ranodipa Simha was assassinated; of the sons of Jang, some underwent the same fate, others disappeared in exile. Vira Cama Sher (Bir Sham Sher)

Jang Rana Bahadur become prime minister. He had to frustrate at first a plot of his younger brother Khadga Cama Sher (Kharga Sham Sher) whose only punishment was deportation to Palpa as governor of the district (1886); then a bold stroke organised by a son of Jang Bahadur, Rana Vira (Ranbir) Jang (1888); lastly a new conspiracy directed against his life in 1888. He repeated an exploit of his uncle Jang. He rode to Kathmandu on horseback without unbridling and punished the culprits to death. In the administration of the affairs he also showed himself the worthy follower of Jang; he has by means of a reservoir that he built, supplied Kathmandu with drinkable and whole-some water; he erected a hospital, great school (Durbar School), founded a collection of manuscripts without rival for the importance and antiquity of the texts. The "Indianists" cannot forget that science owes to his en-

lightened good-will the first archaeological reconnoitring of the Nepalese Terai so rich in brilliant discoveries (pillars of Acoka, site of Kapilvastu); in short those who have had the privilege of being admitted in Nepal in the name of his government can attest to his height of mind, breadth of views and his precise and clear conceptions of scientific questions. Maharaja Bir Sham Sher Jang Bahadur has been carried away by a sudden death on the 5th of March 1901. His brother Deva Cama Sher (Deb Sham Sher) Jang Bahadur who exercised the functions of commander-in-chief, called to ascend the throne, was obliged to abandon it almost immediately (May 1901). He has been replaced by one of his brothers, the maharaja Candra Cama Sher (Chander Sham Sher) Jang Rana Bahadur, who carries the titles of "Maharaja", a Prime Minister and Marshall of Nepal.

(End of History of Nepal Vol. II)



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प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या - १

वैशाख-जेष्ठ २०४१

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक

जनकलाल शर्मा

Editor

Janak Lal Sharma

NEPAL

(Continued)

Two Months in Nepal

January-March 1898

Note book to sojourn

- Sylvain Levi

12th of January. 7.30 p. m., fort of Sisagarhi, Nepal, at an altitude of 1950 metres.

Let us recapitulate. Left Calcutta on Saturday the 8th January at 9.30 p. m. I travelled 685 kilometres interrupted by three changes of vehicles, at 5.30 at 6 and 7.30. On Sunday 9th at 4.30 p. m. (or 19 hours of rail), I jump into a phaeton and roll another five or six kilometers on a very uneven road. Delightful evening with colonel and Madam Wylie on Nepal. I dine with them in ceremony at the neighbouring indigo factory—one of the guests arrives delighted he has just killed his tiger, an unexpected tiger, hidden in jungle near his bungalow. He very soon sent for an elephant and a rifle, and gave the animal his due. Everyone here has a tiger or tigers to his account. Colonel Wylie does not count them anymore. At this very moment he is officially soliciting an authorisation in favour of a gentleman and a lady who are keen on hunting the tiger in the Nepalese Tarai. Very alluring beginning isn't it?

In the morning the horses and the

phaeton of the rajah of Bettiak takes me back to Segowlie where my escort awaits me: palanquin, 'doly (mountain chair), 16 bearers for me, 8 for my boy, Francesco, 7 for the baggage, plus the sepoy in charge of these men. The enterprise is not always easy; sometimes the coolies leave their passenger in the heart of a jungle and free themselves (desert) Madam Wylie herself has known this mishap. Fate has been kinder to me. The sepoy of Colonel Wylie, well made Hindu, black bearded have all vied with one another as regards cares, goodwill and precautions; and if I ruin myself in gratifications, at least I am well served. The journey to Nepal is rather ruinous; I reckon that it will cost me at least 400 rupees, 650 francs: as much as from Marseilles to Bombay with a little less comfort. The bearers are marvels of strength and of speed: the palanquin is a real wooden room: with a bedding the provisions, the household goods and the ledger: the burden is well 100 kilograms and four men to carry it, they can easily travel at 8 kilometres an hour (5,7 miles); impossible to walk with them: one must run or jump into the palanquin. (To be Continued)



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प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ८२
असार-प्रावण २०४१

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक
जनकलाल शर्मा

Editor
Janak Lal Sharma

NEPAL

(Continued)

Two Months in Nepal

January-March 1898

Note book to sojourn

- Sylvain Levi

The resultant of the forces is exactly represented by the distracted movements of the pendulum when a clock is violently pulled towards one; oscillation to right and left and violent projection forward and backward. Beside the instructions are to go to sleep or at least to be motionless. The least jerk would break the equilibrium of the load and the effort of the bearers; one feels by degrees, and very soon, hurt all over.

At one o'clock halt at Hardia the last British factory on the road. The owner, M.F...., advised by Colonel Wylie, awaits me for breakfast and dinner. He lives there, all alone, at one league from Nepal at two from the Terai, exploiting indigo, a gun always loaded keeps him company everywhere a warning to the indigenous and dangerous beasts. My host is delighted as visits are rare on the road to Kathmandu and he attempts to retain me by the best and worst of reasons. I visit his factory. The year had been disastrous: famine of indigo as well as of grains and the competition of synthetic indigo has brought down the prices.

Here again (No need to close one's eyes), it is Germany that triumphs. The indigo buyers of Calcutta are German and they came from October to January to regulate the prices and then return to their country.

But Wylie has well cautioned me to avoid the least delay. At 5 o'clock I ask to dine; then I proceed on my journey. The cortege forms again. Night falls; the expedition has swelled by a mousalji, a lighter who brandishes a long torch constantly so rayed over with oil. The precaution is not superfluous; the road bad enough as it gets worse, cut up by bogs and quagmires in which the palanquin lightly touches the surface of water. At Raksaul we leave behind British territory and Nepal commences with Gahawa. Orders have been despatched everywhere; nowhere I am stopped. In passing the guard-houses my bearers fling the magical word "Sarkar", and that is enough. Sarkar means the Government and everything connected to it and all white men and even the servants of the white men. And everywhere the long band of white

dust between the very flat fields. they also all of white dust and all this whiteness begins to light up, dazzling under the rays of the tardy moon. Cold settles down the damp and penetrating cold of the Tarai that freezes the bones before the skin. I bury myself deep in my rezais and renounce the allurements of the lunar countryside. I close my doors and only half open them now and again in order to observe the road. The incessant movement of load, cadenced by the painting of the bearers in which appears to man a long slavery of toils with now and again heart-stirring syllables like our "dodo, baby do"; it is: "sleep babu, sleep babu". Unfortunate people who work so hard and who again lull their oppressors to sleep with their cadenced songs.

Here we are in the jungle, the dreadful jungle, strangely mysterious under this moonshine which illuminates the outskirts without penetrating the deep shadows. At midnight the cold is so intense that my coolies stop. They light up fires on the road and volubly roast themselves. I profit by this halt to shake myself up. To the right and the left two elephants tied to the trees keep noisily all night chewing twigs—supernatural silhouettes surrounded by a moving envelope of torn leaves. We are among the Tharus the enigmatic Tharus. Behind a straw enclosure which symbolizes the wall of private life, a woman sings an endless melody and accompanies herself with a tambourine. At midnight, with such a cold, what is she doing? An adoration an incantation? How to find out? Enclosed in their retreat that nobody can transgress, these Thakurs do not engage themselves in the neighbouring factories. They live among themselves hide even the secret of their language, address themselves to strangers in Hindustani, suddenly without anything betraying it, without a rise in the ground without a stray rock. without a

pebble in this white dust, we are at foot of the Himalays. It is Bhichakoh, my first stage. It is 3.30 a. m.

Kathmandu, 13th January 1898, 8 p. m.
 — Decidedly one arrives at everything even at Kathmandu; time is only required. But I take up again my account where I left it, at Bhichakoh. Then, at Bhichakoh it is the mountain that suddenly discloses itself like a change of spectacle; the pass crosses already lofty hills on the outline of the mountains and that descend in abrupt slopes covered with forests. The ground vanishes under pebbles and rocks fallen down from the sides or come down with the torrents during the rainy season, which is dreadful here. The path or rather the itinerary, for there is no trace of a path left, crosses a vast stretch of water, river or tank, I ignore it; night robs me of distant aspects. The pass narrows strangles itself between imposing slopes, dripping with dew; between the vast circus of stones that rise in successive stages, the path ascends steeply on a soil slippery with damp sand; solitary cottages cling here and there to the slope of the mountains, meagre shelter of twigs in which the shepherds warm themselves close to large fires. On this lane which crumbles to dust under foot, move procession of chariots pulled by bulls; nearly all of them carry 'tins' of kerosine. Decidedly I shall be able to get some light in Kathmandu. Day downs so white that it mingles with the shine of the the Moon, but it grows quickly and penetrates triumphantly in the thickets that stopped the Moon.

I step on the ground to relieve my bearers. After passing the few huts of Chiriya, the valley opens and the road, large, easy and sandy as desired, appears like a park avenue shaded with giant trees with heights

Nepal

of between 1500 to 2000 metres in the distance. We cross a bridge thrown over a pretty deep-tones and limpid torrent which my bearers call the Keri. The bridge is only a light wooden foot-bridge: the bulls ford the torrent. We reach the Dharmasala of Hetauda where another sepoy relieves the one who had accompanied us from Bhichakoh. The coolies soon light up a straw fire; the straw is frozen with dew and we move again onwards. The path now crosses the Rapti and follows the middle of an enormous valley which the wooded heights seem to close in without an outlet. All along to the right and left, changing the path into a great road are the Hetaura shops of grain liquor, hookahs, cloth mercery and pottery merchants. The Hindu banyan has disappeared. It's all finished with India. The men are now mountaineers, small, thick-set, snub-nosed, with thick well separated lips disclosing large yellow teeth. Their hair is black and almost closely cut, the face flat large and with protruding cheek-bones, a little hirsute beard on the chin with a fairly good moustache coarse and drooping at the corner of the lips. The women are smaller yet yellower again the arms and legs massiver the bust splendidly opulent the head uncovered, the ebony black hair shining with oil, carefully smoothed, falling in long plaits or raised in a twist on the top of the head, strangely Japanese looking and yet so close to the Mayadevi, to the Sita and to the Damayanti.

We come out of the circus by the defile through which the Rapti flows and the path follows the course of the torrent, clinging to the mountain sides—these are well mountains now-embracing all their sinousities. A halt on the banks of the Samri crossed again by the pretty foot-bridge; we separate on a flat surface and all along the stream, proceed with a summary toilet; I hurry on with my breakfast and at 10 a. m. again we resume the

journey. The torrent reduced to its minimum yet thunders and makes a pretty noise at the bottom of the ravine. We have climbed already: Bhichakoh is only at a height of 990 feet: 330 metres; the bridge of the Samri is 1600 feet high, more than 500 metres. Hamlets are built on the edge of the road, hidden among the rocks on all flat surface; when the slopes lengthen, villages throng together all smiling surrounded by cultivations, and that climb higher and higher still, towards the 2000 metres (6500ft.). And always the torrent that growls and scams and breaks against the lofty rocks that have fallen down. The Sun is high up now it penetrates into the ravines. On the divine, the incomparable glow, prettier still than on the dry and dusty plains, in this atmosphere so pure in which a thin vapour floats shading off the roughness of the outlines without robbing the horizon of its distinctness, illuminated deep in its shadows by the resplendence of the most beautiful azure-skies. I found here again under different forms the intoxicating joys of colour which the Red Sea had made me feel once.

The path ends at Bhimpedi (3660 ft., 1200 metres) in a cul-de-sac; heights around descend everywhere perpendicularly. Good-bye the palanquins; I settle them all—Kahars (palanquin bearers) coolies and sepoy with gratification and I place myself in the hands of Nepalese. The Kahars, coolies and a sepoy came from Kathmandu with a dandi for me and less commodious for the use of Francesco. My dandi, a dandi of great luxury is very exactly a canoe; at the prow and at the stern poles are passed through; two men in front and two in the rear and for the rest let us believe (or reckon) with the laws of stable equilibrium; my francesco has an ordinary jolly boat and again a cloth one, in the manner of a hammock or shroud with the same system of suspension. Here the people are Hindus.

The benedictions traced in red lead on the wall of houses and in the shops are adorations to Ganeca, Krishna and Sarasvati. I learn—for two days I have only spoken Hindustani—that Bhimpedi owes its name to Bhima. The temple of the village ordinary square shut out with walls, adorned the temple of Bhimasena, Bhimpedi has quite a small chapel with a certainly ancient statue of Laksmi Narayan. The god and goddess hold each other amorously and Garuda is at their feet. I partake of a summary meal in an empty shop and fully enclosed—happy presage with the plank of cases in which is despatched from America (New-York. N. S.) the precious and economical kerosine oil.

Besides half of Bhimpedi is built with these planks. The bearers who from now replace the bull-chariots do not care to carry a useless load. From here to Sisagarhim a tough (stiff) climb on a rough and flinty road, constantly running perpendicularly. In two miles or three stiff kilometers, one climbs from 3660 feet to 5875 from 1200 to 1900 meters and under a warm Sun of 35 (centigrade) without any appearance of shade. My bearers will not tire themselves. I do the journey on foot. Francesco, who undergoes the trail of the mountain, lies doleful in his hammock, crying out fever. And all along this rough climbing street—porters succeed one another groups of between forty and fifty men painfully drag canalization pipes destined for Kathmandu; if this is the only road towards Kathmandu as the Nepalese feign to make believe, they can sleep in rest. One climbs under the canons of the fort of Sisagarhi which dominates the valley of Bhimpedi and commands the pass. In the precincts (enceinte) of the fort, a small bungalow had been erected for the use of the resident; the affair is very primitive besides; for bed a plank; in fact for other pieces of furniture a table and two

chairs. On the express request of Colonel Wylie, the bungalow is open for me; the Gurkha sentinel presents arms to me; the officers with jewelled badges fall in line and I take possession of my room, my cage or my prison cell. Colonel Wylie has well recommended me to remain in the bungalow; he has done so himself; the least curiosity, the least out of the way behaviour, will brand you as a spy.

It is 4.30 p. m., the Sun sets deep down the valley, disappears behind the heights; clouds and light mists also descend on the summits and stretch out towards the branches. The forest climbs to the very pinnacle; against the bungalow a plantain (banana) tree spreads its ample and delicate foliage. Night arrives, scintillating with stars, but coldish. This morning at 7 o'clock my thermometre records 30 (centigrade) and I get numbness of the fingers while gathering flowers. Another night reduced to its simplest expression. This morning, I wake up when day has already dawned. Hasty breakfast each one takes his load and blowing on my reddened fingers, I climb at a gallop the pass of Sasagarhi : 6500 ft., 2500 metre. O, unforgettable spectacle and all so sudden. In front of me, the flank descends vertically in the foliage; ahead scorched slopes (slopes that face the south scorched and parched by the Sun are here without verdure); far below again the large and sullen torrent and what a view of the horizon; an enormous line of frozen summits. A precipitous descent covered at a gallop takes us to the bank of the torrent, the Panoni; the path follows the bed of the torrent turning and twisting (or meandering) round every rock-wall; the cultures climb the slopes and the hamlets are pretty houses of one, two or even three stories with curved roofs and the frames of doors and windows of sculptured wood. I can see specimens that would do honour to any museum, lost here in these mountain recesses.

Towards 10 o'clock, the path leaves the torrent, ascends in a steep climb alongside the Chandragiri and ends in the cul-de-sac of Chitlong at 6125 ft., 2000 metres. Halt at the dharماسala. A caravan of Tibetans, Tibetans from Tibet pass on their way to Calcutta, living and speaking tableau of these continuous penetrations that history does not record. They would be hardly recognisable among the Gurkhas without their felt hats shaped like a cone all round with short and upturned brims; the women are almost identical to those of this place features department opulence of flesh hair head-gear, adornments but the complexion is of a deeper yellow, clearer, less tanned. Reached Chitlong at 11:30 a.m. We remain there only an hour and onwards again towards the pass of Chandragiri 1600 ft., 500 metres to climb on a perpendicular slope, but through the forest. At 2 p.m. we reach the summit; 7700 ft, more and 2500 metres with 350 in the Sun and a lovely verdant forest. The whole valley of Nepal lies at my feet, Kathmandu, Patan, Bhatgaon occupy the East; everywhere at the further and on the slopes villages and cultivations and East to West above the encircling mountains, a continuous lines, uninterrupted, without a branch of white peaks snows or ices that entirely close the horizon. Here they are quite close, three or four valleys to cross and beyond on the other side, Tibet, a piece of China.

The descent into Nepal would be impracticable without a staircase it has been found necessary, from top to bottom on a height of 700 metres, to build rough steps. Francesco, the unfortunate Francesco himself must alight. The valley of Thankot is reached and 14 kilometres of even road lead to Kathmandu. I jump into my dandi and my bearers carry me at a run. I cross the Bisnumati and disdaining the road for the resident that turns

round the town, I cross through the bazar, the bearers shouting, elbowing, pushing and overthrowing in the narrow streets. At 4.15 p.m. I reach the bungalow.

Friday 14th January- today compulsory meditation. All I saw of Kathmandu were the four wall of the garden surrounding the bungalow. The person executed by persuasion was already known; I am the prisoner by inducement. This morning, towards 9 o'clock, Captain Sahib Bhairab Bahadur sends a havildar to ask me at what time I would be able to receive him. Captain Sahib is by right of heritage, as were his father and grand-father, the regular messenger between the Residence and the Darbar. I propose to him 10 o'clock he arrives at 11 a.m. Morning lost awaiting him.

Charming manners, almost impressive of a galant soldier. Well, now everything at your disposal. Do you want? Do not stand upon ceremony. And what more? And I repeat to him what he knows already from my first for a pass, then from Colonel Wylie, then again from the letter which Colonel Wylie gave me for him and which I addressed to him as soon as I arrived my intention, my schemes the haste which I have to begin. "But certainly, I request you to consider me as a friend. A pony? You will have it. And also two sepoy to guide and help you (the pretty disguise the police assumes here). And I shall proceed to interview the temporary Maharaj so as to arrange for an interview between him and you. You are tired with the journey, it is so arduous of course not-O yes rest is essential rest for to-day; to-morrow I shall arrange everything." To-morrow the eternal to-morrow of the East. A word to the wise is sufficient. I only have to reign myself and to walk up and down in my little house and garden.

Furtunately I have a companion in captivity, Babu S. Mitra who represents alone this moment the whole personal of the residence a Bengali, corpulent, chubby, hairy and bearded, member of the Sadharan Brahmo samaj, bachelor, freed from the prejudices of caste, educated in English, fed with "quotations from Shakespere and who by delegation presents here my Providence in the name of the Wyles. He has by order and also by personal friendship, managed my house quite tastefully, small dining room, bureau-hall-room; a writing desk with everything needed for writing; sleeping room; a cloth stretched on four wooden legs- the beds in its simplest form; bathing compartment. It is again Mitra who sends me the vegetables and the preserves of the Residence which Madam Wylie has placed at my disposal. It appears that only mountains do not meet; I have come to doubt even this exception. In this semi-capacity at 4700 feet of altitude, in the heart of valley enclosed

by the Himalaya, isolated between India and China sole representative of Europe. I meet an acquaintance. Mitra knows me, knows that I am versed in Sanscrit, that I am married that I have at least a son, and what else does he not know ? What so much glory and renown. Only this : Mitra has been for six or seven years the agent of Pratap Chandra Roy; whilst this honest man was travelling great task of moral rejuvenation and proposed as an ideal to the new generations the old Sanscrit epopee of the Maha-Bharata, Mitra wrote the letters signed by Pratap; he has written to me as to many others and he has naturally read the replies. He would willingly spend the day chatting. Very curious of the West, that he dreams to visit, keen observer well informed on Nepal where he has dwelt for five or six years; he had made in the garb of a pilgrim the journey of Muktinath that I will not be able to do; my complexion is too fair.

(To be Continued)



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ८३
भाद्र-शरद्विन २०४१

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सम्पादक

जनकलाल शर्मा

Editor

Janak Lal Sharma

NEPAL

(Continued)

Two Months in Nepal

January-March 1898

Note book to sojourn

- Sylvain Levi

The son of the Pundit of the Residence comes afterwards; he brings me an old Pundit, Todarananda; both of them typical Nevars; small, very small, flat faced and nosed. They are absolutely, totally, radically ignorant. These poor Buddhistic Pundit know nothing, of Buddhistic literature not even the titles beyond those of the nine 'Dharman' which they have not read besides. They promise me make a search for manuscripts and to bring me a true Pundit who lives in Patan. The reputation has flown, there arrives on the spot the Jemadar, the factotum officer of the Residence, a Hindu of the Madhyadeca, devoted Vishnuist who knows as much Sanscrit as I do Hebrew. I recite to him the Gayatri and his admiration knows no limit, then the mantras to Krishna, Kecava and the whole litany. Here is a man who would fall at my feet. It is really moving to see his emotion in the presence of a sahib who knows the sacred language. In short he completely binds himself to serve me and Mitra cautions me that he is the most useful of auxiliaries; he has been attached to the Residence for the past twenty years.

I spent the rest of the day in attending to my unlucky Francesco, badly depressed, very feverish and shivering. In a few days time he was frightfully changed. He is distressed and so am I. I was compelled to employ a cook temporarily to replace him. This second-hand cook has sworn to pull my stomach to pieces and to assist him he needed a Khitmutgur a server a pown of filth an epopee of dirt. The country is cold; if the Nevars hardly wash themselves, he certainly never washes. The infamous rags that clothe him 'enrich' more again his filthiness with a repulsive appendage. I close my eyes and turn away the head when he bring the dish or attempts to clean a plate.

Saturday, 15th January- I would be entirely contented if I had not learnt to distrust the Nepalese. I spent a whole morning waiting till doomsday or more exactly under the orange tree since my garden is sown with orange trees and orange trees laden with oranges. It is not warm in the morning in the country where flourishes the orange tree. At 7 a.m. thermometre fluctuates between 3

and 5 (c) and till 10 a.m. one lives in a fine mist a real vintage mist. The sun dissipates it only towards 10.30 a.m. it gets warmer immediately 25, 28, 30 and 32 towards 2 p.m.; but the shade is lukewarm and nothing more; the thermometer hardly records more than 15, in the warm hours. It is the cold for an old Hindu; I have ordered myself a Nepalese costume, tight-fitting breeches with very loose upper end, tunic with large flaps tightened at the waist by a belt, the whole in a kind of lustring (stuff) of the colour of wine less and stuffed with padding (cotton).

Decidedly the Nepalese are right in closing the door; if they half-opened it, it would very soon be removed. It would be so nice to live here: a divine landscape - the valley of Gresi-vandan with Grebible and her circle of Alps, by Alps that are called Himalayas. The western peak is the Dhaulagiri; the Eastern one is the Gaurisankar. An eternal spring under a sky always blue, the caress of a luminous vapour, the pine trees side by side with the orange trees and the banana plants; the birds silent below are chatterers, singers, warblers a concert on all the trees; instead of the solitude that reminds of the lazaretto one lives here, even within the precincts of the Residence, with the natives. The post office is intermediate with the Residence and swarms with children who sing, laugh, play, fight, squall, live their lives. And the town is a marvel of pictureques with its pagodas of storied roofs, his many-coloured houses, the charming of the windows and doors where wood is sculptured with all the imaginations of a skilled mind and to what an extent, free the bazars where the oily and yellowish and filthy Tibetans hostile among mingled with the ferocious Patans almost white of complexion and filthy they also. An infinite variety of types going from the Aryan Hindus with

their long eyes, straight and strong noses, and clear complexions to the Moghuls, altogether yellow, squat; massive the eyes bridled and obliquely shaped. In crossing the villages, one also sees the gentleman on the threshold garbed with a string (pyjamas), and madam dressed in a petticoat and the tribe of children clothed in innocence,

And, as usual in military places, a perfume of gun-powder floats on all this. At 3 o'clock in the morning a canon shot announces the opening of the gates at nine o'clock at night another canon shot announces the closing and woe besides him who allows himself to be over-taken unawares later in the streets. The Nepalese police takes care to pass him... by opium. And all during the day one hears the trumpets, the rifle shots of the parade; the dazzling rays of the helios play all night on the higher parts of the surrounding mountains.

Francesco gets better. I have taken in my employment a kitchen help, 8 rupees; a sweeper ready to do anything, 5 rupees; a dhobi (washerman), 6 rupees; I have a Nepalese sepoy who guards me and another from the Residence who serves me as a post-boy. In short the house is settled and on what a scale, in comparison to that of the Himalayas. All these people swarm in my compound without drowning the melodious voice of the the birds. These are even sparrows in Nepal.

Captain Sahib asked me for a rendezvous. At the appointed time he arrives and informs me that the commander-in-chief, maharajah provisionally, Deb Sham Sher, would be pleased to see me at 3 o'clock. At 3 o'clock the royal landau comes to take me; Captain Bhairab is dressed in full-dress a pretty costume strictly blue-black with a few gold braids and his cap is bordered with a filligree of gold and crowned with a gold and

crowned with a plate. I put on my ceremonial gloves which will symbolize the 'full-dress', the etiquette not imposing the costume. Very handsome landau, sumptuous and comfortable; the amazed Gurkhas see me pass. Deb Sham Sher lives in a S. N. corner of Kathmandu, the bungalow is in the N. E. corner, we skirt the town the Champ-de-Mars and here appears the palace; an entanglement of constructions all modern the work of an architect of English schools, without characters, with Greek porches, but in an admirable setting. The entrance meanders one door after another sentinel after sentinel. It seems to me I have found again the darbars of Kattiawar. A crowd of servants who serve at nothing, of courtiers who put in an appearance of employers, of babus, below the galleries on the steps, at the windows. I am the event itself the talk of the day they are awaiting me.

Captain Bhairab introduced me in a vast hall, forty or fifty metres long that occupies the whole length of the facade of the first storey, filled up with the necessary bric-a-brac of sofas, chairs, bracket-tables, barm-chairs, chandeliers, gilded mirrors; on the walls, portraits painted by English artists and by the indigenous artists of the present maharajah and of his predecessors: Jang Bahadur, Bhim Sen, etc., life-size eminent men in entirely gilded frames and everywhere works of art in gilded bronze, the industry pre-eminently that of Nepal. In short, pressed by the push of too curious an assemblage of attendants the commander-in-chief enters, small, broad, wearing a gilded toque, wrapped in a long day gown, the mouth red with betel-nut with the red lead and sandal mark on the forehead, everything else connected with the daily puja, he invites me to take a seat next to him on a sofa and has his son sent for, a child of ten, or eleven years who is studying English, intelligent face and quite energetic

as the papa; white tunic of the Brahmans, chief's uniform babu's soutane all around Dev Sham Sher is well informed and starts immediately. The tournament begins. A pundit or so-called one addresses me in Sanskrit, painfully, incorrectly; a second Pundit appears my success in easy. Deb Sham Sher, attempts to articulate a few Sanscrit syllables: Purvasmin... Kale...Judhisthira...king...was...then....Sanscrit bhakha...in use..., and collapses under the strain. He speaks to me of the Cakuntala in Paris; he asks me if I believe in the devas if to my knowledge the prophecies of the Bhavisyat-Purana are exact; then if Sanscrit is printed in Paris. I speak to him about the Bhagavata of Burnouf. The name of Burnouf could not be ignored in the country of the manuscripts of Hodgson. He asks me to read him the legend in the French which accompanies and English engraving; the death of Tipu-Sahib and exclaims on the melody of French (Ah, if I had a 'golden voice'). I bring the interview to an end which would never end and Dev Sham Sher declares to me that he places himself at my disposal, that I may go where I wish to, that he would help me in the research of manuscripts and inscriptions. "Such a learned man come from such a distance is it not our duty?" Assuredly, your honour, but we shall see what the Nepalese all is worth. Liberty of entry of working, of reading, of having the manuscripts gathered at the Durbar library, copied not to-morrow, naturally, day after to-morrow; things must be placed in order, always the same system. And he gives an order to Captain Bhairab to 'drive' me through Kathmandu by the two or three roads through which a vehicle can pass.

In returning I settle my household accounts, 2 fowls, 8 annas; 1 dozen eggs, 3.5 annas; 1 barrom, 2 anna; a pot for water, 1 anna; Sugar 2.5 annas; butter 3 annas; a

tin of petrol as a recipient for water, 2 annas; vegetables, 1 anna; oranges, 1/2 anna; flour 2 annas. And in short the influential intervention of Captain Sahib and subsequently of the police have made it possible for me to purchase a sheep. It is true that I paid a lot; 2 rupees. To what and extent, and it is quite true, strangers are made the most of in Nepal (They are exploited to their detriment).

Sunday 16th January - At last I have begin to work. At noon the mukhya, quite an ordinary soldier in spite of the ambitious name he is given has come to inform me on behalf of Captain Sahib Bhairab Bahadur that the horse promised would not be available within two or three days, the Maharajah having taken away all the disponsible horses for his winter rounds in the country; at the same time he placed himself at my disposal. The sepoy given me by the Residence awaited me at the door. I then start on my trip with (for advanced-guard), vanguard the mukhya, a small Gurkha squat and ill-clad and stinking and for rear-guard the sepoy, tall bearded, truculent and simple a child's nurse in uniform. I meet Mitrananda, the son of the Pundit of the Residence who brings me his uncle Bhivanananda, a smal old man with a rumpled face who chews betel-nut. Will he turn out to be the desired Pundit? I address him in Sanscrit; he jabbars indignantly but adds in his almost indistinct dialect fifty per cent of Hindustani; he succeeds in explaining himself. His science of the Buddhistic texts does not go beyond the Lalita vistara. I recite to him the title of the works translated in Chinese and which I am bent on discovering in their original form; he does not know a single one, he does not even understand. In short, half a loaf is better than no bread; I propose to him to accompany me in my rounds in return for a salary he would serve

as a cover and as an introduction near the Buddhists of this place. He suffers from rheumatism, can hardly walk, lives in Patan; in short, he hopes to be cured by Tuesday and will then come and find me. As much as the Pundit in worth so much are the faithful (devotees) also. I got acquainted with the devotees of Cakyamuni. O tempora. O mores.

My mukhya is a fairly honest man, all dazed to behold a Sahib who knows Sanscrit. One must hear the tone of his praises of me to the crowd. In the afternoon half the population followed me about and I have not yet photographed or taken stampings anywhere; what will it be when I do start? The mukhya struck right and left in the crowd in advance and the sepoy did like-wise on the flanks. At the temple of Narayana, I meet a Brahman who speaks Sanscrit fairly well at the very moment when the horrified crowd shouts; juthi; juthi as it would shout at Home: Chapeau, Chapeau (Hats off Hats off). My leather shoes soil the floor of the temple. I turn round and face the disturbance, offering a Sanscrit dialogue in a raised voice. The Brahman replies and the conversations is engaged a public debate; no more protests, the crowd swells, advances, surrounds me and when I leave the temple, the Brahman follows me and shows me the inscriptions of the neighbourhood. My cortege interrupts the traffic. I have thus visited all the temple of Kathmandu; Civa, Visnu, the Buddha Ganeca, Bhimsena, without any preference, drawing up a set of notes on all the inscribed stones I met. They are legions. I have not found anything of a great age but dating from the fifteenth century. How many stelas and what beautifully engraved stelas. Kilometres and the kilograms of paper would be needed. I would like to take in everything indistinctly without choice or method. It is impossible besides under the pressure of the crowd to decipher line by line and to

separate the tares from the wheat. The mukhya has certainly received orders to assist me and it is a piquant spectacle to see the little Gurkha and the stalwart sepoy turning round the temple and striving to discover inscriptions.

I have gathered a poor experience from the Buddhists of Nepal. From the road I see or just catch a glimpse through the low gate in the rectangular compound of a house, a kind of stupa, I enter; I am stopped. Here stands a vihara this promises quite a store of Pundits monks, and a library. Go and see. The viharas of this locality serve as lodgings to father of families surrounded by their progeny and who exercises some kind of profession or do nothing at all. They know nothing beyond the names of the nine 'dharma's' of Nepal. In the court there are two inscriptions. I shall return with my old crippled Bhuvananda and if I am still stopped, he will take stamping. Buddhism is dying here; stupas and chaityas are still to be met with everywhere, but in the interior of the town they are abandoned and half in ruins. The only devotees still attached to them are the low caste tribes expelled in the suburb and the unclean Tibetans. O to be pushed along in a crowd of Tibetans males and females with their goat-skins, their oily plaits, their thick and falling hair. One would really wish to lose one's sense of smell.

Besides this is the domain of filth. The soil is poisoned. Benares is clean, the Calcutta of the natives is a real paradise if compared to Kathmandu. If one did not live here at a height of 1200 metres (3920 feet) if the wind of the glaciers did not blow, Kathmandu would be a cemetery. The narrow streets, pressed, leave to the pedestrian an irregular pavement between two quagmires of slush accumulated

and this is the enclosed field for bulls. with enormous heads; they freely move about in the town. Benares has her cows, the town of the Gurkhas should have its bulls. There is no more dreadful wild animal with its sudden violent fits of temper than these amiable quadrupeds have as much sympathy for the European as the horse for the elephant. Thursday, while crossing the bazar at a run in my dandi we are suddenly thrown aside, bearer and dandi by a strong 'back-wash' shouts are heard everywhere. Two bulls have become engaged in a struggle and it is a general 'sauve-qui-peut' (make best your escape) we slip away by a lane where the dandi collides with the walls. Today I peacefully draw an inventory at the base of a temple. New shouts another 'back-wash'; again a fight between two bulls. No sooner is one seen on the horizon than my mukhya stands on my right, the sepoy on my left, both of them their sticks held up threateningly.

Tomorrow morning, peaceful distraction, I will go and examine the collection of manuscripts belonging to the Maharajah. And I will perhaps have my Nepalese costume stuffed with padding that I am awaiting with impatience. The darhi who has measured me disdains the progress of the French Revolution, away with the centimetre. Just a bit of twine which he relies on as a unit of measure between his forearm and fingers; this is the system of Nepalese mensurations.

Monday the 17th January - Another delay. The mukhya brings me a letter from Captain Sahib, always very amiable. I will have my pony today; but the library is closed. The guardian of the library has a religious ceremony (puja) in his family." I will then take stampings and the attendants will swell up with a coolie who will carry the camera,

the paper, the brushes, the pot of water.
Goodness me, what a lot of bandobast

Kathmandu, 18th January - Cakyamuni by you I have vanquished. All the doors of viharas have opened wide and in order to profit by it I hasten to make a circuit, brush in hand, before visiting the Hindu temples the inventory of which I had drawn up. I employed for assistance, Mitrananda and now it is everyday a solemn procession that goes past through the vast avenues of Kathmandu. The mukhya goes ahead the stick in hand, pushing as much as is needed peaceful but very compact crowd, then my pony, a pony belonging to the maharajah if you please a squat and heavy looking animal of Tibetan race, strong and steady on his feet, valuable asset on this uneven soil; on the pony myself done with my helmet, bowing to the few natives who bow; the great number of them stare at you with distrust and suspicion. Ahead of me, a syce; behind me my gallant and good sepoy, my child's nurse, then the Pundit, small indeed, dressed in his white garments; and lastly the coolie carrying on his shoulder, hanging from the two extremities of a pole like the pans of a pair of scales, the two baskets that contain paper, brush, etc. I must say that everything appears to succeed; I feel I am becoming popular, thanks to a few bowings but especially to the few pals (pies) distributed to the urchins and papers.

The small statured folk make me profuse 'salams' and even yesterday one of them devoutly touched the brim of my hat. The first vihara where I attempted to enter yesterday the Tyekambahal, at the entrance to the town in coming from the East, was rather reserved; it was necessary to start a discussion, then to manage without help and lastly to make a display without the least modesty of the deepest knowledges (their ignorance is distressing) and then the whole population of the vihara,

men, women, children, come out from these infections rooms, surround me, guide me, help me, clean the stones, fetch water, and the pujari of the Vihara who is an Udas (the second caste of the Nevar Buddhists) goes so far as to bring his book of mantras, a collection very anodynous of stanzas in honour of the Buddha. The chapel is opened and statues are exhibited to me; Cakyamuni between Lokeshvara and Maitreya; above the door a magnificent panel of sculptured wood shows in its centre Maha-Vairocana who holds in his multiple hands a pustaka (book) then two hands joined in prayer above the head; above him in a small frame also sculptured in the wood, Nama Samgiti carrying a book and I think a rosary; lastly a small triptych of wood figures the Triratna; the Buddha in the centre; Dharma and Samgha by his sides. The viharas are simply buildings erected around a rectangular court wherein live in families and in putrefaction the Nepalese Buddhists; in the centre of the court is a caitya adorned with the four images of Amoghasiddhi, Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava and Padmapani on the four facings of the square block which carries the cupola each one in thier niche; several of these caityas even the most modern ones are surrounded with a balustrade 'railing' which reproduces exactly in its arrangements that of Acoka at Mahabodhi and at Sanchi; but I have seen any that show sculptured medallions. Often caitya of smaller size are scattered around the central caitya and sometimes also, like to Matsyendra Natha, in Lagan-bahal, pillars are erected, quadrangular flats on which inscriptions engraved. I have taken stampings of the reign of Nripendra Malla, masterpieces of splendid ones of lapidar epigraphy. Lastly facing the entrance gate there opens a chapel to the devotees wherein the statue of Cakyamuni receives homages and hymns. The interior view of these courts is a ravishment; all the windows

are sculptured panels that offer a surprising variety of adornments. The art of sculpturing wood is still preserved in the viharas. I have been shown to-day in the disposed in fan-like fashion gods, goddesses, animals and flowers, which has to be despatched in few days hence to the temple of Mahabodhi as a token of homage: the Art Museum of decorative works would cover it with gold.

But if one's eyes are opened one's nose must be closed. Kathmandu deposits her filth in her courtyards instead of her sewers. The rainy season undertakes the washing; the human rejection then flow into the streets and accumulate in pestilential rubbish heaps. Babu Mitra who has travelled all over India assures me that he had never seen a dirtier place than Kathmandu. Fortunately, the atmosphere is bracing; to-day, outside the Sun that scorches the shade is scarcely tepid; this evening it registers 6; last night at 4 a.m., 3 only; whilst I was working yesterday in the courtyard of Matsyendra Natha vast place where there rises a beautiful temple with roofs decreasing in size, surrounded by numerous caityas, I hear myself being spoken to in Sanscrit. It is a Yogi established in the temple of Tripurevara on the Bagmati. Rumour informed him of my arrival and he hastened to meet me. He speaks a Sanscrit exceeding will like the true Pundits of Benares and he claims to convert me to the Yoga. Perched on a caitya he recites or preaches with a flow of Bengali words, proclaims the uselessness of stampings and of history and extols the practices of ascetism. I promise to go and see him in his temple; one can just conjecture whether a crowd had gathered compact and pressing. To-day good-luck; a Nepalese officer, whom my visits to the viharas have moved, comes to me in the middle of the road, accosts me in fairly distinct Sanscrit, offers to guide me and help me in other ways, follows me from

stone to stone from courtyard to courtyard (these are viharas like the Lagan bahal with four courts in a line communicating by narrow and overhanging gates) and the work completed he again offers me his services for to-morrow. Here is my battalion increased by an unit.

It must besides be admitted and proclaimed that these Nepalese so discredited belief rumour, I find them amiable and complaisant to a degree. Babu Mitra attributes it to by personal influence, but he is a Babu; one must rather thank the Commander-in-chief Deb Sham Sher who gave most decent orders to facilitate my task; it is forbidden now to sell the old manuscripts without first offering them to the library of the Darbar which reserves itself the right of pre-emption. The rule is a dead letter in my favour. I have only to pay for the copy of manuscripts, the Government tariff and not the private tariff namely the days taken by the copyists; the ink, paper nibs are not in my account.

This morning, Captain Sahib Bhairab Bahadur has sent me a basket of citrons; he has also accompanied me to the Library established in the new buildings of the Darbar School. The whole staff awaited me in pomp and the four Pundits who are employed as librarians and copyists and the army of assistants and even a Tibetan employed in classifying the few Tibetan texts. The manuscripts are well classified, laid on shelves, carefully enveloped and labelled. The Buddha-Castra has been rather a deception; a few ancient manuscripts and all or nearly all, already known. The only new one I found was the Abhisamayalamkara, a commentary of the Astasahasrika by Haribhadra in 164 pages; I have ordered myself a copy which will cost about thirty rupees and also of the Nepala Mahatmya. Lastly I have ordered a copy of the

Yavana-Jataka; I have not in hand works of reference and will not find any here, but I do not believe I can recall that this Yavana-Jataka is known elsewhere and forgotten; the manuscripts is ancient, on palm leaves, complete, but many of the leaflets are partly destroyed. Besides, I have placed it aside to take up again its examination.

The hunt for manuscripts has not yet paid back, Mitrananda has brought me an ancient manuscript and ornamented with the Astasahasrika and the Pancaraksa (Mahamayuri-vidya rajni, etc.) and from elsewhere I have been generously offered an ancient manuscript (palm leaves) and very fragmentary and mutilated with the said Astasahasrika and another of the Pancaraksa. I wish for something newer of the unheard of or at least of something rare. I have also been offered a Tibetan manuscript in white letters on a dark background; it is quite simply a translation of the Vajrachedika. As the manuscript is of a beautiful paleography, I shall take it if I can obtain it at a fair price, because each possessor of a manuscript believes himself in principle possessor of a treasure.

Wednesday 19th January—Night falls; the sun sets here at an early hour toward 4.30 p.m., behind the Chandragiri and the sun takes away the beneficial heat. Splendid day besides, of a clearness that revealed all the folds of the enormous glaciers on the horizon from the Dhaulagiri to the Gaurisankar very soft also, lukewarm even after night of hoar-frost: the grass this morning was all powdered and a light crust of ice covered the pot of water. I profited by an idle morning forced on me to visit the Residence. The 'Lines' occupy the summit of a plateau to the N. E. of Kathmandu, separated for the time by a vast field where the Gurkhas indulge in horsemanship and where slumber herds

of cows, the plateau falls abruptly towards the N.W. facing mount Nagarjun on the large valley where the Bisnumati, too small for her bed, waters rich cultivations. A path of 5 to 6 metres wide only unsets the territory of the residence enclosed on its whole length by walls and thickets and guarded at the entrance by a Nepalese guard-house. All the real kindness I meet here does not suffice to dissipate this after taste of prison. The Residence, a very modest cottage is built in the middle of an English park; then the house of the doctor is still more modest and reaches almost the hospital of the residence which is also very modest and built for 8 or 10 patients, less encumbered now that the Darbar has had erected a vast hospital is under the care of a Bengali assistant, entrusted besides with recording the meteorological observations communicated monthly to Calcutta. I have looked into his books and ascertained that the mean pressure of Kathmandu is 25 inches 650 (641-35). In the dry season it constantly shows a pressure of 25 inches 550 (637,50). The mean rainfall is 56 inches (1, 40). The highest figure I found is 74 inches 51 (1, 862) in 1893; the lowest 47 inches (1, 175) in 1896 year of famine. A line or group of Tibetans spread its stinking filth before the hospital; they were waiting to be vaccinated. It appears that they are very zealous adopters and they come everyday even from Lhasa. I have photographed a group. Besides the Tibetans more than abound here, they are met everywhere and they are smelt before seen. They bring with them flocks of sheep and she-goats destined for the market. The Gurkhas (with the exception of the Brahmans) eat the flesh of these animals. The lowest castes even eat buffalo's meat but nobody dares naturally to taste the meat of the cow. I have to visit the doctor immediately afterwards.

Last evening I held small darbar, the officials of the Residence attended; post-master,

doctor and jemadar came to greet me with their salams. At noon I resumed my rounds surrounded by my cortage. The beginnings have been uninteresting. Entering by the north of Kathmandu, I reach the Thomal-bahal (Vikarama Simha Vihara). I was energetically refused entrance and not a single Pundit nor a pujari. Filthy women and stupefied men. Intolerance is truly the sister of ignorance, I depute Mitrananda who takes the stamping of an inscription, it is one of Parthivendra Malla as is also the sculptured panel above the entrance gate. Same reception at the Gunakara-Vihara where old women and buxom yellow faced lasses, in torn rags, spread grain to dry in the courtyard. But at the temple of Kathisambu, some progress is made. The men come out of the houses that surround the caitya and charm does the rest. I do not succeed in climbing on the platform at the base of the cupola, but I am free to move about elsewhere. The caitya is very large, it raises its gilded arrow to a height of about twenty metre, (65 ft.). It is entirely white of newly laid stucco, from the arrow descend and connect to four small surrounding caityas, stings on which dangle a long line of many coloured bits of cloth. A very small balustrade exactly at the foot of the staircase which leads to the platform, in front of the staircase stands a recent pillat dated in 1010 (1890) crowned with a brass statue of the Vajrasattve. The inscription which is engraved on it consists especially of a (stotra) of the Buddha. In the N. W. of the caitya, a Nepalese pagoda, in wood patiently sunk, surrounded by a wreath of small flags, rattles and mirrors. The mirror seems and offering much appreciated, they are found hanging from the walls of Hindu and Buddhistic temples. The Kathisambu is much worshipped; thus it is that the surrounding courtyard is encircled by small monuments; nothing ancient as regards inscriptions there also; two stelas of Pratap Malla and Nrpendra

Malla. A small vihara is adjoining to the large one, to the South in a large square of slush and rubbish surrounded by houses, a pillar dated from 932 carrying on the summit two small statues in adoration that represent the donors on the northern side a Devistotra.

In proceeding towards the South, a large square covered with temples in ruin (Thamri square); in front of one of these temples a pillar carries the image of Narayan riding on Garuda and a hymn to Narayana dated 783, without a kings name; inscription very badly mutilated.

From Kathisambu no more difficulties anywhere; the crowd who conveys me also conveys my reputation. At the Karnakottama mahavira a stela the fragment of a stela buried in the wall like in almost all cases bears the name of Kavindra Pratap Malla with an ordinary list of danapatis but the year is missing. At the Harsacaitya-Maha-Vihara, inscriptions of 905 and 931; the pujari states that the monastery owes its name to king Harsa who founded it, but nothing ancient. He promises to show me - one of these days - the manuscripts he has. He ignores what they are; I still expect a Pancataksa. At last I end the day at the Dhokabagak in 812, reign of Bhupalendra Malla.

Monday 20th January-I began the day by a walk to Svayambhunath; the grass was still white with hoar-frost. The thermometre fell this morning at sunrise to 2 at 8.30 a.m., it rose to 3 and while returning I risked a sun stroke at 11.30 a.m. Ordinary reconnoitring attempted in haste, helped only by the mukhya and the sepoy. Svayambhunath, Syambhunath as they pronounce it here, is to the E.N.E. of the town, to the E. S. E. of the Residence, beyond the Bisnumati on a conical hill with steep flanks, ahead of the mountains and

entirely clothed in verdure. The lofty brass arrow stands out alone and distinct above the foliage. The path meanders round the town, crosses the Bisnumati on a bridge and cuts across fields, arranged in gradations to protect the soil against the gulying of the rains. All along the sacred path, caityas succeed one another. At the foot of the hill, the path changes into a staircase; but what a staircase; Rough, uneven, ruinous, tottering, narrow and slippery steps. Sarcastic monkeys play on the steps appear and disappear, look with an air of wicked pity on their human brethern who perspire in the climb; caravan of Tibetans climb and descend; uglier, dirtier and less skillful than the monkeys. Between two lines of stupas under a real bower the platform is at least reached; a vajra (a great warrior) of giant size, entirely gilded, laid on a socle also of giant size, adorns a copper bell-tower with an arrow, discloses at the four points of the compass, entirely gilded chapels of the four Bodhisattvas. The emotion a church feeling, captures one at the first step; the bells peal, rattles play chimes, muffled voices under the vault of the chapels sing hymns and discreet flutes accompany the voices. The spirit has undoubtedly changed but the exterior aspect of Svayambhu can scarcely differ from the temples that Acoka knew. On the platform at the summit of the hill, on the sides and behind the caitya it is a real chaos of small monuments. caityas, stelas statues of giant black Buddhas or entirely white Buddhas or again all red. I search in vain for a dated inscription. Here again it is (Begin) history; at the entrance Pratapa Malia has had engraved on a high stela a stotra (hymn) of his own. An enormous stela engraved in the XVIIth century is bilingual; Sanskrit at first, Tibetan underneath. Besides Tibet counter-weighs and eclipses India. The Om mani padme hum is laboriously everywhere inscribed in Tibetan letters; line of Tibetans with their long greasy hair adorned with a circle (or band) that

frames their head with a hale complete the circuit round the great caitya with a piety as much anthusiastic as it is singular; they fall flat on the stone, the arms in front and murmur a few dharani, trace on the stone as far as the hand can reach a chalkline, they rise and with their feet on the line of chalk just traced they prostrate themselves once again to begin again the same exercise. When passing in front of the four principal chapels, they stop and address to the Bodhisattva a fervent prayer, transfigured by a mystical faith that almost beautifies them. The Nevars are contented with bringing, flowers red lead, sandal wood, as would be performed to Siva and Visnu. Not a Pundit to be met at Svayambhu not a 'Sanskrit bolewala' I would have liked to inform myself on the antiquities on the books kept by the temple. Not a soul. And yet how many centuries have written here their history? Where does it sleep? Under the ground or in the temples ?

I went my way home, a little disappointed at this negative result and after breakfast I pursue with my habitual dignity my rounds of the viharas. I enter the Mahabuddha Vihara, undoubtedly ancient; only one stela of this century in the courtyard decorated by a stupa of stucco and two of stones. All on a sudden I am spoken to in Sanscrit in elegant Sanscrit. I reply the dialogue begins. I learn that the stupa of stucco has been according to tradition, erected by Acoka that the vihara has inscriptions, copper plates, manuscripts, but that it is impossible to see them. These ignorant begins defend with zest the treasures that they know not how to employ. One can read here, by way of text, the Catasahasrika Prajna paramita; the recital of the work, divided in uncertain section, lasts exactly the space of one year. My speaker calls himself; it is Damaru vallabha, the honour of Nepal a Pundit whom Haraprasad Sastri showed me as a superior. He

gives me as a meeting place on the morrow the library of the Maharajah; he promises that if I remain here a month and a half or two months, all the gates would open. I take leave of him and guided by my pseudo Pundit (an abyss of ignorance), I went my way towards the Toho-bahal.

Right against the wall of the town, in a heap of ruins, I see one of those stelas that abound here in thousands, to the extent of discouraging one's curiosity, I approach to better read the date, it is of the reign of Narendra Malla. A statue of Mahakala is right against it; even with the ground on the socle, I seem able to decipher archaic characters. Here is some antiquity. Mitrananda quite calmly assures me that this is something of modern Nevar work. I begin to clean the stone. Here you, Pundit, come and read your Nevar. Mitrananda has nothing to say. The inscription is a dedication and the first words are: Samvat 412 rajnah Cri Manadevasya; the date and name are absolutely certain and clear. Once again the crowd gathers, fairly hostile at finding me handling the statue, where stains of red lead attest a recent puja. The mukhya begins to extol my science and throws a challenge who wishes to speak in Sanscrit with the Sahib? Nobody replies and for reason. I wish to take a photograph of the statue. Ill-luck the shutter refuses to act. I ment it and screw and unscrew it and when I point it at the statue the whole thing gets out of place again. Bad luck. I can distinctly here in the crowd that surrounds me that the god is defending himself against me. To put an end to it, I work the camera any way, but with a triumphant air, bent on returning on another occasion, and I declare with satisfaction that everything has completely succeeded. Then I send for the pujari who gives to the statue the daily worship; I hand him half a rupee to celebrate a puja in my name; and thus flattered, I reveal to him the age of

the statue that surpasses in antiquity all that I had hitherto seen are Kathmandu. Visible change; my man demands precise explanations and swells with pride. His statue anterior to the Nepala Samvat. And now it happens that I am treated with regard and already the group that surrounds the pujari speaks about erecting a chapel over the statue. Unfortunate Mahakala. Will it be due to me that he owed the renewal of his religion. And always the same question: are you a German? I repeat my eternal speech: I am a French, France is a great country. In short a small epigraphical discovery.

Saturday 22nd January- To-day, holiday on account of an eclipse. Captain Sahib sent word to me that it would be better to give up my daily occupations, I had set out before him by giving yesterday evening a holiday to the whole of my staff. I began feeling also the need for rest. In the morning, always in great ceremony, I leave for Harigaon, a village situated at a distance of two miles E of Kathmandu and where Damaru vallabha had mentioned to me of ancient ruins. I explore the chapels, I scatter the detritus from which emerge broken stones. Always the Mallas. A stena leaning against chapel dates from the reign of Narendra Malla Samvat 653 (1533). Another stela is dated from the reign of Bhupalendra, samvat 819 (1699). But a man from the village offers to show me an old ruin. I descend with him a very rustic staircase which leads to a small tank at the foot of the plateau on which Harigaon is built, towards the East. In the middle of the tank there rises a statue of Garuda and from the bank there appears on the pillar a long inscription in characters manifestly archaic. The stamping is far from being easy, the water is fairly deep, the bottom or (bed) slimy and the socle of the pillar is just large enough to stand upon. The villagers throw stones and pebbles to make me a very small pavement, and the Pundit, sepoj and I cling to the pillar,

under a blinding sun, take a double stamping. The inscription is composed of about thirty lines engraved with care, but the first lines have disappeared and the date is missing. The character of the writing in any case leaves no doubt: impossible to take a photograph at a convenient distance, right in the middle of the tank; I was obliged to take up a position on a kind of platform facing the pillar and which carries a small temple in ruins dedicated to Satya Narayana; the fragments carry no inscriptions. The pillar seems of great interest to me on account of its date; the inscriptions deal with literary chronology, the pillar and the statue concern the chronology of art. I have only had time to see another inscription at the foot of an image of Laxmi-Narayan fitted in the Eastern ledge of the tank and which bears the date of 139 (1019) without a king's name. The inscription was buried, I have had it brought to light again and I mean to take a stamping of it when I shall return to Harigaon.

In the afternoon I returned to the Library of the Darbar where awaited me Damaru vallabha at the head of all the staff. For about three hours I examined the manuscripts. Lastly to distract myself I looked at the eclipse. It was almost a total one here, we were less than a 100 kilometre from the line of totality and at 2 o'clock and 8 minutes, mean

time (1 o'clock 56 minutes, astronomical time) there only remained of the Sun a thin crescent released like the new-Moon, but this little sufficed to destroy the grandiose impression so it seems of the totality. The urchins were shouting on all sides; "Rahu let go the sun", the dogs barked at the urchins, noise but the bulls have continued to graze without manifesting any distress. Strange, however, if not grandiose, this progressive attenuation of the light under a cloudless sky; a sunlit landscape viewed through a smoked glass no irradiation, no splendence; a dull brightness dim and dreary with opaque shadows a sensation of something unreal. The moment of the totality is captivating. Streak of shadows overlap one another like those shiverings of warm air that rise from the fields on summer days; a sudden and singular puff of cool breeze shake the branches. The thermometre which was registering 20 at noon, falls to 17 at the half eclipse and all of a sudden to 13 whilst at 4 p.m. it had risen again to 28. Spring is approaching here; whilst the garden orange trees are still laden with fruits, we find the apricot-trees adorning themselves with an exquisite white efflorescence. My garden besides changes into a poultry-yard; two sheep browse in it, and a turkey-cock chuckles. The bungalow of Lucullus.

(To be continued)



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ८४

कार्तिक-मंसिर २०४१

Ancient Nepal

Number 84

October-November 1984

सम्पादक

जनकलाल शर्मा

Editor

Janak Lal Sharma

NEPAL

(Continued)

Two Months in Nepal

January-March 1898

Note book to sojourn

- Sylvain Levy

Sunday 23rd January—Return from Patan. One hour's walk to the Residence, a little less than three quarters of an hour to Kathmandu. The path skirts the Eastern wall of the town and the monocuvring fields passes through the suburb of eastern wall of the Trilokecvara skirts the recently built temple of Laksmi Narayan and the gardens whence there rises a heap of Dharmacalas peopled with Sadhus (priests); and facing the Thapathali (the palace of the Commander-in-Chief); turns suddenly towards the West to cross the Bagmati on a bridge of bricks. Lost in its vast sandy bed, the Bagmati would not sufficient during the dry season to the piety of the faithful eager to bathe in it: a small arm has been canalized that runs alongside the ghats at the foot of the temple of Laksmi Narayan. Having crossed the river, the path takes another sharp elbow towards the South.

Patan is a vision of fairly-land still more enchanting than the too uniform Jeypore. The roads larger than those of Kathmandu, often paved with large slabs are covered paths sheltered by the approach on both sides of the large Nepalese roofs; not a house without sculptures and colours; the beams,

the small beams, the lintels, the window-sash frames are sculptured with a kind of devilish inspiration. And everywhere temples, pagodas, caityas, combining all the types of Indian architecture adapted by the most picturesue taste, red bricks, green bricks, gilded brick, profusely decorated of sculptured wood and crowned with a kind of Chinese pavilion with roofs rising tier upon tier; and on the square there group in the most amusing disorder, pagodas with rattles and temples with colonnades and high bevelled pillars surmounted by copper statues.

My first visit has naturally been to the Pundit Kulamana whom Indrananda had mentioned to me as the pride of Buddhistic science. Oh, the kingdom for the blind. The honest Kumamana awaited me in ceremonial dress, yellow shirt with a kind of black overcoat; carpets had been spread on the ground of the court near a caitya and there the conversation begin. I was at first compelled to swallow the recital of a Cakyasimha stotra (hymn) composed by Indra with the Pundit's commentary, then a Triratna stotra with its glossary. I took up the same texts, gave them a commen-

tary of my own and at the same moment I became a very learned man. The road having thus been paved, I request him to show me his manuscripts. He brings me a Gandavyuha, a Bodhicaryaratra, a Pancaraksa. I tell him that we people in Europe know these things to our finger tips; I need something new, something unheard of, of something unforeseen. I reveal to him— he hardly expected it, all that Buddhist literature has produced and lost and he gives me his word of honour that he would begin a search and bring me what he finds. He follows me afterwards to the Hiranyavarna Vihara, the most important of Patan: in spite of the Pundit, I meet with a positive result and the good Pundit, a little vexed, explains to me then that the Buddhists are not the masters they share the vihara with the Caivas who are unmanageable, Mitrananda, the mukhya and the sepoy then go inside and take stamping of the stelas. There wretched people conceal their antiquities. On my way I take the inscription engraved on the royal throne and which dates from Narendra Malla; I come across an inscription of Siddhi Narendra Malla 757 (No 17 of Bhagvanlal) on one of the temples on the square of the Darbar Mitrananda shows me on the square to the south of the Durbar a small caitya of bricks covered over stucco and which

passes for a monument of Acoka; but I vainly scatter and search in the surrounding detritus, nothing, nothing. At last at the corner of a street, I see a stela that rises above the bricks of the pavement and on which I think I can discern archaic letters. To work, we dig up pull out, better in a hole of fifty centimetres without any regard for the department of roads and bridges and I find myself facing the inscription No. 3 of Bendall, now buried.

And I tender my excuses to the Nepala unjustly discredited. I received this morning the visit of Captain Sahib who brought me from Deb Sham Sher the two volumes of the 'Isis Unveiled' of Madam Blavatsky and a nataka (drama) Kucalavodaya, published in 1897 and composed by the Pundit Chubi Lal Socri, favourite of Bhim Sham Sher, general-in-chief and brother of Deb Sham Sher. Further as I express to him the desire to examine Bhatgaon at leisure, he proposes to place a house at my disposal thither, so as to avoid me an excessive loss of time, Bhatgaon being 7 miles from here. In short he informs me that Nepalese suit (of cloths) including the belt and cutlass. They seem to take a pride in showing the spontaneity of their hospitality during the Residents absence.

(To be Continued)



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ८५

दशै-माघ २०४१

Ancient Nepal

Number 85

December 1984-January 1985

सम्पादक

जनकलाल शर्मा

Editor

Janak Lal Sharma

NEPAL

(Continued)

Two Months in Nepal

January-March 1898

Note book to sojourn

- Sylvain Levi

Tuesday 25th January - Another lucky day. Mangal var, Mangal-ka-din I took care to draw my escort's attention to it; Tuesday (mangal var): it is a day of good luck (mangal) and it is certain that if I jested in saying it they took it very seriously. Their superstition goes together with their native simplicity. Now that I have done my Nepalese suit, I have my 'letters patet' of Hindu conversion. I cannot struggle against a feeling of affection to see them all. Pundit, mukhya, sepoy and even my humble coolie, explore the walls shake the stones interrogate the inhabitants, stir them up for the hunt extol to them my Brahmanic science (Oh, the brahmavarcas, I know now what it means) and their faces joyously brightening when the fatidicalvry escapes my lips: "this is antiquity", and then questions are asked on the date on the antiquity on the bygone king on the value of the letters, and the good king Vikramaditya serves as a starting point to this chronology.

Yesterday another exploration through Patan of which I had only seen the splendours or at least the picturesque charms. What a reverse to the medal. The sack of the town by

the Gurkhas which is a century old now seems to have been an event of yesterday; broken down houses temples in ruins roads where the pavements disappear under heap of filth, stupedied and anxious faces everywhere with the stink of putrefaction in the air. My first visit goes to the Zimpi Tandu, one of the four great stupas erected on the corners of the town and attributed to Acoka. Tradition cannot be far from wrong. On a basement of circular bricks of about a metre in height there rises a cupola of bricks covered over with earth and turf, without any adornments. On the summit there rises a king of scaffolding made of wood which supports the symbolic parasel on feast days. Nothing more. The diametre is about 12 metres. All round here like everywhere one sees small stone or stucco caityas surmounted as usual with the bell turret of pointed roof and decorated with four Bodhisattvas. There is no vihara erected around this stupa; the vihara of Zimpi Tandu is built on the other side of the road; the stupa thus commands a beautiful view of the banks of the Bagmati and of the mountains. Picturesque Patan is standing against

the southern border of the valley and the long white mass of the Himalaya closes the horizon to the North whilst Kathmandu in the middle of the valley catches a glimpse of the glaciers through the passes of the first mountains. In spite of the name of Acoka in spite of the evidence of his ancient constructions, the stupa has no antique inscription. The most ancient stone dates from the reign of Civa Simha 734 (1614) and nothing can be derived from these ignorant beings, for long degenerates of a dying religion. The Pundit of the place is brought to me. He literally knows nothing has read nothing and I predict to him;—it is his vyakarana—that he will fall in hell. Have they in their fully allowed their antiquities to get lost? Do they conceal them by a sentiment of blind (unreasonable) jealousy? The problem requires solving. The inscription of Civa Simha, in Nevar gives the name of Sthula-Caitya to the caitya and the Pundit tell me that it stands for the Sanscrit name of Zimpi Tandu. And in his courtyard where the soil covers and conceals undoubtedly epigraphical treasures, inhabitants of the neighbouring vihara, in rags, spread to dry in the sun a rank grass the smell of which would make one swoon and that serves for their food. Who is it who has said: Tell me what you eat and I shall tell you what you are.

Quite close to the North is a temple of Ganeca where stelas give the dates of 772, 789, 829, 930, but without any royal name. We move along to the neighbouring vihara the Alok-Vihara; there we find one of those washing places that abound at Kathmandu and Patan; a fairly deep ditch where water pipes of brick-work divert the waters of neighbouring sources into it. Justice must be given to the Nevars. I have seen some of them who wash themselves at least once in their lives. Men, women and children all clothed in very small wraps spash rub and twist their hair and my

presence scarcely perturbs them. I met my first snake here. In front of me a pretty little reptile of about a metre and a half in length springs out; its forked tongue darts out neatly and it amuses itself in the mossy fountain. A woman leans her bare back against the wall on which the snake is climbing, I think it necessary to shout out in my simplicity: "Samp, A snake". No notice paid, I failed in the attempt as far as man can remember these snakes have harmed nobody and the place is seething with them. I was thankful for the advice. A large statue of Cakyamuni in the classical pose the legs crossed, presides over the bathing-place. On a very small stupa I read the date 535 (1415). Through the deserted and unclean streets we overtake another small stupa, of bricks and stucco. 2m 50cm high, attributed to Acoka. Nothing but modern stelas.

On the side, towards the West, there lies another ditch but abandoned, where stagnates a brackish & repulsive pool of water. A stela rises from it and allows one to perceive ancient letters we build a foot-bridge on the mephitic slime and work the brush. The crowd gathers at this unusual sight and the public voice tells me of the arrival of a Pundit; he pandita and the dialogue begins before an attentive and curious audience. Here again a poor specimen of a Pundit; He says he has no practice in Sanscrit, he rather makes use of the "Bhasa". And do you believe Mr. Pundit-ji that Sanscrit is commonly spoken in France. Impossible to convey to him the kind of curiosity that had urged me to come from so far into Nepal to gather bits of manuscripts and inscriptions. He concludes. "Tatha svadece Svagunaparako bhavisyati". It is the "ut declamatio fias" translated in Sanscrit. And to think that after all he may be in the right. I will reply to him with Manu: "Jadaval loka acaret" "one must live in the world like a beast". In following the

road to Sangal tol, I see on my way a stone used as a water pipe, but now serving no purpose, bearing traces of ancient inscriptions. And I reach Mahabuddha-Vihara where lives the uncle of my Pundit Bhivanananda. The poor fellow is ailing with rheumatism which prevent him from walking and guiding me. The temple of Mahabudda-Virara shows off among the pagodas and the caityas being of pure Hindu style, crowned with a small vimana profusely sculptured and fairly recalls the temple of Mahabodhi Vihara. It deserves a particular attention, unfortunately it is pressed so closely between the houses of the vihara that it scarcely allows of a passage two metres wide; It is impossible to survey it at a glance. The poor Bhuvavanda shivers with fever, it would be better to return. I end the day visiting the neighbouring vihara : Unko Vihara (Rudra varna-vihara) to the south of the Mahabodhi, a beautiful vihara two courtyards in depth clean, well kept looked after, with pillars, caityas and ordinary chapels, but nothing but recent stelas.

This morning I return to Harigaon. In spite of the truly impressive complaisance of my assistants, vihars and temples disclose nothing and I begin to lose hope when on reaching the rustic staircase which leads to the pillar in the tank. I discover a stela buried, but just peeping above a platform that carries a ruined and abandoned temple. I distinguish the traces of ancient letters. My Mukhya - and one could speak ill of the Nepalese Government-proves the soil with his large knife, the knife that all Nepalese carry at the waist; the sepoy Cri Ram Singh who looks tenderly after the Mleecha (barbarian), no, the Sahib Pundit as they say, removes the stones, enlarges the hole; the Pundit washes the stone and an inscription of Amcuarman sees light again in a very good state of preservation: Samvat 32. At the other corner

another stone almost buried only shows its head. The coolie digs and plugs and it is a new inscription of Amcuarman, Samvat 30. I wish to take a photograph: the mukhya goes and fetches or rather goes to request in the name of the law, strings, bamboos: we have the heavy stela outside its hole, bring it to the light and the operation completed - India must not lose her rights-with the same ceremonial and pomp we take back the stone to its hole where it will have to await a new resurrection. But God alone knows what kind of pujas they will now receive after the explanations given to the crowd of villagers, explanations expounded and amplified by the mukhya.

After breakfast new audience of Pustakalaya (Library). All those who can speak Sanscrit come to view the strange animal and if this impatience is flattering it is wrong to interrupt the reading of the manuscripts. These honest people confined in their Castra are especially surprised at the variety of our lectures. I have had the pleasure of revealing to them the name and work of Bergaigne and the revelation of these Vedic knowledges filled them with admiration.

Thursday 27 January - Today, Cri Pancami; winter is ended. A salvo of artillery (nothing takes place here without gun powder the changes of ministries as well as those of the seasons follow the same programme). A salvo of artillery at 10 a. m. announced to us the beginning of Spring Vasanta will be welcomed it has besides managed for a sensational entry, an unexpected event. Yesterday we had precisely the most sullen day I had seen in India the Sun has not appeared for a moment and the thick mass of clouds descended and descended on the valley like a faked ceiling whilst the breeze generously scattered whirl winds of dust. And what a breeze, my hands deeply buried in

my pockets were numbed and I was obliged to give up the idea of photographing, through want of light and stability. The thermometer did not rise above 8. I vainly scoured Patan under this biting breeze. I found nothing that was even worth noting down. And the evening was so cold that I buried myself in bed. My poor bed I have had the curiosity to measure its depth: 7 centimetres by forcing the number; lashes of cloth intersecting on a frame-work of wood, a rezai on top, and to cover myself with, my covering of the journey and another rezai. Fifteen days to-day that I remain here. What a strange pleasure it is this dreadful seclusion and this icy cold when India offers everywhere a comfortable hospitality with her paradisaical temperature. But since I am here, I am glad of having sent here. India is too vast to be viewed at a glance and to closed to open her gates at the first strokes of hammer. The European can only live with Europeans and consequently apart from the natives. A justifiable anxiety of hygiene has everywhere established the dwelling of the sahibs far from the indigenous swarmings. To attempt a personal research in a few months, would be to lose one's time. The Anglo-Indian officials are alone able to carry out a useful task, they have official quality, they are feared and their favour is sought after, they have the long practice of the country and of the language. To search for manuscripts behind Fuhrer is to spend one's time on a lottery ticket. Nepal fortunately contrasts to these disadvantages; the stretch of the country is closely limited too closely even, because beyond the valley the rest of the country is exactly known as the North Pole. Hodgson and Wright have undoubtedly drained the manuscripts; Bhagvanlal and Bendall have gathered the inscriptions; but behind Hodgson and Wright, is still permitted to search and glean. Of all the Tripitaka, how many texts there still remain

to be discovered? Further as a Frenchman, I feel a bit suspicious; the Gurkhas can at their worst only lend France with very distant schemes on Nepal. Lastly it is the last region still belonging to India where Buddhism still lives and already very near from dying out or rather from blending with Hinduism, as it has done elsewhere. From the point of view of Buddhistic archaeology, the valley is a complete Museum—from the stupas of Acca to Hindu temples and the Tibetan caityas. In short particularly interested by my researches in relations of India with the Chinese world, I am here at the true cross-way of these two worlds: Nepal is vassal of China and sends her a periodical tribute; a Lama dwells here and a Nepalese resident at Lhasa. The communications between India and China are here a palpable fact, evident and material; the Chinese stampings mingle in the processions to the chromolithographics of Europe.

The goodwill of the authorities however unexpected it may appear maintains and even increases itself. The commander-in-chief Deb Sham Sher, Maharaj provisionally, sent word to me yesterday that he had given the order to serve me the "Pioneer" daily, one of the best newspaper in India, and I received this morning a basket of oranges and citrons. The proverbial parsimony of the Gurkhas makes the present precious. Deb Sham Sher has also expressed the desire to see my stampings and to have my explanations. Archaeological curiosity. It is wrong to know them. He requested me to take a stamping and to explain if possible an inscription on the wall of the Durbar and which has, it appears so far resisted the efforts of learned men. I have asked him for a precise indication but it certainly concerns the polographical inscription that the good pudent Pratapa Malla has traced on the wall of the

Nepal

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Darbar and in which the French word 'Hiver' (winter) goes by the side of Tibetan and Arabic. It is so he sent word to me that the people of this place affirm that the inscription denotes a hidden treasure. Teneo lupum. Thus it is that Khadga Sham Sher the brother has thrown down the great stupa of Kapilvastu in order to hunt out the large sum. And they take leave of me with the hope that all this epigraphical, treasure will end in treasures of resonant money. Impossible to make them understand our curiosity. The two essential factors of our researches; religion and history have no equivalent in Sanscrit. Yesterday morning the Jemader brought me a Yogi from Hardwar, on his journey for a pilgrimage, knowing Sanscrit well, knowing well his Yoga and cursing the false yogis, professionals of mendicity. Again he was one of those who asked me the fundamental question so often heard. To your knowledge which religion is the best. Old task of disparaging the belief of others and exalting one's own. I have him my perpetual reply: Sarvatra Satam acarah saduh dustanam dustah. Everywhere honest people behave well and the wicked, badly. "He has very naturally asked me if there were Yogis in France: he was convinced (he is still undoubtedly) that there are Yogis in Germany.

Double effect of this distant sojourn (but is not nature a game of apparent contradictions): Jingoism (chauvinism) awakens at the same time when there develops a deep feeling of human solidarity. To see the other fractions of humanity at play, one perceives the appropriate role that is set a side for the motherland.

Today is a holiday. The town is made internal by the beating of drums, its processions, its music and its chorus that move along from temple to temple. The Cri pancami is the

Saravasti-puja, the festival of the nib and ink-stand. This morning under the direction and escort of my very faithful mukhya (Achates was the prototype), I make a pilgrimage to Balaji to the north of Kathmandu at the foot of Nagarjun. Crowds gather to worship the statue of Jalacayana. Narayan floats on water, stretched on Cesa who raise its heads. Colossal statue in the middle of a tank of quite modern workmanship the real Jalacayana is at Budha Nilkanth, 5 miles from Kathmandu. No temple is here erected to the god but a small Nepalese temple built in Chinese style is consecrated to Durga. The daily he-goat has just been sacrificed to him and the head has fallen in the basket, whilst the body still quivers in the hands of the sacrificer. The crowd soon presses on all sides, women especially and it is a continuous tinkling of bells; each visitor announces his journey to the goddess. The site is reviving, shades by tall trees. Limpid streams supply water to number of tanks where the piety of the faithful feeds legions of carps and pour out from about twenty gargoyles on the lovers of devout douches. The Tibetans, with their thick woolen boots or leathern boots and their bewildered faces, burst out laughing at this spectacle; they are evidently astonished at the cleanliness of the Nevars. How everything is relative. The scale of altitude marks here the degrees of human filthiness.

In the afternoon in my own way I made a puja to Sarasvati. I have prepared a complete transcription of one of the stelas of Amcvarman and written a Sanscrit letter to Pundit Kula mana of Patan to urge him on in the search of manuscripts.

Sunday 30th January—Afternoon of rest: Pundit has even done so the whole day. It is the astami (the 8th) and further there is an uposadha (fasting) today in honour of

Avalokiteçvara. I returned to Patan on Friday to see the respectable Kula mana whom my letter seems to have impressed. Very moved, the good Pundit and then I greeted him Pundit fashion with a real anjali. And he swore to me on his great Buddhas that he would do his utmost. I gave him the list of all the works classified by Nanjio and known by Chinese translations; I ask him at first to find me the Sutra-lamkara of Acvaghosa, which according to the Chinese version interests both literature and history. He has not the text but he knows its title. Then I ask for the Abhidharmakoca of Vasubandhu which I have laboriously restituted in part according to the Chinese version and the Sanscrit commentary of Yocomitra; then the whole literature of Abhidharma : Janana-prasthana; Prajnaptipada etc. . . . only one of these texts, and I am a happy man or at least a happy traveller. In leaving Kula mana. I proceeded once again to the Mahabodhi Bihar, as I wished to take a photograph of it. The temple was unique in its kind in

Nepal, but it is so closely surrounded by its square of houses that I took a risk with my camera on the broken roof of a hut in ruins whence I was able to snap a characteristic feature - the details of one of the four small vimans erected on the roof of the sanctuary at the four corners of the great vimana the structure of which they reproduce. At Mitrananda's house I found a Sabhararangini an anthology in the style of the Subhasitavali or rather again of the Subhasitaratnaabhandagara because the verses are set in it without the author's name. This is a large collection (67 leaves) composed by Jagnanathamitra, Yugacarananda vatsare (1654 A. D.). The manuscript is the work of Amrtananda. I had no time to see the whole thing but shall return to it at some other time. I do not expect to find new and important works in the household that provides its Pundits to the Residence (namely quite an ordinary translator told to translate in Hindustani, documents in Nèvar that are addressed to the Residence).

(To be continued)



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प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ८६-८८

फागुन २०४१-जाउन २०४२

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक

जन कलाल शर्मा

Editor

Janak Lal Sharma

NEPAL

(Continued)

Two Months in Nepal

January-March 1898

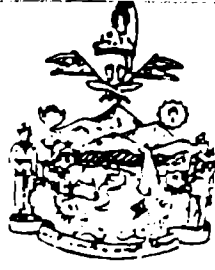
Note book to sojourn

-Sylvain Levi

Yesterday I paid a visit to Harigaon and thence to Deo Patan where I took the stamping of an inscription of Jaya Sthiti Malla near the temple of Vagicvari, in a hithi (one of those hollows in which water flows from pipes). At Pashupati I found two fairly distinguished speakers who related to me with an imperturbable seriousness in the centre of a crowd that had gathered amazed and as seriously as we would state our system of chronology the origin of the temple according to the Nepal mahatmya, the flight of Civa in the form of a gazelle, the vain searches of the gods in short how they found him in the Clesmantaka vana. The temple is situated on the bank of the Bagmati-squeezed in between two plateaus in a picturesque pass and bordered by ghats where the faithful never cease to swarm. The Bhotiyas (Tibetans) and their associates, the monkeys are met with in crowds. As I am not a Hindu

or a Bhotiya or a monkey, I was obliged to view the temple at the usual spot, there rises a giant statue of Nandi entirely gilded as large as the Lion of Belfort. The principal temple of Nepalese style (roofs rising tier upon tier) is surrounded by temples and smaller chapels that cover a space of ground. In front on the left bank of the Bagmati, Jang Babadur erected ghats crowned by a regular line of chapels without distinctive features, fairly similar to our monuments in the cemetery. A fairly thick wood, the remnants of the Clesmantaka vana surrounds the temples. The fraternal concords of gods is marked by a simple feature. All along the ghats on the right bank an inscription painted in large letters bears : Cri Krsna. In the main, in spite of the popularity of Pashupati the real divinity of India and Nepal, as far as I know is Durga the monstrous and sanguinary goddess.

(To be continued)



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प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ८९

सदौ-स्रमोज २०४२

Ancient Nepal

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August- September 1985

सम्पादक
जनकलाल शर्मा

Editor
Janak Lal Sharma

NEPAL

(Continued)

Sylvain Lévi

Monday evening 31st January—The Commander-in-chief has sent me this morning precise informations on the inscriptions he desires me to study. It concerns really in fact the inscription on the wall of the Darbar by the food pedant Pratapa Malla, collector of alphabets. I then proceeded to town, but the inscription is so enormous (it covers 4 metres of wall space) that I gave up the idea of taking a stamping, the stamping paper being here scarce and very costly. All that is not an indigenous produce undergoes an enormous rise in price, because the transport of bearers back from Segowlie to here is paid at the rate of 3 rupees for 25 kilograms. This time at seeing me photograph the mysterious inscription, the crowd rushed, expecting the appearance of the treasure. The most amusing part of it was that the soldiers of the Darbar, equally convinced by the hidden meaning of the inscription began pushing back the crowd with blows from their fists as if it was bank of thieves. The end of the day besides reserved for me a more living commentary of the scene. I spent two hours at the Library of the Darbar School and I was shown the provisi-

onal catalogue of the Tantra section. Certainly such a rich collection will not be found anywhere else in India; more than 500 numbers and half of them are unknown to me. When the turn of Tantric studies comes round it will be necessary to have recourse Nepal. I was returning on my pony at a center when I hear a cyclone blowing behind me. A wave of dust is raised by about a hundred ruddians running who trace the arc of a circle, pushing back violently the unfortunate passers-by. I can see and hear blows from fists and shouts. Nepal is getting civilized, she knows how to use her police. A vehicle surrounded by a mounted bodyguard passes and behind this another human wave. It is the commander-in-chief, provisionally, Maharajah who is out on a promenade. I draw myself up to greet him. He sends me a "good evening" and invites me to caracole near his vehicle. The troop of sbirros opens out not without mistrust. Where on earth could such beautiful collection of human beasts have been gathered? In this charming country the Maharajah gives an audience to his brothers only when he is surrounded by guards holding naked swords in

their hands. This nice little Deb Sham Sher in company with his two elders, killed with his little hand his old uncle who was wrong in showing an excessive good-will in favour of the sons of Sir Jang Bahadur. Then the small hand without the least scruple slays as much as it can the too numerous posterity left by the same Jang. And the eldest of the Sham Sher has attributed himself the office of Maharajah and the remainder of Sham Sher (they are about fifteen brothers in all) have distributed among themselves by rank of progeny all the high employments. Khadga Sham Sher, the second of the family seemed disposed to promote himself. The stroke was soon carried. Khadga who was the Commander-in-chief comes to the palace of the Maharajah to submit his report; four men throw themselves on him, take him by writs and the Maharajah announces to his younger brother that by an overflow of affection he creates him governor of Tansen, the district West of Nepal. Here we find a nice variation of the famous scene: Hear you, be then marquis of Castellance, etc. A palanquin is all ready; will you give yourself the trouble? And my wives? And my children?—They will be looked after. And under a strong escort, through mountain necks and dililes, they lead the Governor of Palpa in spite of himself. The caravan of spouses with the little Sham Sher followed after a few days. And the day will come on the morrow, in a month, in a year, when another little hand will slay unerringly the Maharajah but this will only mean a change of ministry. The poor Dhiraj as they call him here, the Maharajadhiraja in whose name everything takes place, lives closely cloistered in his palace with women and flowers, without any other distraction than to change

from one pavilion painted in blue to dwell in another painted in yellow—sacred marionette always ready to make gestures without asking who pulls the string.

Then we skirt the tank of Rani Pokhari, vast stretch of rectangular water that Jang Bahadur has had surrounded with an ugly white wall; a rather narrow foot-bridge leads to a small pavilion erected in the middle of the water. The spot is safe, sentinels guard the whole wall. "We shall be better able to talk if we alight at your Excellency's disposal" I replied carefully to be polite without lowering myself I take care to alight at the very moment he alights and side by side we converse on the narrow causeway". Have you seen the fish of this tank? You have not? You will see them. Dry grass-hoppers are brought and it is the tank of Fontainebleau. He enquires for news of the inscription and of my researches. A tomb was discovered at Kapilvastu containing a few scraps of gold. —Ah congratulations— I am very much afraid that if nothing serious will be found. Do you believe that this gold has a great value? Wait. Kapilvastu was a city of temples. Pilgrims from all over Asia came thither. Then do you believe that a treasure could be found. I replied to him that the real treasure is the inscriptions; it is that which connects man to his past and expresses to him his present. A people without history is a tree without roots. Kings have their genealogy, of humanity. These considerations developed in an English which enthusiasm makes eloquent, impress the small Gurkha who requests me to come and speak to him in the palace tomorrow afternoon. We shall attempt to awaken him.

(To be continued)



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प्राचीन नेपाल

मक्या १०

कातिक-मंसिर २०४२

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक

जनकलाल शर्मा

Editor

Janak Lal Sharma

NEPAL

(Continued)

-Sylvain Levi

Tuesday 1st February-Another Mangal -Var. Refuse now to believe in the Jyotisa (astrology), doubled with the Nimittacastra (science of signs). A stanza addressed to Kula Mana has been fruitful. Flies are not captured with vinegar nor are Pundits with durbhasitas (ill words). The excellent Kula Mana sends me a reply which I transcribe on account of the good news it conveys and because it shows the extent of the knowledge of Sanscrit among the Buddhists of Nepal whom Kula Mana is the cudamani (diadem).

Crikulamanapanditena bhavatam crimatam pranamaputrasahsarena prarthana krtam bhavatam uktam .. etc, (see page 359 "Nepal", Vol. II. by S. Levi)

Which signifies in good French that he had procured himself at great pains a manuscript of the Sutralamkara and that he hands me the copy. Decidedly it must be believed that Nepal is not yet exhausted by so many researches. A rapid and very summary examination permits me to ascertain that it is not the Sutralamkara of Acvoghosa, but another work known under the same title that has for author the Bodhisattva Asa-

nga contemporary of Vasubandhu (Vth-VIth century). It is once again preliminary and must I wait for something better ? Vexed at the refusal of the the pseudo Pundit of Zimpi Tandu at Patan (the Simpi-tandu is credited with being very rich in manuscripts), I have again had recourse to the divine Saravasti and I dazed my man with this virulent reproach.

bubhuksitam vyaghrim drstva svacar-
iram ayacitah
pacav api karunaidra bodhistvab pura
dadan

agatam apithim... etc. (S. Levi, Nepal, Vol. II, page 359.)

I had struck the sensitive cord. Immediately the following reply is received (again a sample of the local Buddhistic Sanscrit) :

bhavatam crimatam pranamya bhavatam
ajnapita pustakanam
madgrhe asti va na asti maya na juatam
bhavatam krpa cet
tarhi likhitva anyagrhe maya gantum
anyatpustakam bhavatam
agre yah pustakani samarpayami.

Here is another promise of useful collaboration. I will go to Patan tomorrow

and kindle this zest that awakens. Such a long time is needed in this country of India to come to a result. But I would not like to leave Nepal before having exhausted every possible chance ; I now know the men, my luck of *clokas* has not yet spent. This morning already under a burning sun (suddenly as it behaves here the heat has appeared the heat of a Parisian summer), the cortege begins its journey to Mount Nagarjun that dominated Kathmandu towards the North and raises to more than a 1000 metres above the valley its steep slopes richly wooded, rebounding towards the S. S. E. in two billows (the latter carrying Svayambhu Natha) and towards the S. E. in a mamelon overlooking Balaji. desired to visit the cave associated by tradition to the memory of Nagarjuna who is believed to have lived thither and composed the tantras (Is this not here pre-eminently the domain of the Tantras) would there still remain there a few inscriptions as the caves of Barabar have brought to light ? Captain Sahib and the Commander-in-chief had put me on my guard ; the slope of Nagarjun is the reserve of wild animals for the Maharajah's hunts. They had not lied. I had the pleasure of seeing a tiger which had just been shot and was bleeding on the ground. But that is all I met with. The grotto which is widely open and not very deep faces full to the South ; it shelters a statue larger than life size and fairly in pieces of Cakyamuni ; stelas as everywhere else among these people fond of epigraphy (too fond alas, because this one kills the other and in order to make new stelas, they simply scrape the old ones), but nothing ancient, the oldest date is from the beginning of the XVIIIth century. The old caityas in ruins rise at a short distance invaded by vegeta-

tion. There also stelas of between 100 to 150 years, nothing more. Lower down, at the entrance to the reserved domain stands a small temple of Civa made ill use of by a classical Saunasi all spattered with ashed the forehead decorated with a sacramental signs, arrayed with a necklace of rudraksamalas and what lives here in company with beasts. I met on my way another type of Yogi ; clothed in an overcoat which he carried under his arm, grinning romping and perpetually in the mood for laughter. I have not had the time to ascend the mountain to the top where the Buddhists burn their corpses and disperse the ashes to the wind ; I have had to come down with great pains on these steep slopes covered with dry grass where the shoes hopelessly slip. The Commander-in-chief had given me a pre-arranged place of meeting. I am now more than persons grata. An hour and a half of interview today and on what a tone. I have further been obliged to put an end to the interview myself. Captain Sahib overtakes me on my way back and hands me in the name of the Commander-in-chief, a magnificent Khukuri, the Yataghan than that every Nepalese carries at the waist, with a scabbard silver-plated ; two small knives are part of the whole: they are meant for works of small importance and a case for the tinder and stone (tinder-box). Matches are not yet here a current object of consumption. Also a French letter come from Paris and which I am asked to translate. A gentleman E. C. writes to "Sir Maharaj Dhiraj" to ask him the collection of Nepalese stamps. Sacra fames, I offer to undertake to despatch him his wants, but Deb Sham Sher in the mood for good-will, pretends to despatch them himself.

I meet with the traditional reception at the palace ; the crowd of attendants

always in a hurry and yet doing nothing at present distracted by the arrival of the Sahib. A company paid me honours. It is preferable here to have the white skin than red sash. Deb Sham Sher has had erected a tent in the garden but changing his mind he awaits me in a small pavilion erected round a basin where water plays all round I remember those water castles that amazed the Chinese travellers on their journey to Nepal. Many coloured glasses spread an amusing light and the water spirits distribute a particularly beneficial coolness. He advances towards me sends for his two sons of twelve and ten years of age. I speak to them about France of her greatness, especially of Paris and the coming exhibition. What prestige in this simple name of Paris even in the remote valley of the Himalayas. I offer to teach French to the brats who look very smart. Then Deb Sham Sher asks me to show him the photograph of my children. As a man well acquainted with Europe; he asks me: Undoubtedly their mother looks after them. How many madam Debs are there? Captain Sahib, ordinary subordinate having two houses, one at the gate of the Residence and the other in town or at a few hundred metres distant, has two collection of women to adorn his two households. And the Thapathali is not just one house or two, this residence of Deb, is a small town that certainly shelters several thousands of male and female inhabitants our sons could be your friends tells me the commander-in-chief. Would it not be a captivating idea to have them to correspond from Paris to Kathmandu? May yours come here some day they will be the guests of mine; may mine go to Europe, your sons would be their guide in Paris.

And I will have their portraits and that of the papa and those of the Maharajah and the Dhiraj, and my children will

send their photographs and it would be delightful. The land being well laid I show the seed. Could the authorities assist me in my search for inscriptions and manuscripts? If they could send for my Pundits. The two servant Pundits of Deb Sham Sher enter, both of them accustomed to speaking Sanscrit and the conversation goes from English to Sanscrit under the amazed gaze of the attendants present at the interview. I expose my wishes, I enumerate the works I desire to procure myself; the two Pundits, Brahmans but yet better informed than their Buddhist associates, affirm that several of these works exist and that they will proceed to make a search for them "if they are found", says Deb, "I buy them; if they refuse to sell them, I shall have copies made of them which I shall offer as a homage to the French Republic for the love of you" (Oh Oh us hasten, the Maharaja returns to take up his offices again in fifteen days and the good-will of the other). And when I rise to leave, one of the two Pundits recites the two verses that he just improvised in my honour:

namani tam vidhim nityam yena decantar-
asthayohi
avayor idrci pritih karita sukhakarini
madhuryam vacasi namrata svabhava
caturyam sakalacastraparametum
yad drstam bhavati tat kadapi mitra
nanyasmin purvam api drstavannaham.

I spare myself the trouble to translate and to husband the last remains of my modesty already so impaired.

Friday 4th February—Three days to no avail, without any result. Day before yesterday I went to Patan but Pundit Kula Mana has found me nothing else and of that long list I gave him he does not even know the titles. He had received that very morning the visit of the two Pundits of Deb Sham

Sher who had come to gather information on the manuscripts that he possesses. In truth my prince, to crown your good-will the promise given on the eve was held on the morrow. Who can now accuse the good faith of the Nepalese. Thence I proceeded to the dwelling of Mitrananda, in the Mahabodhi Vihar to examine his family manuscripts. I saw the copy books large yellow leaves in which the first in date, to the Pundit's value Amrtananda has gathered his notes on Buddhism at Hodgson disposal who has well drained it. The collection of the Anandas is very rich and eclectic: the Tantras predominate in them as everywhere in Nepal; also a fine collection of Avadanas and the Nepalese Dharmas... .., worth mentioning also a manuscript of the Bharatiya natya castra dated Sam. 1884 (1827).

On Thursday I visited the temple of Ichangu Narayan one of the four great Narayans of Nepal to the N. N. W. of Kathmandu in a small secondary valley formed by the two promontories of the Nagarjun; the path is fairly difficult; it outlines the hill of Svayambhu, then successively scales two lesser chains of the mountain called one of them Haltsok and the other Ichangn. Cultivation covers the bottom of the valleys as well as their slopes entirely shaped in graduated terraces as is the custom here; the lower side of the mountain presents the shape of staircases. In spite of its great sacredness, the temple of Ichangu Narayan is fairly wretched, temple of Nepalese style, without luxury or grandeur, even badly maintained; the dharmasalas in the vicinity falls in ruins. In spite of its so-claimed; antiquity, nothing ancient. The stelas of the yard do not date back more than two centuries; on a brick platform that serves as a base to the temple a stela

of more ancient appearance shows its first lines. The shape of the letters seems to indicate the XIth or XIIth century, but decisive refusal to allow it to be extracted from the brick-bed wherein it is fitted. In returning I make the ascension of Svayambhu Nath once again and visit the temple and vihara of Saravasti built behind the Svayambhu on the other summit of the hill but all our researches under wood in the chaos of stones to no avail.

On Friday I spent the day searching Kirtipur, so proudly perched on the steep hill ahead of the Chandragiri, at a distance of three miles S.S. W. from Kathmandu. The "town of people with noses cut" has not recovered from the terrible blow given by the Gurkhas; she is putrefying in her stinking ruins. I carefully visited the great temple of Bagh Bhairab, Bhairava with the tiger adorned from head to foot and on all sides with bull's horns spoils of those victims daily sacrificed. In the courtyard quite a considerable number of secondary chapels. The convent of Mahabudh has to anterior inscription to 700 of the Nepalese Samvat; the great central caitya, all white-washed rises on a vast two-stories terrace overloading the houses of the vihara. The dwellers of this vihara are of an ignorance of the Nepalese Buddhists; impossible to find out anything on the manuscripts they possess. On my return I visited the long series of temples graduated along the banks of the Bagmati, near the confluent of the Bisnumati.

Sunday 6th February-Yesterday a torrential rain with thunder like running fire then snow whitened the slopes around. This morning by an icy fog that limited perception to ten paces, I proceeded on my way to

Chobbar. It is today the "Magha purnamasi", I know it too late to spate the beliefs of my escort. In entering the field that separates the Residence from the town I suddenly hear from I know not where, muffled symphonies and suppressed choruses and guess through the dense mist procession of phantoms. It is the feast of the full Moon. The cold is intense and the Nevars little affected by cold yet cover their faces like Musulman ladies. And yet the pious Brahmins are there, stark naked at the fountains at the washing-places on the banks of the Bagmati, accomplishing with a minute punctuality all the detail of the rites; signs (aspersions) meditations, etc. All those vague forms I cross carry in their hands brass trays on which are carefully arranged offerings of flowers and perfumes; the temples bells peal, the holy images have already the forehead adorned with a real hump of sandal wood or of red lead and on the foreheads of the faithful the remains of the offerings trace quite fresh lines in white, yellow and red. At the temple of Laksmi Narayan on the Bagmati the yogis grouped around their chapel (each brotherhood has its dharma-sala, its chapel, its courtyard, its ghat, its water, its banner; Vairagis, Sadhus, Sannyasis, etc) make an infernal din; some beat the drum, others shake the cymbals, another blows the trumpet; another proceeds to burn incense at the four corners of the platform.

Chobbar is to the South of Kathmandu on a rounded mamelon with rugged and steep slopes; the Bagmati to force an outlet has forcibly separated the mamelon from mount Phulchok and has cut herself a deep gorge whence it flows out towards the South. At the opening of the gorge there rises the temple of Bighna-Binak (Vighna Vinayaka), otherwise called Gan-

eca one of the four doubly-holy temples of Vinayaka in Nepal. The actual temple is entirely modern, of Nepalese style without any character; Ganeca is covered with veil that discloses only the forehead of the god to the adoration of the faithful who come to anoint him. On top of the mamelon, undoubtedly commanding a beautiful view of Kathmandu in the North, Patan in the East, Bhatgaon in the North East; and Kirtipur in the West (but the still badly scattered mist has prevented me from seeing anything); the old bihar of Chobahal in the centre of the courtyard at the usual place of the caitya, there stands a temple of Mahadeva of Hindu style with colonnades and vimanas. The sanctuary of cakyamuni instead of being simply inserted in the periphery of the vihara forms here a temple having its appropriate development in Nepalese style, a curious feature is the abundance of copper utensils, vases, pots, plates, frying-pans, all hanging in the temple from top to bottom. In an adjoining courtyard there rises a stela corroded by time but on which there still appears the remains of ancient letters. I return through the fields and this time under a strong sun, by the Pulchu-Bihar erected on a small hillock to the west of Patan and very close to the town. It is to this bihar that belong the four stupas of Acoka built at the west of the town, but the stupa is fairly distant. In the bihar itself I find nothing and caityas of plaster and brick erected in front of the bihar fall in ruins.

In returning to Kathmandu, I find the streets lined with a row of spectators like during our Lent days. The women have attired themselves in immoderate sized skirts that swell up like balloons. They are waiting for the passing of the Magha-Yatra. And I shall see her also. In town yesterday's rain

marinated the filth all along the causeways and in the crush of the crowd the stink is intolerable. Fortunately it suffices for the mukhya in order to open me a passage, to shout : Ho, Sahib Pundit and the ranks open out. I manage to settle myself on a terrace facing the temple of Annapurna and at that very moment I become myself the Yatra, the spectacle, the universal object in view. A group of Brahmans approaches me, begins the conversation in Sanscrit and an amiable debate opens to which the crowd listens with amusement. Here is the procession, naked children carrying sticks crowned with large balls bristling with gilded straw, most probably the sun. Above this are oranges. In the palanquins, naked lads also sitting hand on their knees they carry lamps burning incense. On a large platform stands a young boy daubed with green and garbed in spangled tinsel, with the eyes encircled in dark rings, motionless and grave. He represents Rama. On his left we see a delicious Sita, an ideal type of childish beauty, the eyes in ecstasy. Facing them a nude boy, elegant and harmonious like an ancient work of sculptures has a bow slung over the shoulder. He represents Laksmana. With the large naked sword he holds in his hand, he cuts off the nose to an ugly looking giant doll its hair dishevelled and falling with the face of a bird of prey. This is Curpanakha. Then on another moving platform stands Hiranya kacipa with a wild boars face who winds red threads symbolizing his torn entrails, whilst facing him a motionless child, with hands joined represents Prahlada. And then it is a crowd of small chapels and small statues carried on stretchers and choruses consisting of men, children, vinas, trumpets, flutes and drums. The whole ceremony was well over, when my friend Deb Sham Sher presents

himself to the acclamations of the populace. He sees me gives the order to make room for me and the terrace on which I stand is emptied in a moment.

We began to talk and pray on what ? On my manuscripts. He intends to send me five for examination and he will be pleased to give me and the French Republic any one of them I may choose.

Monday 7th February- I saw today a few things strangely expressive. I visited Budhnath to the E. N. E. of Kathmandu between the Bagmati and Mount Sivapuri, not far from Pashupati. Budhnath is the largest of the Buddhistic stupas of Nepal, larger than the four great stupas of Acoka in Patan. The circular base of plastered bricks is all along opened with regular niches wherein are fixed vertical bars around which turn prayer boxes bearing inscribed : Om Mani Padme hum. Four circular terraces of bricks graduate from the base to the hemisphere of the stupa ; the stupa is crowned with a kind of rectangular bell-turret on which are painted on each side two large eyes and the edifice ends with a red canopy supported by copper rods. All round the stupa tracing an irregular rectangle stand one storeyed houses wherein reside a few Nevars but these houses especially serve as a shelter to the Tibetan pilgrims. Budhnath is the sanctuary of the Tibetans ; The Vamcavali attributes its construction to Manadeva but the relics that are deposited thither are those of a Tibetan saint. A lama dwells thither and performs thither his ceremonies. Budhnath is without contradiction the headquarters of human putrefaction. The ground is made of dung and the Tibetans swarm thither, spreading far and wide a stink of grease enough to disgust sheep a smell of he-goat enough to chase away the she-goats, disclosing between the

part-opening of their filthy tatters, oily skins that have never soiled water.

Prohibition to enter in the precinct of the stupa ; I can see my Pundit, my mukhya and the coolies who are Buddhists, exploring the terraces and I settle myself to take a photograph. The mukhya and the Pundit rejoin me, they found two inscriptions ancient in appearance but in the Bhotya dialect. Granted for Bhotya. And the stamping was taken. This time the sepoy, excellent "impression taker" accompanies the Pundit and the mukhya remains with me. A Gurkha constable comes to assist him and it is not an easy task, because the ignorant Bhotyas suffocate me with their greasy pusking and place themselves against the very camera shutter. All this mechanism puzzles them and one of them addresses me : Buddhavatara ; another humbly offers me a pice to make me puja. I must submit myself to the indiscreet worshippings of this horde who touches alas with veneration my sleeves and my trousers. I even fell myself touched on the hand. It is a Lama from Darjeeling, he wears mittens. Does he conceal some sort of leprosy ? As a fellow-member he does not release me striving to convince me that there are no inscriptions here below or above the ground. Give me back Kathmandu the town of stench, because one can still breathe there a little. At last my mukhya and his colleague decided to release me in Gurkha fashion. They swing their fists on all sides but suddenly a giant beast of a Tibetan springs forward with his chest half bare and his head encircled with long hair. He raises his arm like a club on the mukhya : Hear you Gurkha. And the ferocious Gurkha before whom India trembles, the eventual invader of India should England disappear, becomes very small and

knuckles under.

My photograph taken, I assist to a Tibetan spectacle. A tall old man strangely resembling to the statues of Homer, draped in a tunic that discloses his arm and left shoulder. grates with a bow shaped fiddle-stick a three stringed manodoline and sings God knows what. Two young Tibetan beauties accompany him two jolly girls with quite flat faces and rosy cheeks and uneven teeth the head encircled with a disc in which are set all kinds of red, blue and green stones the hair astonishingly dark and more greasy than black plaited into two tight and straight tresses that stick on each shoulder, they pull down and cause to tremble between their fingers the facing of their large sleeves. Silver chains adorn their waist. The old man and the two nautch-girls wear rings on their ears, rings large enough to serve us as bracelets. They sing, roll their eyes as if on the verge of fainting, dance a kind of jig or boree whirl in time whilst the old man keeps on grating his screeching fiddle.

At last the Pundit and the sepoy return and spread their stampings ; I take up one and examine it in the Sun. Another beast of Tibetan snatches it from my hands on to it ; I believe it to be an indiscreet curiosity as I have the habit of meeting here. In short the mukhya orders ; "Return that to me". Then the Bhotya with a fearful expression of idiotic fanaticism crumples the paper in his hands throws it over the enclosure of the stupa springs in front of the mukhya greets him with an ironical salute by falling on his thighs his tongue protruding his skirt upturned completes his demonstration by a sign Mouquette fashion (laughed at) ; then feigning to brandish a weapon leaves at a run towards his den. The Lama then approaches and says softly : Believe me depart at once.

The good Homeric old man with the amiability of a man who has received two annas, insists : Depart at once, depart at once. And the anxious mukhya tells me : Ride your horses and let us go. And the pale Pundit tells me : Ah, these Bhotiyas. Our caravan glees it is the exact term ; I have seen the Gurkha routed by the Tibetan. And we are in Nepal at one hour from Kathmandu. What will it be in Tibet. Here is something that does not encourage me to visit Lhasa. And after all it is for these people that Cakyamuni has turned the wheel of law. They have well realized the type of squalid ignorance. What would happen if these very hordes took the road the India or the West.

Bhatgaon, the Maharaja gives me a house and it is very kind of him, but though it is a maharaja's house, it is not a comfortable house. From outside it is altogether neat looking ; a little outside the town right in the middle of a meadow quite close to the beautiful tank of Sikkhapohari in a pretty surrounding against the background of the valley. Laughing foregrounds with villas and gardens ; above stretch thick forests and as a crowning the inconceivable mass of glaciers. Oh, the pretty house to go and stand at the window. It has less seducing charms to the dweller. The architect who built her, certainly a Bengali had wished to follow the European style ; he has planned large windows everywhere with real venetian glass shutters ; built the architect is gone the time has passed, the glasses have cracked, broken gone to pieces, one by one the frame-work of the windows has come apart, the poor venetian shutters have lost their blades

and the wind that blows across the mountain blows across the room laden with coryzas and odontalgia. And suddenly the weather cools or at least it is colder in Bhatgaon ; Kathmandu close to Nagarjun loses in picturesqueness but gains a shelter against the icy wind of the North. Bhatgaon town is fairly fortunately sheltered in a depression of the ground at the foot of the Mahadeo Pokhari but my house built on a very exposed plateau, generously offers itself to the indiscreet caresses of the breeze. From Kathmandu to Bhatgaon three sturdy leagues by a fairly good road on which those vehicles not afraid of ditches or quagmires can circulate ; the path crosses by turn the Dhobikhola, the Bagmati and the Manhaura come down from Mount Manichur. The three rivers still swollen by the recent rains flow all three in kind of deep trenches now widened and now confined forming real gorges where rice grows leisurely in a rich and moistened soil ; the two sides of the trenches generally rise perpendicularly and extend in plateaus on which towns are built. Nothing else gives more precise a feeling of the remarkable density of the population of Nepal than the aspect of the roads that join Kathmandu to the rest of the valley it is all along on kilometres has again increased to the honour of Bhatgaon. The Darbar has thought it useful to give me a second mukhya as assistant entrusted to supply me with provisions ; and this evening in the kind of hall that comprises the ground-floor of the house there lie side by side the two mukhyas, the sepoy, the boy, the cook, the sweeper, my personal coolie, the syce and the pony.

(To be continued.)



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प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ९१

पौष-माघ २०४२

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक

जनकलाल शर्मा

Editor

Janak Lal Sharma

NEPAL

(continued)

-Sylvain Levi

Wednesday 9th - Andy my cortege was still swelling. The Nepalese government has estimate that I was not yet sufficiently guarded and it has or rather the "seat" of Bhatgaon has addressed me a 'pulis', police constable. If this continues I shall end in supporting the whole population of Nepal, because it is needless to mention that all these people are expecting their reward. In the afternoon the number of 'pulis' has doubted but this evening I am reduced once more to unity. And I have thus paraded through the streets of Bhatgaon an imperial cortege. This imposing procession has done a considerable injustice to the corteges of Kaci Jagannatha which they were escorting with due puja forms, today accompanied by great beating of drums and blowing of flutes; I attracted as many people as my divine rival. The Nepalese being very prolific, the roads are crowded with idle urchins too glad to follow behind the procession. There was a good crowd of about fifty of them behind me when I returned. On the faith of my reputation the "whole of Bhatgaon" had come out in the street to see me. The sun alone did not have the curiosity to see me; he stubbornly veiled his face with a thick icy mist and to make my bungalow habitable, I was obliged to attend to my windows with sheets of paper.

My first day has been lucky, I found an inscription of Civadeva in a good state of preservation in an old ruined "hiti" (washing place) of the Tulacchi Tol. More so even than at Kathmandu, more so even than at Patan, epigraphy spreads out at Bhatgaon; magnificent stelas carefully engraved give the chronology of the Mallas. The town is full of temples majority of which are in ruins and decay; the bazar is still important, but one has the sensation of a life that is shrinking as has happened at Patan. Centralization carries on its work even in Nepal: Kathmandu absorbs the valley. The principal temples are those of Bhairava of Kali and Dattatrya. Very few caityas and not one that is monumental; I have not yet seen the viharas. Here like elsewhere in Nepal the religion of Devi triumphs under all its forms; Kali, Bhagavati, Guhyecvari, Maha-Laksmi has also a fairly good temple. The Darbar smaller than that at Patan is nevertheless picturesque in its grouping of pillars, of graduated roofs and of colours; it has like Kathmandu its "gate of gold".

Bhatgaon 13th February—The icy blast has kept me in my house muffled up in vain to protect myself against the stings of the wind that sweeps my room. What a downpour the clouds clung to the trees loosened themselves gathered

in compact masses and melted in torrents. The whole of my escort crammed in shelter in the hall, warmed itself as best it could whilst the bulls were fighting in the neighbouring meadow. Bhatgaon is the town of bulls there are as many as inhabitants. Yesterday one of them has charged our cortege and it was a very rejoicing *saue-qui-peut* (make best your escape). And in spite of the dreadful rain, processions followed one another and the rattles did not cease from tinkling. Morning and evening since the full Moon a cortege preceded by fifes hantbous and cymbals proceed to the temple of Jagannath sings choruses makes puja and returns to town. A Nevar carries on a tray a vase containing the water that has washed the god; and the good people on their way deposit on the tray the modest offering of one piece to receive in the hollow of their hand a little of the holy water; they swallow a portion of it and with the rest they touch the sacred points of their body.

Yesterday morning a pious procession of children, lads and lasses went past by also on the road; two small ones at the head also carried on a brass tray flowers and the childish procession proceeded along singing a hymn to Savasti if you please would believe before the beginning of the class. On the bank of the Hanumati was another cortege but less gay. Ahead four men carrying on their shoulders two poles supporting the body of a woman covered with a cloth; behind a man assisted by two friends yells madly; a group of parents follow him moaning together. They reach the bank of the river the wood is ready whilst the family accomplishes the lustral ablutions the wood burns and the unfortunate corpse grills.

At 1st yesterday morning I was able to continue the course of my expeditions; I visited the borough of Timi that stretches on a plateau

between the Manohara and the Bagmati half-way between Kathmandu and Bhatgaon. The borough is densely populated and contrasts by its cleanliness relative to the towns of Nepal. I searched all the temples, caityas and viharas. It is again Kali under all her forms who triumphs here; the principal temple is Bala Kumari. With and Laksmi Ganeca especially is popular; its chapels infected by clotted blood and adorned by bulls horns speak enough of the sanguinary sacrifices with which the people honour the gods in Nepal. Here also abound the small stelas generally of no importance but decorated by an embossment of grinning mask at the summit, with a long snake unwinding its links on either side. The Nevars give them the name of Brhaspati and make them a daily puja; the Gurkhas do not keep an account of them.

I was coming out disappointed at my failure when I notice a depressed paht. It is the old road, tells me the pulis-ji; the old road is just my concern. And at a hundred metres on the right I find a hithi in ruins with a half-worn stela; the top has disappeared but the base is very legible. The form of the letters, the wordings the exterior disposal clearly indicate a stela of Civadava II. I discover another hithi to the left of the road; I run to it through the human rejections that always adorn the environ of an Indian village. Stretched on the ground a fragment of stela admirably traced with characters of the days of Mana deva and that shows the mark of quite a recent break. The hithi in question has just been repaired and in the course of the work, the stone was broken; and in the crowd that surrounds me, nobody knows where the fragment has gone, a Timian assures me, however, that he had been employed in the repairs of the hithi. My pulis-ji (because the pulis of Timi did not wish to lose the opportunity and my cortege made a somersault) the pulis-ji attempt to extract the said stone from

its fitting, but the only result was that one of the pulis fall backwards in a kind of mire which would envy the cleanliness of our manure ditches.

I also visited the neighbouring village of Nagdes to the North of Timi but to no avail. This morning, always trailing behind me the encumbering multitude of my fellow-labourers, I elimed under a burning sun that evidently desired to make good its three days of eclipse the steep slopes that lead to the thereabouts of 2000 metres of altitude among the terraces where spread cultivation as far as the temple of Manjueri-Caravasti. On coming from Mahacina, say the Buddhists of Nepal Manjueri erected this temple; there remains nothing of it; the actual construction is quite modern of the beginning of this century. Ordinary brick-built chapel hugging the rock sheltered by an enormous stone that overhangs and that carries a small caitya on its summit; the rock penetrates the roofing and serves as a ceiling. The Buddhists venerate the sanctuary in honour of Manucri the Hindus worship thither with equal devotion, Saravasti, whom the Buddhists give as a wife to Manjueri. My mukhyas two Gurkhas and also the pulis-ji prostrate themselves before the image and touch the ground with their foreheads; they also ring the visitors bell. My Pundit and my coolie devout Buddhist accomplish the same rites with the same ardour.

In the afternoon I await a visit: the mahant of the Math of Yalacchi-Tol had sent word that he would call over and had sent me to examine a manuscript that nobody in the monastery is able to decipher he thought the work to be Buddhistic because at the beginning was written: "namo buddhaya". The writing is correct but the Buddhism of the text stopped there. It is a very long and troublesome commentary on the Malati-Madhava of a certain Dacarathia. Now the mahant sends me word that he is ailing and cannot call over. But since

he has half opened his door, I shall perhaps succeed in wrenching it off and I reply that since he is ill, I shall pay him the visit. And I proceed to the convent. It is a Math of Jaingamas that rigourously closes its doors to one and all. Long discussions take place. At last the mahant informs me that he will come and meet me on the causeway, outside the monastery. While waiting for him a distraction offers itself. On a neighbouring platform in front of the temple of Kali and facing the temple of Bhairava, on one of those rectangular brick platforms that encumber the roads and crossways a compact crowd assists to the representation of a nataka or so-called one Men, women and children are there covered with brass rings flowered with marigolds and wearing necklace of large oranges. Their heads are hidden under a fantastic mask with large round eyes and flat noses. On the top of their ears protrude two oblique stems supporting large gilded lozenges. Their head-gear consist of metres with very large crowns from which falls a tufted and greasy head of hair in Tibetan styls. The personages are Kali, Bhairava, etc .. The masked actors begin presenting grotesque greetings to the circle of spectators, then express by dancing the various sentiments possessing them. At last the mahant arrives, a tall old man with a long white beard, draped in the yellow robe of the sannyasis. I address him in Sanscrit he admits to me that he does not know it. The kind of novice he escorts does not know any the more. Here am I reduced to Hindustani and come, my Hindustani is not worth my Sanscrit I ask to see the "ipustaks". The kind mahant replies with calm that he has none. And he sent me one for examination. The sin of lying does not worry them, at least as regard the Mlecchas. In short he consents to tell me that the Pundit of the monastery, absent at present is returning tomorrow and then matters would be seen into. The perpetual tomorrow.

(To be continued)



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सम्पादक-मण्डल

श्री पशुपतिकुमार द्विवेदी

प्रधान सम्वेपण अधिकारी

चन्द्रप्रसाद त्रिपाठी

अनुसन्धान अधिकृत

बिष्णुराज कार्की

संरक्षण अधिकृत

शुकसागर श्रेष्ठ

लिपि विशेषज्ञ

नारायणप्रसाद संजेल

शाखा अधिकृत

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Nepal

(Continued)

-Sylvain Levi

At Timi a Pundit of one of the viharas possesses so it is rumoured a rich collection but he is on his way and will return next week. At of the new obstacle will the next week give rise to ? All that I was able to scrape at Timi is reduced to a medical encyclopaedia which is not known to me from elsewhere: the Kalyana Samgraha, stuffed with quotations from Caraka, Kacyapa Harita, etc . . . My good man of Pundit who followed me to Bhatgaon employs his spare time in searching viharas and I have even found a benevolent assistant, a small pujari of about a dozen years who officiates with his father in the temple of Suraj Binaik (Surya Vinayaka). His intelligent face struck my imagination in the street. I asked him to join my escort, which has not made him fairly proud and just now he has brought me a comrade whose father is a Sanscrit-speaking Pundit and proprietor (owner) of ancient manuscripts, I intend to visit soon the said collection.

Bhatgaon 14th February... . . . Twenty—six kilometre of mountains on foot and by what paths. I visited at one stretch Changu Narayan and Sanku. I had my horse it is true but simply as a companion and my feet

alone have stood me instead. The Maharaja returns on Monday from his Winter rounds and my friend Deb Shamsber, will on that very day resign his provisional powers. Will I find the same complaisance in the other ? To avoid eventualities, I shall undoubtedly ask to go and greet him on his way at the time of his entry in town. Suspicious as they are with regard to the Europeans they love to display in public their "white" connections. The necessities of service have deprived me of my ordinary pony; it was sent in front of the maharaja who was short of cavalry. It was an excellent Bhotiya horse fast and steady; there was no embankings of earth that serve as a protection to the flooded fields and at the same time as a narrow path to the pedestrians, we had made sudden dives, falling down with a lump of earth suddenly crumbled. The equilibrium roughly destroyed was restored while falling. My temporary horse is not Bhotiya and that is its fault. Yesterday, on a fairly rough path, it undoubtedly fell and I just had time to release the stirrups. I thought it wiser to trust only my legs to-day, on the awful road that connects Bhatgaon to the town of Sanku. The path at first paved with

bricks uneven full of holes and rats is not more at the ends of a kilometre and ends in a wretched rutway at the foot of the first hill. The temple of Changu Narayan rises to the north of Bhatgaon on the summit of a lofty promontory which the Mahadeo Pokhari projects towards the west. In order to reach it one must first cross an enormous mass of alluvial sand, hollowed, corroded, ravaged, shaken by the rains, cut on all sides with steep fissures that compel one to climb descend climb again, jump and clamber up. The village of Changu Narayan stretches on a narrow plateau at the foot of the mamelon that carries the temple. A long line of uneven steps leads thence to the temple. I hoped that thanks to the complaisance of my staff I would be able to extricate the pillar of Manadeva from the soil and complete the fragmentary stamping of Bhagvanlal. Since his exploration the situation had modified; the pillar was then simply buried in the ground and only concealed its nine final lines on each facing. The piety of a devotee has now surrounded the base with Nagas stone the removal of which cannot be thought of and this has covered up another three lines. An idiotic "Pundit" preserver of the "mandir" has avenged himself of his ignorance by showing me the door of the temple. I was only able to photograph from a distance the pillar with the lower frontage of the temple, adorned with a beautiful gate of gilded bronze. The temple is a large, two-storeyed one, with chapels erected irregularly around; it is enclosed with a rectangle adjoining the dharmsalas. The small beams as well as the walls are carved with as much patience as with imagination; gods, goddesses, monsters, animals, flowers and especially representation of the practices of the Kamasutra are worked in the wood and enriched with lively colours where the blue

and red predominate and which form a gay and harmonious whole. My Pundit Mitrananda, zealous Buddhist and much learned for a Nepalese, asks the pujari to open the sanctuary to make there his puja. The two mukhyas and the coolie follow him; all three remove their head-gear and the Mukhya lay down their inseparable kukhri. My usual mukhya, who is a Kanyakubijiya Brahman, sings mantras and stotras while climbing the steps. Before entering, they prostrate themselves and touch the ground with the forehead. When the puja is completed they all come out to the loud pealing of bells, their hands damp with holy water which the pujari had distributed to them with which they sign themselves. They sprinkle the drops from their finger tips on the scattered statues in the courtyard and place on their heads the green leaves which the pujari distributed to them after offering the same to the gods.

The Manaura (Manohara) rushing down from the heights of Manichur separates the hill of Changu Narayan from the plateau bearing Sanku. Further up the stream the river even takes the name of Sanku. It spreads freely plentiful in a large valley which could be mistaken for a lake. The rice fields disappear under the irrigation waters. The surrounding slopes are covered with forests and on all sides noisy torrents descend in cascades. The valley of Nepal stops there. Zig-zag fashion on the slopes of Manichur climbs through the forest, the road to Tibet through the Kuti pass. The beautiful greensward between the river and town is a real Tibetan encampment; they stop here in caravans before ascending the first slope. Men and women, sturdy as beasts of burden, carry on their backs, piled up in baskets, crushing loads from which their often emerge a chubby and fat babe, a real

challenge thrown to all the laws of hygiene. A leather strap that fits round the head bears all the load. Sanku owes all her importance to these wandering Bhotiyas. The town is small and carefully planned and the streets are remarkably clean; everywhere along the causeway, there flows a streamlet of clear water. The temples of no importance, are tumbling down or in ruins. I only found the remains of an inscription on a broken water pipe, deposited against a small temple of Civa.

Kathmandu, Wednesday 16th.- Here I am back to my house to my familiar bungalow. Spring had preceded me. After an absence of eight days, I found the garden marvellously flowered with rose and white. One cannot realize the divine harmony of the country side; a deep blue sky, immaculate, splendid a warm sun but allayed by a kind breeze that still smells the glacier, the luke-warm shade the young verdant sprouts in the darkened verdure of leaves that have stood the Winter; a perfumed efflorescence that adorn the bushes and the tall trees the gaiety of voices spreads in the calm atmosphere, the song of familiar birds, flying through the house, the sonorous calls of the neighbouring cocks, the blue or lilac mountains just seen through the foliage the silhouette of clearly defined pinnacles without roughness in the arure, the horizon fairly limited to be encompassed by the look yet vast enough to give it free play the transparent masses of rocks and the shadows bathed with light have transformed the country. Since day before yesterday Nepal is a paradise. The heat after these trying days was so strong that I felt myself on the verge of a sun-stroke on my way up the long road. Leaving behind the twelve coolies with my usual servant, I intended visiting the site of

Madhyalakhu where according to the Vamca- valis the Thakuris changed their capital. I had a fair amount of difficulty in finding the site. Neither the Pundit the mukhya nor the coolie knew its name. Fortunately my sepoy whose fervent piety had made him familiar with all the temples of Nepal, was able to supply me with the indication. Madhyalakhu is on the right bank of the Dhobikhola, tributary of the Bagmati. In spite of the note in the Vamcavali I found no trace of ruins. They may have disappeared recently because general Bhim Shamsher has erected on the site of the Madhyaku a vast palace surrounded by a large park. It appears that Maharaja Bir Shamsher saw with anxiety the fraternal friendship of Bhim and of Chandra Shamsher, so he has 'induced' his brother Bhim to leave Thapathali and to establish himself a little farther.

I had explored before this, the village of Bele (Bude) to the north of Timi, the temple of Maha Laxmi has its frontage adorned with chromo-lithographs where figure the classical Italian brunette and also a madonna with the infant Jesus. Is she here to represent Devaki or Krsna? But I found nothing ancient, in spite of the prayers of my escort. The hunt for inscriptions stirs them; in the evening at Bhatgaon I heard them talking in the verandah below my room and from 'pulis' to 'mukhya' old from 'coolie' to 'sepoy' it was as to who would claim the honour of having found or stamped best the 'cilapattra'. My honest coolie had addressed yesterday a fervent prayer to Suraj Binaik (Surya Vinayaka) in my favour; he had subjected himself to a preliminary fasting; on his humble salary, he had bought grains and flowers intended for the god and he was careful to gather on of the flowers of the puja and to hand it to me as a guarantee of 'parad' of divine favour. Vinayaka

did not keep his word. This morning in crossing Bole, my sepoy points out a chapel of Bhimsen, excellent patron of soldiers and with all the fervour of his heart addresses him a simple but little used prayer: O Bhimsen maharaj give us a cilapattra. Bhimsen has not better succeeded than Ganesh.

The Gods are vanishing. And yet I had also made yesterday the pilgrimage of Suraj Binaik. The sanctuary of Surya Vinayaka one of the four Binaiks of Nepal, hides in the forest to the S. of Bhatgaon on the first slopes of Pulchok. The path rises in a steep slope and ends in a staircase. At the foot of the steps stand a small chapel officiated by a woman. On the road from Bhatgaon to the temple a continuous line of devotees and especially female devotees in great pomp; they are properly attired before paying a visit to Ganesh Maharaj and the female devotees the young ones especially drape themselves with a skirt of flounces which seems to be held up by a crinoline or which recalls the basket-skirts. On their ebony black hair (some dye with henna the tress that stands stiff on top of the head) they all stick with a very conscious coquetry, marigolds of golden yellow. The temple is quite small, just a shelter above the idol but it is entirely plated over with sculptured brass. Facing the god a pillar bearing a large brazen mouse. As regards inscriptions nothing; but a dazzling view on the line of glaciers that seem at each stage of the ascension to descend deeper down in the neighbouring valley, of unbearable brilliancy in the setter-off of this luminous sky. In default of inscriptions, I found a manuscript. The chota pundit the small chap with the cunning face whom I had "appropriated" as a guide gives but too much credit to my perspicacity; he is the most candid little scoundrel that Bhatgaon had given birth to. His father has (he assures me

and I have the proofs) an enormous collection of manuscripts; the father is wrong to absent himself and to badly close the door; my fellow tries the lock and discreetly borrows from the paternal shelves. He brought me a Paracara dharma castra and a Yoma dharma castra written on palm leaves. The episode of the Gunadhya inserted in the Nepala mahatmya has given me to think that the Brhatkatha would be found here I ask him if he has it and promise him besides the price and gratification to take his photograph. He brings me this morning an incomplete manuscript of the Brhatkatha-cloka-samgraha. I shall attempt to get out the rest of him. He brought me an associate equally reliable and who only asks for money. The difficulty lies in that through not knowing exactly the manuscripts in their possession, they work at random. They brought me a Kala cakra tantra a Hariccandropakhya on talapatras which I refused giving them the list of my Buddhistic desiderata and have promised them a pen-knife like mine (this pen-knife fascinates them), if they brought me five of them (Buddhistic requirements). If I only had with me a stock of articles from Paris. The whole library of the papa would pass entirely into my hands. The brother of the said chota Pundit with whom I had the pleasure of conversing in Sanscrit has assured me with perfect candour that he possessed no manuscripts. And the proceedings (I fear to qualify them but "ad majorem scientix gloriam" are transacted under the benevolent gaze of the authority. My mukhya assists to these dealings the rupees cross through him to the chota Pundit and I surmise that a few remain between his fingers, "Captain Sahib, he says to me seriously has ordered me to help you in procuring manuscripts". It is immaterial once in possession of a sufficient quantity I shall hasten to quit the country. I shall

enjoy my forfeit more peacefully on other side of the frontier. And if Belgium was not so far distance from here...

Friday 18th February—Yesterday under a burning sun (the rains have brought us heat) I rode on horseback to Patan. My worthless horse of Bhatgaon was discarded and the Maharaja sent me a splendid animal. The Pundit solemnly declared to me that I would be admitted to view the inscription of Narendradeva in the temple of Matsyendra Natha on the condition I came before mid-day. At the gate of Patan I find my Mitrananda depressed he had wrongly informed me, the inscription in the interior of the temple is from IXth century of the Nepalese era (XVIIIth century). All my journey, all my haste, all my pains for this result; I was obliged to practise the Ksantiparamita and show glad heart in adversity. I went to the temple of Matsyendra Natha and I have at least assisted there to a curious spectacle; a chorus of old men in beautiful white fineries broken bent toothless shrivelled, crouched on the slabs in front of the temple, and on devillish hymns the glory of Matsyendra Natha, accompanied with a cadenced shindy of cymbals gongs, counces and these cadaverous old men have continued for nearly an hour this musical exercise. The large and lofty temple is encircled by a rectangle constructions, the usual vihara, but a public passage crosses the courtyard and nobody skirted the temple without devoutly stopping on the threshold and greeting the god with hands joined and the head bent. I photographed one of the stupas of Acoka the Lagam. The situated to the South of the town then I returned at a galop. Captain Sahib had informed me of the despatch of manuscripts collected by the order of the Commander-in-chief. Alas. Alas. deception Abhidharmakosa vyakhya,

Gandavyubam, Vidagdham, mukhaman—dana, Bhadrakalpavadana, dvavimacatyavadana, Jatakamala: Here are the results of fifteen days of official search. Yet I do not despair. The Maharaja had expressed the desire to see me in the afternoon and I intend to entertain him on the pillar of Changu Narayan which must, however, be unearthed and on the inscription of Narendradeva which according to the people of the vihara of Matsyendra Natha is in the interior of the Darbar at Bhatgaon. Captain Sahib told me yesterday that I am known in town as Bodha Sahib. This week a priest who came from Lhasa went straight to the Captain's office to ask him if it was true that there lived at the Residence a Buddha Sahib. Ah, if only I was the Resident. At the end of one year I shall have free admittance to all the collection of manuscripts and to all the temples.

Saturday 19th February—I come out of a fairy-land or rather I fully live in it. I cannot help thinking all the time of that poor 'jacquement' who has known the same satisfactions and the same surprises. Yesterday the maharaja Bir Shumsher expressed the desire to interview me. I hastened to answer it. Captain Sahib, according to the protocol came in full uniform to escort me from the house. There was no vehicle this time. We proceeded together or rather separately.

There is nothing of a Thapathali character here. The houses show the different characteristics. The first courtyard is undoubtedly busy with subordinates and men in uniforms and Brahmans but once beyond the fence of the enclosure there is an absolute silence.

There are no people. Just a servant who comes out at the noise of my galop and introduces me inside the court of justice in the

ground-floor. It is there that His Highness, sitting on a mattress, leaning on a cushion decides the grave cases that escape to the competence of the court or the commander-in-chief. A huge tiger slain by the Maharaja in the Terai and very cleverly stuffed is entrusted perhaps to symbolize justice. With a discreet step, that dows not even resound on the slabs only followed by a general His Highness enters; rather small than the forehead pensive the appearance of the face intelligent; he also wears a kind of day-gown. Greetings, then without any ceremony with the same discreet step, fairly mournful cortege we climb to the hall of the first floor a vast gallery furnished in the English fashion and everywhere strewn with tiger-skins. This is the leitmotiv here. He does not understand the interest that Nepal presents; I Express to him: I have come to search for inscriptions and the rests of Buddhism; Nepal is the connecting link between the two worlds of the oriental thought she still preserves perhaps the treasures of the Sanscrit literature. The thought of India belongs to humanity like a common treasure. Conclusion, it would be necessary to remove from the ground the pillar of Changu Narayau stamp the inscription of Narendra deva if it is at Bhatgaon and invite the viharas to disclose their treasures. In ending the Maharaja invites me to assist tomorrow to the review of the Civaratri.

Then today it is the Civaratri and good Nepalese as I am I began my day by a pilgrimage to Pashupati. In a normal year, pilgrims come in myriads; they come from Madras, Travancore as well as from Bombay and Calcutta. But plague that terrible plague that comes along increasing has compelled the Nepalese Government to close the access of the country to the pilgrims. There are only Nepalese then to come and at least they come in crowds. All along

the steps that descend to the Bagmati they climb and descend men and women quietly unclotting themselves on the bank and plunging in that water which must be freezing each one however, traces the customary mudras with his fingers and mutters the mantras. My "Thula babu" the small Pundit of Pashupati soon learnt of my arrival, he comes and keeps me company and we converse in Sanscrit to the great surprise of the crowd. Delicious fraternity. The purificatory cows move along in the crowd; monkeys clamber up the side of the chapels watch for the offerings and snatch them; one of them crosses the river carrying on his back exactly in imitation of us, a baby monkey too weak to struggle against the current. The dogs, impure (unclean) as they are, also come to the feast and lick unconcernedly the greasy limbs of the idols, whilst fowls freely plunder the grains. The beautiful ladies display sumptuous pyjamas, breeches cut in the Zouave fashion so large that they prevent them from walking. I would be unworthy besides for a distinguished person to walk an ordinary human being; one can see them on feast days crossing the streets and reaching the temples on the back of men. A paورانika reads or recites in a sing-song manner a text that he does not understand and the Yogis more or less professionals display their austerities blowing their big couches and rattling their little bells to attract the crowd. In the afternoon my horse comes to fetch me and always in company with Captain Sahib I enter the Tundikhel, the enormous field of manoeuvres that borders Kathmandu (Eastern wall) and the palace of the Maharaja. A beautiful long champs in what a beautiful set off verdant mountains. To the W the Dhaulagiri to the E the double throne of Gauri Cankara, gigantic and harmonious, rising in the spotless assure and so high that it dwarfs the

neighbouring peaks in spite of their six thousand and seven thousand metres (19500 and 22700 feet). In the middle of the field a large solitary tree encircled with a circular terrace with two storeys. I cross the vehicle of the Maharaja which passes in front of the troops escorted by lancers and followed by a magnificent staff-office, and I hasten towards the central tree where the Maharaja almost immediately rejoins me with a crowd of generals all trimmed with gold. Music, military salute and in this warlike setting off and smell of powder, the Maharaja informs me that he has given the order to unearth the pillar of Changu Narayan and that I can send to that place at my own leisure (admittance being forbidden me) my Pundit and mukhya with brush and paper. He has also given the order to search the stone of Bhatgaon. Long live Nepal and this is not all; he has prescribed to search for the manuscripts that I desire and he who will refused to cede them... at least to have them copied... they will be forcibly borrowed. This is entirely the good despot. To attest to the firmness of his promises, I had the visit of the Pundit delegated for the research M Cakyamuni would you believe it. What better presage to discover Buddhistic manuscripts? Sakyamuni—prassadayat kim na labyeta? The good old Cakyamuni knows as much Sanscrit as I know Turkish; I have the permission to give him as assistants Mitrananda and the two associates duly trained and warned go to undertake tomorrow a series of reserches. But this Eastern world is so slow to make a move. I often think at the storey Buhler was telling me one evening; the long days of conversation on indifferent topics before tackling the purchase of an ordinary ancient coin. And I can see with regret the departure now near at hand two and half weeks at most to spend here, when the seeds are so near from sprou-

ting. Whilst His Highness gives me these good news the Dhiraj comes in a vehicle, the fine young man between 23 and 24 years of age tall strong, elegant, plated with diamonds the feature insignificant. He does not speak English or rather he does not speak at all. The Maharaja presents me, explains the object of my visit, praises my Sanscrit knowledges and the canons thunder all round and the rifle shots crack by the thousand. The King goes away in an open carriage in which also enter the Maharaja and the Commander-in-chief and I remain with general Chandra Shamsher a face with coarse hair on it and large protruding teeth but kindness in the look and in the manners. He tells me of Alsace-Lorraine with a charming subtleness and invites me to choose myself the manoeuvres to be executed. And an improbable phenomenon takes place mad phenomenon that it is I who passes the review. The admirable troops so well trained to parade like automata that without words of commands on a rythm they keep up themselves by hitting the ground in turn with both their feet, they proceed with all the regulated movements of the rifle, with the precision of a machine. To obtain in the same afternoon an official order for the research of manuscripts an authorisation to unearth the pillar of Changu Narayan and to pass the review of Gurkha soldiers, is surely a day worth dating in one's existence.

Monday 21st February—Yesterday for the first time I was able to return to my residence alone I had left the house in the early morning to proceed to Thankot; at five in the afternoon I had yet neither eaten nor drunk so that with explicit consent of my mukhya I galloped off at full speed and proceeded in front. On the road as well as in town, the compact crowd made room with good-will without compelling me to make a speech; I

crossed the market, followed the bazar without difficulty, these brave people even chased the bulls and buffaloes who came too close to my security. The day has been very fortunate; I picked up no less than six ancient stelas; two of these are unfortunately undecipherable the stone having decayed (corroded) to such an extent, but the remaining four are good and very important. I found two at Thankot and four in a small village named Kisipidi. Thankot is in the western extremity of the valley at the foot of the perpendicular slope that leads to the pass of Chandragiri and that works a communication between Nepal and India at 16 kilometres from Kathmandu. Thankot has known more flourishing days; she has had her Durbar of which there remains no trace. The only temple in honour of Maha Laxmi is insignificant; the horns of bulls sacrificed adorn the inside and the outside of the temple. Standing against a particular house, separated from the causeway by a group (cluster) of small caityas of brick-work and plaster falling in ruins, I found a stela in good state of preservation, to the North of these caityas in an old deserted hithi (washing depression), I found another stela of the same epoch, but which only shows trace of characters. From Thankot I skirted the foot of Chandragiri to visit Mata Tirtha at about a mile S. E. of Thankot; the Vamcavali places in the neighbourhood of Matatirtha, the capital of the shepherd kings, the Guptas, consecrated by Ne Muni, Mata Tirtha is a rectangular enclosure encircled by the forest. At the foot of a trace that supports a small sanctuary five or six stone spouts pour out the water from the neighbourhood streams but alone among them has the title and value of a tirtha; the water that escapes from it, marvellously limpid fills up a rectangular basin. It is there that homage is paid to the ghosts of a deceased mother. A stela dating

from the close of the XVIIth century, and that is all. The path that rejoins the road to Kathmandu from Mata Tirtha crosses the village of Kisipidi, at 500 metres N of tirtha. In the small enclosure of small temple of Ganeca, first inscription; on a small square to the E, another very large stela but entirely corroded; against a cluster of chapels in honour of Bhagavati, two other stelas. I have not had the time to examine them. I just had the time to stamp and photograph on the spot.

Thursday 24th February— I ended on Monday my journey to the Darbar of Kathmandu; I began to take the stamping of the polygraphical inscription of Pratapa Malla which awakens here so much curiosity and covetousness. It is engraved on a stone fitted in the western wall of the palace; on the temple facing it all the steps are also decorated with polygraphical inscriptions; less in view, they have remained indifferent and I took care, not to attract any attention on them. This old crazy Pratapa Malla costs me forty leaves of stamping paper. More than elsewhere my presence before the enigmatic inscription has brought a crowd; police officers, soldiers blow from rifle butts do not prevent them from overflowing the barriers and to feverishly press round me. Mysterious, the inscription is only partly so; each one knows here from a positive source that it means the hiding place of a fabulous treasure. Where is the treasure? Here is the hitch. And they envy me, I who can explain because a reward of ten lakhs of rupees or more than a million and a half of francs is assured to him who will give the translation. Here is something that humbles the most sumptuous rewards of the Institute. Alas, one must lower one's pretensions. The crowned pedant who was Pratapa Malla was pleased, according to what I have been able to

read, to indicate his royal and literary titles in various writings and he has also dated the engraving; he has asked the name of the writing employed. Unfortunately the base of the stone is fairly corroded, the names are deciphered with difficulty and when they are legible, they are not always intelligible. The indication would however, be useful indispensable in certain cases. There are characters here that remind of nothing unknown. I was only able to stamp one third of it but attendants will do the rest without me.

I visited the temple of Budha Nilkantha day before yesterday. It lies at the foot of the Civapuri. In spite of the name, the divinity of the site is Visnu Narayana. The Temple is encircled as usual with a rectangle of dharmasalas with a rectangular basin also bordered by a narrow foot-path and a parapet. A giant stony Narayana is stretched on the surface of water, sheltered under a canopy of snakes. The light foliage of bamboos swaying over divine statue causes the light to vacillate on these stony limbs giving them an appearance of life. The impression is captivating. In the courtyard women and children of Bhotya descent beg for a bakshish without the least shame. A small group of Yogis rubbed over the ashes, almost nude reads the yoga Vasistha without understanding a word of it. Exactly as in the Buddhist temples, a stone portico carries a large bell, against this portico is built a low masonry work in which are engraved a few inscriptions. The only ancient one was collected and fortunately by Bhagvanlal; it is no longer legible. Budha Nilkantha is at a distance of two steady miles north-east from Kathmandu, directly at the foot of the mountain. The road that leads to it is fairly good and it covers the underground canal that brings the waters of Civapuri into the reservoir of Kathmandu.

From Budha Nilkantha I go and visit the village of Tsapaligaon, that borders the

path at about a mile S. of Budha Nilkantha, direction of Kathmandu. Against the small temple of Narayana there stands a stela the top of which has crumbled down but the base of it is quite clear and the date precise. From there, in returning towards Kathmandu to the right of the path but a small distance on a fairly narrow plateau eaten into by the Bisnumati, the old village of Dharampur with a few solitary huts in the vicinity. There remains a half buried stela but which I unearth. The ground has fortunately preserved the stone the date is clearly legible. The stone faces a chapel of Ganeca; the village has also a small miserable looking caitya of brick and plaster.

Yesterday new excursion in the same direction: I visited the village of Thoka N of Kathmandu and built on plateau that faces Dharampur. The soil of the valley is entirely made up of the same alluvial sand as that which constitutes the valley of the Ganges; the thickness of the layer is considerable. The many small streams that descend the mountain slopes and that furiously swell in the monsoons, dig into and cut their beds and end by flowing in a kind of gerge of sand. Towns and villages are perched on the plateaus thus cut up in the mass of sand and to cross from one bank to another, if it even concerned a river like the Bisnumati, that at this period of the year, flows as much water as the Mauzanares, it is necessary to descend and climb the tracks that crumble under foot. Thoka has given me an inscription, a stela also decorated with the conch and the cakra; the top has entirely worn away, the base preserved in the soil is clear and gives the date, unfortunately of the three numerical signs, the second is confused with the stone photography will perhaps reveal what the paper, my finger and my eyes combined have not been able to see. At last, today, new meeting in the hail of the manuscripts of the Darbar

School, I saw the Natakas, the Kavyas, the Nyaya, but all this portion of the catalogue or more modestly of the list abounds with so many errors that it is impossible to guide one's self at first sight. I intend to mention an excellent manuscript of the Bharatiya Natyacastra of the last century; further Damaruvallabha points out to me a commentary of the Bharatiya composed by a Nepalese raja and the manuscript of which he intends to impart to me... My sepoy and my mukhya have just returned with the stamping of the Darbar inscriptions; they are quite proud, because they have also brought me the stamping of two ancient inscriptions they had "discovered" at Kathmandu I took care through fear of cooling their zeal not to tell them that both have already been published. Here they are passed epigraphists. In any case they have been able to recognize in the lot two really very ancient inscriptions they are Nos 3 & 4 of Bhagvanlal. They have even recognized the mark of "Samvat". Decidedly I am born a professor, I have made students into archaeologists and what students again. Two tommies (foot-soldiers). This must not be taken as ridiculous as would say the poet Francois Coppee. After my departure, my "students" will be able to continue my work.

This very morning, Captain Sahib came to bring me informations on the hot water spring mentioned by the Chinese; it appears that like Wang Hiuen Ts'e did it, all the Chinese and Tibetans, who descend into Nepal and India by the Kirong pass, the usual course for the outward journey, stop at this hot spring and cook their food in it. And all the details of the Chinese traveller are of an exactitude to shame the modern geographers and topographers. It appears that, near this source, there are Chinese inscriptions; Captain Sahib has

promised to send the mukhya to take stampings. I would also like to have by the same means the epigraphy of Nayakot that must have as ancient inscriptions. What results would I not reach if my sojourn could be prolonged? The maharaja has sent today four soldiers to Changu Narayan to unearth the pillar and the Commander-in-chief has ordered the scribes of the hall of manuscripts to bring to him the copies that I had ordered in order that he might verify for himself the correction before imparting them to me. Is it this the country described by the tale teller of voyages?

Saturday 26th February—Heat has suddenly come on and with it the days have shortened. Impossible to leave the house before 3 p. m., I have even given up working in the afternoon in the verandah to the N. E., the sparkling heat made my head feel heavy; I was obliged to seek the shelter of the thick walls of the bungalow. Yesterday I have again picked up something epigraphical. I said that a Brahman had come to inform Captain Sahib of the existence of a pillar with an old inscription. The good Captain took me himself to Nangsal, a suburb of Kathmandu, exactly opposite the palace of Dhiraj; between the two is a large depression where flows a streamlet of canalized water and where stretch lands. The village stands between the road to Harigaon and that to Pashupati through Deo Patan. In the centre a fairly high ridge looking like a stupa mark so it appears the site of the ancient stelas one almost completely defaced the other in fairly good state of preservation, with the exception of the top. I then stamped and photographed them. We returned to the Residence through Lajinpat, which is ordinary place with a small chapel and linga. Near the chapel is an image of Visnu in a broken atti-

tude, the left leg raised towards the shoulder and underneath a votive inscription in the style resembling that of Mahankal but in a worse state of preservation. Here the stone is absolutely bare and the image is contemporaneous to the inscription that seems to be of the VIth, VIIth century. Today Pundit Cakyamuni has brought me his booty. It is not without interest. To begin with an excellent manuscript of the Candrayakarana procured at Bhatgaon and which had the advantage of supplying a useful historical datum. The colophon bears: nepalabdagate mrgankarasayanechaya (?) pancabanayudha... (561). cricripacupaticaranavavindarcana parayanari purajadaityatripurasu ramanavinrjitacrisamsaratariningouri cvara—crimahccvaravatacrilaksminaryanacricri jayaksmalladevaanujacri crijayajivamalladevasahelvvijayararaje..... (Jivamella is missing in all the lists). I found a good manuscript of the Prakrtasamjivini (Prakrit grammar). A manuscript of the Madyamakavrtti (called here like always Vinayasutra). An important commentary of the Kalacakratantra the Vimalaprabhava very rare work and of it would which perhaps be desirable to have a copy; its crimulatanttranusarinayam dvadacasahasrikayam lghukalacakratantrarajatikayamvimalaprachyam askalamaravighnavinacatah paramastadevatasaumarganiamoddecah prathamah..... and so on. The manuscript has more than 300 pages; it seems to me as being important to the study of the Tantric doctrine. I also found the manuscript of another new text, written under the reign of Rudra Devawork translated in Chinese by Fa-pien in the Xth-XIth century (Nanjio 864). It is interesting to observe, to the credit of China exactitude, that the Chinese title translates exactly ratnaguna (pao-te) whereas the title given in Nanjio simply shows: Prajnaparamitasamcayagatha. At last a manuscript bearing for colophon: iti para-

mitaparikatha, subhasitaratnakrandake samapla-krtir acaryacurasya granthapramanam; asyacatam. It does not appear to me doubtful that asya-cura must be restored. Lastly there was a manuscript of the Caturavrgasamraha. The hunt is not finished. I still hope for some more game. In connection with game a tiger came down the mountain yesterday and walked through the streets of Patan, "quaerens quem devoret", my friend Deb Shamsher went out bravely and shot it himself. It was the event of the day.

Kathmandu 2nd March—On Tuesday I made a distant and painful excursion to Phirphing but without result. Phirphing is to the south of Kathmandu at a distance of 16 or 18 kilometres, leaning against the mountains that close the valley on a plateau about 300 metres (975=feet) high or a real altitude of about 1500 metres (4875 feet). In fact Phirphing scarcely belongs to Nepal strictly speaking; in order to reach her, one must make a fairly steep ascension on the slope of the mountain and outline afterwards a deep valley where spread in graduations cultivations and rustic houses whereas the higher slopes contrast with their barren ruggedness the wooded summits of the other mountains. The road to Phirphing detaches itself from the great road (principal) between Kathmandu and Patan almost at the very gate of Patan, takes an oblique course towards the South—West, passes in front of the Western stupa of Acoka, crosses two kolas (this is the name given to streamlets flowing in vast beds) continues on an almost flat plateau; then a little before meeting Bagmati, it again bends to the West, descends towards the Bagmati and crosses a large borough Kokona, where there are a fairly large temple and a caitya of no interest and without epigraphy; then it reaches the Bagmati, a little before its egress from official Nepal.

The river in fact elbows almost immediately towards the East-South-East, and skirting the cliffs on which is built Bagmati, penetrates, into as mysterious a defile as the North Pole. The Bagmati descending directly from the Ganges must open a direct means of communication between India and Nepal; the Nepalese do not trouble themselves to open to their invading neighbours a door that has no bolt or lock. At the mouth of the gorge on a vast field the Darbar has erected an asylum for lepers as a kind of scare-crow. By way of bridge between the two banks, a line of small beams just as large as the bare foot too, and immediately afterwards, the path begin to clamber up steeply. Phirphing seemed to promise more results apart to escape the upheavels, rarely visited if ever she has not a traveller, there are the ruins of a Darbar and two very popular temples: Cesa Narayana and Daksina Kali. Cesa Narayana (Sikk Narayan as they call it here) does not only attract the Nepalese; the Bhotiyas also come to it; on my arrival a group of them is installed in one of the dharmasalas and a stone bears inscribed in relief in the Tibetan style the Om mani padme hum fairly unexpected here. No luxurious constructions here like in Changu Narayan; a few miserable and small chapels and stuck against the very rock and only accessible by a perpendicular staircase, the statue doubly holy. A fissure open above in the rock allows the escape, during four months in the year, of a white and limpid cascade. In Switzerland one would call it the Pissevache here it is Kathmandu the divine cow and the animal is worshipped in real earnest. Besides water spurts out here from everywhere; limpid and gay from floor in basins where the piety of the faithful feed numerous fish. In the village, situated to the East of the temple. I stamped

an inscription of Jyotir Malla one of Cri Nivasa Malla the name of which is unknown to me from elsewhere.

To the east of the village at the bottom of a narrow and deep gorge with wooded slopes stands the temple of Daksina Kali. The popularity of the goddess is marked by this trifle she wears it appears to the value of five lakhs of jewels and the idol is fifty to sixty centimetres high. There not even a chapel; a square enclosure dharmasalas on three sides the fourth an ordinary wall in which is imbedded the statue of the goddess sheltered under a kind of Chinese hat in copper, adorned with many coloured bits of cloth and rattles. The daily sacrifice of the buffalo is just completed; the blood squirts according to the rules of the profession on the idol the head slowly severed is deposited at the feet of the goddess and the large decapitated body still convulses from the neck, legs, tail; it is still quivering flesh. They drag it outside singe it like they would a fowl over a straw fire and then they embowel it to distribute the portions to the staff. Only a modern stela for inscriptions. I must console myself with the site that is ravishing. A small torrent the Kali kola encased between forests rising perpendicularly flows through the rocks that encumber its meandering bed; shifted by bushy foliages softened by the breeze of the streamlet, the dazzling heat of the South is only a cool caress. Kali is not near from being deserted by her adorers. Yesterday evening I was talking with the small brother of Babu Mitra a lad of fifteen to sixteen years emancipated by an English education. I, he said, I believe in nothing as regard gods and supernatural things; all these are fables for the children. And after this profession of faith perfectly sceptic, without pose or pause without any intended contrast without a change of

one he adds: I, however, make an exception to the goddess Kali, because I have there, indisputable proofs. And he relates to me the miraculous apparition of Kali that he has not seen himself with his eyes, but he has seen the people who saw them and in what a state they were. Would you now doubt? It seemed to me for a while that I was not in Nepal.

Today a torrential rain and quite cold, which warns us of another rise in the thermometer.

Friday 4th March—I was in the house busy with my manuscripts when I was asked to assist to a spectacle of Holi. The Holi is the great spring festival of India Shrove Tuesday or Lent and it is a pity to see how far all the human imagination is confined in India has even her confetti, for eight days the people walk about the streets carrying in sacks small tubes a red powder and even if he is the Maharaja, whoever passed by in white clothes was pitilessly sprayed. Here also (is it not all in all) takes place the feast of washing, let us say dhobhis. The cloth stained with red that resists to washing, however valuable it may be, belongs by right to the dhobi. And it is in these narrow and swarming lanes curious pushing of a reddish crowd, the powder sticking to the hair, beard as well as the clothes. This nation of Nepal is a perpetual spectacle, such as I have seen it in the streets today such as I have remarked it everywhere at Kathmandu. A group of brickmakers seated themselves on a long mat; they are singing choruses, those perpetual choruses of the East in which gaiety mingles with melancholy all in mazzotintos undulating and fleeting; simple and powerful evocation of the night. In the centre a small group of instrumentalists: Kettle-drums, cymbals, gongs, flutes, tambourines; two or three would rise

by turn, play and dance with the contorsions of monkeys, entirely smeared with red; the actors of Thespis. The chorus ceases, three of the brick-makers go to a corner to disguise themselves. Music, there enters a shepherd lass of the Terrai, so it appears. I have found again my Tharunis. The Tharuni in question is quite simply one of the three brick-makers who this time has smeared his face with ashes to soften the bronze glitter and who has also painted the eyes as they often do to very small girls; a large black ring gives to the look quite an enigmatic and voluptyuous allurements. The shepherd lass requests and the public indulgence. She will sing and dance to honour the divinity. A shepherd arrives clad in a rough overcoat knotted on his head and that vaguely resembles the skin of an animal; he starts courting the shepherd lass, mingling with passionate appeals ludicrous gestures and subterfuges. There appears a rival. In short a pastoral scene, the classical and perpetual pastoral scene of love and I found here once again, lingering and real, my hypothesis on the origin of the Indian drama, yes, in this idyllic country caressed by the sun and bathed in light, the pastoral amiable and smiling is as old as the world. And beneath this fortunate climate that allows the human form its free play, the body is so supple so easily graceful that these rough brick-workmen intended to mistake their role of women. I was obliged to leave the representation to ascend the Darara, the lofty column erected by Bhimsen Thapa to the East of Kathmandu, quite against the precinct in which it penetrates and the manoeuvring camp; a hideous construction a column of pork-butcher trade of lard and that contrasts with the taste of the country. But this is a Gurkha whim, it is true. From the summit at a height of 4000 old metres, one embraces a view of the whole valley; but today again the horizon was misty

Nepal

and the splendid range of glaciers was hidden.

This morning Captain Sahib brought me on a visit his eleven years old son his ten years old daughter and a nephew of seven years orphan whom he sheltered. They were in their dresses, the boys in a combination of the collegian and the soldier with a great-coat and a helmet with the visor gold-laced, the little girl whom a bearer brought was dressed in large skirts and the head embellished with the ceremonial gold plate. I was distressed for not being able to give or show anything to this little world but the photographs of my kin were things of great curiosity to them.

Monday 7th March-The Nepalese Darbar has kept his word. I have a complete stamping of the pillar of Changu Narayan. Not less than four soldiers and three days to attain this result. The pillar is now fitted into a kind of sculpture stone ring that gives it the appearance of a base; it has been necessary at first to lift this much heavy ring and to erect a wooden frame-work to support it a system of props that allowed the approach to and the stamping of the stone. I leave out here a list of the ancient Buddhistic works known by Chinese translations and the Darbar has promised me to pursue its researches. My searchers have pointed out to me two very important texts; to all requisitions, even official, the holders have replied that there was a mistake and that they did not possess the manuscripts in question. But the least knowledge of India teaches the worth of these categorical replies that from an express 'no' proceeds along very slowly by small stages to a final 'yes' The possessor of these manuscripts are Brahmans and it is a matter of conscience with them to make known a heretical work. I am also

awaiting a reply with regard to an old text in the possession of an old Brahman, dwelling in a house of the mountain and who without refusing to communicate the text replies to all the notices by the perpetual eastern inertia. The Commander-in-chief has sent him a Pundit, the Captain Sahib has sent him a mukhya he is out, he is ill, he will bring it himself and I get mad with anger at seeing approach the day of my departure and this rogue of a Brahman who does not stir. I promised him yesterday evening by a messenger 5 rupees reward if he comes to-morrow. Five rupees. This savours on the whim of the American multi-millionaire. There is a great deal to bet on however, that the resistance by inertia will prevail on the inclination for lucre.

In default of new Buddhistic texts, Pundit Cakyamuni brought me a treatise on veterinary matter; iti cri Rupanaryanetyadimaharajadhirajacriman Madanendrasena Krtan Sarasamgrhe Calihotram samaaptam. In the first cloke there is a different name.

Crimatsuryam anmaskrtya revantam tura-gadhipam crimad Devendrasenena kriyate sarasamgrahaah. Each cloke is accompanied by a vernacular translation.

Verse 2: uddrty calihotrani balanam bodhetave mandarendraserena kriyate sugamo vidhih-The Vidagdhavismapana, a collection of chaades, enigmas, etc.-in verse with partial translation in Parbatya

In the evening I was invited to visit the "Lines" of the sepoy's to assist to a nautch offered by the Jemadar. On the greensward of manoeuvres a few poles are erected and a cloth stretched above them. All around benches and a few chairs for people of importance. No nautch girls; the type is rare in Nepal and

during this week of the Holi they are claimed everywhere. And then the body of nautch girls has suffered vicissitudes. The queen of nautch girls expiates in prison the sin of having pleased to many admirers. She was known to have granted her favours to good few of small Brahman gentlemen of Ksatriyas and to have enticed them to lose their castes. The Hindu law severely punishes this offence. She was sentenced to fifteen years each imprisonment and all the Brahmans implicated to one year each. It has been the great scandal of Nepal. In default of nautch girls the people have nautch-boys; the biggest, a lad of sixteen or seventeen years representing Krsna, wears a high mitre on the head, a kind of cloak on the shoulders and a long blouse of a beautiful blue colour tightened at the waist. Another boy smaller still resembles Radha, the lover of Krsna. Lastly boys of eight and twelve years represented the shepherd lasses, companions of Radha. In the beginning after a chorus and symphonies or orchestras, a large curtain is unfolded which displays the images of Krsna and Radha. Incense is burnt, lamps are swung, hymns are sung. Then the real spectacle begins. From nine at night to four in the morning it is the same subject repeated; Radha sings his distressed passion and moans on his forlornness. Krsna only thinks of playing on the flute. The friends of Radha come to console him and one of them begs of Krsna to satisfy his mistress. Weary at last, he gives in for a while. The shepherd lasses hasten forward and Krsna leads a dance the "Ras Lila". Then he returns his flute and the whole thing begins again. The monotony of this theme is a little changed by whims of the Vidusaka, garbed in Nepalese style, among all these whimsical personages. He is knocked about like a ball scoffed, mocked, beaten, peppered with blows from fists then tripping and begging for bakshish he receives kicks on his behind. The sepoys in their bur-

nous and white turbans, motionless, burst out laughing at these ludicrous farces; but they gaze with an intense religious emotions at the eyes of Krsna and those of the shepherd lasses. It is so sacred a thing, tells me Captain Sahib. Sacred or not at midnight, I felt sleepy and return to the Bungalow.

Tuesday 8th March—This morning, visit of Captain Sahib for my arrangements for departure. I must regulate diplomatically my visit of farewells to the Maharaja and to all the Shamsher: Deb Shamsher, commander-in-chief, Chander Shamsher, the real generalissimo; Bhim Shamsher, general. I completed them in the vehicle of the maharaja placed at my service; leaving the bungalow at one o'clock, I only returned at five, namely that the visits were not an interchange of ordinary wordings. I attempted to induce the Maharaja to create a museum of Nepalese archaeology; he was impressed and allured by the idea and has on the very spot asked for the French Republic a manuscript of the Prajnaparamita in perfect preservation adorned with paintings and written during the reign of Vighrahpala, then old of about a thousand years and to me personally a manuscript a commentary of the Vidgadhavismapana written in the IVth century of the Nepalese era or in the XIIIth or XIVth century. He asked me the photograph of my children that I left him in exchange for his. And all the Shamsher vied with one another in kindnesses and in promises, placing themselves at my service for all researches that might interest me. In returning to the bungalow, I find the compound crowded with people; the sepoys, the musicians, the dancers come to entertain me with the clatter of the holi; symphonies songs and dances. I still have a provision of red powder, I throw it on them, I receive some in return. It is real battle with confettis.

Wednesday 9th—Eve of departure; each one comes by tura to bid farewell. My Pundit

brings me an ivory comb. Pundit Cakyamuni brings me a letter from Vaikuntha Natha Carman, Pundit of the Commander-in-chief and sends me a walking stick of areca with an ivory handle (the areca nut is a guarantee of happiness according to the Castres and Mitra-nanda hands me a few Nepalese paintings. Lastly Capizain Sahib arrives and in the name of the Maharaja he gives me a Nepalese dress, a Khukuri, a small cap and small sticks of incense despatched from Lhasa and reserved for ceremonial worships. Lastly the supreme rarity, pre-eminently the bearer of good tidings, I receive a gold coin. He also informs me that the Maharaja through a particular favour, places his open carriage at my disposal to convey me as far as Thankot where ends the road practicable for carriages.

At last on Thursday 10th, I leave Nepal. My mukhya, my Nepalese soldier, who has served me for so long as a guide and companion, after having been my peon and my gaoler, Lalitbam the Gurkha who wished to follow me back in company with my residential sepoy, Siri Rama Singh as far as Bhim-pedi at the foot of the mountains, beyond the pass of Chandragiri and that of Sivagarhi are all here and when I shook hands with them at the hour of departure, on the square at Bhim-pedi, crowded with my coolies, Kahars, dhu-liwalas, palkiwalas and the crowd of villagers who had hurried to the spot to see me, the sahin, Lalitbam and Siri Ram Sing were sobbing like children and I hastened to jump into the palanquin as my eyes were getting wet.

End of Vol. II



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प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ९८-९९

फागुन २०४३-जेठ २०४४

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक-मण्डल

पशुपतिकुमार द्विवेदी

प्रधान अन्वेषण अधिकारी

चन्द्रप्रसाद त्रिपाठी

अभ्युसन्धान अधिकृत

बिष्णुराज कार्की

संरक्षण अधिकृत

शुक्रसागर श्रेष्ठ

लिपि विशेषज्ञ

नारायणप्रसाद संजेल

शाखा अधिकृत

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Nepal

Historical Study of a Hindu Kingdom

(Volume III)

-Sylvain Levi

1. Inscription of the pillar of Changu Narayan

The pillar of Changu Narayan was discovered by Bhagvanlal Indrajī who stamped and published in part the inscription. Unfortunately the priest of the temple where this pillar is preserved did not allow the Pundit to extricate inferior portion which was buried in the soil. The Bhagvanlal was then only able to procure the 17 first lines of the face 1, 17 of the face 11 and 20 of the face 111. Before my departure to India Georges Buhler who was to meet with a tragic end a little while after very particularly recommended to my attention the incomplete inscription; he persuaded me, if I obtained permission to enter Nepal to multiply the measures so as to bring away a complete stamping. I have already (vol. II, 388; 404) how the good-will of the Darbar facilitated my task; the enlightened zeal of Maharaja Bir Sham Sher was able to triumph over the refusal and menaces of the priest of Changu Narayan. The access to the temple it is true, remained prohibited for a reason of childish rancour; but the Gurkha soldiers whom I had trained, succeeded in un-

earthing the base of the pillar without damaging it and in taking several stampings of the whole inscription.

I was able from the enclosure of the temple to view the pillar that I was not allowed to approach; I have shown it on the photograph reproduced 1,231. The description supplied by Bhagvanlal is perfectly exact; it is situated on the left (of the spectator) of the gate of the temple of Changu Narayan; the lower half is square the top is at first octagonal in shape than each one of the sides divides itself and the summit is circular. The ruins of the ancient crest and of the Garuda that crowned it are still preserved in a kind of open-word cage in the middle of the entrance courtyard; the lotus and the cakra that have replaced the primitive crowning for about fifty years now, are seen on the photograph. The architecture of the pillar very closely that of Harigaon (key, photograph, 11,119); paleography also brings together the two inscriptions

The inscription of Changu Narayan is engraved with great care on three of the four facings. The inscribed part covers on facing 1, a

height of 0,80; on facing 11, of 0,80; on facing 111 of 0,92, divided respectively in 26 lines (1), 24 lines, (11), 28 lines (111). The width of the lines on the three facing is uniformly 0m.34c. The characters have on an average a height of 0,012 on facing 1, of 0,011 on the two others; the space between the lines is about 0,22 on the first two facings; on the 111, it is irregular and goes increasing to the end, with a width of 0,018 to 0,026.

The writing is clearly and without any possible doubt of the Gupta Type. The observations of detail would scarcely double those that I will present in connection with the pillar of Harigaon. Among the most characteristic letters, I shall be satisfied to cite the initial (11,15; 111,4;9;16) formed by two dots disposed vertically and by a vertical stroke on the right, the ha, closed on the right of the scribe the sa with its large curl the dha oval the tha completely rounded the bha with the angle well open. Bhagvanlal (and Buhler who has translated his article) had already observed that "the shape of the letters concord exactly with those of the Gupta inscription." Yet, Mr. Fleet did not hesitate to set down the date of that inscription to the beginning of the VIIIth century (705 J. C.) immediately before Civa-deva(11)and Jayadeva; the eminent epigraphist has found himself on this occasion, induced to deny the evidence of the paleographical testimony, to support a chronological combination abandoned today. It was in the thereabouts of the Vth century that paleography tended to classify Manadeva as Bhagvanlal had done and Buhler who interpreted the date of the inscription by the Vikrama era (386 samvat -329 J. C.) at the very epoch of Samudragupta "whose edicts on pillars totally resemble the inscriptions of Manadeva" (some considerations on the History of Nepal, p. 50) We shall soon have to discuss the details of the date.

The inscription is in Sanscrit and with the exception of the two first lines wherein is stated the date, it is in verse. Each one of the stanzas shows in the margin its number of order indicated in numeral letters. The metre employed from one end to the other is the cardulavikridita, which the poet handles with great ease. In default of an original or brilliant imagination the author possesses after all his trade of versification; his language is pure and simple. He does not abuse of long compounds; he rarely reaches and does not exceeds a grouping of seven words. His lexicon is classical. The word "nirbhi" (11,16) is missing it is true, to P. W.; but P. W. cites the word with a reference to Caraka. The word apastra "weapon for defense" (111,1) is not mentioned in P. W. Bhagvanlal notes as an impropriety (of language) the use of the causative "karaya" for the ordinary (11.8; rajyam putraka karaya) but his criticism is wrong. The expression rajyam karya is at least consecrated by traditional verses on the reign of Rama, attested in Sanscrit by the Ramayana VI, 130, 104; the Maha Bharata VII, 2244 (and key 111, 11219, the Harivamca 2354;

Ramo rajyam akarayat

and at the same time in pali by the Jataka 461 (Dacaratha jo)

Ramo rojjam akarayi

The Ramayan employs elsewhere again the same expression p. ex. as regard the Dilipa (1,42,8th ed. Bombay);

raja rajyam akarayat.

The art of writing in its whole is extremely correct; the mistakes pointed out by Bhagvanlal are the 'lapsus calumi' (slips of the pen, of the Pundit himself. The so called correction abhidanat sati (11,1) is based on a wrong sense; the construction is literally. "The queen Rajyavati would be Cri in person being having

designation of spouse of the king". Sati which follows abhidana is not an ordinary platitude but marks well in accordance to usage the function of the epithet of the preceding term. The bha of bhartuh 11,17 is very clearly traced and does not resemble a ka. The correction indicated in 11, 14 pranā is without reason; the text as well as the facsimile and the transcription of Bhagvanlal write this word correctly. The correction satvo ribhīh for prajñātasāvora bhīh underlines only an error of reading (111,1); the text clearly shows satpaurash which is quite correct. In short (111,19) it is useless to substitute esyaty to ecyaty because the text bears esyaty clearly traced. I do not intend besides to diminish by these verifications the well known merit of Bhagvanlal who was a remarkable decipherer full of wisdom and knowledge.

It is proper to observe that the inscription of Changu Narayan carefully redoubles the mute after r, and classifies itself accordingly in the series anterior to Amcuvarman. It notes the last syllable by a character of lesser dimension traced below the level of the line, whereas with Civadeva (1) and Amcuvarman one can see the dash of the virama traced either above or below the letter.

The inscription commemorates a donation to the God of Changu Narayan (Hari, 1,5) made by queen Rajyavati on the advice of her son king Manadeva in consequence of a victorious campaign that led this prince to the west of Nepal proper, beyond the Gandaki as far as the stronghold of the refractory Malla. I have already commented on this inscription from a historical point of view (11,99 sqq). The purpose of the donation is not clearly expressed; it concerns undoubtedly the pillar itself shown by the demonstrative that 'this' at the end of the inscription. The custom of erect-

ing commemorative pillars dates in India as far back as the emperor Acoka. The Guptas their neighbours and their successors have renewed or perpetuated this practice. The most remarkable example is the prasthi of Samudragupta in Allahabad, engraved on a pillar of Acoka himself. The most ordinary designation of these pillars is the word stambha; one also finds yasti (lat) applied in an inscription of Hastin and Carvanatha (Fleet ib, 253; Skandagupta ? in Hihar; Manadeva himself employs this word to designate the pillars erected by his father, the picus Dharmadeva; 111,5). The custom is as much Civitic (Manaleca in Badami) as it is Vicnutic (candra in Mehrauli; Budhagupta in Eran) or Jaina (kahaun days of Skandgupta), or Buddhistic (Simhavarman in Amaravati). In the Vichnustic worship at least the pillar is compared to a standard of the god (visnor dhvajah sthapitah in Mehrauli, Janardanasy dhvajastambah in Eran). The erection of the pillar is usually designated as in the following inscription ucchritah, 111,5) by the verb ucchray. By a coincidence which is not perhaps only due to chance, the inscription of Changu Narayan recalls two inscriptions on the pillar of Skandagupta. One of them in Bhitari celebrates this prince, "he who after his father had gone to heaven, restored the Laksmi of his submerged race, subjugated his enemy and hailing out to himself". Here am I the master "went full of joy to seek his mother whose eyes were filled with tears, like krsna with Devaki" (1.12-14; pitari divam upele viplutam vamcalaksmim bhujabalavijitaririyah pratisthaya bhuyah [1] jitam iti paritosan mataram sasrancttram hataripur iva Krsno Devakim abhyupeta[1]). The tableau and the very expressions evoke the interview of Manadeva with his mother Rajyavati and denote undoubtedly the imitation of the same model. The other inscription which is badly mutilated (in Bihar) allows to appear the

person of the king's mother (1,12). These two inscriptions are classified in the second half of the Vth century. A century after the inscription of Managaleca in Badami presents an analogy a little further in difference from the inscription of Changu Narayan. King Mangaleca on the return from a great victory won over the Kalatsuri Buddharaja makes an offering to (Civa) Makutecvara and engraves his donation on commemorative pillar. The inscription drawn up in a clever prose celebrates at first the ancestors of the king, as does Manadeva at Changu Narayan; then comes the eulogy of the king, lastly the narrator passes to the account of the circumstances of the donation, by an almost identical movement on either side (kim bahuna, Badami, I.10...kim vakyair bbahubhah, Changu III, 20). The king who had at heart the impatience of erecting a commemorative pillar of the victory of his power (caktijayastambha), considered that it was first essential to erect the javelin of a pillar in commemoration of the triumph of piety (dharma-majayastambhacakti... he summoned the spouse of his father, queen Durlabhadevi and said to her; Let his concern you. Present as an offering to Makutecvara Natha these things...(the enumeration follows).

The inscription of Changu Narayan is dated from "Samvat 386 in the month of Jyestha clear fortnight first day of the moon, the Moon being associated to the asterism Rohini in the auspicious moment of Abhijit "Bhagvanlal without stopping at the details of the date had examined the interpretation of the year in the point of view of the chronology supplied by the Vamcavalis. He had reduced on the one hand to the caka-era (464 J. C.) on the other to the Vikrama era (329 J. C.) then finding that the average of the reigns between Manadeva and Jayadeva was more probable in the second system than in the first, he had prefer-

red the Vikrama era. The procedure is always a delicate matter; applied to the Vamcavalis of Nepal, so whimsical in their chronological speculations, it was already doomed to failure. M. Fleet has taken up the examination at a later period of the ancient chronology of Nepal basing himself on the date 316 of Civa deva (1) given by the inscription of the Golmadhitol that Mr. Bendall had recently discovered and published. I leave aside the discussion of this system which I have already criticised in an article of the Asiatic Journal in 1894. Mr. Fleet, admitting that the inscriptions of Nepal are divided into the two parallel series using different eras mentions the inscription of Changu Narayan in the Gupta era; he thus obtains 396 Gupta, 705-706 J. C., 628 caka current or 627 caka lapsed. Starting from this datum Sh. B. Dikshit has verified the details of the date for Mr. Fleet he found that "the given tithi ended on Tuesday the 28th April 705 J. C. at 57 ghatas 12 palas after the rising of the Sun; that the nakshatra Krittika lasted till the 11 ghatas 3 palas after the rising of the sun the morrow Wednesday and that consequently the muhurta Abhijit which is the eight in the series of the muhurtas and which begins then with the 15th ghata reckoned from the rising of the sun has been produced as is wanted by the text of the inscription whilst the nakshatra Rohini was current" (Gupta Inscr. Intod. 93-95).

As often is the case of the so-called scientific arguments introduced in the researches of history and of philology the proof proves nothing. The details of the date, in spite of their number leaves nothing precise to verification. The position given far from being accidental is almost even or at least very frequent. In fact the month of Jaistha is the month in which the Moon must be full in the constellation of Jyestha; then at the New

Moon that precedes the longitude of the Moon must be 180 less. The space between Jyestha and Rohini being 187 and the displacement of the Moon being 12 by tithi they are good chances that the Moon may pass in Rohini in the course of the first tithi (pratipad) of Jyaistha. Further the Muhurta Abhijit (Vidhi or Brabma) is the eight of the fifteen muhurtas of the day or of the thirty muhurtas that go from the rising of the Sun to the next rising; each muhurta lasts 48 minutes. Then at the moment when begins Abhijit 7x46-336 minutes-5 hours and 36 minutes have lapsed since the rising of the distance of the Moon from Jyestha has thus reduced by a little less than 30 and its position has more chances again of being in the region of the nakshatra Rohini. Besides if it concerns astronomical arguments it must be observed that the solution calculated by Dikshit and adopted by Fleet is irreconcilable with the intercalation of Asadha in 449 supplied by one of our inscriptions. If 386 samvat is equivalent to 628 caka current 449 is equivalent then to 691 caka current; then on that year there is an intercalation of Jyaistha in the true system of vaicakha in the average system but none of Asadha. If as I believe 449 with its intercalary system corresponds to 482 caka current 386 would answer to 419 caka current. Then the first Jyaistha of 419 caka current at the moment the sun is rising is found in Rohini and there remains for it to run $\frac{1}{10} \frac{3}{9} \frac{6}{0}$ lunations in this nakshatra otherwise expressed it must still remain in it 12 hours 23 minutes. Since the muhurta Abhijit commences 5 hours 35

minutes after the rising the Moon is still in Rohini during this muhurta. The date of the pillar of Changu Narayan corresponds in this hypothesis to Tuesday the 1st May 496 J. C.

This date does not satisfy the astronomical data of the inscription; it is also in accord with the paleographical character. Besides, outside the particular considerations that I have already brought forward or that I will have to cite afterwards as regard other inscription one fact alone suffices to classify definitely Manadeva before Amcuarman; thanks to the control offered by the inscription of the Yagabal we are assured that the cri Mana vihara comprised in the list of the liberalities of Amcuarman (Harigaon, year 32; is really the Manadeva vihara the monastery founded by Mana deva at Patan. The same inscription designates also a Manecvara a Dhara Manecvara that are probably pious foundations of Mana deva. The Managrha in which the Lichavis kings after Mana deva date their order and that is also found mentioned in Amcuarman (Harigaon, year 30; I. 10) is undoubtedly the place erected by Mana deva.

Note: In the transcription of this inscription as also of the following I indicate by think-faced letters the characters that in the original writing are traced above the line and reduced in dimensions; this graphic procedure corresponds to the use of the use of the virama in the modern alphabets.

The italic marks the doubtful letters.

Txt. I

Samvat 386 Jyaisathamase Cuklapakse partipadi I, etc.

Refer to "Nepal" vol III. by S. Levi, page 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

(Footnote page 10 Nepal, vol III, by S. Levi)

L2 Bhagvanlal wrongly transcribes nakshatra

L4 The syllable "sta" is legible on the stamping, after "vaksah". The conjecture "sma" "rttr" of Bhagvanlal seems to me impossible of reconciliation with the visible traces on the stamping.

Translation of text

1.11 & 111 that appears on pages 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, of 'Nepal' vol III, by S. Levi.

I

(1-2) year 386, month of Jyaistha clear fortnight first days of the luration, 1, the Moon being associated with the nakshatra Rohini in the suspicious time of the Abhijit.*

1. The Crivatsa is imprinted on the graceful resplendence of his large and vast chest; his chest his breasts his arms (of lotus) shine; he feasts . the three worlds are the machine of rotation which (he) turns . for his continuous distraction, he the imperishable. The Doladei is his residence. Long live he who worship the eyes always open the gods, Hari.

2 ..by his majesty by his riches he diminished his strength; such was king Vrsadeva the incomparable; his promise was verified by his performances; like the sun is a mass of dazzling rays he was; ..of his well behaved sons, clever very proud without caprices subdued to discipline.

3. His son, master of a prosperous empire invincible to his enemies in fights was the king named Caukaradeva ..very liberal sincere hearted ..by his valiance his charity his happiness his riches he acquired a great renown .. he protected the land by esteemed lieutenants similar to the king of wild beasts.

4. His (son) excellent in virtues acts... clever law-abiding or rather the law himself

L5 The syllable "riti" is fairly legible after "yantrava"

L6 The facsimile of Bhagvanlal really redoubles the 'c' of arocyā; but his transcription in Devnagari bears by error 'roya'

L10 The conjecture of Bhagvanlal 'khyatair vineta' is unacceptable because one would have had 'vrini' with redoubling of the 'v' after 'r'

(Foot Note to page 12; 'Nepal', vol. III by S. Levi)

L6 The final 'm' of divam is clearly traced, it is by error that Bhagvanlal reads and transcribes 'divam'

L13 Bhagvanlal transcribes in devnagari 'chogair mama' without redoubling the 'm' after the 'r'; but his facsimile corrects this inexactitude

L17 The reading 'atamanah' by Bhagvanlal is certainly wrong.

(Foot Note to page 13; 'Nepal', vol III, by S. Levi)

L1 The stamping shows very clearly 'satpaurusah instead of the 'satrouu (bbib) of Bhagvanlal.

L18 The two syllables shown above line 18 on the facsimile of Bhagvanlal correspond to nothing in the original.

(Foot Note to page 14; 'Nepal', vol III, by S. Levi)

L19 The stamping shows clearly the correct form esyaty instead of the reading ecyaty of Bhagvanlal

L28 Bhagvanlal wrongly reads vvidhatragaditah. The characters crthatra are very precise.

* The epithet of pracasta "extolled recommended" applied to Abhijit is not an ordinary literary ornament. A verse of the Matsya Purana cited by the cabdakalpa druma from where Goldtucker borrowed it, expressly recommends the Abhijit of the donation;

aparahn tu samprapte Abhijid Rauhinodaye

yad atra deyate jautos tad aksayam udhrtam.

'when the afternoon arrives Abhijit is produced in Rohini the gift that is made to declared imperishable.'

aspiring to sagacity excellent in qualities was the king Dharmadeva. The law itself had nominated him as heir to a great kingdom; his wisdom enriched the history of royal saints, in rejoicing the heart of men.

5. He shone well; .. to the gods his aims his successes, were perfect he possessed purity of body and heart; this prince shone like the Moon. His spouse who had the purity of the race and of riches was the good Rajyavati... like the good laksmi of Hari.

6. After having..... with the rays of his fame illuminated the whole world the king of men left to the sojourn of heaven as he would to a walk in the park; beaten, tormented with fever.... she languished she who loved the rites foster-fathers of the gods, before she was separated from him.

II

7. Queen Rajyavati who bears the name of spouse of this king will in reality Cri in person come after him searching for an occasion to look at him she in whom was born the irreproachable hero king Manadeva, who like the lunar star in autumn... refreshed the world at all times.

8. She came to find him with a sobbing voice deep sighings, the face all in tears and she said to her son tenderly "your father is gone to heaven. As my son now that your father has departed what shall I do with life? Exercise my son the royalty. I from today will follow your father.

9. What will I do with the chains of hope wrought by the infinite variety of pleasures to live without my husband in this world in which the meeting again appears like an illusion or a dream. I am going "Thus resolute her sorrowful son pressed her feet with his head by affection and spoke to her thus not without pain.

10. "What will I do with the pleasures? what will I wish to be the first to stop living; after me you can go to heaven. Thus speaking the threads of his words strung inside the lotus of his mouth and mingled with the water of the tears enveloped her like a small bird that is captured in the net.

11. In company with her son she accomplished in person the funeral rites for her husband; virtue charity chastity abstinences, the holy abstinences had purified her heart; she entirely distributed to the Brahmins her fortune in order to increase the merits of her husband; she only had him at heart during the sacred ceremonies; like Arundhati incarnated.

12. And his son treasure of virtue of valour of nobility patient loved by his subjects he acts without speaking he smiles while speaking he is always the first to wish he is energetic without pride; one cannot say that he has not attained the highest knowledge of the world; he is the friend of the afflicted and of orphans; he loves his guests: he causes his solicitors to forget their susceptibilities.

III

13. Throwing and defensive weapons which he wields with skill make known his real bravery; his arms are majestic and graceful; polished gold is not more smooth or clearer than his complexion; his shoulders are broad; the blooming of the petals of the dark lotus rival with his eyes; one would believe that he is the visible and incarnated love this king that causes the merry-making of the coquetry. of loved ones.

14. My father has embellished the land with elegant pillars that he erected; I myself received the baptism of the ksatriyas in the practice of battles; I go on a procession to destroy my enemies towards the Eastern land

very soon and the princes who will recognize my suzerain authority, I will established them as kings."

15. It is in these terms that the king spoke to his mother, freed from her mourning bent before her. "No my mother I cannot acquit myself towards my father by stainless mortifications; it is in the use of weapons to which I am destined that I will be able to pay an honour to his holy memory. "His mother all joyful gave him her consent.

16. The king then departed by the Eastern road and there, all that there existed of disloyal princes in the provinces of the east had to prostrate themselves and now their heads letting fall festoons and diadems; he made them docile to his orders. Then a stranger to fear, like a lion shaking his profuse mane he proceeded towards the Western lands.

17. Hearing that the marquis of that place was behaving badly he shook his head

touched his arm slowly which seemed like an elephant's trunk and said proudly "if he does not come to my call he must, however, submit to my wrath. What need is there for a long discourse ? I say it in short.

18. To-day O my mother's brother, you who are dear to me, cross the Gandaki which is so large, so choppy as to vie with the ocean, with its dreadful whirlwinds and its undulating billows. Escorted by hundreds of excellent and caprisoned horses and elephants I follow your army in crossing the river. His decision taken, the king held his word.

19. Having conquered the town of Malla, he returned to his country by gradual stages; and than the heart happy he gave the Brahmans his inexhaustible riches. And queen Rajyavati was thus spoken to with a firm voice by his virtues son: "with a serene heart, O my mother, give you also devoutly this as an offering."

(To be continued)

(Footnote to page 18, 'Nepal', vol III, by S. Levi)

1. The gesture indicated has undoubtedly the value of an attestation. It is thus that the Buddha at the hour of supreme crisis, touches the earth to take it as a witness (bhumi sparca mudra) Manu (VIII, 113) teaches that the judge "must make the ksatriya swear on his riding animal or on his weapons and the commentators cited by Buhler ad hoc explain that "the ksatriya must touch the objects indicated and say at the same time: if I lie let them become of no use to me."



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प्राचीन नेपाल

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक

साफल्य अमात्य

Editor

Shaphalya Amatya

Nepal

(Continued)

-Sylvain Levi

II. Inscription of Lazimpat

Lazimpat is a hamlet situated to the East of Kathmandu. The inscription is traced at the foot of a kind of stone tablet that still rises in the middle of the field. The table which measures about 0,65 in width by 0,70 in height bears a composition in relief in which the people of the country recognize and worship a Yogini. In fact the image represents as is proved by the dedications, a "Vishnu Vikrantamurti, worshipped by the gods and the sages". The god who is crowned with a mitre (Mukuta) possesses as against the usual custom four pair of arms, one of the right arms carries the disc another the bludgeon (gada), another leans on the thigh. The legs open out at a great angle, as it suits the god who covered the world in three paces; one of the feet on the base of the frame, the other points towards heaven.

In the lower right angle is read the prologue of the miracle. King Bali pours the water

that consecrates the donation on the hands of a dwarf (vamana); behind the king his wife and two servants, one of whom leads a horse whilst the other is crouching. Above a personage whose attitude is expressive of a fall is undoubtedly Bali again overthrown from power. On the other hand under the right arms of the king Laxmi carried on a round lotus (padma) and holding in her hand a lotus in the shape of a brush (utpala). Behind her Garuda with wings spread kneeling the hands joined in adoration on her chest. A naga whose long plume coils supports on his knees the toes of the god *

The whole piece worked with real manhood shows the skill of the Nepalese sculptures towards the year 500 of the Christian era. In the general scarcity of chronological data relative to India this stone dated supplies a useful land-mark to the history of Indian sculpture and its schools.

The inscription of the dedication in two lines occupies the whole width of the base; the

*. The legend of Bali and the dwarf is indisputably Visnuist; but it is not unknown to Buddhism at least to Nepalese Buddhism, so greatly syncretic. It is narrated in detail in the Karanda vyuha (manuscript of the National Library, Burnouf 92, p. 23. Sqq)

characters have an average height of 0,007. The writing is identical to those of the other inscriptions of Manadeva. The inscription is drawn up in correct Sanscrit. It is prepared on the type of the other dedications of the reign; on the top the date; then a stanza here in the complicated metre of the sragdhara. The indication of the month and of the day of the month is thrown outside the verse, in the end. The name of king Manadeva is associated to that of his mother Rajyavati as on the pillar of Changu Narayan which is dated in the preceding year (or three years earlier); it is to the benefit of the Queen - mother that the sculpture is established.

The image is undoubtedly one of that tradition recorded in the Vamcavali, assigns to the peity of Rajyavati (11,98).

The date is shown in numeral letters very clear on the stone, except the figure of the units which may be read. 9.

Text

1. Samvat 300 80 7 matuh cri Rajyavatyā.. nadeh sarvada etc., (See page 21, 'Nepal', Vol. III, by Sylvain Levi)

Translation

1. Samvat 387. For the increase of the merits of Rajyavati, his mother...king Manadeva with the good and pure thought...

2.(has erected) a Visnu in the pose of the (three paces), exalted by the gods and the sages the sole protector of the world of creatures. Clear fortnight of Vaicakha, the...

III. Inscription of the To-Bahal at Kathmandu

The inscription of the To-Bahal is engraved on a socle which is half buried in the

ground in the interior of Kathmandu, quite close the eastern gate. The socle carries to-day a statue of Mahakala (commonly Mabankal) recognizable with its crown of skulls with its sceptre supporting the vajra especially with his packet (purse or a half lime) which he holds in the hand and with the serpent that encircles his neck and enwraps his waist. One cannot state that this statue is the original one, because the dedication mentions the image of an Indra Divakara. Besides I ignore which divinity could have been designated under this name, and it may concerns a hybrid god with a dual character such as the Surya-Vubayaka of Modern Nepal.

The inscription is engraved on three lines, the last one incomplete the two first have a length of 0,60; the letters have an average height of 0,01. In its whole it closely recalls the inscription No. 2 of Bhagvanlal which dates eleven years later. The paleographical character is exactly the same and does not provoke any remark. It is also a sanscrit and also disposed in the same manner; on top the date "samvat 402" then the dedication in two clokas; lastly in prose, the indication of the landed property attributed to the donation. The date is expressed in numeral letters. The complementary mention of the month and the day contained in the first verse does not furnish any date that would permit of verification.

The founder of the statue is a trader chief of corporation Gubamitra. The land ceded lies in a locality (pradeca) which bears a purely Nevar name of a fairly uncertain reading. The indication relative to the land, expressed in prose, contrast by their uncouthness and

(Foot Note to page 21; 'Nepal', Vol III, by S. Levi)

L2. It is to Mr. Thumas that I owe the almost certain reading siba (pa)yam asa instead of siba. nam apa which I have given in the "As. Journ."

their incorrection with the pure and flowing style of the verses of the dedication.

Text

1. Samvat 400 2 (11) rajnah cre Manadevasya samyak palayato mahem... ..etc (see page 23, 'Nepal', Vol III, by Sylvain Levi)

Translation to the text

The year 402, (In the days) when king Manadeva justly governs the earth, the fiftteenth day of the month asadha, clear fortnight by a desire of doing, good, Guhamitra, chief of a mercantile corporation, has piously erected here, under the name of Indra holy Divakara.

(He has assigned to it for revenue) a field in the locality of Yathagumpadcum of (the value of) one hundred (panas) and land measuring a pindaka.

IV. Inscription of the pillar of Harigaon

Harigaon is a village situated at a distance of one league East of Kathmandu. The

site which no local legend consecrates (to my knowledge at least) must have, however, known glorious days at one time. I have gathered there, besides the inscription of the pillar two stelae of king Amcuvarman. The pillar is situated to the east and outside the village, at the foot of the mound that supports Harigaon and which descends in steep slopes. In January and February, I found this pillar surrounded by a pool of water which made the approach to it difficult and which seriously complicated the task of stamping. It was necessary to hold on to the pillar with one hand while the other stretched and beat the paper; a small mound which borders the pool of water, carries a rudimentary chapel wherein lie the truncated debris of ancient sculptures, gathered in neighbouring fields. The priest (pujari) who looks after the chapel knows nothing of their origin real or of their history (debris).

The pillar in its whole is in good state but the inscription has suffered. It occupies no less than 73 lines but the last twenty lines alone

(Foot Note to page 23; 'Nepal', Vol III, by S. Levi)

L2. The name of the locality is doubtful. The second character of the name may be 'thu' or even 'kha' or 'khu'. The third is certainly a 'g' but from the foot of the stroke there separates an oblique dash at an acute angle too precise to be considered as a break and which gives to the 'g' the value 'gu' in the inscription of Bilsad (key Buhler, Paleogr, table IV; 1. 9, col IV). But at line 3 of our inscription the same dash is combined with the 'u' of 'bh' to mark the lengthening of 'bhumih'

L3. The Group 'sya' in 'catasya' is dubious.The short 'i' final of 'mani' is probably to be corrected in 'i'.The word 'ca' is engraved at a distance of 0, 02 from the preceding letter.

For the expression 'pindakamani', key, Bhagv. No 11, of Jisnugupta, 1.18: "acitipindamanikanam bhuh"; and also Bhagv. No 9 also of Jisnugupta, 1.11.12 pindakam upasamhrtiya" where Bhagvanlal places in note 'pindaka', which is a synonym of the more common 'gras' seems to denote a share of the produce of the field."

are intact. The thirty preceding ones (24-54) are truncated and often at both ends. The rest disappeared to a great extent so that of the first seventeen lines there scarcely remains the final syllables. The writing covers in its whole a height of 1,65 by a width of 0m, 28; the average height of the letters is 0m, 008, and the average space between the lines is 0m, 016.

The characters engraved and traced with care are of the Gupta type. In default of a precise date which the inscription does not provide, the paleographical data supply a substantial clue in the substance of a well known series. Among the Gupta inscriptions, it is to the oriental type, as was expected, that the characters of the inscription are connected; they are analogous and almost identical to those of the pillar of Kahaum, in the district of Gorakhpur, dated in the reign of Skanda Gupta and in the year 141 (460/1 J. C.). In the Nepalese series, they are ranked with the group of Mana deva (385 local era-497 J. C., id, according to my hypothesis) and of Vasanta deva (433 x local era-456 J. C. id) in contrast with the group of Civadeva (516 and not 316 local era-627 J. C.) of Amcuarman and of his successors. The most characteristic letter is the 'ha' frequent in our inscription (1.3.24.26, 29,33 etc) and which is always open towards the left of the scribe, whereas beginning from Civadeva it turns over on its axis and regularly presents its opening on the right. In the la (1, 57,61, etc), the lower curve is directly connected to the vertical stroke whereas beginning from Amcuarman this curve is directly connected to the stroke by a dash forming a right or an acute angle with it. The ya bears on an almost horizontal base and forms on the left a curve entirely closed whereas in the inscriptions of Civadeva, the base separates in two parts one rounded the other straight, at the foot of the middle dash and beginning from

Amcuarman it rounds off in two curves of different levels. The 'tha' the 'dha' trace exact ovals, whereas beginning from Civadeva the line on the right rises vertically and these two letters take thus a more and more angulous aspect. The gha (1.72) has a clearly angulous outline, instead of the rounded form that it presents with Civadeva (inscr. of Dharampur, last line). The va has again the three sides curved and especially the dash on the reign of Civadeva. Our inscription then certainly belongs to the VIth century of the Christian era.

It is entirely drawn up in Sanscrit and with the exception of the last line which forms a colophon in verse. It contains thirty four stanzas in varied metres which attest a real freedom. The first six (1-6) by judging from the final syllables, alone preserved are epic clokas; then thirteen in upujati (7-20), one in rucira (21); two in cikharini (22-23); two in prabarsani (24-25); one in manjubhasini (26); two in malini (27-28) two in sragdhara (29-30); another in rucira (31); three others in malini (32-34). The style marks the stamp of the proper epoch. The inscription embellishes our lexicon with a few new words of a faultless formation: (dus) pratipadam, 139; upanibudha, in the meaning of 'verbal composition' (ib); prapata (49); tryatmana (56); niramhasam duritabhidam tamomusam (63) aparajssa (66); ksayina (65) ksayakena (67); samvivek (69). The aorist asrksat (37) is irregular without being completely wrong. The writing is in its whole very correct. I can scarcely note anything save the omission of the 'd' redoubled in sanksmiadurbodham (57) for sauksmiadur and bhavan (54) for bhavan. It is proper also to remark that the mute is regularly redoubled after an 'r' as it is the regular usage with the Licchavis until the accession of Amcuarman.

After the thirty-four stanzas, a colophon in prose of one line only designates the inscription as a hymn (stotra) in honour of the blessed Dvaipayana. Dvaipayana is one of the names given to the author of the Maha Bharata. The Maha-Bharata which mentions it several times gives the etymological explanation:

evam Dvaipayano Satyavatym Paracara
myasto dvipe sa yad batas tasmad
Dvaipayanaḥ"
smrtah (1,2415).

"Thus it is that Dvaipayana was born from Satyavati united with Paracara. As he was of young age, placed on an island (dvipa) they called him for that reason the Child-of the Island (Dvaipayana). "The complete name is Krsna Dvaipayana with the surname of Vyasa "the diasceust":

"Vivasya vedan yasmat sa tasmad vyasa iti smrtah (1,2417). "Because he has compiled the vedas he is called vyasa". The Maha Bharata seems to employ these names indifferently; yet in course of the narration (because the poet is at the same time one of the actors of the epopee), the appellation "Vyasa" seems to be the most commonly employed. As an author of the poem the personage receives rather the designation of Krsna-Dvaipayana example:

Krsna Dvaipayavaprokah supunya
vividhah kathah (1.10)
... ..anukramah
punyakhyanasya vaktavyah Krsna
Dvaipayaneritah (1,2294)
Krsna Dvaipayanenedam krtam punyam
cikirsuna (1,2309).
Krsna Dvaipayano munih
nityotthitah cucih cakto Maha Bharata-
tam aditah (1,2322)

The two names thus compared take a kind of organic unit in which the first term losses so to speak, faculty of

independent flexion. The name of Krsna is very rarely employed singly to designate the poet, so as to avoid undoubtedly too easy a confusion with the God Krsna. I have met it for my part, 1, 57:

anujato 'the Krsnas tu Brahmana...

in the final eulogy of the poem XVIII,183:

Krsnena munina vipra nirmitam salya-
vadina.

(I also recall the designation of Karsna Veda given to the Maha-Bharata, 1, 268-2299).

The name of Dvaipayana on the contrary is frequently employed alone, p. ex. 1, 2105, 2405, 2415, 2443, 3802 (passage in prose), 4235 etc. I shall only mention here those passage in which Dvaipayana designates the author of the epopee;

Dvaipayanena yat proktam puranam
paramarsina (1.17)
tad akhyanam varistham sa krtva Dvai-
payanaḥ prabhuh (1,55).
Dvaipayanosthaputanihsrtam amrtam
aprameyam (XVIII, 211).

And it is also under this name alone that the Nepalese poet glorifies the precentor of the Pandavas. It is not without interest to note from the point of view of literary history, that all the passages of the Tantra-varttika of Kumarila cited by Buhler (in his essential account on the history of the Mahabharata, Vienna, 1892) designate the author of the Maha Bharata in the name of Dvaipayana singly:

Valmiki Dvaipayanaḥprabhrtibhih
Yatha Maha Bharatanirvacananavakya-
ne Dvaipayane
noktam (p. 9).

Dvaipayanadeyac cahuh ... (p. 11)
follows a citation of the Maha-Bharata.

'Yad api Dvaipayanenoktam .. (p. 17)
id.

The Passage of a versified commentary that Kumarila mentions does likewise:

Ya capi Panduputranam ekapatniviruddhata
sapi Dvaipayanaiva vyutapadya pratipadita... (p. 12)

The particularity is striking more so even than in the two passages in which Kumarila mentions the same personage as the actor of the epic intrigue he designates him under the name of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipayana (p. 13) and of Vyasa (p. 20). It is difficult to believe in a mere hazard. The author of our inscription has undoubtedly chosen for set purpose as the most appropriate appellation the name of Dvaipayana to celebrate the author of the Maha-Bharata.

The Nepalese poet or at least the client who pays for his service does not address Dvaipayana a disinterested homage. It is a son who desires the success of his father and who asks to this effect the efficacious protection of the epic preceptor.

Dvaipayana is not invoked as god; it is more like a saint that he is solicited here. We still ignore we shall always ignore perhaps what kind of help was expected from him what enterprise came to place itself thus under his patronage. But this worship addressed to Dvaipayana towards the VIth century in the bosom of the Himalayas surprises one by its singular character.

The Maha-Bharata itself it is true, defies its own author.

Kṛṣṇa Dvaipayanam Vyasam Viddhi
Narayanam bhuvī
ko hy anyah purusavyaghra Maha-Bharatakr̥d bhavet
(XII, 13428) adhy. 346.

“Kṛṣṇa Dvaipayana is know thou Narayana (Visnu) on the earth. Who else in fact, O tiger of men could be the author of the Maha-Bharata ?”

The Vishnu Purana, III, 4, 5 repeats the same verse with a variation of little importance:

ko hy anyah Pundarikaksad Maha Bharatkr̥d bhavet.

But the apotheosis here seems to be purely literary. Even in the XIth century the Cashmerian Ksemedra who composes an abstract of the Maha Bharata and completes his work by a stanza of eight lines to vyasa “vyassastaka” celebrates his model only as a talented poet. It is in the XIIIth century and with a jaina poet Amara Candra that Vyasa identifies himself with Visnu. Among the luminary stanzas in honour of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipayana Vyasa that open each section of the Bala-Bharata, several expressly proclaim this identity.

camemrte vicramadhir viveca yah sa
patu Paracara Vighraho Harih (V. 3, 1).
Vaktum jagathanakaranena Vyasibhavan patu sa vo Murarih (VIII, 1)
Paracarah patu sa man tamalacitidyutir
Daityabbido Vatarah (XIII, 1)

Vyasa has become an avatar of Visnu; it is Visnu himself. But this supreme exaltation is the fatal and logical crowning of our Nepalese hymn. Dvaipayana in the eyes of his devotee is not the prince of literature; he is a real prophet who has come to disclose to humanity the essential secrets and show the road to salvation. “Manu, Yama, Brihaspati. Ucanas have given, it is true code of laws (see 23), but Dvaipayana has studied the history of kings to draw examples from it and he has made the (Maha) Bharata as a book for teaching (see 24). He has made and so well the (Maha)

Bharata for the salvation of the world (see 26). How could the Veda have been here below without the (Maha) Bharata which is its principle (see 12) Dvaipayna is the adversary of vice; he has won over false logicians (kutar-kika, see 14 and 21) who were starving against the three vedas in particular the Buddhists (saugata, see 11 and 21). He has marked out the path of freedom (see 25) by revealing the being in one-self (see 27 and follow), the Atman (see 29)."

The pillar of Harigaon comes thus to confirm by an authentic document and which dates back two centuries earlier than Kumarila the thesis supported with authority by Buhler and taken up again after him by Dahlmann. The Maha Bharata is not an epopee it is smrti a didactic treatise of moral illustrated by an epic intrigue guided by its instinct or rather by the virtue of unconscious traditions, the Hindu talent still proclaimed only recently the educative values of the Maha-Bharata. Pratap Chandra Roy that enthusiastic Bengali who consecrated his life in the spreading of the old poem, called with reason his work of propaganda; Datavya-Bharata-Karyalaya; to him as well as to the Nepalese poet to Kumarila to the doctors and the erudites of ancient India, the Maha Bharata was to teach to the Hindus their duties. It was, besides the avowed pretension of the diasceva who composed these epic thapsodies; testimonies swarm in the whole poem and if I cite a few it is especially to show to what extent our stotra is directly inspired by them.

In book I,1, see 57 sqq, Vyassa makes known to the Brahma god the poem he has just composed; he represents it as the substance of the Vedas of the Itilisas and of the Puranas:

Jaramrtyubhayavyadhibhavaviniccayah

"Old age, death, dangers, illness, existence and

non-existence are clearly defined in it." (key, see 32: camitabhavaLbayena...

All the practical sciences are found in it and to crown them:

yac capi sarvagam vastu tac caiva prati-
paditam

"The Universal truth is also explained in it." (key, see 30; sarvagam vyapibhavat caitanyam...) I, 2298;

asminn arthac ca kamac ca nikhileno-
padicyate
itihese mahaopunye buddhic ca para-
naisthiki

"In this legendary of great holiness the interest and the desire are fully taught and also the transcendent reason". I, 2305

dharmacastram idam punyam artha-
castram idam param
moksacastram idam punyam

"Here we find a treatise of the very holy duty; it is here the supreme treatise of the interest; it is a very holy treatise of delivrance." (key, see 24,25) XVIII, 211:

Dvaipayanosthaputanihsstam amrtam
aprameyam
punyam pavitram atha papahrah civam
ca

"From the books of the Dvaipayana has spurted ambrosia beyond all measure, sanctifying purifying destroyer of sin and kind." (key see 19). XII, 13439:

Dharman manavidhamc caiva ko bru-
yat tam rte vibhem

"The duties of all kinds who could enumerate them saves this master. (key see 27, 29, 30)

On the other hand after the epoch of the pillar of Harigaon the imitation of the same

models and the community of the same sentiments provoke among the poets who celebrate vyasa, striking coincidences with the Nepalese poet. The author of the Vani-sambarā exalts in these terms in the prologue of his drama the singer of the Māhā-Bhārata:

cravananjali putapeyam viracitavan
bharatkhyam amrtam yah
tam abam aragam atrsnam Krsna
Dvaipayanam vande (see 4)

"The ear becomes hollow like the hand that salutes to drink the ambrosia that he created under the name of (Māhā) Bhārata; he is passionless, without thirst Kṛṣṇa Dvaipayana. It is him whom I adore. (key, sup. Moh. Bh., XVIII. 211 and inscr. see 17. 19 and 31)

Kṣemendra speaks thus in the stanza of eight lines to vyasa which I have already mentioned:

(namah).....trailokyatimirocchedadi-
papraticamacaksuse (see 3).

"The darkness of the three worlds dissipates by the light of your look" (key see 27 and 32)

(namah)Vyasaya dhamne tapasam
samsaryasaharine (see 8).

"Homage to Vyasa in whom reside the pious mortifications that destroy the torments of transmigration" (key see 34).

Lastly the luminary stanzas of the 43 sargas of the Bala Bhārata would furnish they also numerous comparisons if the enumeration did not risk becoming fastidious.

This is the inscription of the pillar of Harigaon directly concerns literary history; it brings it a useful document, and even a fairly precious one. To religious history it sets a problem that it scarcely helps to solve. It attests a worship given to Dvaipayana (Vyasa) since the VIth century, and that nothing atte-

sts elsewhere in Nepal or even in India. I cannot help believing that we have here a monument of the Bhāgavata sect. So little known yet in spite of the great role it has played; a great number of kings designate themselves in their inscriptions like the "very holy Bhāgavatas" parama Bhāgavata (key, p. ex. Fleet Gupta Insc. p. 28 note). The worship of Vyasa is one of the traits that characterize this sect, kṣemendra born in a Civaistic family, but converted to the doctrine of the Bhāgavatas takes the surname of vyasa dasa "the slave of Vyasa". The especial worship of Narayana is another trait of this sect; the invocation. Narayanam namaskṛtya etc which is found on top of each great division of the Māhā Bhārata suffices in Bühler's judgement (memoirandum cited p 4 and 5) "to demonstrate that the poem is a smṛti of the ancient Bhāgavatas" because "it is invariably found at the head of the works of the ancient Bhāgavata sect" and Vyasa is generally found associated with Narayana' Nara and Sarasvati, in a common homage. Precisely the worship of Narayana is well spread in Nepal; the valley still has four famous Narayanas and one of them at least Changu Narayana is certainly anterior to our inscription because the pillar rises there... .. analogous to the pillar of Harigaon... .. where Manadeva has drawn in samvat 386, his long inscription in verse, worthy to play the counterpoise to ours by its literary worth. We are then authorize to suppose without much fear that our stotra of Dvaipayana offers us an authentic hymn of the Bhāgavata worship.

Text

1... .. — ... — ... sa yatatmane

2 dhiyaisa te namah (1)

3... pratidehani mr...

4 vikirnnabhanuna (2)

(etc. see pages 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 'Nepal', Vol III, by Sylvain Levi.)

Verse 12 This verse seems although very fragmentary to allude to the passages of the Maha-Bharata that make another Veda of the poem. Key the expression of 'Krsna Veda' cited in the introduction p. and the expression of "Veda . . . Maha Bharata...pancaman" in the Mh. Bh. 1,2418.

Verse 15. The Dict. of Petersburg gives for prati-vid in the simple only Vedic examples. The classical language employs the causative.

Verse 17. The verb ni-hims is missing in the Dict. of Petersburg.

Verse 19. The form vvasrksat is irregular, without being totally correct. It is due to the analogy of forms like adiksat etc. where the roots in final c, t, h substitute the 'k' before the 's' of the aorist. The third person undoubtedly implies the subject 'bhavan' like in the following verse and is equivalent to the second.. I owe M. Kielhorn the reading dharmmam vidhinanvatistha that (h) instead of dharmmam-vididhan atisthi that I had printed in the As. Journal.

Verse 20 The word pratipada is missing in the Dict. of Pet. For upanibandha Bohtlingk has only collected this word in the suppl. 3 of the Abbreviated Dict. and with the meaning of 'vow'. It must evidently be assigned here the meaning of "composition, verbal arrangement" which is found again in a great number of related words. Mr. Thomas has shown me the same use in the title of the Mahayanasamgrahopanibandhana (Roy. Journ. As. soc. 1903, p. 586). I do not exactly know to which root to connect the conditional vy-anaksyat.

Verse 21. The mention of the Saugatas. like in verse 5 shows that at least in the judgment of the Nepalese poet the Maha-Bharata positively fought the Buddhists. It undoubtedly had in view the passages such as XII, 566.

parivrajanti danartham mundah kasayvasanah... .. in which Dahlmann refuses to recognize the disciples of Buddha V. 23 of the four authorities mentioned here, there are positively designated in the Maha-Bharata as authors of castras:

ucana veda yac chastram yac ca veda
Brhaspatih (XIII,2239).
Manunabhibhitam castram (XIII, 2534)

I do not know of any references to a castra of Yama but the Mh. Bh. cites on authority, gathas, under its name:

atra gatha Yamodgitah kirtayanti pura-
vidah (XIII, 2477).

Verse 25. Prapata is missing in the Dict. of Pet. — M. Kielhorn proposes to correct into prahata:

Verse. 27. The metre and the meaning impose the correction: bhavan...The reading of the abstract that ends the first verse is embarrassing, it seems however, to contain a series of words with a double meaning; dosa 'sin' aca 'hope' and 'herison'.

Verse 28. Tryatamana, if the reading of it is correct, is a new word which seems to signify "he who has for essence the three: Brahma, Visnu, Civa or the trayi". M. Barth suggests to me the correction trayatmanam mantravacam 'the triple Veda'.

Verse 29. To correct: sauksmyad durbo-dhami; vicudjheh.

Verse 30. The correction sarvvakalaprattih seems to force itself for the meaning; the metre naturally is not affected thereby.

Verse. 31. Niramhas, duritabbid, tamomus, are not given in the Dict. of Pet.

Verse 32 Ksayin, ksayaka, aparajas are missing in the Dict. of Pet... M. Kielhorn shows me with reason that ksayakena would be needed with the nasal lingual.

Verse 33. Samvivekin is missing in the Dict. of Pet.

Verse 34. Nunusad, faulty formation for nunusan.... Instead of par a laghvim to read rather parilaghvim I owe these two observations to Mr. Kielhorn.

Translation

(Pages 36-41, 'Nepal', Vol III, by Sylvain Levi).

- 1) with the restrained soul... .. homage to you.
- 2) . by body... by the spread brilliancy
- 3) ... all in self... .. like - ...
- 4) by the brilliancy... .. beautiful like—
- 5) .. by the path of Saugata... .. by the existences.
- 6)
- 7) without illness.
- 8)awakening they would conquer.
- 9)
- 10)
- 11) deeply engrossed in hereby opposed to the three Vedas. there would not be to-day in the world, if you had not been of Duty.
- 12) the Veda, the words of which were scattered without beginning or end.. how could the veda have existed here below if you had not given for start the (Maha) Bharata
- 13) By the purity of proofs knowing the exact reality, you the quivering; thus wishing for the good of the world, if he had not spread along... ..
- 14) Leaning only upon the false logicians on the spot ; he has not examined

separately the proof, how that ... to stand erect... ?

- 15) also the cause of separation of the vital breaths no contradiction ... you alone know everything precisely in detail and there is no one else but you who knows in the world.
- 16) ... the praise perhaps or as a consequence of the repetition; among the things to praise ... words ...; the praise of virtues according the rule and not as a result of the good character, and not a single repetition in you ...
17. You have slain Vice entirely, but you have not ... the flood of passion, etc ...; having shaken concupiscence ... and sensual, you are pure ...
- 18) If the ... that cannot be distinguished as to the form of the desire had not been unveiled .. Smrtis lack of Srutis the world to-day fatally.
- 19) Shattering into fargments the strayings he has spread the amrta and of himself Duty and that which follows have risen in the world . The ... by you has found solid plate in this world; it is you who have fulfilled Duty according to the rule.
- 20) This thing difficult to understand the paradise etc ... is only a fiction of words; ... exists. (How) could the world have seized it if you had not discovered it here below ?
- 21) (Maltreated) by false thinkers which the embracing of evil contains by false logicians and also by the disciples of the Sugata (Buddha) (the word) finds an asylum in you, his master with the spread voice, like a river in the ocean.
- 22) because he has acquired the exact meaning on hearing your poem, immediately

inaccessible to man; ... in search for the supreme object, he raises high his error immediately, losing ... of science.

- 23) ... in the treatise of Manu, of Yama of Brihaspati of Ucanas, the regulation of duties...; shaking object by object, skilfully you have ... entirely with the fruit.
- 24) ... in repeating the history of the kings, since the beginning of his study, you proposed yourself to apply it case by case in a poem; and ... by repeating it you have made here below with all your energies, the (Maha) Bharata, etc ... to serve for teaching
- 25) The men tossed on the sea of life the thought dragged by the weight of passions, immersed in mistakes, you ... have indicated to them the path of salvation and you return them in this world, by your counsels of the ...
- 26) you have a clear speech; by the effect of compassion, your intelligence applies itself to the good of others. Once for the salvation of the world, you have had done... and so well ... the (Maha) Bharata, you caused to be seen on the earth the work of your word.
- 27) You know the various laws; you are the judge of the works of speech. The network of errors is limitless; therein is really found hope the physical passion and other faults; (but you who ...) the interest of others, you scatter this net-work, like the Sun scatters darkness.
- 28) You know how to employ them each one by his case; you have been the guardian; you have a clear knowledge of it; your discernment is infallible; you have taught them in
- the world; you have divided them among the lot; one would think that in you was wished to be incarnated the sum total of the triad of sacred words.
- 29) His subtlety makes it hard to comprehend him and yet he envelops the world and judgement does not reach his origin and yet the sages, in leaving their tradition attain his real nature. Science is his form; absolute purity resides in him; he has exhausted without leaving anything behind the links of transmigrations. The Atman cannot be expounded by any other save you.
- 30) Substratum by substratum he is scattered & yet he is not scattered since their real nature is exempt from differentiation; he is overlasting because he is not united with the attributes of substance and yet he is not so through fault of notion of the complete time; since he is not connected either with the destruction or production of the world he is lasting; and yet he is everywhere, by the virtue of his extension. He is intellect and yet he is found in the category of form. Who else in the world save you, could expound (this).
- 31) Freed from sin killer of evil discriminator ravishes of darkness, annihilator of existence master of speech excellent mind heart free from attachments the word that I expound follows (you) respectfully unceasingly.
- 32) You have crushed the fear of regeneration (or-of beings); you have destroyed the mass of ignorance; you have been to the end of what can be learnt. You have side-tracked dust, and thanks to you the whole world shines far like the sky shines thanks to the destroyer of darkneses.
- 33) The modalities of the being in yourself you have known how to distinguish them you

have thus broken the births (successive); You have the complete discernment of those words that have an ambiguous meaning. A compact cloud rises and spreads everywhere blindness; but you dissipate it. The fall of the world is not an impediment to you; you shine like the Moon in space.

- 34) And I have also wished to honour you, you who have broken the chains of transmiration who have emerged from the darkness who have nothing dusty, very venerable primitive. As well As I can I promote my very feeble voice. Thus then dispose the prosperities in favour of my father here below. The hymn of the blessed Dvaipayana has been composed without a stop.*

V. Inscription of Timi

This short of fargment comes from Timi, between Kathmandu and Bhatgaon. I have related elsewhere (11, p. 376) the circumstances under which I found it. There only exists a narrow land of the lower part of the stela. The few characters preserved are of a remarkable clearness. The characters have an average height of 0m, 01 above the line; the average space of the lines is 0m, 02.

The text is a royal edict as it appears from the last line; but the object in it cannot be precised. The date to judge by the large and simple tracing of the letters would seem to go back to the epoch of Vasantadeva. The question would be about determined if the inscription offered us an entirely clear case of the group r silent (of letters) since the redoubling of the silent regular before Amcuvarman ceases with him. But at the third line the stone being chipped the reading his dubious above the rva; the first syllable of the fourth is light

and soft and on the fifth line the character that follows sa is damaged; one hesitates between rvai and ca ? what there remains of the name of dutaka in the last line suggest no hypothesis.

Text

1. Yana
2. m. acesarai
3. Guror V (v) asudevas;a
4. ritthe bhuyad ity asma(bb)i
5. nanusmaranam i
6. dbhiih sa ca rangasamamsa(m)e
7. s tavad akrastavyo yam
8. vasau na sampannatika
9. tik ... dhanyamani

(Several lines are missing)

10. dbhir api

11. (sva) yam ajna du (takac ca) t (ra) devapa

VI. Inscription of Kisipidi

Samvat 449

Kisipidi is a small hamlet situated in the neighbourhood of Thankot to the west of the valley (v. 11, 392). The stela, partly imbedded in the ground, is entirely worn away on the top; the six inferior lines, protected by the soil against the inclemencies are alone legible and even in a fairly good state of preservation. The width is 0,35; the characters have a height between the lines of about 0,013, the space between two lines is about 0,04. The letters are large deeply engraved identical to inscription 3 of Bhagvanlal dated, in Samvat 435, to which this one is posterior by eleven years; the same dutaka figures on either side with the same titles: sarvadanda, nayaka mahapratibara, Ravi-

* Mr. Thomas thinks that anuparamena designates the author of the inscription and that is proper to translate "... has been made by Anuparam".

gupta. The title of mahapratihara, 'grand usher' is common in the epigraphy of India; that of sarvadandanayaka 'generalissimo' is a variety so far purely Nepalese of a title in usage all over India: dandanayaka. It is not without interest to observe here that towards the very epoch of our inscription one of the first kings of the Valabhi dynasty Dhruvasena I adds to his title of maharaja those of mahapratihara and mahadandanayaka (in 526 J. C.). Thus these title fairly naturally accumulated and numbered among the highest of the Imperial hierarchy.

The capital interest of this inscription mutilated as it is, lies in its date. The donation is made in the course of a month doubled by intercalation "in samvat 449 the first asadha the clear fortnight the 10th" The mention of an intercalary month is a stroke of good luck to the chronologists; the intercalation is regulated by considerations of theoretical astronomy which is easy enough to calculate. A lunar month in the course of which the Sun does not change its sign (in the Zodiac) is redoubled the motive is clear. The application admits of fairly serious divergencies; 1st the calculation can be based either on the average motion; 2nd the intercalated month can either receive by anticipation the name of the month normally awaited but delayed by exception or repeat the name of the month in the course of which it happens thus according to the system in use the supplementary month tacked on in the course of the month of Jyaistha can be called either asadha I or Jyaistha II. Luckily these difficulties are partly removed in the case of ancient Nepal. The mention of a pausa I (prathama pausa) in an inscription of Amcuvarman year 34 suffices to establish that the Nepalese astronomers calculated the intercalations on the average motion; because in the system of the apparent motion pausa is never intercalary, Elsewhere

the designation applied in this same case to the supplementary month shows well that the intercalation receives the name of the month normally awaited and not of the current month. Then the month mentioned here must happen in a year in which according to a calculation based on the average motion of the Sun and the Moon there must have lapsed after normal month of Jyaistha a lunar month begun when the Sun had already passed in the sign of Mithuna and ended before the Sun had entered in the sign of Karka. The phenomenon irregularly takes place in each century. From 400 to 499 J. C. four times; from 500 to 599 J. C. three times; from 600 to 699 J. C. once; from 700 to 799 J. C. four times. If the year 386 samvat of Manadeva really corresponded, as M. Fleet wished it to 628 current caka the year 449 should necessarily correspond to $628 + 63 = 691$ current caka (=768-769 J. C.); now no method gives any supplementary asadha to this date. The combination proposed by the learned epigraphist is then to be entirely rejected.

On the other hand, I have for a long time shown that the year 34 of Amcuvarman with its intercalary pausa should correspond to 629-630 J. C. (Asiatic Journal, 1894), II, 55 sq). Amcuvarman is at first the minister then the successor of Civadeva whose inscriptions are still found beyond 520 samvat. The date of 449 samvat is anterior to this term by about 70 years; it must then fall towards the middle of the VIth century of J. C. the system of the average motion only gives three intercalations of asadha; in 482 current caka (559-60 J. C.), in 620 current caka (597-8 J. C.). My personal results concord for that century with the Tables of Sewell and Dikshit. The last two results are to be side tracked since they would throw the end of the reign of Civadeva right under the successors of Amcuvarman ($578-70=648$ J. C.) $597-70=667$ J. C.). The first alone is to be

considered because it takes in Civadeva, Samvat 520 to the very epoch of Amcuvarman (559 + 71 = 630 J. C.) and that the two reigns must precisely coincide in part. The date of the pillar of Changu Narayan gives us another means of control. How we have seen that in taking for starting point the equivalence Samvat 449 = 483 current caka the details of the inscribed date on the pillar verify themselves completely for 386 Samvat = 419 current caka. We thus obtain for the starting point of the Licchavis era 419 - 386 = 33 current caka = 110 J. C... I ignore to which event this era can be related to if in the neighbourhood of the caka era. The number of reigns lapsed, which is 19 from the origin of the Licchavis to the accession of Manadeva (according to the unanimous agreement of the traditions, key, 11, 91 sq) is surely very small to cover up a stretch of four centuries. Perhaps the Licchavis had brought their own era from the Indian cradle perhaps they perpetuated a local era of Nepal that dated back to the expulsion of the Kiratas.

Text

The entire top of the inscription is missing

1. yuyam adyagrena ce
2. mu(c)itakaram dadantah sarv-
krtysv ajnavidbeya
3. manaso loke sukham prativa...
4. dutakac catra sarvvadaadanyakama-
hapratihara... ..
5. Ravigupta iti samvat 400 40 9 prathamasa
(dha)
6. cukladacamyam

Translation

- (1-3) You to-day paying the usual tax
... docile to all the orders of duties... .. the
mind ... in the world You will live happily.

(4-6) And the delegate is here the generalissimo, grand-usher, Ravigupta, Samvat 449, first asadha, clear fortnight, the 10th.

VII. Inscription of Ganadeva at Kisipidi

year 4

The stela that bears this inscription is found in the immediate neighbourhood of the stela dated 449 at Kisipidi. It is adorned with a fronton much analogous to that of the stela of Vasantadeva year 435 (Bhag. No. 3) and entirely identical to that of the stela of Tsapaligaon year 489; a cakra (rim, spokes nave) is represented three fourths in an oblong sketch (outline) and two shells (cankha); he arranged one to the right and the other to the left. The inscription strictly speaking covers a height of 0m, 50 and a width of 0m, 011 the space between the lines is 0m, 02. The left part of the stone is in good state; the half of the left is completely worn away.

The style of writing is exactly that of Vasantasena; the outline of the letters is large, clear elegantly rounded; the angle had not yet taken the place of the curve; as an instance the twist of 'na' the oval of the 'tba' etc. The 'ha' continues to present the opening of its concavity on the left of the scribe. The redoubling of the silent after 'r' is constant. The execution is remarkable in the last line the final aksara of the word 'cravana' omitted at first by the engraver has been added below the line.

The object of the chart is a favour granted to the villagers of 'Kicapricin'; it is manifestly the ancient form of the name pronounced to-day Kisipidi (as I gathered it orally; I ignore the style of writing in usage), persistence of the ancient names of Nepal is thus found

attested by a new example. The nature of the favour conceded remains enigmatic; it seems that the king is satisfied by renewing a privilege granted by his predecessors.

The name of the king is Ganadeva. This name is missing in all the lists. I have already had the occasion of proposing an explanation on this matter (11.121). Of the date there only remains the figure of the hundreds clearly recognizable on the stamping and on the photograph that I took directly of the stone; the signs of the tens and units placed at the extremity of the line have completely disappeared. The inscription belongs then with certainty, to the Vth century of the Nepalese era. I have just mentioned the close resemblance of its style of writing to that of Vasantadeva who reigns in the second quarter of the Vth Nepalese century. The same relation is shown in the protocol employed on either side Ganadeva, like Vasantadeva, reside in the palace of Managrha; he bears the fairly modest title of (bhattaraka) 'maharaja' he employs prasadagupta as royal delegate, like Vasantadeva employs Ravigupta his favourite undoubtedly his prime minister on whose report he acts exercises the cumulated functions of 'sarvadanayaka' and of mahapratihara, as does Ravigupta under Vasantadeva. Lastly the name of the royal delegate is accompanied with a mention which is found again with Vasantadeva and is only found again with him ... 'te vyavaharatiti, "he exercises at ..."

On either side are also found fragments of an analogous wording which epigraphical comparisons allow to complete:

"... ..tya yuyam adyagrena ce(sa)samucitakaram dadantab sarvvakrttesv ajnavidheya ... manaso loka sukham prativa" ... (Kisipiñi, year 449)

... — tad yuyam cravanavidheyas tathajiva ... sukham prativa(tsy)tha. (Ganadeva, I, 10-11)

This wording has not succeeded in Nepal; it is always replaced later by a wording of a more imperious character and more threatening. In India on the contrary, different wording are found. In the VIIIth century, Tivara deva of Kosala (Gupta inscrip., p. 294, 1.25) writes:

"iti avagamya bhavabhir yathocitam asmañ bhogabbagam upanayadbhñ sukham prativastavyam iti".

Maha Sudevaraja (in., 197.1, 13), Maha Jayaraja (p. 193, 1, 11):

"te yuyam evam upalabhyasyajncravanavidheya bhutva yathocitam bhogabbagam upanayantah sukham prativatsyatha".

Bhojadeva, in the year 100 of the Harsa samvat (Ex Ind., V, 212, 1, 15):

'prativasibhir apy ajnacravanavidheyair bbhutva sarvvaya esam samupaneyah"

Harsa vardhana (ciladitya) Ep. Ind. VIII, 157, 1, 15):

"prativasijanapadair apy ajnacravanavidheyair bhutva yathasamucitatulyameyabhagabhogakaraharanayadipratyah anayor evopaneyyah".

Jayanatha and Carvanatha whose protocol reminds one so often that of Nepal in the series of their inscriptions spread between 177 and 214 Gupta (Gupta Insc., 118-135, with a few variations):

"te yuyam evopalabhyajnacravanavidheya bhutva samucitabhagabhogakarahiranyadipratyayan upanesyatha".

Lastly the maharaja Laksmāna in his chart of 158 Samvat, so similar to the Nepalese formula (Ep. Ind., 11, 364, 1 6):

"tad yusmabhir asyajnacraivanavidheyair
bbhavitavyam samucitac ca pratyayah meyahi-
ranyadayo deyah".

The chancery of Nepal is then in the days of Vasantadeva and Ganadeva, under the influence of a Hindu chancery that soon after, ceases to exercise its function. Another word of Ganadeva's chart furnishes an analogous indication. The despatch addressed to the interested parties does not end with the usual word: Samajnapayati, but (after a mutilated phrase) by 'manayati' which corresponds fairly well to our expression: have the honour of which reveals more courteous or more timid authority. I doubt again the same expression in the wording of the despatch of a chart dated in the year 300 Gupta, in the reign of Cacanaka raja and come out of a chancery in the neighbourhood of the south of the mouths of the Ganges (ep. Ind., VI, 144, 1.20):

grame vartamanabhavisyat kumarantyop-
arikatadayuktakananyam ca yatharham puja-
yati manayati ca viditam astu....

Text

1. (Svasti) Managrhad bappapdanuddhyata...
2. maharajacri Ganadevah kucali.....

(etc. see pages 55 and 56, 'Nepal', Vol III, by Sylvain Levi)

Translation

- (1-5) Wishings or greetings of Managrha. His father follows him in thought; the (sovereign) the great king Ganadeva in good health has the honour of (addressing) in following (the order) by beginning with ...; to all the masters of households in the village of Kicapricin.
- (5-9) The kings before me had saying; neither nor should not enter there. And (on the report) of the generalissimo grand-usher ... the province... -
- (10-15) Here is the favour I grant you and you then... .. docile in hearing my orders and also ... you will remain to live there happily. And those who respectful of the law respecting they will maintain my formulary.

The royal delegate is here Prasada-gupta; he exercises a... ..

- (15-16) Year 4... .., cravana, clear fortnight, the 1st.

(To be Continued)



प्राचीन नेपाल

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक
शाकल्य अमात्य

Editor
Shaphalya Amatya

Nepal

(Continued)

—Sylvain Levi

VIII. Inscription of Tsapali gaon

Taspaligaon is a small village situated at about 1 kilometre from Budha Nilkantha (Vol. II, 394). The stela that bears the inscription is erected against the small temple of Narayan. It is decorated on the fronton with a cakra between two conches (cankha). The arrangement of the whole and the outline of the conches exactly reproduce the adornment of a stela of Vasantadeva published by Bhagvanlal (No. 3). The inscription is mostly defaced, but traces of all the lines still exist to the number of 23. The inscribed portion covers a height of about 70 centimetres by a width of 25 centimetres. This lengthened shape reminds one by another feature of the stela of Vasantadeva. The characters of an elegant sketch measure on an average a height of 0m, 014; the space between the lines are about 0m, 02.

The stela showed undoubtedly a donation as is shown by the final lines, alone well preserved. But the name of the king, the name of the beneficiary and the object of the donation have disappeared. However, the beginning of the first line, still legible on the photograph, shows that the king resided in the palace of Mana-

graha; he belonged then almost assuredly to the dynasty of the Licchavis. He follows besides, their graphical usage in redoubling the silent after 'r' (1.22 Vrsavarmma).

The date of the inscription, badly shown on the stamping very on the stone and on the photograph, is of samvat 489, a century after the inscription of Changu Narayan, a little before the reign of Civadeva. The epigraphical characters mark well in fact an intermediary phrase, bordering on the inscriptions of Civadeva. The two features that Bhagvanlal had noted as essential to the epoch of Civadeva are already encountered in it to a lesser degree: the 'i' at the end of the aksara that hardly descended below the superior level of the line with Manadeva, lengthens gradually from Vasantadeva to Civadeva; the left dash of the 'va' is in a fair way of getting round. The 'ya' continues to develop its initial curve, brought to the height of the higher level of the line. On the other hand the 'ha' has not yet turned its axis and present its opening to the left of the scribe. The interest of the inscription consists especially in that it connects by an assured stage, the series Manadeva-Vasantadeva to the series Civadeva, which it was desired to separate.

The dutaka, Vrsavarman, belongs already by its name to the series of the Varman; Bhogavarman, Amcuarman, Candravarman who occupy a preponderating situation of the end of the Licchavi dynasty. He bears the enigmatic title of bhattarkapadiya, which I have not met elsewhere. The Dictionary of Petersburg does not give the word 'padiya' but the expression is regularly formed by means of the suffix 'ya' which marks in general a function of subordination.

'Bhattaraka-padah' is the consecrated expression to respectfully designate the Bhattaraka, royal lord or divine lord. The Nepalese epigraphy furnishes two cases where the dutaka is a bhattaraka; The inscription of the Chasaltol, Samvat 137; dutaka; bhattaraka cri Vijaya deva; the inscription 13 of Bhagvanlal, samvat 1(4)3; dutaka; bhattaraka cri Civadeva. The bhattaraka-padiya must be a personage in resemblance of subordination with the bhattaraka himself. Does it mean from now a kind of mayor of the palace? A chart that may be of the VIIth century supplies a designation fairly analogous. Cantilla general (bhladhikrta) in the services of the 'bhogikapala' and 'mahapalupati' Nirihullaka, who is himself the tatpadanudhyata of camkaragana, communicates a donation that he institutes to "the paramapadiyas and to the related ones" (Sarvanva paramapadiyan svamcavedayati. Ep. Ind. 11, 23, 1.5). The contrast of svan with paramapadiyan states precisely the meaning; On the one hand his own extents of jurisdiction

and on the other, the extents of jurisdiction of the sovereign authority.

Text

- 1 ... Managrhat pa...
 2. rakamaharaja ...
 3. pa ... nava ...
 4. ... manu ...
 5. ... Jnepayati viditam astu ...
 6. ... mana ...
 7. - ... Guptavijnap ... na
- (8-17 defaced) (obliterated)
18. ... d api ...
 19. gren na kena (cid a), nyatha karan ...
 20. nyath kuryyat karayed va tasyabam akrtya-aka
 21. rino badham na marsayisyamiti bhattaraka
 22. padujo py atra dutako Vrsavarmma Samvat
 23. 400. 80. 9 Cravana

Translation

- (1-18) of Managrhat ... the great ... king ... makes known: know this ... the council of ... gupta ...
- (19-21) Nobody must change anything of it; and if anyone falsifies it, personally or through an intermediary, I will not tolerate a similar offence.*
- (22-23) And the delegate here is Vrsavarman who is of the same nature as the holy person of the lord.
24. Year 489, month of Cravana, clear fortnight, the 12th.

* Beginning from Civadeva (1), the verb 'marsay', when it is employed in analogous wordings, regularly governs the name of the person in the accusative case; for example in my inscription of the Tulacchi-tol, 1,14; tamabam atitaran na marsayitasm; in Bhag 7 (Amcuarman samvat 39) 1.19; tam vayan ka marsayis yamah. The dictionary of Petersburg (supplement to vol. v) refers to two stanzas of the Maha Bharata built on an identical type and that have the name of the person governed by mars in the genitive case.

"trayate he yada sarvam vaca kayena dharamana
putrasyapi na mrsyec ca sa rajno dharmam vcyate. XII, 3434 →

IX. Inscription of Tulacchi Tol at Bhatgaon

This inscription which I found imbedded in the wall of an old bathing pond, at Tulacchi tol, in Bhatgaon (key 11,374) reproduces almost integrally the inscription of 'the Gōlmadhi-tol discovered and published by Bendall (no. 1) and which serve as a base to his chronological system. The inscribed portion of the stela covers a height of about 0m, 70, the average height of the characters above the line is about 0m, 012; the space between the lines is about 0m, 023.

The text is in Sanscrit and in prose. The style of writing is correct. It is proper to observe that the silent after 'r' is constantly redoubled, according to the custom of the Licchavis; such is also the case in the inscriptions of Civadeva published by

Bhagvanlal (5) and by Bendall (1), in spite of the inconsequences of the transcriptions given by the two editors. Thus Bhagvanlal transcribes in line 1; 'cauryavairyya'; the facsimile shows 'cauryavairyya', in line 2 the transcription and the facsimile wrongly give ketur bhatta; the text of Tulacchi-tol shows clearly that one must read ketu bhata. In Bendall, 1.10, anyair va; the corresponding portion of the facsimile does not allow a verification; 1.12-13 Bendall: smadu-durdhvambhu; the facsimile bears clearly, like the text of the Tulacchi-tol, pimadu (1.13) 'rddhvam bhū; 1.14 Bendall anuvartibhir; facsimile anuvarttibhir. I immediately note that the inscription 4, of Bhagvanlal 'the characters of which closely resemble those preceding' and which is dated 535 Samvat, confirms itself to the new orthography and does not redouble the silent after, 'r' - ... - Ex. 1.4; purva 1.12 parvata; 1.17 vartibhir and not varttibhir like Bhagvanlal wrongly transcribe.

papam acarto yatra karmana vyahrtena va

priyasyapi na mrsyeta sa rajno dharma acyate. XII, 3437

Besides, the same construction again appears to meet one in Vasantadeva's inscription, samvat 535; the facsimile of Bhagvanlal gives in 19-20; d va tasyaham dedham arya ... miti contains undoubtedly the final syllable of 'marsayisyami' which the meaning and usage naturally bring here.

(Foot Note to page 63; 'Nepal', vol. III by S. Levi)

4. The reading of the first syllables is very dubious also re-establish pradhanapurassaran instead of 'pradhajana pu' in the corresponding portion of Bendall 1,1.3.
6. Re-establish, according to Bd. 1,5; bhavatam yathaneva pra
7. Re-establish; svaparakramopacamitamitrapaksa
9. Re-establish; anakampaya ca. But the reading of the following syllables by Bendall system of the inscription; besides on Bendall's photograph as on my stamping the group can be clearly read; rvr and the letter that precedes cannot be a 'ba'; because a horizontal stroke well engraved cuts the character half-way. It is then proper to provisionally reconstitute (ku) th. rvrtiyadhikrtanam.
16. Re-establish; samyak paripalanyetil the word samajunapana is missing in P. W. and

The inscription contains a royal chart, conferred by Civadeva, the Licchavi on the report of the Maha-Samanta, Amcuvarman in favour of the inhabitants of the borough of khrpun, probably situated on the western side of the actual site of Bhatgaon, where stands to-day the Tulacchi-tol. The date, illegible on the reproduction so faint was the relief, can at least be partly deciphered on the stamping at the beginning of the last line. One can recognize the symbol of the hundreds and that of the tens; the symbol of the units is completely obliterated. The inscription then stands between 510 and 519 samvat; it is undoubtedly exactly contemporaneous to the inscription of the Golmadhi - tol, since one is identical to the other save for the designation of the privileged borough. The new text permits thus to rectify few erroneous readings of Bendall. L. 1 read 'yaca' instead of 'dico'; 1.2 'ketu' not 'ketur'; 1 camitamitrapaksa, not camitamitavipksa; 1.10 asinatapada prasado (as is also shown by the facsimile) not asmatprasado; 1.12 marsayitasmī not marsayisyami; ye pi mad not ye vasmad.

The dutaka is like in the Golmadhi-tol, Bhogavarmagomin (not cvami as Bendall reads).

Text

1. Svasti Managrhad aparimitagunasmudayodbhasi etc. see pages 62, 63, 64, 'Nepal' Vol III, by Sylvain Levi.

Translation

(of text on pages 62, 63, 64)

(1-5) Greeting. Of Managrha. His numerous virtues grouped illuminate his fame; his adored father follows him in thought; the race of the Licchavis has him for this banner; the sovereign the great king Civadeva in good health to the inhabitants of the village of Khrpun, notables foremost, chiefs, of families

of the said village... ..wished good-day makes known this;

(6-11) Know this; an illustrious personage of immaculate and vast fame, who through his heroic valour, conquered the power of my rivals the great marquis Amcuvarman has reported to me; and I through consideration for him and through compassion for you, I do not authorize the... to penetrate in the village, according to the custom only to receive the three taxes; but for the handing over of the written documents for the five crimes, etc. to enter is forbidden. Such is the privilege of confer on you.

(11-16) And now that it is known nobody not even those people attached to my service, or the others, must change anything of it. And whosoever infringing my order would make it void either in person or by instigation, I will absolutely not tolerate it. And the kings to come, they also, through respect for the law, in accordance with the privilege I have conferred, must maintain my regulation. This is what I had to make known.

(17-18) The delegate here is Bhogavarmagomin. Year 51... ..clear fortnight...the day.

17. restore; datakac catra.

X. Inscriptions of Thoka

Thoka is a hamlet facing Dharampur (11,394). The stela that bears the inscription is entirely worn away and does not bud itself to deciphering. The fronton is adorned with the cakra between two overturned conches with their points upwards. One can make out the traces of twenty nine lines that constitute it; the object must have undoubtedly been a grant of land; the boundaries being shown with the usual detail.

L. 9; Sangamas tatas ta; 1.10 setu; 11 purvva-s tato morggam anustry; 12 lavrkasas tasya cadbas ti; 13, srtya... ..tasmad utara; 14 niyapatas tasmad utara; 15, tato daksinan usara; 16 m anusrtya; 17 sya daksinato jatikhronadi. Then come the fragments of threats and of usual recommendations; 18 pariksepta; 19, nyair vva... ..; 20, marsayisy; 21 prasadanuva, 26 tad uac ca... .. m apaha; 24 apaha.

In fact all the interest of the inscription holds for us in the indications of the last two lines.

28. dutakac catra Vipravarmmagom samvat 519.
29. cukladiva dacamyam

28-29) The delegate is here Vipravarma gomin.

year 519... .. clear fortnight, the 10th.

The inscription by its date, is then placed between that of Golmadhi-tol and of Dharampur which is locally also in the neighbourhood of it. It clearly emanates, like the two others, from king Civadeva, and the dutaka is once more 'gomin' (key, 11, 129 sqq).

(To be continued)



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या १०२

कालिक-मंसिर २०४४

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Edited by
Shaphalya Amatya

Nepal

(Continued)

—Sylvain Levi

XI. Inscription of Dharampur

Dharampur is an old village situated between Kathmandu and Budha Nilkanth (11.394) facing Thoka which have given me a stela of the same epoch. The stela that bears the inscription is erected in front of a chapel of Ganeca. Only the lower portion exists; the last lines are alone well preserved; there remains the traces of twenty lines, but a great splinter has carried away the greater portion.

The inscribed portion covers a height of about 0m. 60, a width of 0m. 25; the characters measure on an average 0m. 015; the space between the lines 0m. 02. The writing has the ordinary aspect of the inscriptions of Civadeva; the letters are large, clear well cut; the only characteristic difference with Amcuvarman (exception made of the 'h' that is not met with here) consists in the redoubling of the silents after 'r'. It must however be mentioned as an innovation the procedure to note down the consonant as a last syllable; instead of being drawn up on a smaller scale below the line; it is written on the normal level, in normal size, but it is underlined by a curled dash that resembles the Sanscrit 'u' of the Devanagari, turned over on its angle.

The chart has a two fold privilege for object (1,13) the details of which are missing; yet one still see that the ingress to the village was always forbidden to the armed force, regular or irregular. The other privilege consists, it appears in a remittance of tax, in connection with the Malakara 'The Malia tax'. The same tax is also mentioned in connection with a remittance of tax in the inscription of Jisnugupta in Thankot (1.24) and in the two passage there is a question of four pana (pancatustya); but the stela of Dharampur emphasises that it concerns copper panas (tamrapana) and expressly add 'according to the custom' (ucita). I have already recalled, in connection with the Mallakara (11.211 sq) the victorious campaign of Manadeva against Mallapuri the town of the Mallas and I have shown the analogy of the Turuska dauda, frequently named in the inscriptions of Govinda Candra of Cange. It is probable that the Mallas, forerunners of Gurkhas, who were to overthrow them one day, exercised at that time, from the western valley wherein they had installed themselves a kind of onerous suzerainty over Nepal.

The formulary of recommendation to future kings is in its greater part identical to

that of the inscriptions of Civadeva; likewise the wording, iti 'samajnapana' which disappears with Civadeva, to be replaced by 'svayan ajna'. The date confirms all these indications; it is clearly read 500 20.

The elements 5 from 500 is exactly similar to that of the inscription of Khopasi; the sign of the hundred has here instead of the double curve (in the shape of 3) of Khopasi and Bhag. 4, a kind of S turned over on its axis.

The dutaka is the Varta Bhogacandra; I have already discovered upon the personage and the title (1.262). We know nothing of the personage: his name presents the element 'bhoga' which I have already called to attention (1f, 128).

Text

The first 11 lines are almost entirely obliterated, except the 4th. tabhatapravecyah sarvakalam a In the 5th line the second character is si; in the 7th one sees bacas; in the 8th tan na; in the 9th purvvapra; in the 10th rnnac car.

12. bhyac ca Mallakara... ..

13. citatamrapanacatustayad urd̄hva...

14. - ...miti prassadvayam samadbikan dattam
tad e
15. vamvedibhir una kaiccid idam apramanan
karyyam
16. Ye py asmadurddhvam bhubhujo bhavitaras
tair a
17. pi dharmagurubhir ggurukrataprasadanu
18. rodhibhir eva bhavyam iti samajnapana
19. dutakac catra varttabhogacandraah samvat
20 500 20 magha cukla avadacyam

Translation

(4) Entry prohibited to regulars and irregulars...

(12-13)... of these, the Malla tax ... above four copper panas according to the custom.

(14-18) This important double privilege has been granted to you. Knowing thus nobody must fail to abide by this regulation. And the kings who will come after us, they also by respect for the law, respect and maintain (uphold) this favour. Such is the order.

(19-20) The delegate is here the varta Bhogacandra. Samvat 520, month of magha, clear fortnight, the 12th.

(to be continued)

(Foot Note to page 68: 'Nepal', Vol. III by S. Levi)

1. The word samajnapana is missing in the dictionary of Bohtlingk-Roth, and in the Compendium.





प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या- १०३

पुन-माघ २०४४

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Shaphalya Amatya

Nepal

(Continued)

-Sylvain Levi

XII. Inscription of Civadeva at Khopasi

The stamping of this inscription was sent to me from Nepal in 1902 by the care of the maharaja Chander Sham Sher Jang. The locality of Khopasi (also written Sopasi) where the stela is found is outside the boundaries of the valley to the East of Bhatgaon. The inscription is in a beautiful state of preservation; it is a privilege singularly reserved to the charts of Civadeva, at Khopasi as well as at Bhatgaon and Patan. It is hard to believe that the name alone of their author has safeguarded them; Civadeva has no relief either in history or in legend. Civadeva has rather had the good luck to reign at the time when epigraphical art was attaining its perfection in Nepal; the stone carefully chosen has been laboriously polished: the characters which are of a sober and harmonious elegance, have been engraved by a steady and accurate worker.

The inscription covers a height of

0m, 47, a width measures of 0m, 34: the body of the characters about 0m, 009, and the space between the lines is 0m, 015. The writing has been subject to characteristic transformations and takes a clearly original aspect. The curve has taken everywhere the place of the angle or the straight line; the staff of the 'ca' of the 'ga' of the 'repha' swells up in the middle; the final syllable 'i' of aksara regularly reaches the line of the lower lever of the letters. The curve of 'ga' has considerably developed and it constitutes the and it constitutes the essential feature of the figure the 'ha' on the contrary has reduced and almost gone away with the curves of its base, but it has lengthened as far as the lower line the higher curves of its two stems. The 'la' has turned up and the axle of its curve has become parallel to the stem. The 'ha' has turned on its axle; it now shows to the right of the scribe, the opening of its concavity; furthermore its stem has suffered a marked inflection and its lower curve has turned up like that of the

'la'. The 'pa' now sketches a belly; the 'ma' has dug out its outline in concave lines; the 'da' instead of directly hooking the higher stem of its angle to the line on top, tacks it on now to a short perpendicular dropped from that very line.

From a point of view of the orthographical system, I remark that the silent is regularly doubled after 'r' according to the tradition of the Licchavis. The final consonant is still traced below the level of the line, but it is surmounted by a horizontal stroke that serves the purpose of virama.

The inscription consists of a chart of exemption granted by Civadeva to the inhabitants of Kurpasi; it is clearly the actual village of Khopasi where the stela is found and the name of which has scarcely altered after a lapse of thirteen centuries. The entry to the village is forbidden to the representatives of the central authority; the local cases are judged by the 'svatalasvamin' a personage of an enigmatic nature. The expression 'svatala' comes back several times in the epigraphy of Valabhi; "Valabhisvatala" in a chart of Ciladitya I, year 286; "Vataparasvatala Sannivista in a chart of the same king, year 290. Valabhisvatalasaonivista trisangamakasvatale pratisthita", in the charts of Dhruvasena, year, 310. The expression belongs to the administrative language and seems to clearly designate the communal territory. But who is the "svamin", the proprietor of this communal land? Is he a kind of local lord? The clauses and restrictions are still more obscure: "In all cases there is only one gate for you and further, at the time of the two processions

of the opening of the gate and of the Kailasakuta, you will have to give fifty mrttikas each evidently white in colour. I am led to believe that the village, to better assure its autonomy is authorized to enclose itself in a precinct opening with one gate (as one can still see in the scattered regions of Katthiwar for instance). The mention of the two yatras is interesting to the religious history of Nepal. The inscription of Amcucarman, year 30, at Harigaon seems well also to mention one (1.19) but text is doubtful. One of the yatras is that of the Kailasakuta, the residence of Amcucarman which must become the palace of the new dynasty after the death of Civadeva. I also ignore what must be understood by 'fifty mrttikas'. The word mrttika means clay; the compounds pandumrttika dhavalamrttika mean chalk (P. ex. Ramayana II 71, 20; Ayodhya drcyate durat sarathe pandumrttika where the commentary glosses; suddhadhavalitatvat: the plastered houses appear to him to be of chalk). The number fifty would then be applied to a measure that is not specified or does it concern objects in white stone.

The document itself is designated in the name of cilapattaka "stone tablet"; it is the word that Jisnugupta makes use of a little later (Bhag. 13, 1, 14; inf. Thankot, 1, 13) in borrowing the very wording of Civadeva (Civ cirasthitaye casya prasadasya cilapattakena prasadah ketah Jisnu asya ca prasadasya cirasthitaye cilapattakacz senam idan dattem).

Civadeva plays a very secondary role here as in all his charts, he is named foremost with a very shortened panegyric,

he does not even bear the title of *bappapadanudhyata* that guarantees so to speak the legitimate possession of power a title is conferred on him in the inscription of the *Golmadhi-tol* (but that is equally omitted in the *Tulacchi-tol*). He acts on the report of the *mahasamanta Amcuvarman*, which is celebrated (drawn up) in pompous terms (key, sup II, 126 sq). Among the epithets that are discerned to him there is one that re-appears under various forms in all the inscriptions of *Civadeva*; *svabhu jabalotkhatakhillavairivrggena*, 1.6-7; *Tulacchi-tol* and *Golmadhi-tol*, 1.6; *svaprakramopacamitamitrapaksa-* (Bendall reads; *amitavipaksa*, contrarily to the very photograph that he reproduces) *prabhavena*; *Bhag.* 5, 1.6-8; *cauryyapratapathaa cakalacatrupaksa prabhavena*; does it concern a simple exercise of literary variations or different translations made on a common original. Another epithet (boasts) praises *Amcuvarman* as an ardent worshipper of *Civa* under the covable of *Bhava* (1.5- *bhagavad Bhavapadapankajapranamamisthanataryya*); it tacks on so to speak a new element of the protocole introduced by *Amcuvarman* and perpetuated to our very days; *bhagavat Pacupatibhattarakapadanugrhita*. The conclusive formulary is with a few slight

variations that which is always met within the inscriptions of *Civadeva*. The royal delegate, *Decavar-man*, belongs to the group of *Varmans* and bears the title of '*Gomin*'; I have already studied this group and this title (II, 128-131).

The chief interest of the inscription consists in its date; it frees in fact the ancient chronology of Nepal from an inaccurate combination based on an erroneous reading. *Bhagvanlal* had published an inscription of *Civadeva I* (No.5) unfortunately incomplete and undated. He had compared it is true this inscription with another (No.4) also mutilated but fairly well preserved in its lower portion and clearly dated *samvat 535 cravana cukla diva dacamyam*. *Bhagvanlal* had not neglected to observe that the characters of No 5 closely resembled (closely resemble) to those of No 4. The *dutaka* of the inscription No 4, in *samvat 535* is the *rajaputra Vikramasena*. On the other hand an inscription of *Amcuvarman samvat 34*, has for *dutaka* the *maha-yaka vikra* (No 6). *Bhagvanlal* did not hesitate by reason of the well defined length of the break to reconstitute in his translation the name of *Vikra(masena)*. (Contd.)



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प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या १०४

फागुन-चैत्र २०४४

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Nepal

(Continued)

— Sylvain Levi

In 1884-85, M. Bendall discovered in Nepal at Bhatgaon (Golmadhitol) a new inscription of Civadeva which he published as early as the month of April 1885 in the Indian Antiquary (XIV, 97). Without a word of explanation or Justification without even mentioning the vast divergence between this reading and the date 535 furnished by Bhagvanlal he interpreted the signs of the date by samvat 318 and he concluded from it without further discussion. The date of this inscription can contribute to the solution of the questions so embarrassing of the eras between the Caka era and those of Cri Harsa. Containing three numerical signs the first of which is the symbol for 300, it can scarcely be connected to any other save the era commencing 319 J.C. which certain people still regard as the "Gupta-Valabhi era". One of these 'persons' M. Fleet, who was just then about to demonstrate once for all the identity of the era 319 and the Gupta era, hastened to greet this new inscription as the 'fundamental note' (key-note) of Nepalese chronology. Commencing from this datum: samvat 318-Gupta (318/319/320 J.C.)- 637/638 J.C., he arranged a complete new system of

chronology. "The chronology of the Early Rulers of Nepal" in "Ind. Ant." XIV, 342-251; published once again in volume III of the Corpus:

"The inscription of the Early Gupta kings", (Appendix IV, p. 177- 191) M. Bendall published the inscription once again this time with a photograph facsimile in his report; A journey..... the Nepal Cambridge 1886, p. 72, Appendix 1; he added this time a reserve on the figure of the units, which could have been a 6 as well as an 8. In the very text of the Report (p. 13-14) he insisted on the 'admirable unity' of the date interpreted by the Gupta era and the other date concerning Amcuvarman.

Since 1894 (Note 'on the chronology of Nepal in Asiat. Journ. IV, 55-72) I have had the occasion to protest against the so-called rectified chronology which Messrs. Bendall and Fleet had placed in circulation. The inscription of Khopasi corroborated by the fragmentary inscriptions of Thoka and of Dharampur, (does decidedly justice) refutes

these combinations. The figure of the hundreds, with Civadeva, is 500 and not 300.

Buhler in Index IX of his 'Indian Paleography' wrongly unites under the same heading of 300, the two signs borrowed one from the inscription of Manadeva at Changu Narayan and the other from that of Civadeva in the Golmadhi-tol; he has also wrongly omitted under the heading 500, the sign furnished by the inscription of 4 of Bhagvanlal. One could be led to believe that Buhler had wished by this omission to indicate that he rejected the interpretation of the Pundit; but it must not be forgotten that it is Buhler himself who has translated and published the memoir of Bhagvanlal written in Gujarati, and that he expressly claims his portion of responsibility in the preface. The difference of the two signs 300 and 500 explodes when approached, as does Buhler in his Index. The sign of 300 is regularly constituted by the figure of the hundred (whatever be the tracing) with the addition of two dashes connected the stem of the hundred and that bend in separating from their fastening; it is there a regular and constant form that is observed in Nepal even in the inscriptions of Manadeva at Changu Narayan and at Lajanpat. Beginning from 400, as Buhler observes (p. 74) the symbols are constituted by the ligatures of the hundred with the characteristic traits of the numbers 4 to 9. The ligature of 100 is figured in the 500 of Civadeva, by a sign very analogous to our 3; this sign is connected by a horizontal stroke to a vertical stem whence two clearly horizontal strokes part towards the left; the higher stroke connected to the extremity of the stem, is the longer; the other, inserted below the connecting point of the stroke that binds in a contrary direction the stem to the ligature of the 100 bends at its extremity and

ends in a complete curve. It suffices for one to look back upon the very index of Buhler to the series of the units to find therein the sign corresponding with the value 5, especially the sign of column VII, borrowed from the Kusanas. Bhagvanlal in his study on the Ancient numerical signs in Nagari (Ind. Antiq, VI, 42 sqq) reproduces the same form according to the inscriptions of the Guptas, but without precise reference. The sign of 500 is then very regularly formed by the combination of the hundred with its particular unit, in every way like in the case of 400 of 600 of 700.

One must then read in the inscription of the Golmadhitol, like in the other inscriptions of Civadeva and like in the inscription 4 of Bhagvanlal, for the hundreds: 500

The inscriptions of Civadeva are of 518 (Golmadhi-tol) and 520 (Khopasi). They thus contain the series opened by the inscription of Changu Narayan (386) and prolonged by Lajanpat (387), To-Bahal (402), Bhag.2 (412), Bhag. 3 (435), Kisipidi (449). Tsapaligaon (489) and closed by Bhag 4 (535). If I take for origin of the era the year 33 current caka, in basing my workings on the supplementary month furnished by the inscription of Kisipidi (449 samvat) the year 520 samvat corresponds to 553 current caka-631 J.C. I have already shown in an independent way in a Note on chronology (As. Journ.) 1894, 11, 55 sq) that the year 34 of Amcuvarman must correspond to 629 J.C. The first inscription of Amcuvarman dates from 4 (4?); I have attempted to mark the progress of his authority in the very contents of his charts (11, 138 sqq) between these two extreme dates; the first must correspond to 625 AD. If my calculations are correct on either side the two reigns thus overlap each other; this apparent

confusion is only undoubtedly the real reflection of a fairly confused reality. All the charts of Civadeva that we possess are drawn on the reports of the Mahasamanta Amcuvarman the praise of whom entirely shadows that of the sovereign. One can easily imagine fairly varied hypotheses to account for these facts; Civadeva could have preserved a nominal authority in a restricted jurisdiction of province or territory remaining the whole under the tutorship of his mayor of palace; beyond this jurisdiction, Amcuvarman would have exercised supreme authority. If one observes that the actually known inscriptions of Amcuvarman leave a break between the year 34-629 A.D. and the year 39-634 A.D. and that on the other hand the actually known inscriptions of Civadeva precisely fit this short interval (518 samvat-629 A.D. 520 samvat-631 A.D.). One can still conjecture that Amcuvarman must have by reasons of foreign or home policy accepted or restored a sovereign of the legitimate dynasty the Licchavi Civadeva.

At the same time a difficulty that embarrassed the combination of Mr. Fleet is made clear and is solved.

I remind that the inscription of 535 (Bhag. 4) has for dutaka the rajaputra Vikramasena and that the inscription of Amcuvarman, Samvat 34 (Bhag 6) has for dutaka the maha--yaka Vikra; name restored by Bhagvanlal in Vikramasena. M. fleet, in citing this inscription (Gupta Insc., p. 178 u.2 takes care to add; "If we accept the restitution of Bhagvanlal we must take great care not to confuse this personage with the rajaputra Vikramasena who is the dutaka of the inscription of samvat 536, "two hundred and odd years later."

But the rajaputra Vikramasena now reappears in a new inscription

of Amcuvarman at Sanga, year 23 with the title of sarvadandanayaka. Here the reading is precise and the identity of the personage become manifest. On the one hand an inscription dated 535 and the close resemblance of the characters of which classifies to the testimony of its first editor side by side with an inscription of Civadeva contemporary and nominal suzerain of Amcuvarman; on the other hand a personage identical in name and title appears in that inscription and in an inscription of Amcuvarman. Is it reasonable to divide him in two and to create a break of two hundred years and more between the halves of the personage ?

The date of 535 appears it is true, to raise a new difficulty reckoned from the year 110 A.D.-0 for origin the year 535 corresponds to 646 A.D.; at that time Amcuvarman is dead. Is it not within one's right to expect to find exclusively in use the new era introduced by Amcuvarman and continued for at least a century and a half by his successors? But I have already described (11,155) the period of unheavals that followed the death of Amcuvarman; Jisnugupta irregular heir of the poor, recognizes for suzerain a Licchavi; If in samvat 48 he makes use of Amcuvarman's era, he appears in Thankot to return to the Licchavis' era. Now the inscription of 535 presents the same decisive feature as that of Thankot; whereas Civadeva faithful to the practice of the Licchavis redoubles constantly the silent after 'r' the inscriptions of 535 does not redouble; it writes 'purva' (4,7) bhumer daksina (9) parvata (11,12) vartibhir (17) and not vartibhir as Bhagvanlal transcribes erroneously. It adopts the orthographical system inaugurated by Amcuvarman and continued by his successors; it thus classifies itself outside and after the series of Civadeva.

It is so it appears to me verification and a further guarantee to the benefit of the chronological system that I proposed.

1. Svasti Managrhad aparimitagunasampal Licchavikutanandekaro.....

Translation-

(to the text on pages 79 & 80)

(1-4). Greeting of Managrha. His numberless virtues, perfect are the pride of the Licchavi race; the sovereign the great king Civadeva, in good health to the inhabitants of the village of Kurpasi notables foremost heads of families, wishes the good-day and makes known.

(4-12) Know this: This personage whose virtues like precious stones, irradiate illuminate and disperse the night (darknesses) of ignorance, who always prostrated at the feet lotus of the holy Bhava has taken it on him to assure in the future the salvation and happiness whose arms powerful couple have uprooted all the united enemies the great marquis Amcuvarman has drawn me a report and authorized by me he has granted you the favour to forbid the entry to all the spheres (of justice). In all affairs that will come to be debated, it is the local proprietor who will have to submit to you for his examination. And for all affairs you will have one gate alone. And at the time of the opening of the gate and of the procession of the Kailasa Kuta you will have to give one by one fifty chalks (bits of) naturally white.

And for the long preservation of this privilege has been engraved on a stone slab.

(13-17) And now that it is known nobody not even those employed with me or others must change anything of this privilege. And who-so-ever infringing my order would make it

void, either personally or by instigation I shall absolutely not tolerate that he should violate the fixed stipulations. And the kings to come, they also, by respect for the law in accordance with the privilege that I impose to their respect, must well maintain this regulation.

(17-18). The delegate is here Decavarma-Gomin. Year 520, month of Caitra, dark fortnight fifth day.

XIII--Stela 1 of Harigaon

The two inscriptions of Amcuvarman at Harigaon are erected symmetrically at the two corners of a platform that supports a chapel on the side facing North in the middle of the causeway that crosses the village from North to South and close to the steep descent that leads to the pillar already described. The inscription I cover a height of about 0=m, 55 and a width of 0=m, 30; the height of the characters is 0=m, 011. The stela has a rounded and carefully adorned fronton. In the centre two foliage facing each other borne on a low socle the head of the socle supports a stem, inflated halfway up that separates the foliage and blooms in a lengthened calyx, serving as a supports to a kind of square crest, ridged with widened flutings and flanked on the sides with protruding faces. Under this stylish sketch, one however, recognizes the essential lines of the vase with the lengthened neck adorned with flowers. On the right, a shell-work (caukha); on the left, a serpent-stone (caligrama); both these are emblems of Visnu and are set on curved petals that frame them. The fronton is separated from the text by a net spangled with pearls.

The inscription is entirely in Sanscrit and in prose. Its orthography is fairly regular. One must however observe, that as early as

his first edict, Amcuvarman breaks away from the traditional style of the Licchavis writing which doubled the consonant after 'r'. He writes 'varman' etc. The detail is worth noticing in-as-much that it concords with the tradition (Hionentsang, Kirkpatrick) which speaks of Amcuvarman as a grammarian king. The character is the same as in inscription already known of Amcuvarman. Amcuvarman as a 'maha samanta' institutes a fairly large number of grants (prasada) destined to different kinds of beneficiaries: divinities, temples, officials, animals, doors, roads. The grants are evidently connected to a ceremony the mention of the horse and the elephant which took part in the ceremony of the anointing, leads to believe that the occasion is the 'abhiseka', the coronation of Amcuvarman. The details seem to agree with this hypothesis. We do not possess, it is true any authentic description of a historical abhiseka. The Vedic texts whatever be the dates allotted them only describe the ceremony from a ritual point of view. The epopees do not also give a combined account. The Maha Bharata which describes at length the rajasuya of Yudhisthira to the Sabha-parvan summarily relates the coronation of the same king in the XLith adihaya of the Cantiparvan. The Ramyana relates in greater details the preparations of the coronation of Rama 11, 15. In short the Agni-Purana treats on the royal coronation in its CCXVIIIth adhyaya. Goldstucker, in his imperfect Dictionary has given a remarkable monography of the abhiseka (s.v.) and Weber has taken up the subject in his memorandum;

Diekonigsweihe (rajasuya) in the Abh. Ak. Wiss of Berlin, 1893. I have taken pains in the notes of the Inscription, to mark the connections between the data of the inscription itself and the texts I have just cited.

The donations are estimated in pu and in pa. The mention of panagrahana in 1.4 and the analogy of several other inscriptions, published or still unpublished shows clearly that it concerns panans (pa) and puranas (pu). The purana is a silver coin also designated under the name of Karsapana (p.ex. inscr. of Jisnugpta at Thankot, inf) Rapson (Indian Coins, p. 2) fixes the weight and the value of the purana to 3 grams, 79 of silver and that of the pana to 9 grams, 48 of copper. The inscription only indicates the sum total of the amounts; but it is evident that is not a question of a single payment Amcuvarman would not have needed to have engraved his edict or to recommend its regular execution to future kings. One can now ask oneself if it concerned a daily payment, a monthly or yearly one. But Sanscrit literature is so poor in real informations that it is difficult to decide. The only text to my knowledge that treats on salaries regarding the court of the king is to be found in Manu, VII, 125 and 126:

rajakarmasu yuktanam striman
presyajansya ca pratyaham kalapayed
vrttim sthanakarmanurupatah pano deyo
vakrstasya and utkrstasya vetanam
sanmasikas tathacchado dhanyadronac
ca masikah

To the women employed in the royal

(Foot Note to page 83 'Nepal', Vol. III by Sylvain Levi)

1. The Pancatantra, 111. fable 1, describes with a few interesting details the coronation of the owl as king; but this development is missing in the recension of the south published by M. Hertel.

Nepal...

and domestic services the king must assure the daily maintenance, in relation with the rank and work of each. To the lowest of all a pana must be given, to the higher ones six panas as salary and further, every six months, some clothes to cover themselves with and every month a bushel (drona) of grain." The commentator kulluka specifies that the salary indicated, is the daily salary and he gives as an example of the meanest employments, the sweeper (samarjaka) and the water-carrier (udakavaha). Both are found again in the chart of Amcuvarman; In it the water-carrier (Paniya-karmantika) receives 2 puranas and 2 panas or 34 panas; the sweepress (samarjoyitri) 1 purana and 4 panas or 20 panas. It concerns probably an annual income served out to all the auxiliaries of the coronations.

The inscription is dated samvat 30, corresponding to 625 J.C. I must content myself here to refer to my chapter on the history and to my 'Note' on the chronology, to justify the equivalence proposed. I can however indicate that the difficulty that embarrassed Mr. Kielhorn (list of North-Inscrs., No 530 and note) after me, is definitely side-tracked. The date of the abbiseka in samvat 30 shows well that Amcuvarman did not found but borrowed the era he makes use of; but it is not from Harsa that he borrowed his era more or less voluntarily.

One can observe that the conclusive formulary contrasts by its modest reserve with the rigorous threats that Civadeva employs and that Amcuvarman himself introduces in it later. Amcuvarman tries his skill still timidly in the exercise of the personal power.

Text.

1. (Svasti kailaskuta bhavanat parahitaniratapravrttiaya krtayuga (etc., see Pages 85, 86, 87, 88, 89) (in connection with the text on above pages)

2. The word anudyata replaces here at the end of wording Bhagavat-Pacupati... the usual term anugrhitā that is seen in the inscriptions of Amcuvarman dated 34 (Bhag.6) and 39 (Bhag.7). The inscriptions of samvat 32 and 34 (Bend. p; 74) are truncated in the corresponding portion. Anugrhitā is also employed regularly in the same wording by Jisnugupta (Bhag.9 and 10; and inscription of Thankot.)

3. The wording bappapadaparigrhitā is an expressive anomaly, The regular and constant wording is bappapadanudhyata. Without increasing too easily the examples outside Nepalese epigraphy, I shall content myself with mentioning that this last wording is found only in the other inscription actually known of Amcuvarman; he borrows it, himself, from the wording of his predecessor Civadeva (key, inscr. Golmadhi-tol, in Bendall my inscription of Bhatgaon, etc...) who received it in his turn from his predecessors (Vasantadeva, inscr. Bhag. 3 my inscr. of Kisipidi, etc...); and after Amcuvarman it is again this only wording his successors employ. The present derogation is in itself a fact that calls for attention. Already in the preceding note I mentioned another anomaly in relation with this one, the transfer of the word 'anudhyata in a wording where its presence was unexpected and where it was ordinarily substituted by anugrhitā. Parigrhitā exteriorly recalls this last word, as if it had to give the change; in fact there is quite a different and very precise meaning. The word parigrha

designates the admission in the family and therefore it is applied to the spouse and to the 'familia'. The pravardhyaya (Weber. Cat. Berlin. Hss., 1.59). even expressly applies it to the adoption: "athadattakakritaka-krtima putrikah paraparigrahena nanarse-yene jatah"... and it opposes the father who begetted "utpadayitar" to the father who had adopted parigrhitar (purvah pravara utpadayitur uttarah parigrahituh). Kulluka commenting upon Manu IX,168, on the adoption, also calls the foster-father parigrahitar (matapitaran parasparam amujnaya yam putram parigrahituh samanajatiyam...). In the dynasty of the imperial Guptas, Candragupta II designates himself as son parigrheta of Samudragupta and this especial qualification is regularly given to him by his successor; Samudraguptasya putras tatparigrhito mahadevyam utpanah. Mr. Fleet (Gupta Inscription p. 12,N.1) interprets this word by "accepted (as favourite child and successor by choice)." This interpretation does not seem to me to match with the meaning of parigrheta and it is not suitable in the case of Amcuvarman since Amcuvarman was the son-in-law and not the son of his predecessor Civadeva. I translate in both cases: "admitted into the family by adoption."

9. The word cri before devyah is very dubious. It may perhaps concern a local designation.... Aroh is on the contrary the almost certain reading. It is little probable that the question is the word Aru given by a lexicographer as a name for the Sunasthi is properly the name of the sixth day that follows the birth and that ends the critical period of new-born children; Sasthi devi presides over it and she is the object of an especial worship under that title. But Sasthi by the evidence of lexicons

has become an appellation of Durga or Devi. Perhaps Amcuvarman has chosen here because she presided on the donation which is dated with the Sasthi the 6th, clear tithi of Jyaistha.

10. Bhattaraka is undoubtedly Pacupati who regularly receives this title, for example even here, 1.2.- Mahabatadyaksa is a title that appears so far appropriate to Nepal. India only gives the equivalent mahabaladhikrta (Inscr. of Hastin, Gup (7) 191, in Fleet, Gupta Inscription 108; inscr. of Buddharaja the Kalacuri Epigr. Ind., VI. 300; key batadhikrta, inscr. of Cantilla, vassal of the kalacuris, ib., 11,23). Manu mentions the batadhyaksa side by side with the senapti, VII, 189. Another inscription of Amcuvarman samvat 34 (Bend. p.74) gives us the name of his mahabaladhikrta: Vindusvamin.

11. Prsadhikrta is a title I have not met elsewhere; but it is exactly symmetrical to baladhikrta that I have just mentioned.... Abhisekahastin. The ceremony of the coronation required an elephant in fact (Ramayana 11,15, coronation of Rama; mattac ca varavarannah, u. 8(matto Jajavarah, Gorr.) as well as white horse, ib., VII. panduracvac ca samsthitah; likewise the Agin Purana. Bibl. Ind., ch. 218; acvam aruhya nagam ca pujayet tam samarohet.

12. Dhavaka. The reading of the world is in its whole very clear; the second letter is dubious; the curve of it is not closed and the aspect is rather that of an 'r' with a stroke bent towards the left at the foot of the stem. I scarcely knew how to interpret the sign below ma, and the interpretation of the word remains entirely enigmatic.

13. "Camaradhara. The tail of the yak (chowrie) is a royal mark and figures regularly in the coronation (Ramay., V.10: valayyajanam-Camara, Gorr.)

14. Paniyakarmantika. The commentator of Ramayana on 11, 80, 2 explains well karmantika by vetana-jivin "who lives on a salary." The work of the karmantika is opposed to the visit" the task not remunerated." It concerns perhaps the water necessary for the coronation and the task in this case was rather arduous; the Brahmans demand rain water gathered before falling on the earth and at the moment the Sun is shining; the Ramayana mentions for the coronation of Rama the waters taken at the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamuna and all kinds of especial waters.

Pithadhyaksa Pitha is the very term the Ramayana employs for the royal throne V.4; bhadrapiham svalamkrtam. The P.W. refers to a passage of the Cankaravijya of Anandagiri cited by Aufrecht, cat Mss. Oxon. 251 for the term pithadhyaksa; Cankara found a sort of academy on the bank of the Tungabhadra and leaves Surecvara there as pithadhyaksa. Aufrecht translates "scholae magister" very doubtful meaning. Pitha designates very well the sacred sites and especially in Nepal the places consecrated by the relics of Devi.

15. Puspapataka that is missing in P. W. is a synonym of Puspaketu that designates by a periphrasis the Love... I ignore here what particular function there is question of.

Nandi is given in P. W. as the name of an undetermined musical instrument.

16. The argha is a select gift given on the occasion of the coronation. Judhistera,

in offering the argha to Krsna (Maha-Bharata 11, adhy. 36-38) loosens the furious jealousy of Cicupala at the time of his rajasuya.

18. "Managrha" is the palace of the Licchavi kings.

19. "Samarjayitri" is omitted in P.W. For the importance of his function in court, key for example, Cakuntala, act V (ed. Niranyasagar, P. 159; "ahinavasammajnasasiro.. aggisarunalindo". "Yadiyatrayam" is very clear on the stone, but the inscription is very embarrassing. It may perhaps be necessary to correct: "Yatrayam, but "yadi" is still very mysterious.

Translation

(of text on page 85, 86, 87, 88, 89)

(1-5) Greeting. From the palace of Kailasa-kuta. The property of another suits the exercise of his employment. The golden age finds in him (his resurrection). The holy Pacupati, the worshipped lord follows him in thought. His adored father has chosen him by adoption. The great marquis Amcuvarman who is in good health, addresses himself to those who are about to receive his favours and who are qualified to draw the salary in the prescribed limits; to those actually present and those to come he makes known. Let this be known to you.

(5.8) To avoid that (contestations) should arise among those who receive the royal favours... in connection with the limitation. By the effect of a donation in the usual forms, I have, according to the example of the kings my predecessors, given in the usual forms... that which is inscribed here.

(9-19) To the venerable Devi 3 pu, 1 pa; to Aru 3 pu. pa; to ... pa; to the temple of Sasthi 3 pu, 1 pa; to the adorable Lord,

one by one, pu pa; to the great inspector of the army 25 pu; to the perfect of donations 25 pu; to the elephant of the coronation 3 pu, 1 pa; to the horse of the coronation 3 pu, 1 pa; 3 to the dhavakagecch-imaka, 3 pu, 1 pa; to the bhand... 2 pu, 2 pa; to the bearer of the fly-flap 2 pu, 2 pa; to the standard bearer 2 pu, 2 pa; to the ...2 pu, 2 pa; to the water worker 2 pu, 2 pa; to the watcher of the seat 2 pa, 2 pu. to the .. pu, 2 pa; to he who carries Puspapataka 2 pu, 2 pa; to the drummers and conch blowers. pu. to the chief of the.. 2 pu, 2 pa; to the horse^३ in the shape of a present. pu 2 pa; to the Southern gate 1 pu, 4 pa; to ... 1 pu, 4 pa; to the great gate 1 pu, 4 pa; to the western gate 1 pu, 4 pa; ... to the gate of Managrha 1 pu pa; to the gate of the centre 1 pu, 4 pa; to the Northern gate 1 pu, 4 pa; to the sweepress 1 pu, 4 pa; to the man of trust and to the driver during the procession... 20 pu...

(20-22) Knowing that it is thus be they persons attached to our persons in the name of our indulgence or others nobody must change this grant; and the kings to come must conform themselves to this grant and respect it.

Direct order

Samvat 30, the 6th. of the clear fortnight of Jyaistha.

(To be continued)

(Foot Note to page 90, 'Nepal', Vol. III by Sylvain Levi)

1. For this meaning of pratole, see Vogel in the Kern Album p. 235-237.



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प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या १०५

विशाख-जेठ २०४५

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक
साफल्य अमात्य

Editor
Shaphalya Amatya

Nepal

(Continued)

-Sylvain Levi

XIV. Stela II of Harigaon

The second inscription of Amcuvarman in Harigaon is the exact counter part of the first. It is erected against the same platform at the other corner of the northern facing. It has the same dimensions, the same arrangement the feature and the contents are analogous. It is surmounted by a fronton on which are represented a cakra in the centre seen three fourths (like on the inscr. 10 of Bhagv) a cankha on the left; the design on the right has completely disappeared. An ordinary bead separates the fronton from the text. The inscribed portion of the stela covers a height of about 0m. 67 by a width of 0m. 37; the character has an average height of 0m. 014. And accident that does not seem due to chance alone has made disappear the higher portion of the stone on the right; the middle of the lower lines and the right brim have also suffered a mutilation. The rest is in excellent state of preservation the writing is clear and well traced. The style of writing is naturally the same as in the preceding inscription; I mention however the use of the small letter above the line for the final consonants; kulanam 15; padanam 1.16;

gansthikanam 1.18 parallelly to the anusvara in ciharanam 1.10; manusyanam 1.19. One of the numerical signs most frequent in the inscription has a dubious value (see note 1,7 'Nepal' Vol III by Sylvain Levi.)

The inscription is entirely in Sanscrit and almost entirely in prose. It ends up with a stanza in vamcastha, placed immediately before the date and in which Amcuvarman addresses himself directly to the reader. The object of the inscription is a maryadabandha (1.6 and 20) that is a bilateral engagement (see the note on verse 6, 'Nepal' Vol III by Sylvain Levi.); and indeed Amcuvarman does not show himself in it as a sovereign; not a single term evokes the idea of an order. The official situation of Amcuvarman has then not changed since the inscription of Samvat 30. It is a question of a distribution of taxes; the beneficiaries are temples, institutions or persons belonging to all the religions of Nepal. To comment upon each one of the names mentioned would mean to write a long chapter on the religious history in Nepal. I refer to the special chapters of my work and am satisfied in drawing up here an inventory classified according to the religious confessions. Civaism: Pacupati 7,2; Ramecvara 3,1; Manecvara 3,1; Dhara-Manecvara 3,1;

Parvatecvara 3,1; Kailasecvara 3,1; Bhattarakapadah 7,2. Vichunuism. Dolacikhara svamin 7,2 (Changu Narayan); Sambapure 3,1; Marasinha deva 3,1; Bhumbhukkikajalacayana (of Budha Nilkantha) 3,1.

Buddhism. Gum Vihara 7,2 (Gum Nevari word-mountain. Gumvihara is a name still in use for the Mani (cuda) caitya to the North of Samkou) cri Mana vihara 7,2 (Manavihara is even to-day another name for cakra-vihara in Patan); Cri-vihara 7,2; kharjurika vihara 7,2; Ma (dhya) ma vihara 3,1; samanya viharah 3,1.

Undetermined. Hamsagrhaddeva 3,1; Vagvateparadeva 3,1-tadanyadevakutah 2,2;

saperapancate 7,2; samamyapancate 3,1; rajakuala ... niyuktamanusya 2,2; gausthikah 2,2; gausthikah 2,2; krtaprasada 1; brahmanah 1; samanyamanusyah.

The donations are rated here like in the following inscription in pu-puranas and papanas.

The date is samvat 32; asadha month, clear fortnight the 13:h tithi.

Text

1. Svasti Kailasakutabhavanad...
2. no bhagvat Pacupatibhattaraka...

(etc. see pages 93, 94, 95, 'Nepal' Vol III by Sylvain Levi.)

(Foot Note to page 93, 94, 95, 'Nepal' Vol. III by S. Levi)

1. The end of the first line contained an epithet of Amcuvarman still attested by the final syllable no of the second line.
2. The discrepancy that follows bhattaraka renders it impossible to determine the formulary employed here anugrtheta or anudhyata; and if the tah of the third line infers bappapadaparigrhitah like above.
4. The specification of the grhiksetrikadi is missing in other inscriptions of Nepal. The omission must be filled up by a wording such as 'ya' (thapradhanan abha) syanu (dicati vi) ditam.
5. Crvanika is a secondary formation taken from cravana 'audit' or rather from gravana, the 5th month of the caitradi year corresponding tu July-August. Perhaps the tax was collected at that moment.
6. Maryadabandha is cited in the Nachtraje of the P. W. with one reference only to the Divayadana 29.26. The passage is found in the avadana of Purna. Purna has three brothers. The eldest defends him the two others are allied against him and disdain him because he was born from a woman-slave. They decide between them to propose to the eldest brother a sharing of the inheritance "Let us think how we share. There upon they began reflecting (tan svabudhya vicarayathah). One will have that which belongs to the house (grhagata) and that which belongs to the fields (keetragata) another that which is in the shop and which belongs to the stranger; another will have Purna. If our eldest brother takes that which belongs to the house and fields, we can maintain ourselves with the things of the shop and the stranger. And if he takes that which belongs to the shop and the rtranger, then we can subsist with the things of the house and the fields. And they add: Purnakasya ca maryada bandhamkartum (caknumah) Burnouf (Introd.

Translation

(of text on pages 93, 94, 95)

(1-5). Greeting. from the palace of Kailasa-kuta..... The holy Pacupti the worshipped lord, the... the gret marquis Amcuvarman in perfect health... to the proprietors of houses, fields and other Chiefs of families... let this be known by you.

(5-6). The collections of taxes on houses, fields, etc..... this is how the distribution is regulated and it will hence

forth be the practice to follow;

(7-19). To Pacupati 9 pu, 2 pa; to Dolacikharsvamin 9 pu, 2 p; to the Gumvihara 9 pu, 2 pa; to the cri-Man- vihara 9 pu, 2 pa; to the cri-Ra- vihara 9 pu, 2 pa; to the kharjurika- vihara 9 pu, 2pa; to Ma-ma vihra 9pu, 2pa; to the viharas in general 3pu, 1pa; to the Ramecvara 3pu, 1pa; to the Hamsgrhadeva 3 pu, 1pa; to the Manecvara 3pu, 1pa; to the Sahbpura 3 pu, 1pa; to the Vagvtiparadeva 3pu, 1 pa; to the Narasimba

p. 242) translates this portion of phrase by: "and we shall be able to keep Purna to make him work "However he adds in the footnote: "I translate thus conjecturally the phrase of the text that appears mysterious to me; et 'Purnam intra limits cohiberet.'" the Tibetan translates: "and make Purna suffer". yi-tsing, in his Chinese translation of the Mula Sarvastivade Vinaya Ksudrakavastu chap. 2 (Jap. ed. XVII, 4, p 8a, col, 7) adopts the same translation as the Tibetan. The editors of the Divyavadana, Messrs. Cowell and Neil, adopt in their Index of Words, the meaning given by Burnof, they translate in it maryadarbandha S. V by keeping in control. And Bothlingk in his Nachtrage adopts the same interpretation; das in den Schrankam Halten. But in default of expression maryada bankham kar, the classical language offers a perfect equivalent of the expression. In the Ramayana IV, 5, 11, (4, 13 ed. Gorresie) when Sugiva contracts an alliance with Rama, he says to him:

rocate yadi me sakhyam bahur esa prasaritah
grhyatam panina panir maryada badhyatam dhruva

"If my friendship is pleasing to you, here is my outstretched arm. Let the hand take the hand; let a firm peace to be concluded." And the commentator glosses thus; maryada amyonyakaryasampadanavisya niccayah bahyatam budhya pratijunayatam. "Maryada is a determination that has for object a reciprocal service to do each other. Badhhyatam means after mature deliberation to engage his word. It is interesting to find again in this gloss as an essential feature of the maryadabandha, the preliminary reflection expressed in the same terms employed by the account of the Divyadana (sva budhya vicarayatah) Maryadabandha implies then a bilateral (reciprocal) engagement, deeply reflected upon and elaborated by the contracting parties (in the account of the Divyavadana one must then translate thus: "And we shall make of Purana the object of a special convention between us two"). The expression is very important, because it excludes the thought of an order imposed by a superior authority. It is in harmony with all the rest of the document which contains no wording of injunction and which defines itself as an arrangement (vyavastha, 1.22).

deva 3 pu, 1 pa, to the Kailasevvara, 3 pu, 1pa; to the Bhubhukkika-Jalacayana 3pu, 1pa; to the other temple, 2 pu, 2 pa; to the cri-Bhattaraka-padas 9pu, 2pa; to the Sapelpancli 9 pu, 2 pa; to the pancali in general 3 Pu, 1 pa; to the official entrusted with... the royal palace 2 pu, 2 pa; to the gausthikas 2 pu, 2 pa to him who has made the donation 1 pu; to the Brahamans 1 pu; to the staff in general. pu.....

(19-20). Such is the arrangement; and this distribution, no-body must... because;

(21-22). The welfare of my subjects fills up my purified heart..... my vanity, it is to have, discords. How could my subjects be happy? This is what I asked myself and have in my wisdom drawn up this arrangement.

(23) Samvat 33, month of asadha, clear fortnight, the 13th.

(to be continued)

7. The figure which I transtate by 7 is very dubious. It is not found again to my knowledge in the other inscriptions of Nepal and does not figure among the numerical signs gathered by Buhler in his Paleography of India. The most analogous sign is that which Buhler gives with the value of 7 (plate IX, Col. XIII), and as borrowed from the inscriptions of Nepal (I cannot say from which inscription exactly); it is the same sign, but turned over on its axis, exactly as has done between Manadeva and Amcuvarman.

16. The word pancali and its derivative pancalika have been exactly interpreted by Bhagvanlal (7, 1. 13 & 15; 10, 1. 16); it means the council of parish, the building (of churches).

18. The word gausthika is analogous to pancalika. The ancient designation "gosthi" applied to the council of parish survived in the actual name; gutthi.

I ignore the precise meaning of the word krta-prasada in spite of the conciseness of the terms with which it is composed—at the end of the line one must evidently restore; brahmananam 22 and 23. Stanza in vamcastha.



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या १०६

असार-माघ २०४५

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Nepal

(Continued)

-Sylvain Levi

XV. Inscription of Sanga

Sanga is a small locality situated outside the valley to the east of Bhatgaon. The stela that bears this inscription is found in the temple of Narayana Vikatvvara. The stamping was sent to me in December 1902 by the Maharaja Chander Sham Sher Jang; it is fairly defective; fortunately it is accompanied with a handwritten copy which facilitates the deciphering. There, however exists mysteriousnesses that a better stamping or the inspection of the stone would not fail to clear up.

The inscribed portion covers a height of 0m. 67 and a width of 0m. 38. The character measures on an average writing does not call for any particular observation; it is not superfluous, however to notice once more the new usage introduced by Amcuvarman; Contrarily to the custom of the Licchavis the silent is not redoubled after 'r'. The inscription is in prose with an introductory stanza. It has for object a remittance of royalty consented by Amcuvarman in favour of the inhabitants of Ganga, the very locality where the stela is found; the modern name Sanga, Saga, Samga, only differs from the ancient by the quality of the sibilant. The

royalties consisted of five articles; the first two are entirely obliterated the three others are: twelve pots of oil, then two objects difficult to determine. The reading of the first kahbam seems positive but it gives us meaning the word vasta that follows is as fairly vague a term as chose in French (means thing): and it is precisely this same word that is repeated with 'taila' the oil in line 14.

The contents of the inscription present several interesting particularities. The chart properly speaking is preceded by a stanza of invocation, in sragdhara, metre; the actually known Nepalese epigraphy does not offer any example of the arrangement before Amcuvarman or even during the reign of Amcuvarman; immediately after him, Jisnugupta initiates and develops this practice. The inscriptions 10 and 11 of Bhagvanlal, my inscription of Thankot also begin with an introductory stanza that is equally in sragdhara. The coincidence is not accidental.

The chart is regularly dated from the palace of kailasakuta; but by a single exception so far the new royal palace is celebrated with emphasis in a long compound that precedes the name; it is the object in view of all the curious looks of the whole universe.

The new administration is not too proud to affirm its popularity. Amcuvarman declares himself "occupied and preoccupied with the happiness and welfare of his subjects." It is a compliment that he does not fail to give himself as instance Harigaon 1,1,1;11.1. 22 He proclaims himself "the favourite worshipper of Pacupati and the continuous object of the thoughts of his adored father" (Bhagvat Pacupatibhattarakapadanugrhito bappapadanudhyatah). In the year 30 (Harigaon 1,1,2) on the morrow of his usurpation he combined the terms differently; he was then "the continuous object of the thoughts of the worshiped Lord, Pacupati; and the adopted child of his adored father (bh Pac bhatt' padannthyato bappapadaprigrhita; the inscription of asadha 32 at Harigaon (11,1.2-3) has a discrepancy in the corresponding passage; but our inscription proves that from that very year was constituted the definitive wording that continued henceforth in the protocol (Bendall, year 34, 1.1-2; Bhag. 6 year 34,1.1-2; Bhag. 7 year 39,1.4-5).

I have already brought to notice as regard another inscription, the importance of the mention of the dutaka Vikramasena, in the title of sarvadhndanayaka and of rajaputra. The same personage figured with the first of these titles in Bhag. 4, samvat 535. It appears well that these inscriptions cannot be separated nor can this personage be divided.

The inscription is dated samvat 32 in the month of bhadrapada; it is then posterior by two months to Harigaon 11. The date is immediately followed by an indication that I cannot explain. The stamping appears to show tasya gandac ca karaniyam but the last word only is absolutely certain; the handwritten copy shows tisyā gatagakaraniyam.

The words tisyā and ganda; if the reading is correct, suggest an interpretation of an astronomical order, but the grammatical construction the neuter karaniyam is impossible. The copy shows a punctuation after "karaniyam" but the sketch of the stamping evokes rather a significant symbol and the anusvara of yam would not justify itself in the position of the absolute final syllable I have borrowed from the copy the two letters viji (of the word vijitani) of which nothing exists on the stamping.

Text.

1. k--lankarā-- drecvara... ..pavanavyasta...
2. pratya... .. raciromanlabha
at... ..

(etc., see page 99 and 100)

Translation

(to the above)

(1-4)... .. the ornaments
lord... .. scattered by the wind the crown
of his head thrown very high from
his lap... .. blood, an elephant's skin for
tunic let it protect you in that form the
daughter of the Snow-Mountains... ..

(5-11) Greeting, Such as a grain of beauty on the face of the earth, the curious multitude does not wink in looking at the palace of Kailasakuta. It is from there that, always occupied and preoccupied with the welfare of my subjects he whom the holy Pacupati, adored Lord, favours, he, whom his worshipped father follows in thought, the great marquis Amcuvarman in good health addresses himself to the masters of houses residing in the village of Sanga, according to the hierarchical order and wishes them good-day. Know this:

Nepal...

15

(11-14) The... .. the... .. the twelve pots of oil the materials from you this source of suffering from to-day I grant you this abatement. By virtue of this decision, you will no longer be required to give anybody materials or oil.

(14-16) And the kings to come must respect the privilege established by their royal predecessor.

Direct order.

The delegate is here the general-in-chief the rajaputra Vikramasena.

(17-19) Samvat 32, month of bhadrapada, clear fortnight and the-- is the concern.

It is here the province of the jurisdiction of Ganga.



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या १०७

भदौ-असोज २०४५

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक
साफल्य अमात्य

Editor
Shaphalya Amatya

Nepal

(Continued)

-Sylvain Levi

XVI. Inscription of Thankot

Thankot is borough situated to the southwest of the valley on the downward slope of the Chandragiri pass. The stela that bears the inscription is actually erected against a low wall of large unhewn stones that supports a platform on which there rises an insignificant construction. The top of the stela is adorned in the centre with a cakra seen three quarters figuring exactly as on the inscription 10 of Bhagvanlal, due to the same prince. The cakra is flanked to the right and left with two other objects; the one to the right is certainly a conkha the conch of Visnu. The fronton is then clearly Vichnuist.

The inscription that occupies in length and width the whole stela below the rounded fronton covers altogether thirty lines. Its dimensions are about 0m, 95 in height by 0m, 38 in width; the character measures on an average 0m, 01. The writing same is exactly the as on the inscriptions 9, 10, 11, of Bhagvanlal, emanating from the same king. The language employed is Sanscrit with the exception of an introductory stanza in sragdhara metre,

the inscription is in prose. The style of writing is correct on the whole; it is proper to note that the consonant is not redoubled after 'r' contrarily to the ancient custom.

The prefatory invocation, mutilated, recalls without being identical the equally mutilated invocation that begins the inscription 10 of Bhagvanlal. It is written in the same metre and addressed to the same divinities; Visnu and Cri coupled. The Vichnuist mind of the document is besides attested by the adornments of the fronton and it matches elsewhere with the name of the king (Jisnu-Visnu) and of his heir-apparent Visnu Gupta.

The chart has a double object. 1st. it renews and confirms, in favour of the inhabitants of village of Kacannasta a donation made at one time by the great-grand-father of the reigning king, Mana Gupta gomin. This personage, mentioned without any titular prefix was certainly an ordinary individual: the title of gomin that he bears after his name designates him as a laical Buddhist. the great-grand-father of Jisnu Gupta probably ranks a century before him towards the middle of the VIth Century; his name

shows by one more example the large diffusion of the title of gomin at that period (key my article on Candragomin B.E.F.E.O., 1903, p. 16 sq and sup. 11, 129 sq) and especially in Nepal. 2nd, the other concession bears on a remittance of taxes; the very nature of these taxes is fairly enigmatic but they are divided into three categories; one deals with each tillage taken as a unit: another is called the "Malla tax" (key sup. Inscription of Dharampur XI, p. 67 sq. and vol. II, p. 212). The village of Daksinakali that is found mentioned in connection with the first tax is also designated in the inscription 10 of Bhagvanlal, in which Jisnu Gupta addresses himself to the Gitapancalikas of Daksinakali. This village appears to be the centre of a popular worship and to enjoy thereof particular privileges.

The formulary of despatch shows the same political administration as the inscriptions 9 and 10 of Bhagvanlal. King Jisnu Gupta resides at Kailasa-kuta the palace (bhavana) in which his predecessor Amcu-

varman had resided; the old palace of the Licchavis, Managrha, still shelters a representative of the ancient dynasty who holds the first rank hierarchically (puahsara); but here the name of the personage and the personage himself have changed. The inscriptions 9 and 10 call him Dhruvadeva: here it is Manadeva. It even appears that one assists to the gradual fall of these state princes; Dhruvadeva is styled as bhattachaamaharaja-cri in the inscr. 9; he is now no more than bhattachakaraja-cri in the inscr. 10; Manadeva is only bhattacha-cri. And in the inscr. 11 of Bhagvanlal, it is only a question of Jisnugupta alone.

The delegate of Jisnugupta the Iuvaraja Visnu Gupta figures with the same title in the inscr. 9 (Bh.) dated Samvat 48.

The date has completely disappeared. The word samvat is still clearly legible on the stone at the beginning of the last line; following this one can clearly see a curved line bent from right to left and two parallel dashes directed in the opposite direction of

Footnote to pages 104, 105, 106, 107, 'Nepal' Vol III by S. Levi.

- (1-4) Sragdhara metre.
- (2) Instead of nihsvanga to read rather nisvanga. The two words are not in the lexicons; but nisvanga suits better and it is in relation with the verb ni-svanj mentioned by Panini VIII, 3,70.
- (5) Singhasana corresponds to Licchavikulaketu of Bh. 10. 1-4.
- (7) Vappapadanudhyatah on this expression, key, Fleet Gupta Inscr. p. 17, n. The style anudhyata for anudhyata is almost invariable besides it is not incorrect since Panini authorises it VIII, 4.47. It is then only the sparadic application of a rule or the survival in an especial wording of a former usage. Mr. Fleet translates "who meditates on the feet of..." and it is the translation generally adopted. But the numerous examples of the participle dhyata alone or combined with prefixes that the P. W. furnishes show all without exception the word employed with the value of the passive. Mallinatha commenting upon Raghuv. XVIII, 36 glosses anudadhuh by amjagrhu and cites in support thereof the dictionary of Utpala Utpala mala who says: anudhyanam anngrhah. Thus anudhyata is the counterpart of anugrhitā of the preceding wording and has the same value undoub-

the line, slightly bent at the extremity and that appear almost obviously to constitute the higher portion of the symbol 500. One is then led to think that on this occasion Jisnu Gupta has employed the era of the ancient Licchavi dynasty.

Text.

1. ejenarkaranakantha.... sukhe..... i.i.....
(etc. see pages 104, 105, 106, 107)

Translation

(of text on pages 104, 105, 106, 107)

(1-4).. the ear the breast... the delight... the remembrance of Sri covers her breasts, two cups.. ... the ocean has washed her limbs with its waters... paralyzing the progress of her voluptuousness, the yawning (let it) (give) you (the plenitude) of delight.

(5-9) Greeting of Managraha. Lions support the throne on sit the race that has the sovereign (bhattaraka) manadeva for standard. It is him who comes foremost. Then from the palace of Kailasa Kuta... The Lunar Race has him for adornment; the holy

Pacupati; adored sovereign has him for favourites; his adored father follows him in thought; Jisnuguptadeva in good health addresses himself to the masters of houses residing at Kacanasta according (to the hierarchical order), wishes them good day and makes them known thus: know this:

(10-14) My great-grand-father Managupta gemin has had built a tank to the North of the village of and he had given in generosity a plot of ground of the mountain.. but to day with the period this donation finds its right (disputed) and no sooner did I hear of it than I have through gratitude for my great-grand-father, given this charter on stone that it may exist longer.

(14-20) And here is the settling of the limits; To the North East as far as the East, above the summit in skirting at the base the drain of the Gomin, the Five waters; thence to the South--East, Jebramkharo; to the south, Dharighmadul, then in continuing to the south...; to the south of the river; and to the south--west Lanka; to the west the drain,

tedly. Besides key, sup. p. 85 (inscr. of Amcuvarman at Harigaon 1, 1, 2 and note).

(13-14) Key Bh. 9, 1. 14: prasadasya cirasthitaye citapattaka casanam idan dattam.

(20) 'bhavata' to read 'bhavatam'.

(21) 'nivasinam' to read 'nivasinam'.

(22) The reading of the word 'goyuddhe' is positive; the meaning of the word in itself offers no difficulty. But here the interpretation appears to me to be hazardous. I do not think that the locatives 'goyuddhe' and 'gohale' are on the same arrangement. The first seems rather to signify 'in case of fight' and the second 'by each unit of tillage' I have only found the expression 'gohala' in the donation of the Pallava Civaskanadavarman very anterior in date to this one, "Epigr. Ind". 1. P. 6; the king is boasted of as "anekahirogakidegoha-lastansahssappadayino" (1.11). Buhler translates: "a giver of many crores of gold and of one hundred thousand ox-ploughs". But the word 'hala', plough comes alone fairly frequently in the epigraphical texts of donation: "Bhikhuhla, Nasik 3; karle 19 (key, senart, "Epigr. Ind" 1 p. 107; "ekahalavahaiya bhumi" 'ib', 11, verse 31, p. 114: "grame haladacanke" Inscr. of Madanavarmadeva, the Candella. "Ind, Ant", XVI, 208, 1. 7; "caturnam hatanam bhumi, 'Inscr of Bhimadeva, the

then in skirting Pahanco; then Lampanco and to the North on the Summit from the top of the mountain the drain; the as far... to the North-East the drain. I have said it.

(20-25) And further moved by another motive, I still further concede to you masters of this village, another favour. In the village of Dakshinakali in case of a fight between cows

so much had to be paid for each plough.

I remit to you half of it as well as on the tax of...; he who had to give one karsapana will have to give eight panas, he who had to give eight panas will have to give four also on the Malla tax.

(25--26) And whosoever will commit a breach

Canlukya, 'ib', XI, 72. 1. 26: 'vrddhala, Horsa' stone inscr., 1.40 Epigr. Ind. 11,125 Bana in the Harsa-carita, p, 228, relates that Harsa going on an expedition gives to the Brahmanas "sirsahasrasammitasimnam gramanam catam" "Sira" is synonymous to "hala" "kulluka", on Manu VII, 119 cites, to state precisely the meaning of the word 'kula' a verse of the Haritasmti "astgavam dharmahalam sadgavam jivitarthianam caturagam grasthanam trigavam brahmaghatium" and he adds: "iti Haritasmarat sadgavam madhyamam halam iti tathavidhaha-baldvayena yavati bhumir vabyate tat kulam iti tathavidhaha-baladvayena yavati bhumir vabyate tat kulam iti vadati". Thus as average "hala" would correspond to an upkeep of six oxen and a family (kula) would imply two of these 'halas' for its upkeep.

A passage of Kirkpatrick (p. 101) attests the persistency of this agrarian unit. The 'Purbutties' (Parvatiya) or peasants of the mountainous country are divided into four groups: Ouwal, Doem, Seom and Chaurem (Persian words that signify, first, second, third, fourth). The matter appears still more strange when it is observed that a similar division of the agricultural class, does not appear to have ever been practised in the day of the Moghul government. The Oswals are those peasants who possess five ploughs (hala) and more; the Doems are those who have between one and five ploughs; the Seoms are those who without owing any ploughs are considered as chiefs of the workmen in the field the Chaurems are the ordinary field labourers."

The syllable 'sim' is perfectly clear at the end of the line but the one that follows has almost entirely disappeared save for the lower portion which shows that this syllable was formed by group of consonants. Must one reckon on an erroneous orthography 'simnha' by mistake between the orthographies 'simba' and 'singha' key 'singhasana' 1.5. The tax of the "singha" or 'simba', the tax of the lion would mean by abbreviation the tax of the throne. The initial syllable 'sim' does not give so far as I know any other choice in Sanscrit.

(23) The equivalence I 'karsapana' --16 panas is guaranteed for Nepal in the days of Jisnugupta by this text. Anandagiri glossing the commentary of Caukara on Mandukyopanisad, I (cited in P. W. S. V. "karsapana") writes: decavicese karsapanacabdah sodacapanam samjna".

of this order, whether he lives on my favours or be it anybody else who nullifies my order personally or by instigation, I shall not tolerate him. And the kings to come because it is the order of a king who will have

preceded them, and also by consideration of duty. ~~will have to maintain this chart. (29-30). The delegate here is the heir-apparent~~
 Visnu Gupta year...

(To be Continued)

(25-28) The wording of recommendation, always composed of the same elements, varies however in the edicts of the same king.



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या १०८

कार्तिक—मंसिर २०१५

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सम्पादक
शाफल्य अमात्य

Editor
Shaphalya Amatya

Nepal

(Continued)

-Sylvain Levi

XVII. Inscription of Sanku

Sanku is a small town situated to the North-Eastern extremity of the valley. The fragmentary inscription that I picked up there is engraved on a broken piece of drain, heaped up pell-mell with a lot of rubbish against a small temple of Siva.

The text formed two lines of uncertain length; only the initial portion remains measuring 0m, 26. The characters vary considerably in dimension from one line to another; those of the first line are small and closely written; 0m, 010 height, 0m, 007 of space between; those of the second are large and well apart; 0m, 014 in the height, 0m, 020 of space between. The difference strikes forcibly but the state of the text does not allow one to determine if this intentional and pre-arranged to draw the attention on the most important part of the inscription or if the engraver simply attempted to cover up all the blank space with an insufficient number of letters.

The date is missing but the writing

shows with a fair amount of precision the epoch. The dha (twice in line 1) is clearly rounded as in the pracasti of Samudra gupta; beginning from the Vth century the right side tends to straighten up in the fashion of a stem, in the style of a 'd' turned over. The ya on the other hand (line 1) has a slow form that is only manifested beginning from the end of the Vth century (inscriptions of Mahanama, then to Lakkhamandal and to Apsad, key, Buhler, Paleogr. t.IV). The form of the 'sa' is the one that appears in the inscriptions of the Maukharis in the VIth century and which invariably figures with Amcuvarman. In short the consonant is not redoubled after 'r' contrarily to the old fashion. The change appears to date from the period of Amcuvarman. The inscription then appears to rank in the first half of the VIIth Century.

Its object is a donation, instituted undoubtedly by an official appointed to look after the Buddhist monuments in favour of the religious men of the (Maha) samghika school. No document mentions as yet the existence of a Mahasmghika community in Nepal. Scattered testimonies however show

the adepts of that School in very varied regions in India. Two of Karles inscriptions (Senart, Ep. Ind., VII, p. 64, No. 19, 1, 2 and p. 71 No. 1, 3), towards the approach of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. commemorate pious deeds in favour of the "body of the Mahasamghikas" (pavajitana bhikhuna nikayasa Mahasghiyana) in the mountain behind Bombay. The inscription N. of the pillar of the lion of Mathura (J.R.A.S. 1894, 525-540) celebrates the bhiksu Budhila of the sarvast-wadin school which brought to light the Prajna of the Mahasamghikas. I have already proposed (J. As. 1896, 2, p. 450 n) to recognize in this personage the Fo-ti-lo designated by Hinen-tsang as a master of the castras who composed an especial treatise (Tei tchen loen) for the use of the school of the Mahasamghikas and who dwelt in a convent in Kashmir where his memory was still perpetuated at the time of the Chinese

traveller (Mem. 1.186). It is in Patna that Fa-hien procures himself the Vinaya of the Mahasamghikas. The preservation of the Mahavastu in the Nepalese collection seems to bring another proof of the existence of the Mahasamghikas in Nepal, because the work presents itself and rightly as a 'portion of the Vinayapitaka of the recension of the branch of the Mahasamghikas surnamed the lokottaravadins of the Madhyadeva' (1, 2, 13) Hinen-tsang only mentions a convent of that branch outside India proper in the country of Bamyan (Mem., 1,37).

Text

1. deyadharmo yam cridharmarajikamatyasu
2. samghikabhiksusamghasya

Translation

This is the pious donation... minister of religious establishments... the community of mendicants (Maha) samghikas..

Footnote to page 112, 'Nepal' Vol. III by S. Levi.

1. Deyadharmā. Expression consecrated to Buddhistic donations. Key, Burnouf. Introd., p. 42. note; Fleet. Gupta Inscip, p. 25, n. 5. The Brahmanic donations reverse the order of the terms and imply 'dharmadeya' or 'dharmadaya' (sthitya). The one and the other expression undoubtedly imply the idea of a disinterested donation with the object of only obeying the law. For 'dharmadeya' 'daya' 'key' my 'Religious Donations' of Valabhi, p. 87.

'Dharmarajikamatya' I do not know of any other example of this title 'Amatya' which literally signifies the high officials among whom the king chooses his councillors (mantrin) key the substantial article of the dictionary of Goldstucker, s.v. Amatya .. "Dharmarajika" with a long vowel at the first syllable is a new form. The term 'dharmarajaka' is applied prominently to the 84,000 pious establishments of king Asoka. One is surprised to find again in the index of the Divyavadana ed, Cowell-Neil, the translation: edict royal on the law adopted at one time by Burnouf and rightly criticised by st. Julien Hion en Thasang. Mem. 1, 417u). The orthography employed in our inscription appears to show that 'dharmarajika' is a derivation of 'dharmaraja the 'king of the law' namely the Buddha. The word would be properly an adjective signifying relative to the king of the law. key, 'Mhbh' VII, 71,1: "akhyanam..... sodacarjikam" the history relative to the sixteen kings".

2. The form samghika does not leave room to any restitution other than (maha) samghika.

XVIII. Inscription of the Chassal-Tol in Patan

This stela very mutilated stands in an old bathing pond of the Chassal Tol, near an insignificant stupa attributed to Asoka (see. 346). The inscription covers a height of about 0m, 45. The width of it is 0m, 55. The average height of the characters is about 0m, 01; the space between the lines is 0m, 015. The orthography is in accordance with the practice introduced by Amcuvarman; the silent after 'r' is not redoubled. The character is obviously the same as in the inscriptions dated in the year 143 (Bh. 13) and 145 (Bh. 14). The inscription at least in that which exist is in prose; it introduces neither any traditional verse nor any original stanza of appeal to the future. It is a charter of donation; the initial protocol has disappeared with the name of the king. The last 19 lines, alone preserved, contain a minute description of the limits of the donation (1-13) then the usual recommendations (13-18), lastly the mention of the personal order, the name of the royal delegate and the date (18-19)

The fixing of limits goes from North to South, from East to West and goes back to the North. It attests as do the other documents of the same epoch, the flourishing civilization of the country and the enormous development of ecclesiastical estates. All the lands mentioned gardens (vatika) or fields (ksetra) belong to religious brotherhood pancalix and gosthi.

We do not know what distinguished one from the other. The term of pancali is not found again to my knowledge, outside Nepalese epigraphy. Already Bhagvanlal (note 26 on his introduction 8) has compared the

word of the southern Pancakuleka with that of the modern Panch; he has also shown that the properties of the temples are still at present administered in Nepal by committees named gutthi (gosthi). The village of Loprim has a pancali and a gosthi the pancali possesses a garden (9) in the neighbourhood of Dolacikhara, namely of Changu Narayan (key. stela of Harigaon year 32, i.7) and to the North-West of this land at a short distance a field (10). The gosthi of Loprim that appears to bear the name of Indragosthi has a field (12) a little further to the North. The limit of the land conceded by the inscription of the year 143 (Bhag. 13) falls in with also the properties of the gosthi of Loprim (lopringramagau-sthikaksetram, i. 19 and Lopri... taksetram, 1.24). The little we know of the gosthi by other documents scarcely allow us to recognize that which distinguishes them from the pancalis. The inscriptions of Pehoa, of the year - 882 J. C. that institutes a religious establishment, entrusts the management of it gosthikas on whom devolves the care of collecting funds and distributing them (Buhler E. Ind., 1, 186); another inscription dated in the reign of Bhojadeva of Kanauj as that of Pehoa and anterior by twenty years (862 J. C.) mentions a gosthika (Deogadh Pillar; kiselhorn, Ep. Ind., IV, 309). Likewise a Calukya chart of 1207 J. C. (Hultzch, Ind. Ant. XI. 338). It is without interest to note that the gosthi of the temple of Narayana (1-11) bears a number of classification... the tenth gosthi (dacamigosthi). The inscription of Nangsal that also mentions several endowments of gosthi in a very mutilated passage has at least preserved the name of "the seventh gosthi" (saptamigosthibhumer, 1.48). The case of "the gosthi of the temple of Narayana (Narayanadevakuladacamigosthi, 1,11) of the

gosthi of Indra (Loprimgramendragosthi, 1.12) perhaps also of the Camkaragosthi (Nangsal, 48) gives room to suppose that the gosthis were rather of Brahmanic religion and the panacalis of Buddhistic religion; but the hypothesis is still very hazardous.

I take up again the mention of the Punka pancali (1.10) of the vihara of Puspavatika (13) of the Maniyeksetra which is undoubtedly a property of Mandeva (12). Lastly I mention the 'bridge of stone' (Cilasamkrana, 1.8).

The date of the inscription clearly legible in the last line is the fifth of the fortnight of Jyestha in the year 137. The dutaka entrusted with the order is bhattaraka cri vijayadeva. A personage of the same name figures as dutaka in a very mutilated chart (Bhag. 14) dated in the year 145; but he receives in it the title of yuvaraja cri Vijayadeva heir apparent'. A chart anterior by two years, (Bhag. 13), has for dutaka the bhattaraka cri Civadeva. Bhagvanlal observes in this connection that the epithet of bhattaraka is only given to a king or a high priest; "there is no instance", he adds, "in which a priest carries out the work of a dutaka, whereas in several circumstances the king is his own dutaka. The alternation of bhattaraka and yuvaraja applies successively to the same personage with a distance of eight years. nullifies successively; in 119, dutaka the rajaputra jayadeva; in 137 the bhattaraka cri Vijayadeva; in 143 (doubtful tens) the Yuvaraja Cri Vijayadeva lastly in 153 the reigning king is Jayadeva. Another indication seems to betray a political change in the same period. The inscription of 143 and that of deva are dated from the Kailasakuta, like the authentic inscription of Civadeva in 119, but from a new palace, the Bhadradhi-

vasabhavana, and the king of this palace takes again the ancient title of Licchavikulaketu abandoned since the accession of Amcuvarman and jayadeva in the inscription of Pacupati claims himself well as an authentic offspring of the Licchavis by climbing over Amcuvarman whom he omits. It is a reaction or a revolution. Precisely in analogous political circumstances after the name of Amcuvarman the inscriptions of Jisnuguta show the same irresolution in the titularly passing from bhattaraka maharaja-cri to bhattaraka-raja-cri and to bhattaraka-cri to designate side by side with the usurper, the legitimate heir to the throne (see Inscr. of Thankot sup. p. 104)

Text

1..... daksinema..... rtavafika pa.....

2

(etc, see pages 116 and 117, Nepal Vol III by S. Levi)

Translation

(of above text)

1. ... to the south ... the garden ... (3) to the South ... the garden ... (4) as far as ... the west ... of Mana ... (5) in skirting ... in the west ... a little to south to the west of Cankara ... (6) ... to the west ..., by going from there to the north ... the circle of houses (7) .. and by going to North the great ...; by going the West by the West by the West of the Bridge Stone ..., at the pancali of Reta (8-12) and by going to the north-east by going to the North-West of the garden of the pancali of Loprim... of the Dolacikhara, by going to the North East by going to the North West of the field of the Panacali of Punka by going to the North-West of the field of pancali of Loprim by going to the north of the field of the Xth

gosthi of the temple of Narayana by going to the north of the field of gosthi of Indra of the village of Loprim by going to the North of field of Mana thence as far as such is the settling of boundaries of the convent of Puspavatika.

(12-18)... to the West to the North ... the palaces the circles... limit of stronghold has been conceded by us. And nobody whether he be in a position to opposition to oppose

my gracious will or anybody else must infringe this wording of my will. And whosoever in disdain of my order, would act in person or with an intermediary, I shall not... And the monarchs to come, remembering the gracious concessions of previous sovereigns must absolutely not tolerate it.

(18-19) Direct order... The royal mandatory is here bhattaraka-cri-Vijayadeva. Year 137, Jyestha, clear fortnight fifth tithi.

Footnote to page 117, 'Nepal' Vol. III by S. Levi.

L 16. The singular kurvita has been introduced here by error or oversight. The ordinary wording is: kuryuh karayeyr va for example. Bhag. 12, 1.17; 14, 1.13. One also finds the singular kuryat karayed va for example, Bhag. 13.1.32; but the average optative is a rarity.

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प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या १०९

दिसम्बर-जनवरी २०४२

Ancient Nepal

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सम्पादक

साफल्य अमात्य

Editor

Shaphalya Amatya

Nepal

(Continued)

-Sylvain Levi

XIX. Inscription of Thimi

Thimi is a borough situated between Kathmandu and Bhatgaon. The stela that bears this inscription is found in an old watering depression (hithi). (key. vol. 11, p. 376) The higher portions of the inscription has almost entirely disappeared; only a few characters remain. The last nine lines alone offer an almost continuous text. The width is about 0m, 40; the average height of the letters is about 0m, 01 and the space between the lines is 0m, 02. The characters of the last lines are as is often the case, widely separated.

The figure of the years at the end of the second last line is obliterated. There scarcely exists a trace of the symbol that figures 100. But it is nevertheless positive that the inscription dates from Civadeva. The characters are exactly identical to those of the inscriptions of this king collected and published by Bhagvanlal and especially to that of No. 12 dated in samvat 119. The coincidence of the engraving is so perfect that it needs no demonstration. I shall rest satisfied by notifying in line 7 the appearance of the swollen ya; with two downstrokes immediately

side by side with the usual Ya with three downstrokes, in the wording kuyu karayeyu (r va). The faulty form kuyu for kuryu^h results from perhaps the perplexity of the engraver who could not recognize the word under this new aspect. But more expressive still than the engraving of the characters is the formulary of the inscription, especially the quotation of two verses in support of the final recommendations and imprecations:

purvadattam dvijatibhyo yatnad raksa
Yudhisthira

mahim mahibhujam crestha danac
chreyo' nupalanam

and

sastim varsasaharani svarge modati
bhumidah

aksepta canumanta ca tavanti nurake
vaset

These verses to my knowledge appear for the first time in the Nepalese epigraphy with Civadeva 11. They are legible at the end of the inscription of Samvat 119 (Bh. 12) at the lines 20-22 and they are inserted thither as in the text of Thimi by the wording; tatha

coktam. But the use of it is frequent before the epoch of even Civadeva in India's protocol. The first verse appears in two recensions; one, that employed by Civadeva, is found for the first time in a chart of king Hastin dated 156 Gupta (475 J.C.), native of the region of Bundelkhand or rather again in a chart of the same region granted by king Carvanatha if the date of 214 is to be interpreted (with Kielhorn) as being expressed in era of Cedi (249, 214-463 J. C.). It is found again in the country of Valabhi, in 253 Gupta (572 J. C.) in a chart of Dharasena II: in the country of Anandapura, neighbouring on Valabhi in 361 Cedi (600 J. C.) in a chart of Buddharaja in the Deccan in a chart of the Calukya Pulakecin II (Chiplun plates) who reigns during the first half of the VIIth century; at the mouth of the Godaveri in a chart of the very brother of Pulakecin II, the oriental Calukya Visnuvardhana I (satara plates).

The other recension reads the first pada differently:

svadattam paradattam va yatnad raksa
Yudhisthira

The two recensions co-exist obviously in the same chancelleries. In the form svadattam etc. the verse also appears in the charts of king Carvanatha of Uccakalpa, dated in 193 and 197 (Cedi in this case -- 442 and 446 J. C.) and before him in the charts of his father Jayanatha of 174 and 177 (423 and 426 J. C.) a little later in the same region Mahajayaraja and Mahasudevaraja (of Carabhdapura Central Provinces) and still later Mahaciva Tivararaja (of Cripura, central provinces) employ it also in their turn. Pulakecin II makes use of it in his chart of Hyderabad.

I notice that the wording adopted by

Civadeva introduces a new variation. In the 3rd pada the word 'malubhujam' is substituted for the consecrated term 'mahimatam'. Is it on account of a scruple of purist? In fact, this word 'mahimat' guaranteed by so many epigraphical texts seems foreign to literature, because it does not figure in the Dictionary of Petersburg or in its supplements.

The second verse: 'sastim varsashasrani' is not less common than the first. It only admits of one wavering in its drawing up; at the beginning of the 3rd pada some write like Civadeva, akseptam; others 'achetta'. But here again, the two forms co-exist in the same series of documents. Hastin writes 'achetta' in his chart of 156 Gupta (475 J. C.) and in that of 191 (510 J. C.). The verse appears as early as Jayanatha and Carvanatha (achetta); it figures regularly in the epigraphy of Valabhi (achetta); it is cited by Mahajayaraja, Mahasudevaraja (achetta) Mahaciva Tivararaja (akseptam) by Pravarasena the Vakataka and in the Punjab (VIIth century) by Samudrasena by Lakshmana of Joyapura (158 Gupta-477 J. C.) by the Gurjara of Broach Dadda II, by Buddharaja by the oriental Calukya Visnuvardhana I (who uses 'achetta' in the Satara grant. 'akseptam' in the chipurupalle grant), by Canankaraja of Bengal in 300 Gupta.-619 J. C. (akseptam) in Orissa by the Somavamcis Maha Bhavagupta I and II and Maha Civagupta (akseptam).

Civadeva II only cites these two verses; but the epigraphy of India teaches us a great number of traditional verses that have all for common object to guarantee the grant, by promise or by threat its full object to perpetuity. I shall be pardoned for giving here so complete an abstract. The dynastic

groupings thus constituted can furnish an element of classification not to be disdained, it is difficult or too easy perhaps to believe that each royal chancellery chose haphazardly in the mass of verses in circulation. The political relations, the literary procedures must have influenced the protocol. A study of comparisons of all the elements that compose them titular, vocabulary, style, etc. would leave behind a valuable residue of positive data at the service of history. I shall dispose of here the series of verses in the alphabetical order:

1. "Agner apatyam prathamam survanam"
"bhur vaisnavi suryasutac ca gavah"
"dattas trayas tena bhavanti lokah"
"yah kancanam gam ca mahim ca dadyat"
Mahajayaraha, Mahasudevaraja Mahaciva,
Tivararaja Somavamcis of Orissa.
2. "adbhir dattam tribhir bhuktam sadbhic
ca paripalitam"
"etani na nivartante purvarajakrtani ca"
Kadamba Krsnavarman II; Kadamba
Rasivarman.
3. "apamyessv aranyesu cuskakotarvasinah"
"kranahayo bhijayante purvadayam
haranti ye".
This verse allows of several variations;
the one occusing most frequently shows in the
first pada; Vindhyatavisv is met with Hastin
(191 Gupta- 210 J. C.). Carvanatha (214
Cedi) has in the third pada hi instead of bhi.
The inscriptions of Valabhi show: anudakesv
aranyesu
4. "Adityo Varuno Visnur Brahma Somo
Hutacanam"
"Culapanic ca bhagvan abhinandanti
bhumidam"
Somavamcis of Orrissa.
5. asphotayanti pitarah pravalganti
pitamahah"

"bhumido smatkule jatah sa nas trata
bhavisyati"

- Jayanatha (174 Cedi); Somavamcis of Orissa
(with var; bhumidata kule).
6. "iti kamaladalambubindulolam"
"criyam anucintya manasyajivitam"
"sakalam idam udahrtam ca buddhva"
"na hi purusaih parakirtayo vilopyah"
Somavamcis of Orissa.
 7. "tadaganam sahasrani vajapeyacatani ca"
"gavam kotipradanena bhumiharta na
cudhyati"
Somavamcis of Orissa.
 8. "tadrk punyam na dadatam jayate no
dharabhujam"
bhuvam anyapratistham tu yadrg bhavati
raksatam
Calukya or Visnuvardhana I (Satara
grant).
 8. bis dattani yanina pura narendrair.....
see infra 17.
 9. purvadattam dvijatibhyo...
see supra p. 120.
 9. bis purvaih purvataraic caiva dattam
bhumim haret tu yah
sa nityavyasane magno narake ca vaset
punah
Kumaravisnu the Pallava.
 10. prayena hi narendranam vidyate nacubha
gatih
puyante te tu satam prayacchanto
vasundharam
Jayanatha (174, 177); Carvanatha (193, 197,
214).
 11. "bahubhir vasudha datta rajabhih
Sagaradibhih
yasya yasya yada bhumis tasya tasya tada
phalam

Here we find the verse most employed;

it is met in the very epigraphy of Nepal at the end of an inscription of Civadeva dated samvat 142 (Bhag 13). It figures in almost the whole of India's epigraphy sometimes with bhukta substituted to datta in the first pada. Hastin (156 Gup.); Jayanatha (174, 177); Carvanatha (193, 197, 214) the kings of Valabhi; Mahajayaraja Mahasudevaraja; Samudrasena; Laksmuna; Dadda 11, Cacankaraja; the Somavamcis of Orissa; the Pallava simhavarman; the kadambas Civamandharivarman, krsnavarman 11, kakutshvarman, Ravivarman, Harivarman; the Calukyas Mangaleca. Pula. kecin 11, Vikramadetya (karnul grant); the Calukya or Visnuvardhana 1 (Satara grant that employs in another chart (chipurupalle) the variation (also employed by the Pallava kumaravisnu);

bahubhir vasudha datta bahubhic
canupalita.....

12. brahmasve ma matim kuryah pranaih
kanthagatair api agnidagdhani rohanti
brahmadagham na rohati
Visnuvardhana 1 (Satara).

13. bhumim yah pratigrahati yac ca bhumin
prayacchati ubhau tau punyakramanau
niyatam svargagaminau.

Somavamcis of Orissa.

14. bhumidanat param danam an bhutam na
bhavisyati

tasyaiva haranapapan (haranat papan K.)
na bhutam na bhavisyati

Visnugopavarman, Simhavarman, and Kumara-
visnu, all three Pallavas

15. bhumipradanan na param pradanam
danad vicistam paripalan am ca
sarve' tistrstam paripalya bhumim
nrpa Nrgadyas tridivam prapannah

Samksobha (209 Gupta).

16. ma bhud apahalacanka vah paradatteti-
parthivah
svadanat phalam anantyam paradananupa-
lane.

Somavamcis of Orissa; Cacankaraja (var. ma-
bhuta ph)

17. yaniha daridryabhayan narendrair
dhanani dharmayataniktani
nirmalyavantapratimani tani
ko nama sadhuh punar adadita.

Kings of Valabhi with several variations:
Ciladitya 11 (352); Yaniha dattani pura
varendrair... Ciladitya VI (447); nirbhukta-
malyaprati; also Dadda 11 (385 Cedi) and
Buddharaja (361 Cedi) both with the variation;
and Pulakecin 11 who adopts this latter
wording but who hesitates in the third pada
between nirmalyavantapratimani (Hyderabad) and
nirbhuktamalyapratimani (Chiplum).

18. ye praktanavanibhujam jagaihitanam
dharmyam sthitim sthiktam anupalayala-
yeyur
laksmya sametya suciram nijabharayaiva
pretyapi vasavasama divi te vasesuh.

This verse only appears in one
inscription of Nepal dated samvat 145 (Bhag.
14) and almost certainly of Civadeva. Besides
the king himself appears to be the author of
this verse which is inserted with the wording
yatha caha "as well as he (the king) has said
it himself....."

18. bis ye citamcukaravadatacaritah samyak-
prajapalane
aji-h prathamavanicvaraktam raksanti
dharmyam sthitim
jna vijitaricakraruciram sambhujya rajya-
criyam
nake cakrasamanamanavibhavas tisthanti
dhanyah sthiram

Anonymous inscription of Nangsal

19. Laksminekatanam yadapacrayena
prapto 'si ko bhimatam nrpartham'

tany eva punyani vivardhayetha
na hapaniyo hy upkaripaksah

Guhasena (240 Gupta) and Dharasena 11
(269 Gupta) of Valabhi.

20. Vindhayatavisv atoyasu cuskakotaravasinah
Krsnahayo hi jayante bhumidayahara
narah

Widespread variation of the verse sup.
no. 3. This very wording (drawing up) that
is met with Dharasena 11 (252 Gup) and
Dadda 11 (385 Cedi), presents also secondary
variations in the fourth pada; bhumidanam
haranti ye, Pulakecin 11 (Hyderabad);
bhumidayan haranti ye Clidaitya VI (447 Gup)
Buddharaja (361 Cedi); bhumidanapaharinah,
Visnuvardhana 1 (Satara).

21. sasti (m) varsasahasrani...

See. sup. p. 120--122.

21. bis sarvasasyasamrddham tu yo hareta
vasundharam...

Variation of 24 Infra.

22. samanyo yam dbarmasetur nrpanam
kale kale palaniyo bhavadbhih
sarvan etan bhavinah parthivendran
bhuyo bhuyo yacate Ramacandrah
Somavamcis of Orissa.

23. svadattam pradattam va yatnad raksa
Yudhisthira.....

Variation of the verse 9 sup.

24. svadattam pradattam va yo hareta
vasundharam
sa vishthayam krmir bhutva pitrbhih saha
pacyate''.

This very popular verse presents a
considerable number of variations. Hastin
(163 Gup). Cacankaraja, the Somavamcis of
Orissa cite it in the form I have just
transcribed; but in 191 Gup. Hastin writes;
saha majjate; Laksmana in 158; saha majjati;
Carvanatha who adopts the same recension as
Laksmana in 214 (but var. cvavisthayam)

follows in his charts of 193 and 197 the other
wording: "sarvasasyasamrddham tu yo (sup.
21 bis) before him Jayanatha also employs
it in 174. Pulakecin 11 (Chiplun) follows the
first wording with the variation cvavisthayam.
The first hemistich (half of a twelve-syllabled
verse Translator) is found in various
combinations with Dharasena 11 (252 Gup)
and with Kumaravisnu the Pallava:

gavam catasahasrasya hantuh prapnoti
(pibati Kum) kibbisam and with the Vakataka
Pravarasena (var; harati duskrtam) with the
Pallavas Visnugopavarman and Simhavarman
(var: pibati) or again:

sastivarsasahasrani vishthayam jayate
krmih with Samudrasena Managaleca
(Nerur) Vikramaditya 1 (Karnul) with
variations in the last pada; narake pacyate tu
sah, with the kadambas Civamandhatrvarman,
Harivarman Kakutsthavarman; narake pac-
yate bhrcam with the Kadamba Ravivarman;
ghore tamasi pacyate, with the Kadamba
Krsnavarman 11; kumbhipake tu pacyate,"
with the Kadamba Mrgecavarman, kumbhi-
pakesu with Visnuvardhana 1

25. svam datum sumahac chakyam dukkham
anyarthapalacam
danam va palanam veti danekchreyo
nupalanam
Kadambas Krsnavarman 11 and Mrgecavar-
man; Calukya Mangaleca (Nerur). The
last pada is common with the verse
9: purvadattam dvijatibhyo.....

26. harate harayate yas tu mandabudhis
tamovrtah

sa baddho Varunaih pacais tiryagyonim
ca gacchati''

Somavamcis of Orissa.

By contrast, not without express reasons
the epigraphy of Indo-China ignores the
usage of consecrated stanzas. The majority of

the charts of grants contain well their equivalent, but under an interpretation that changes from document. Each poet turns to his liking the regular recommendations and threats. One is tempted to believe that in India these consecrated stanzas assumed a sacred character recognized by all and really assured by a salutary evocation, the respect of the grant whereas in Indo-China where Sanscrit is a foreign language greatly separated from the current idioms, neither the stanzas nor the names that covered them had any practical utility. I have met there and only once the verse 24; svadattam parad and under the very form it appears with Pulakecin 11 (Vhiplun) in a contemporaneous inscription of this king dated caka 550 (629 J.C.). It is the inscription of Aug Chumnik, in Barth, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, P, 56, B. ix 4. Yet this is not a royal chart but a private act, a grant to a Civaling by Acarya Vidyavinaya.

Compared to analogous documents the inscription of Civadeva (and also that of Cambodia) presents this particular character of being traced on the stones. Of all the texts that I have just cited in connection with imprecatory verses the inscription of Mangaleca to the Mahakuta of Badami is the only one that is not written on copper plates; again the pillar that holds it offers this singularity in that the text is read from bottom to top contrary to the usual direction. Nepal (like the Hindu kingdom of Indo-China) in borrowing from India the formulary of grants has changed the contents of the acts.

One could not blame the skill of the Nepalese workmen. Chinese relations show that at that very epoch their skill knew how to turn out master-pieces from metal. Metal was not scarce in the country; the mines were known and worked. But the great abundance of stone in the heart of the Himalayas explains

undoubtedly that its use was extended to all the epigraphical documents.

The form and the combination of the verses are not the only ones changeable that give a base for classification. The designation of the authority quoted for reference also varies from series to series: sometimes it is Vyasa, sometimes it is Manu, sometimes the authority remains anonymous or impersonal. H. Hopkins has already studied in an article of the "Journal of the American Oriental Society" vol XI, 1885 p. 243 sqq. "Manu in the Mahabharata" the citations given in the name of Manu in the inscriptions. But his investigation has not been exhaustive; new documents have come in fairly large numbers; texts admitted to be authentic have been recognized as false ones. It will not be useless to take up again this research even should there be no intention of pushing it deeply.

The formularies that designate Vyasa as the author of the verses cited (the numbers refer to the above classification, p. 122 to 128 Cedi (456 J.C.) Verse 21.

"uktam ca bhagavata Vyasena" with Dahrasena the Traikutaka in 207 Cedi (456 J. C.) Verse 21.

"uktam ca bhagavat Vedavyasena Vyasena" --- in Valabhi (verses 9, 11, 17, 19, 20, 21, 24); with Dadda 11 (verses 20, 11, 17, 21); with Buddharaja (verses 20, 23, 17, 21) with Pulakecin 11 (Hyderabad, verses 23, 11, 8 bis, 21); with Visnuvardhana 1 (Satara verses 20, 8, 9, 11, 12, 21, 24).

"uktam ca bhagavata paramarsina Vedavyasena" -- with Hastin (Verses 3, 9, 21, 24), Samksobha (Verse 15).

"atra Vyasagitau" -- with Visnuvardhana 1 (Chipurupalle) Verse 11, 21)

"Vyasagitau catra clokau pramani-

kartavyau" — with Pravarsena the Vakataka (verse 21, 24).

api casminn arthe vyasakrtah cloka bhavanti with Laksmāna of Jayapura (verse 11, 21, 24)

Vyasagitamc catra clokan udaharanti— with Mahajayaraja (verses 1, 23, 12, 11, 21); Mahasudevaraja (id); Mahaciva Tivaradeva (id).

Sometimes the reference more complete, indicates for origin the Mahā-Bharata:

uktam ca Mahabharate bhagavata Vyasena — with Jayanatha (verses 5, 23, 10, 11).

uktam ca Mahabhrate bhagavata Vedavyasena Vyasena with Jayanatha (verses 5, 23, 10, 11, 21, 24); Carvanatha (verses 3, 9, 23, 10, 11, 21, 24).

uktam ca Mahabharate catasahasryam samhitayam paramarsina Paracarasutena Vedavyasena Vyasena— with Carvanatha in 214 (same verses).

The references to Manu are all of them localised in the south of India especially among the Kadambas who are "Manavyasagatra".

api cuktam Manuna— with the Kadamba Ravivarman (verses 11, 24).

uktam ca Manuna with the Calukya Vikramaditya 1 (Karnul; verses 11, 24).

atra Manugitac cloka bhavanti — with the Kadamba Krsnavarman 11 (verses 11, 25, 24, 2).

The Pallava Kumaravisnu ascribes them to Brahma;

api catra Brahmagitah clokoh (verses 9 bis 11, 14, 24).

Sometimes the text invoked is a treatise of the law "without the author's name; Civadeva is connected to this series.

uktam ca smrticastre — with Cancan- karaja (verses 11, 16, 21, 24).

uktam ca dharmacastre — with Mangaleca (verses 11, 21, 24).

dharmacastresv apy uktam — with Mangaleca (nerur; verse id. + 25).

tatha cuktam dharmacastre — with Somavancis of Orissa (verses 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 16, 21, 22, 24, 26).

yatha dharmacastravacanam with Civadeva Samvat 143; Bhag No. 13 (verse 11).

A last series of documents mention these verses as "common sayings". Civadeva also employs this procedure. uktam ca with Samudrasena (verses 11, 21, 24); the Kadambas Civamandbatravarmān (verses 11, 24) Harivarma (id) Ravivarman (id + 2); the Calukya Pulakecin 11 (Chiplun verses 9, 11, 17, 21, 24).

api cuktam with the Kadambas Kakutstharvarman (verse 11) and Mrgecavarman (verses 24, 25).

tatha cuktam with Civadeva in samvat 119; Bhag., 12 (verses 9, 21).

api capi clokah with the Pallava Visnugopavarman (verses 14, 24).

api cartarah clokah with the Pallava Simhavarman (verses 11, 14, 24).

The epigraphy of Indo-China, unacquainted as it is with the traditional stanzas, reflects however the double tradition of Manu and Vyasa as authorities. An inscription in the reign of Jayavarman in 968 J. C. (Barth. XIV, B. 30; inscr of Prea Eynkosey) attests the word of Manu as a proof;

"krurac cathatilubdha ye paradharma- vilopakah"

"te yanti pitribhis sardham narakam manur abavit"

Another inscription, in the thereabouts of the year 900 J. C. (Bégaigne LXVI, C. 8), cites Manu 11, 136, as a rule of conduct with the reference; 'iti Manavam'. But the same inscription also calls upon the 'song of Vyasa'.

“sa hi vicvambharadhicas sarvalokaguruh smrtah”

“yad istam tasya tat kuryad Vyasagitam idam yatha”

The references to Vyasa and to the Mahabharata on the one hand; to Manu and to the Dharmacastra (or Smrti) on the other may appear contradictory. In fact we know that the epopee and the law are closely connected and that identical elements have entered in the two selection. The inscription on the pillar of Harigaon has already given me the occasion to insist thereon. But that which is most surprising is that in all these references none are found again in our actual Manu; only one is found again in our Maha-Bharata. Yet it concerns an exceptional verse mentioned by the Somavamsis of Orissa; it is the verse 4 “Adityo Varuno”... which is read in the Maha-Bharata, Anucasanaparvan (XIII, 62) that extols in one hundred clokas the merits of a grant of land and on the other hand one of the commonest verses (9 and 23) is addressed particularly to Yudhisthira the hero of the Maha-Bharata.

But the matter becomes more complicate. The compiler Hemadri, treating in the *caturvagacintamani* on grants in general mentions in connection with grants of lands, several passages borrowed from various sources among others (p. 495-502) a long extract from the chapter of the Maha-Bharata which I just mentioned (XIII, 62v 3104 sq). His text admits of numerous interpretations; thus it is that after the verse 3177 he inserts two verses that are missing in the Calcutta edition; of these two verses the first is exactly the verses ‘Vindhyaavisv... (20) so frequently cited in the inscriptions. A little further (p. 507-508), Hemadri cites another passage of the Maha-Bharata that begins with the three verses XIII, 66 v. 3335-3337, in anustubh

metre; but immediately after them, come two stanzas in *vasantatilaka* and immediately after the cloka “svadattam paradattam va yo” (24), one of the most common among the consecrated verses and also one of the least established. The reading of Hemadri is identical to the recension adopted by Lakshmana of Jayapura (except “harec ca” for ‘hareta’). The two hemistichs of this verse are found again separately and somewhat altered in another extract mentioned by Hemadri (p. 504) and borrowed from the *Visnudharmotra*:

svadattam paradattam va yo harec ca
vasundharam

visthayam kramitam eti pitrbhih sahitas
tatha

In the same extract is also found again the famous verse *sastim varsa* (21) with the reading *achetta*. It is probable that others again, among the consecrated verses may be found again in the chapter of the *Visnudharmottara* that treats on grants of land (Weber, 1758, ch. 56) *bhumidanaphalam*: Raj L. Mitra 2293; *bhumidanamahatmyakirtanam*): the work is connected to the cycle of the Maha-Bharata. The historical and censorious study of the recensions of the Maha-Bharata finds thus in the epigraphical documents, the positive base that is too often wanting.

Still another of the traditional verses: *asphotayanti...* (5) cited expressly as a verse of the Maha-Bharata by Jayanatha of *Uccakalpa* is found again in the extracts of Hemadri (p. 507) in which it is ascribed to *Brhaspati* namely evidently to the *Brhaspatismrti* that contains one section of the grants. The changeable condition of the elements inserted in the ‘*Samhita* in a hundred thousand verses’ stands out clearly from this particular inventory.

If it is really with *Civadeva* 11 that the traditional verses on grants appear for the

first time in the Nepalese charts, it is permissible to search for the origin of this innovation. The type of the royal grant in Nepal is secured from the most ancient documents; it transpires as early as the fragment dated by Vasantadeva. samvat 435 (Bhag 3) and shows itself clearly identical afterwards; 1st source of origin; 2nd panegyric of the king; 3rd indication of the recipients; 4th direct message from the king in good health to the recipients; 5th indication of the beneficiaries and clauses; 6th recommendations and threats for the future 7th designation of the royal mandatory; 8th date. It is the ordinary type of the grant in India (key especially. Burnell, South-Indian Paleography chap. VI) such as it can already be guessed in the fragmentary text of the pillar of Bihar in the reign of Skandagupta between 136 and 146 Gupta (455-465 J. C.), such as it is shown on the plates of Visnugopavarman the Pallava towards the Vth century and particularly in the grants of the Parivrajaka Hastin and with the lords of Uccakalpa quite especially in short with Laksmana of Jayapura in 158 (Gupta 477 J.C.). The chart of this prince coincides so to speak exactly with the protocol of Nepal save in that it inserts Hindu fashion traditional verses before the indication of the mandatory. It is then from the chancelleries of the middle Ganges either from the Guptas directly or from their vassals that the Licchavis of Nepal appear to have borrowed their protocol; the

fact is in agreement with the historical probabilities and also with the tradition that causes the ancestor of the Licchavis to come from Pataliputra. Civadeva II binds again and draws closer the links of the Nepalese dynasty with Gangetic India. He espouses the granddaughter of an emperor of the Magadha, the daughter of a noble Mankhari and this union of high lineage introduces undoubtedly in Nepal a fresh incentive to the culture of Sanscrit; the 'offices' are enriched with Hindus from the plains and their activity is revealed immediately by the use of the ordinary verses that reduce the local protocol to the common type of India.

The inscription is in prose, save the consecrated verses. The orthography is regular save kuya for kuryuh that I have already mentioned. According to the new custom introduced by Amcuvarman the silent is not redoubled after 'r'. The chart regulated the clauses of a grant of land and traced with accuracy the limits of the land conceded but their only remains of it the issue of a general character.

The madatory dutaka of the king is the rajaputra Jayadeva who appears with the same title in the chart of Civadeva dated samvat 119 (Bhag. 12).

Text.

1.....rayadipra.....
3..... paccime ni.....
.....
(etc., see pages 136 and 137, Nepal; Vol III by S. Levi)

Footnote to page 136, 'Nepal' Vol. III by S. Levi.

'regarding the above text'

9-10. key, Bhag., 12,1.16: 'Bhattavistihetoh prativarsam bharikajanah panca 5 vyavasyibhir grahitavyah. It concerns evidently analogous if not identical service. Unfortunately the characters that precede visit on our inscription have remained undecipherable to me. --- The vyavasayin mentioned in the passage that I have just quoted are also found again in our text. The P. W. only knows this word as an adjective in the sense of resolute. Here it

Translation

(of text on pages 136 and 137)

(1-8)... to the West... and thence to the West... and in the interval... the ditch, the hamlet afterwards as far as...

(9-11) In connection with the men of for labour, the hundred of puranas that ... yearly must be given by the villagers to the --- even. The authorities of the royal palace must not....

(11-13) And whosoever, whether those attached to our services and through our favour or others would do otherwise or entice another to do otherwise we shall not tolerate him. And the princes to come must respect and protect this by saying to themselves. This

is a grant inspired to a prince at one time by the excess of his compassion and in order to to conform himself to the law.

(13-16). And thus it is said: "The land that was given to the Brahmans by one of your predecessors, Yudhisthira protect it well this land on the most excellent of masters on the earth. To maintain is still better them to give --- sixty thousand years of happiness in paradise to the person who gives away land. He that usurps and abets remains as many years in hell.

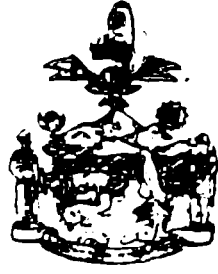
(16-17). Direct order. The delegate here is the rajaputra Jayadeva. Year...month of acvayuja, dark fortnight, sixth (tithi).

(To be Continued)

clearly designates an authority (and Bhagvanlal translates it; "the authorities") and undoubtedly of a Judicial order. I have not picked it up with this value in other epigraphical documents.

"Rajakuleya is missing in dictionaries but is a regular derivative of the substantive rahakula

13. The expression danadharmasetu recalls the traditional verse: samanyo yam dharmasetur... (22) frequently paraphrased from the rest in the inscriptions.



प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ११०-११२

फागुन २०४५-साउन २०४६

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Shaphalya Amatya

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प्राचीन नेपाल

संख्या ११३

भदौ-असोज २०४६

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Editor

Shaphalya Amatya

Nepal

(Continued from No. 109)

—Sylvain Levi

XX. Inscription of the Yag Bahal

The stamping of this inscription was sent to me from Nepal in 1902 by the Maharaja Deb Sham Sher, in the short period of his administration. No indication of origin was enclosed with the parcel, but a cursory note outlined on the side and foot of the stamping, bears: Yag bahal. I ignore at present where this bahal or monastery is located; but I am led to believe that the stela is found in the neighbourhood of Patan, like all other inscriptions connected thereto.

The inscription is incomplete; the last lines are missing. The 29 lines preserved, wholly or partly, cover a total height of 0m, 72 by a width of 0m, 40. The body of the characters measure an average of 0m, 01; the average space between the lines is 0m, 015. The orthography is on the whole correct; the silent according to the style that dates from Amcuvarman, is not redoubled after 'r'. The portion of the text preserved is all in prose. It is a chart of the ordinary type, that has for object the concession of a village with its

out-houses (offices etc) to the Buddhistic community; it is addressed to the interested parties, the inhabitants of the village of Gullatanga. The territory conceded is most probably a portion of the domain of Pacupati (1.4 and key, Bhag 13, 1.5 : Pacupatan). The fixing of limits is drawn up with that over-scrupulous accuracy of late inscriptions by proceeding from North to South and from East to West. The land-marks indicated show by a further example the advanced civilization of Nepal and also the landed wealth of the Buddhistic church. There are no less than seven monasteries adjacent to the land conceded; the Manadeva vihara, the Kharjurika vihara (17) the varta kalyanagupta vihara (17-18), the Caturbha-laukasana vihara (18-19) the criraja vihara (21). The Manadeva vihara is obviously identical to the Maha vihara mentioned already in an inscription of Amcuvarman (year 32) side by side with the kharjurika vihara (1,8 and 9); at the same time the vihara with the truncated name; yama vihara is almost certainly identical to the Mana vihara namely to the Madhyama vihara, designated in the same inscription of

Amcuvarman immediately after Mana V and KharjurikaV. The other names of monasteries have not yet been encountered elsewhere; the Varta kalyanagupta is a new comer in the list of personages decorated with this title (sup, 11, 131). Three villages are met besides on the course: Gomibhudanco (12) Dhoreval-ganco (14) Kambilampra (20). Two large roads are crossed or skirted (Mahapatha, 16; vrhathanmarga 22). At last the Vagvati skirts a portion of the land to the south (12).

The particular stipulations of the concession (4-11) are expressed with an accuracy of details that decides on the ordinarily fairly vague formulary of Nepalese charts, they only have their counterpart to my knowledge in the inscription 13 of Bagvanlal dated 1 (4) 3. This inscription found at the Southern gate of the precinct of Pacupati is extremely mutilated especially in the passage that contains the stipulations (5-10); but the characters preserved suffice to warrant the perfect concordance of the two texts, in rectifying at times the readings of Bhagvanlal (5); na sarve vina, corr. na sarvetika (rtavy); hyaparaha, corr. maryado 'papamah; 9; bhayaca, corr. gapaca re 10; kalpatra corr kalatra. The village conceded is subject to the stipulations bearing on the persons or fortified places'' (carirakotamaryodopapanah 1.6). The same expression is again found in a charts of Civadeva year 119 (Bhag 12, 1.5, in which Bhag restores (payukta) instead of papannya), but in the translation of the Pundit I cannot follow which way he means this wording unless it is intended for 'including therein the ground the sky and the underground''; I admit that in this case the connection escapes. The inscription of the Chasal-tol dated in the year 137, also preserves a traces a this

wording (1.13; kottamaryad). The exclusion of the labour to proceed to a foreign country (1.7) bahirdecagamanadisaI vavistrahito) has for counterpart in the charts of Civadeva year 119 the obligation to supply five bearers yearly for the statute labour of Tibet. A few faults of special kind that undoubtedly necessitated in ordinary cases the intervention of the royal justice are drawn up to the benefit of the donees; the murder of a pregnant woman (7) abortive practices (7) are punished with a fine of one hundred (pa) nas; the ill treatment to a wounded animal, if it belongs to the bovine species is punished with a fine of three pana puranas (8). In short, in the case of one of the five mortal offences of theft of adultery of murder or complicity the royal justice has only claim on the culprit himself; all that belongs to him family and property passes into the hands of the clergy of the monastery of Civadeva.

The name of the king who grants the charts is mutilated; there only exists (3) the indifferent final syllable 'deva'; the traces that exist of the preceding characters sidetrack definitely the restitution introduced by Bhagvanlal in his inscription (1.3); the two aksaras cannot possibly be ci va. The most probable reading is to me Puspadeva but I dare not on the belief of an uncertain reading introduce in the history of Nepala a name that nothing warrants elsewhere. The other indications also sidetrack the conferring of this chart and of the similar chart (Bhag 13) to Civadeva. Civadeva resides in the palace of kailasakuta that has replaced the palace of Mañagrha since the accession of Amcuvarman. King... deva dates his charts from the palace of Bhadradhivasa; the change of palace usually denotes a dispute in the succession to the throne. King... deva flatters himself

undoubtedly of being the legitimate heir to power (ba) ppapadanudhyato 2), but by right of Licchavi. He is the 'standard of the Licchavi race' Licchavikulaketuh, 3) a title disappeared from usage since the accession of Amcuvarman and this return of the Licchavis to power is attested by his successor Jayadeva who brings back the origin of his race to the eponym Licchavi (Bhag 15, 6). This king... deva is further the first and so far the only one in the Nepalese series to take the title of 'paramamahcvara' "fervent worshipper of Civa" (1.2 and Bhag. 13.2) so frequent in the protocol of India proper in which it seems to date back to the Indo-Scythians. In short the conclusive formulary identical in the two twin charts (24-29-- Bhag 13, 29-35), differs from the other known charts; the traditional verses are inserted in it by means of the new form: Yato dharmacastrava canam (Bhag. 13. 34-35-29) ya to dha rmacastra. Altogether the chart of the yag bahal is from the same personage and the same epoch as the inscription 13 of Bhagvanlal dated samvat 143, the figure of the tens remaining uncertain; the Pundit admits that one can as well read 123 or 133.

Text

1. bhadradhivasabhavanad apratihatacasano
bhagavat
Pacupatibhattarakapadanugrhe
(etc., see pages 141, 142, 143, Nepal, Vol III
by S. Levi)

Translation

(of above text)

(1-4). From the palace of Bhadradhivasa. Nothing resists his orders; the holy Pacupati, worshipped sovereign has him for favourites; his adored father follows him in thought; the Licchavi race has him for embellishment; he is pre-eminently the devotee of Mahcvara, the sovereign above all, the king of kings;...

deva in good health addresses himself to all the heads of houses residing in the village of Gullatanga, notables foremost, and makes known to them; know this :

(5-11). This village (in the domain) of the holy Pacupati... for the performance, without any fraudulence of the labours compelled by the great canals and for the settling of orders for statute labour,—but with the entry prohibited to soldiers whether regulars or irregulars—is subject to the stipulations concerning persons and fortified places; all the corporal services are remitted to them; are remitted to them; heads of houses are exempt from all duty such as that which necessitates going to a foreign country, etc. In the case of murder of a pregnant woman or the suppression of the embryo, he will be let off with a fine of one hundred (pa) nas only; in the case of ill-treatments towards wounded animals of the bovine species a fine of three panapuranas will be imposed on him. In case of theft, adultery, murder or complicity etc. the five capital offences the person only of the guilty will be handed over to the royal officials; his house his fields his wives in short all his property will pass into the hands of the venerable clergy. These are the conditions under which we have conferred this village to the venerable clergy of monks of the four regions, in the Civadeva vihara.

(11-24) And here is the fixing of limits. To the North-East the pipe of the canal... of the convent; then by going to the south in the region of Gomibhudanco by skirting a portion of the course of the Vagvati the confluent of the streamlet; thence by proceeding to the North the junction of the Manadeva vihara and of the kharjurika vihara thence by proceeding to the west Dhorevalganco thence following a westerly direction on the side of the S. E. angle of the Madh Yama vihara by

proceeding to the North by the path of the causeway by continuing to skirt the - - - of the canal at the south-eastern angle of the field of kunala the great path; thence by continuing on the road in a northerly direction, the eastern wall of the Abhayarri eastern walls of the Varta Kalyanagupta vihara; thence by proceeding in a northerly direction the south eastern angle of the caturbhalankasana vihara: thence continuing to the North and to the West, in the north-western angle the great path by proceeding to the North East Kambilapra; thence by proceeding to the North—East the reservoir that receives the flow of the waters from the Raha vihara and the Indra Mulaka. thence by the North-East by skirting the causeway south of the garden south of the great path and by proceeding to the South—East, the path; thence by following

this road in a southerly direction the vihara in question; thence the pipe of the canal (24-29). In this concession the limits of which have been thus fixed if a matter ever arises concerning the interests of the venerable clergy, it will then devolve upon the supreme Tribunal (of the Rhone) to investigate into it. Let this be well understood. And nobody, whether he be of our own kind or of any other must nullify this favour we are conferring..... And he who will nullify this order personally or by instigating others we shall absolutely not tolerate him As to the kings to reign if they wish for virtuous happiness in this world they will have to remember that the favour conceded by a royal predecessor demands respect because the book of law says.

(To be Continued)



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साफल्य अमात्य

Editor
Shaphalya Amatya

Nepal

(Continued)

XXI. Inscription of Nangsal

Nangsal is a small locality due East of Kathmandu (see 11, 397). The stela that bears this inscription rises against a ridge that covers so they say the ruins of the temple of Narayana. It is very dilapidated and I have long despaired of deciphering it. The 52 lines that I have transcribed here cover a height of 0m, 85; but there still exist traces of 15 lines on the top and the text is also lengthened by a certain number of lines at the foot. The introductory and conclusive formularies have disappeared. The width of the stela is 0m, 35. The average height of the letters above the line is 0m, 005, The space between the lines is 0m, 01.

Compared with the inscriptions of Amcuvarman and Jisnugupta, the writing shows important changes. The general trend leans towards cursive writing; the sketch simplifies and shortens itself. P. ex. the ka joins its two transversal strokes by a curve and forms the loop that becomes its characteristic in devanagari. The dha reduces itself to an arc of a circle fixed on the left of the stem. The la contracts itself and stretches

its last dash to the left to bring it back towards the stem. The ya has definitively lost its three uprights and only differentiates from the pa by the oval as in devanagari. All these innovation are found again in the inscription of Jayadeva in Pacupati (Bh. 15) dated samvat 153 and are embodied in the inscriptions dated samvat 143 (B. 13) and 145 (Bh. 14). On the other hand, they are all manifested in India proper, with the inscription of Adityasena. We know that Civadeva the father and predecessor of Jayadeva had espoused the grand daughter of Adityasena. It is permissible to believe that the political relations opened by this alliance have exercised their influence on the orthography of the Nepalese chancellery.

The orthographical system of the inscription presents a striking peculiarity in the treatment of the silent after 'r'; the Licchavis before Amcuvarman redouble regularly in this case the silent. Amcuvarman does away altogether with the redoubling and the practice is maintained, vigorously so it appears up till the inscription of the year 145. With the inscription of Jayadeva the redoubling re-appears but without absolute

Nepal...

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vigour. He writes 'varnita, nirvvibandha, 1. 1; cakra vartti, 3 sarvvabhauma, 4, 16; patir jjatah, 8; dharmma, 9; kartta 11; hartta bhartta varmma, 12; vargga, 13; kurvvan, 16; kuryat, 32; pujartham, 29; sadbhir mukhaih, 27; nirvrtim, 29.

The inscription of Nangsal also hesitates between the two system. It redoubles with persistence in the words purvva and sarvva that are frequently met in it and does away with the redoubling with the same persistence in the word marga that appears several times. It writes on the one hand 'karya', 14; artha, 16, 23; dharmma, 27:- and on the other nirnnetr, 11; karttavya, 24.

These various indications for want of a precise date, then classify the inscription towards the reign of Jayadeva a little after the stela of Civadeva neighbouring it. Besides the stanza addressed to future kings (l. 27-28) is clearly on ordinary alteration of the stanza inserted at the end of the inscription of samvat 145, that has for dutaka "the heir-apparent Vijayadeva".

The document expresses a series of privileges conferred to the venerable samgha etc. (1-23); then come the threats and ordinary recommendations 23, 28; then breaking with the consecrated order, the fixing of limits to the privileged land. The details of this settling of boundaries already attest that over-scrupulous precision of the Nepalese land-surveyors that provoked even as late as the XIXth century the admiration of Hodgson. The discrepancies in the text do not allow the following of the capricious outline of the boundaries step by step; the general course can be easily followed from N. E. to N. W; namely over half the course. On this circuit, the limit meets or cuts across a monastery (Ajika vihara), a temple

(valasikkidevakūla) a large estate several villages and hamlets a large road (mahapatha) a road for vehicles (maharathya), several lanes (murga). It is a further testimony of the high degree of prosperity and of civilization which Nepal had attained. It is scarcely possible being given the state of the text, to give a corrected translation of the inscription. I believe it preferable to analyze it by translating the passages most preserved. The privileges conceded in the first portion consist essentially in the revenues supplied so it appears by special taxes. The total is estimated sometimes in panas (20. p. 1.8; 100p 1.9; 100 p. 15; 400 p. 1.8). Sometimes in panapuranas (l.114 pp. 1, 7; 10 pp, 1.12.6; pp- divipana, 1, 16 and 1.19; 3 pp., 1.17; 80 pp, 1.18 and 19; 5 pp 1,20; 1000pp., 1, 21). The pana and the purana are well known; the pana is the monetary unit of copper; the purana that of silver; Both these units are mentioned in our inscriptions especially in the inscription of Amcucarman samvat 30. But the expression panapurana is altogether unknown to me. The compound is not formed by juxtaposition in the meaning of pana purana since there are values superior to 16, as much as 1000 panapuranas. 1000 panas at 16 panas to the purana, would give 62 puranas. Perhaps it is meant to clearly specify the value of the purana, the purana of 16 panas worth and to prevent misleading with the designation of purana applied to ancient coins, especially to the punch-coins oblong-shaped. The wording of line 11; as panatrayena puranatrayanm stated as a juridical decision (iti nirnnetrvyavaharatas) was perhaps of a kind to procure the elements of solution; but the necessary context is missing.

The especial taxes established in favour

of the beneficiaries of the charts are collected on the occasion of various circumstances which is always difficult to define even when the text can be deciphered with a fair amount of facility; p. ex in line 8, the 20 panas attributed to the witnesses (saksin) who are vetropasthita at the time of the pradraya ghattana; then the case of agreement (sampratipatti) is foreseen. L. 11 sqq., it is well a matter of judicial affairs and of proportion to establish 'the pana to the purana' as we say 'the franc to the mark'. The silver or the object which causes the litigation must be remitted to the competent authority, otherwise the affair must be removed to the royal tribunal. The death of a pregnant woman gives rise to payment of 100 panas; a suicide also compels the intervention of justice that always demands payment for its trouble. The taxes that follow appear to be connected with the processions of chariots which hold such an important place in the religious life of Nepal. The expression *prada ratha* "chariot with a platform" would suit admirably those construction erected on wheels of which plate 11 of the first volume shows an excellent specimen. A payment of *panapurana* is established for 'the painting of the chariot'; thus it is that I find it necessary to translate the word *citrana* which is omitted in dictionaries. Another payment of an equal sum for the *rathottolana* which may be the erection of the timber work of the chariot and for the *prasadasamskara* "the installation of the highest platform" 6 *panpurana* with 1 double pana (*dvipana*) for the *celakara*. He who made the clothings probably of the dolls installed on the chariot. Two of these payments one of 80 *panapurana* (1-18) the other of 100 (1020) are yearly (*prativarsam*).

The ordinary personage ordinarily

designated on the occasion of these taxes is the *dauvarika* literally 'the man of the gate' (l. 3. 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20). In reality it concerns several *dauvarikas*, since they are distinguished by titles attached to their employments. *Sri paradauvarika* (17) *Vetradauvarika* (18) *Manadauvarika* (20). In line 3 which is mutilated the mention of the *dauvarika* is immediately followed by the expression of *yathacastranugata* acting in agreement with the castras which seems well to mark the administrative character of this official. It is him who must be advised (*avedaniya*, 1.4 *avedya*, 1, 16) in case of irregularity or accident and it is by his intermediary that the case is removed, should there be cause for it, before the supreme jurisdiction (*crimatpadiyattarasana - karane yathamasa repaniyah*, 1.14 15). In case of suicide he receives a report aiming at the purification of the dead person (*mrtacodhana*; perhaps the investigation of the dead person) and must proceed there forthwith on the scene; 6 *panapurana* with 1 double pana are given to him for his trouble. It is him again who collects the various taxes on the chariot of procession.

The *dauvarika* is not an unknown official. The *panca tantra* (111, 50 ed. Bombay following the verse 69) ranks him with the elite of the officers of the crown the *tirtbas* immediately following the minister (*mantrin*) of the chaplain (*purohita*), of the general-in-chief (*camupati*) and of the heir apparent (*yuvaraja*). He appears on the same rank and after the same personages in a text of *Niticastra* cited by Nilakantha on the *Maha-Bharata* 11, 168, and also in the commentary on verse 11, 100, 36 of the *Ramayana* (Bombay ed). This classification

reappears this time with the appearance of a real and official datum in the formulary of charts of Rajaraja I the eastern Calukya, dated in 1053 J. C. (Nandamapundi grant, 1.67) mantripurohita-senapatiyuvaraja-dauvarika pradhana smakasam ittham ajnapayeti. The dauvarika is also named in the Mahavyutapatti 186 No 68, in the course of a long and curious list of royal officers side by side and following the dvarapala. The function of the dauvarika in court is clearly indicated in Cakuntala; act 11. It is him who answers to the kings call protesting; Stop someone he who announces and who introduces the general, then the two new ascetics to the king. It must be noted that he does not speak Sanscrit as the bufoon and Raghavabhatta observes regarding it; the subordinate personages speaks Pracrit" (nicesu prakrtem bhavet ity ukter dauvarikasya prakrtam pathyam). The post was then worth a post of trust but it was not filled by a noblemen. The titular was nevertheless fairly high sounding; rajadauvarika in the services not of the king himself, but of his favourite brother, founds a temple of Visnu and establishes thither a grammarian of renown for vyakhyatar (Raja-tarangini V. 28).

One could be tempted to attribute here to the dauvarika another work quite different. The Rajatarangini often mentions "the chief (adhipa, icvar and other synonyms) of the gate (dvara) and M. Stein has established by a bright discussion (note on V 214) that it is

not a question of a great chamberlain", as was translated before him but that it concerned the officer entrusted with guarding the passes that lead into Cashmere. The geographical conditions being analogous, in Nepal the dauvarika would be able to exercise a work of the same kind. But the inscription of Amcuvarman, year 30 seems well to exclude this interpretation. Among the numerous liberalities which it institutes in favour of the people of the palace it attributes a sum of 1 purana 4 panas to each one of the gates (dvara) western gate (paccimadvara), gate of Managrha (Managrhadvara), central gate (madhyamadvara), northern gate (uttaradvara) southern gate (daksinadvara) and probably the eastern gate (pracinadvara) in short the great gate (paratoli). Among the dauvarikas of the inscription of Nangsal figures the Mana dauvarika which appears difficult to separate from the Managrhadvara mentioned by Amcuvarman. It is not improbable that the official appointed to each one of these gates could have had in his jurisdiction the adjoining district. The inscription of Nangsal names the district of the East (cripurvvdhikarana, 1.2) and the inscription of Amcuvarman year 39, names the district of the west (paccimadhikarana, 1.5). After the texts granted to the dauvarikas the charts mention another privilege. A certain number of villages (grama), some designated by indigenous names and formed undoubtedly spontaneously others grouped around the temples the

Footnote to pages 151 and 152, 'Nepal', Vol. III by S. Levi.

1. The role of the dauvarika in the Jataka (Richard Fick, Die Sociale Gliederung in Nordostlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zoeit..... Kiel, 1897 p. 101 sq) is fairly modest humble. He expels with a stick the pariahs who had entered the palace and is boxed himself by the king when he passes before him. He guards the gate of the town, which he is obliged to close at night and informs the strangers when they enter the town.

Manevara the Sambapura already mentioned in the inscription of Amcuvarman, year 32 (1, 12 and 13) are promoted to the rank of dranga. The word dranga is wanting in the Amarokoca: Hemacandra gives it (971) among the synonyms of nagari town; but Vacaspati (cited by the scholiast on this verse, ed. Bohlting) ranks the dranga below the karvata and above the pattana... Stein (on the Rajatarangini, 11, 291) establishes that in the Cashmerian chronicle at least dranga designates a 'guard-house erected near the mountain passes to prevent access into the valley and to collect customs duties, and he cites a commentator to the Makhakoca who explains dranga by raksasthana. The inscriptions frequently mention in the list of officials to whom the king addresses the drangika 'chiefs of military posts'. In any case the promotion of a 'grama' to the rank of 'dranga' is a royal favour (prasadikrtam, 1.22).

The chart thus concludes the list of grants (1.22-28) such are the various favours conferred to the Buddhist and other communities. Knowing what it is about the competent officials entrusted with the above stated precepts must not under the plea of exercising their functions, even attempt in thought to violate these conceded privileges. Let this be understood... if they act otherwise, I shall let fall on the culprit the whole weight of my sceptre. And the kings to come, pre-eminently protectors of the privileges conferred by their predecessor if they wish to safeguard the happiness of their subjects they must also not allow any transgression. And it is said in connection with the duty to protect the grants :

"The princes whose conduct can be compared to the purity of the rays of the star

of frigid splendour who protect their subjects as it is lawful and who maintain the legal institutions founded by the ancient sovereigns, these princes, after having enjoyed royal sway illuminated by the crowd of vanquished enemies live firmly in the blessedness of heaven as much honored and as powerful as Cakra."

Text.

- 1nasa.....'mandana' panapurana kamavyaka.....
- 2..... lakonssya cripurvadhikarana
- 3..... 'parodanavarikenapi yathacastranu-
'gata.....

(etc. see pages 154, 155, 156, 157) 'Nepal', Volume III by S. Levi, Note on the two plates added to the first volume.

The two plates I have shown at the end of the first volume : 'The Procession of Matsyendra Natha' and 'The Sacred Legend of Nepal' reproduce two of the pieces of the collection of B. H. Hodgson in the library of the Institute of France. This collection mentioned by a memorandum of Barthelemy Saint-Milaire in the (newspaper) journal of the learned in 1863, has been carefully studied and catalogued by M. Foncher (Memorials presented by various savants to the Academy of Inscriptions and Polite-Literature, 1st series, tome XI, 1st part 1897). The sacred legend bears the No. 5 Nep init. It is a large roll of cloth of about 1m, 85in. height by 2m, 15in. width sectioned, in six strips of about 0m, 25in. height the white spaces between these strips are filled with numbered inscriptions and corresponding at first as in the pictures of Epinal to the scenes represented above them beginning from the space in the middle

sometimes to those above sometimes to those below; numbers serve us as guides besides to that effect. Let us observe again, beginning from the second band, inscriptions on the very scenes or in the margin; they are all in Sanscrit strictly mixed or tinged with Nevari. The scenes that are unfolded are painted in bright colours and well preserved, save on the left edge of the painting (Foncher).

Mr. Foncher has given a summary list of the scenes represented; its numbers as one can ascertain do not agree with those of mine. He has faithfully followed the original in his disorder; I have thought it pregerable to establish a continuous series. For the description of the scenes, I had at my disposal, apart from the memoranda traced on the bands two wordings expounded-composed by Pundits on the request of Hodgson, one of them written by an unlikely Sanscrit, stranger to the most elementary rules of grammar; the other in Hindustani almost identical to the notes on the scenes. They are both closely related without however copying each other. The wording in Hindustani is strictly divided in portions corresponding to the numbered strips of the painting; the Sanscrit indicates the divisions only accidentally; but as the account in it is in general more developed, I have taken it for base, by completing it or by elucidating it, as occasion offers, with Hindustani.

The painting as the two attached accounts expressly indicate is a continuous illustration of the Svayambhupurana, or more correctly of the Svayambhuva purana as is expressly shown by the title; M. Foncher had well understood that this painting could throw some light on the question of the various

recensions of the Purana. The painter has in fact based his illustration on the Sanscrit recension still unpublished and the worth of which I have mentioned (1, 208 and 212, notes). He has for instance developed with complaisance the adventure of kotikarna (Nos. 75-80) which the Svayambhuva relates in connection with the cintamani tirtha and which is altogether wanting in the Vrhat-Svayambhu-p of the 'Bibliotheca Indica'. The work is indisputably recent and has undoubtedly been executed for Hodgson during his sojourn in Nepal; but it is probable that it reproduces a known model and obviously more ancient; temples and monasteries possess scenes of this kind which often recall their foundation and the miracle which promoted it; these scenes are hung outside on certain feast days on the occasion of processions. These paintings are then like the continuation of ancient Nepalese miniatures which M. Foncher has studied with so much authority and competence; even here on the domain of archaeology and of art there appears the characteristic interest of Nepal; we find in it a continuous series so rare in India and scattered over a length of more than a thousand years. We find a millennium and a half from the bass-relief of Lajanpat to the paintings and sculptures of the contemporary artists.

I have not been able to undertake the study of the composition or of the details; competency would be wanting. But I do not doubt that an archaeologist qualified at the head of decisive informations on the origin of Nepalese art, on the influences it has been subject to on those also it has exercised as much to the North as to the South of the Himalayas. The hamsas who inhabit heaven

remind too well the cranes of Chinese and Japanese art not to impose a comparison; the appearance of the horse harnessed or ridden is a precious indication, as well as the treatment of the elephant. Besides among the scenes are represented jatakas and avadanas (Manicuda), Mahakapi, Virupa kotikarna, which can procure expressions of precise comparison. I am pleased to believe that the sacred legend of Nepal will be a document of positive worth in the hands of archaeologists.

The procession of Matsyendra Natha is arranged 6 Nep. It is a pen sketch skillfully designed besides on cloth and measuring a length of 2m.85 by a height of about a metre. It is especially interesting from an architectural and picturesque point of view representing a procession around the walls of a town (Foncher). I have already mentioned (11,44 sq) the religious importance of the Matsyendra Natha yatra. The explanatory note the translation of which I give is written in barbarous Sanscrit.

The sacred legend of Nepal
(explanatory note translated from the Sanscrit)

1. (Image of Ganeca). The omnipotent who has published the good law in the three worlds the great Buddha mass of splendour, I adore him and I take my refuge in him.

Having worshipped the lord of the three worlds the principle of principles, receptacle of the Buddhas, I shall proceed to enunciate the summary of the Svayambhuvapurana. Listen with respect. He who listens with faith to this account of the origin of Svayambhu will have the three bodies purified and he will certainly become a Bodhisattva.

2. This is how it happened once upon a time; a sage a son of the Sugata named Jayacri lived in the monastery of Bōdhi-

manda (at Gaya) with a band of monks. A Bodhisattva named Jinacri, a king came there with a feeling of devotion to take shelter and requested Jayacri's help. Wearing a tunic, and with his hands joined, he went to find him knelt on the ground and fixing his eyes on him, said; Venerable I wish to hear the story of the origin of Svayambhu;

I pray that your Holiness may instruct me. Then the son of the Sugata Jayacri, solicited in these terms, bowed to this great prince and taught him.

3. In the kukutarma in a sitting posture, Upagupta in whom was incarnated in part, the Buddha greeting king Acoka taught him this. Brhima Chakra and all the gods scattered to the ten points of space and who had come from the eighteen lakhs of worlds to all of them he taught the excellent law and the origin of Svayambhu.

4. Bhagvat dwelt in the park of Jeti with a band of monks, worshipping him like a block of splendour and Ananda addressed him these words: Bhagvat, I wish to hear about the holiness of Nepal Bhagvat said; Ananda, I have already saved the people of Pataliputra and other towns; to-day I shall save the people of Nepal and visit Svayambhu; we all go to Nepal.

5. The lion of Cakyas the saint began his journey to Nepal; Ananda and the other bhiksus riding on their animals; lion, etc... arrived thither. As to Bhagvat he proceeded on foot. Then the Naga Cesa came to find him and addressed him this request; Bhagvat, Oh you who shines by your own splendour get on my back. Long live the Buddha I also I am going thither. He then took him on his back and proceeded on his way.

6. On reaching Mount Sahmengu a

monkey named Dharmakara offered as a present to Caksimha and the bhiksus a panasa fruit.

7. Then Cakasimba, the saint having reached the chaitya of Puchargra, wished for a Dharmasana (seat for the law); then Vicvakarmana. The Bhagavat shows marvelously; he was red in colour; on his unique face, his eyes became like lotus leaves; his hair, curled on the right, was dark; on his cra-nium (usmsa) there shown a gold tuft; the fingers of his two hands represented the mystical signs (mudra); he was clad in yellow garments (kasaya); the thirty-two signs and the eighty marks shone on him the rays emanating from the hairs of his body spread a refulgence. The gods, Indra, Brahma, etc. and the monks, Ananda, etc. and all the people of Nepal assembled in the chaitya of Puchagra and formed thither an assembly. And he taught them the Svayambhu-Purana and the holiness of Nepal.

8. In Nepal there is a tank of a length and width of four kos; it is the residence of the Naga Karkotaka; he is called Dhanadaha.

9. Then on mount Jata matrocca a Buddha named Vipacvi appeared; the light he spread around shone; he threw into this tank a grain of lotus mystically consecrated. Afterwards he declared in the days to come, Svayambhu will spontaneously take birth in this tank; in those days the mountain will be called Jata matrocca.

10. And afterwards the saint with the name of Cikhim surrounded by monks mediated on the mountain named Dhyana matrocca; He paid regular honours to Svayambhu visited him penetrated into the shallow water, touched the stem of the lotus and fell insensible with its rays.

11. And afterwards the saint named Vicvabhu dwelt on mount Phullocca and spread on svayambhu who was all light one hundred thousand pots of durva herd, visited him and made the circuit from the right.

12. The goddess Vasundhara who dwells on mount Phullocca made flow by her power the river Prabhavati and the river Godavari and the Godavari dhara.

13. The Bodhista Manjucri was dwelling on the mount with the Five summits (Pancacirsa); he has a unique face the colour of saffron and four arms that carry the sword the arrow the book the bow. Engrossed in contemplation that bears the name of Review of the world (lokasamdarccna) he became aware of the birth of Svayambhu. I am going to see Svayambhu, he solitoquised; in company with Varada and Moksada, his divine spouses he proceeded on his way to Nepal.

14. He reached the edge of the tank; then from mountain to mountain from bank to bank he performed the circuit from the right three times he visited svayambhu.

15. Then settling himself on the right of the tank on mount kapotala he split the mountain with his sword Candrahasa and opened an outlet to the water. Wherever an obstacle stood in the way he removed it; and the water flowing down freely joined the Ganges and then the sea and sanctified it.

16. Then Karkotaka with those around him cried out; I cannot, however, depart with the water, and very soon, he went in search of Manjucri detaining the Nagas in the meanwhile and he told him everything. The Nagas were crying out; what are we to do? without water, the Naga loses all if we have no more dwellings how are we to remain?

17-18. The Manjucri showed them the stem of the lotus of Svayambhu that came from Guhyecvari. Then he collected all the riches that were found in the water on mount Sahmyangu, threw them in the tank of Dhanabrada and installed karkotaka thereby giving him three handfulls of water. This is the source of the famous name of Dhandaha. The goddess Guhyecvari khaganana manifested herself in the month of margacirsa, clear fortnight, ninth tithi.

19. She has the colour of saffron nine faces, three eyes for each face, eighteen arms; her first two arms hold the bindu and the patra; the second ones, the drum and the bludgeon, the third ones, the sword and shield, the fourth ones, the arrow and quiver; the fifth ones the disc and the bludgeon, the sixth ones, the hook...; the seventh ones, the thunderbolt and the knot, the eight ones, the trident and the pestle; the ninth ones, perform the gesture of favour and of security. She wears a resplendent diadem set with all kinds of precious stone and made of gold; she wears precious stones to her ear-rings. Her tunic is checkered; her necklace is made of skulls; her body is aglow with flames; she is on the back of a lion; in a position called pratyaldha.

20. Then Manjucri founded the town of Manjupattava and he anointed as king of that town a king named Dharmakara, saying to him; keep your subjects and your kingdom according to the law.

21. King Dharmakara worshipped Svayambhu who manifests himself in the flame and Guhyecvari who manifests herself in the water.

22. Manjucri after having told the future Dharmakara and to the monks and disciples; disappeared at the eastern gate of Svayambhu.

The monks erected there a caitya dedicated to Manjucri. This is what they name the Manjucri caitya.

23. And afterwards in the town of Ksamavati in the monastery of Ksamakara, the saint Krakucchanda was in a hall, where he taught the good law to the king of Saketa. Dharmapala, to the Brahman Gunadhvaja to the kstrya Abhayandada and to others. Now the saint the master, Krakucchanda wished for the good of the world to propagate the good law throughout the countries. Accompanied by bands of monks spreading everywhere benediction and wisdoms the master went everywhere teaching the law. Let all those he would say who in the cycle of transmigrations aspire to blessedness leave this world and follow the law of Buddha. Thus taught by the price of sages, o prince of men. The hearers, noble beings wished to become monks. And then Gunadhvaja and other Brahmans to the number of four hundred and Abhayandada and other kstryas to the number of three hundred and other noble beings Vaicyas and kudras the kudras the mind made serene by faith desired to become monks. If you wish he said to them to become monks in the law of the Sugatas, practise the rites pertaining to monks according to the Sugatas. On these wordings he touches their heads with his hands and he solemnly introduced them in the law of the sugatas. Then they let fall their hair, clad themselves in reddish tatters, took the rod and the wooden bowl and became monks.

24. In order to anoint them the Buddha Krakucchanda ascended mount Cainkha and from his word was born a very pure water (The Vagvati).

25. Half the hair of their heads shaved off remained on the rock, the other half

thrown away, gave birth to the river Kevati. He made use of this water for the anointing.

26. In the town of Saketa there lived king Brahmadata; his minister was named Subahu; the royal spouse Kantimati; the chaplain, Brahmaratha.

27. Well now queen Kantimati left her house to go in the forest. As Kantimati had become pregnant one hundred and twenty measures of gold were given away as alms. Kantimati remained in the house with her lady-friend who nursed her.

28. Brahmadata miraculously obtained the water which had washed prince Manicuda and his precious stones (mani) a quantity of gold which he distributed to the poor. Certain Gandharvas brought to prince Manicuda a garland of marvellous flowers. Manicuda learnt to read and write.

29. Manicuda had received from king Brahmadata an elephant named Bhadragiri and a horse named Ajaneya that assured every success; he did not however wish to give it away.

30. A rsi named Bhavabhuti dwelt in the Himalayas; he found on a lotus, a girl newly born whom he named Padmavati.

The rsi Bhavabhuti in order to bring about a wedding spoke of the merits of Manicuda to Padmavati; He is energetic, virtuous, learned, rich, wed him.... Let it be so she answered.

31-34. Then the rsi goes alone in search of Manicuda and lays his request before him. You love to give you are powerful. Well now I am asking you something, give it to me. He then speaks to him of Padmavati. Thereupon Padmavati is sent for by the rsi Valhika and in the town of Saketa she is made over by him to the queen-mother Kantimati. And the

queen-mother in her turn makes her over to her son Manicuda.

35. The marriage is celebrated according to the rites.

36. Then mounting a chariot pulled by a horse. Manicuda Padmavati, Rayanavati the rsi Vahlhika depart for the town of Saketa. The whole town is having a holiday.

37-38. Then king Brahmadata, surrounded by his chaplain and his ministers has his son Manicuda anointed king. Soon Padmavati became pregnant; the period attained she gave birth to a son, prince Padmattara. Her lady-friends nurse her. Then the two royal husbands Brahmadata and Kantimati seclude themselves as hermits in a forest.

39. Manicuda once king compels the observance of the holy practices of the Astami in his capital and all over his kingdom; he has built a charity hall and distributes alms he governs according to justice. In company with Padmavati and of Rayanavati, he honours the Pratyekabuddhas and the brotherhood of monks. At that time the four gods inspectors of the world pass overhead above the palace and are prevented from proceeding any further.

40-41. All four; Brahma Rudra Visnu Jama go and make a report to Cakra. Cakra said to them; it is the strength of report to Cakra. Cakra said to them; it is the strength of his ascetism that prevents you from going further.

In those days king Manicuda calls his chaplain Brahmaratha and tells him to prepare the Nirargada sacrifice. Cakra transforms himself as Raksasa and comes out of the altar

under this aspect; he devours the flesh and blood of Manicuda; then once the sacrifice completed, he cures his wounds.

42. Then king Manicuda gives in to the rsi Bhavabhuti the beneficial fruit of the sacrifice which he offered.

43-44. One day king Duhprasaha sends a messenger to Manicuda to ask him for the return of the elephant Bhadragiri. And if I do not return it.- If you do not return it we shall wage war. Here we go let us equip ourselves and the army of Duhprasaha invested the town of Saketa.

45-46. The rsi Valhika comes to ask Manicuda to give him as a gift the prince Padmattara and the queen Padmavati in order to pay his fees to his master the rsi Marica. Manicuda grants him all he wishes. Later, Manicuda proceeded to the hermitage of Marica, requested and obtained the restitution of the prince and the queen whom he brought back to his palace and anointed Padmattara.

47. Padmattara once crowned king, king Duhprasaha fought him a great battle in which many soldiers of Duhprasaha perished.

48. A few days after Manicuda had an interview with the rsi Gautama. Oh king said the rsi why do you live here in forest .. the reason for this is that I wish to obtain the bodhi. The rsi Gautama said; How to reach the Bodhi ? where to take a bath ? to whom pay a worship ?

49-50. Manicuda than uttered the nine Ma which are; 1st mount Manicuda, 2nd the tank Maniadaga; 3rd the Manicaitya; 4th, Maniyogini; 5th the Manianga; 6th the Manidhara; 7th the Mahakala; 8th the Manilinga; the Manirohini.

51-52. once Indra metamorphosed as a Brahman came to ask Manicuda the precious

stone of his skull. Manicuda replied to him to do so. They must be washed before removal; thus their brilliancy took the form of Crivatsa and penetrated the linga named Manilingecvara. No sooner were the precious stones removed then they appeared again. Indra and the gods and the rsis Bhavabhuti and Gautama are quite non-plussed. The blood that flowed from the wound formed a river.

53. Everybody returns to Saketa.

54. Padmattara is anointed king; Manicuda retires in the forest with Padmavati; both practise ascetism. By the might of their strictness Manicuda and Padmavati live in the Dharmamegha world.

55. One day the king of the Pancala Vrsakarna has an altercation with his son Gokarna; he hunts him out of the palace. Gokarna becomes an ascetic on the banks of the Bagmati.

56. Once Gokarna proceeds to the locality of Gokarna to offer funeral gifts; thereby he pulls out from hell king Vrsakarna ... prince Gokarna, very afflicted sees in a cloud Padmapani Lokcvara residing at Sukavati speaking to Gaganaganga and heard him saying. Hear you, Gaganaganga Bodhisattva. Go to Pancala take thither prince Gokarna and return..... At the order of the the Arya Avalokitecvara. the Bodhisattva Gaganaganga gets on the back of lion, goes and takes prince Gokarna in Pancala and returns to Sukhavati. It is the famous linga of Gokarna. Now, once, when Vrsakarna and his people held a council and they anointed Gokarna. And Gokarna governed the country of Pancala according to justice (justly).

57. In the course of times a Nagaraja named Kulika, angered, swore to fill up Nepal with water, thereupon beginning from the

river Kanciki all the Nagas came out from the Nagaloka, entered Nepal and flooded her. The creatures began to moan. Arya Avalokitecvara who dwells in Sukhavati sent Samantabhadra who pierced the body of Kulika with the famous linga of Kilecvara; it is mount Carugiri.

58. An Acarya of Manjupura named Sarvapada, in possession of the sex magics; pride excited him to anger and he beat his servants; than, frightened of himself seized with madness he began wandering carrying with him an earthen pot, reaching the banks of the Bagmati, he laid down his pot began his magical operations. Avalokitecvara then sent the Bodhisattva vajrapani. This is the Kumbhecvara. Erection of the caitya.

59-60. A sage from the country of Pancala, Buddhipada had a son, Manjugarta who was absolutely an idiot. Buddhipada found himself incapable of instructing him and sent him to Nepal to worship Manjuceri. On reaching the mountain of the south, he met a pretty girl who was looking after a plantation of sugar-canes and began to amuse himself with her. He was almost lost; but the god Manjuceri taking pity hastened towards Manjugarta; he touched his head with his hand saying. Become good and by the effect of this benediction Manjugarta became a poet, he began to sing a hymn before Manjuceri. From this originated the famous linga of Manjugartecvара.

61. A master of Odiyana, dwelling on mount Gaganaksepa requests the favours of the cow of plenty; he makes a sacrifice in which he offers fish and meat. The cow gives him her marvellous milk; he makes use of it for an oblation. Then the yogini Gaganakespa grants him a favour. This is the origin of the

famous Phanikecvara linga. The Bodhisattva Sarvanivaranaviskambin in the form of a fish.

62. The same master of Odiyana, in order to ascertain the power of the eight magical forces, settles himself on the banks of the Bagmati, on the skin of an elephant and begins his charms. Ganeca who had come to amuse herself in the waters of the Bagmati, gets angry at the sight of a magician sitting on the skin of elephant; he calls to his aid the Putanas and Kataputanas and he throws the evil spell over him. Then the master of Odiyana calls Sadaksari to his help; she brings with her the Dacakrodhas and Ganeca allows himself to be moved. Then the Lokecvara, Ananda, etc., found on mount Kacchapa the famous linga of Gandhecvara.

63. After this another day the master of Odiyana having passed by the banks of the Bagmati in the neighbourhood of Svayambhu, blows there the conch, he deposits his conch at the spot called Vikramasthala, and enters into a magical meditation. Then Arya Avalokitecvara who resides at Sukhavati, calls the Bodhisattva Khagarbha and says to him; Hear you Bodhisattva Khagarbha go to the place named Vikramasthala. You will see there the master of Odiyana in magical ecstasy; watch over him by installing an emblem in the form of a conch. Erect a linga that will be as famous as the Vikramecvara. At this, order Khagarbha Bodhisattva resides on a lion and proceeds to Vikramasthala. At the same time Garuda is entrapped in the knots of a naga; he immediately calls Visnu in his mind who hastened to help him out of the knots of the naga. This was the moment when the Bodhisattva Khargarbha had just arrived. Ah said Visnu what luck, and I am glad to see you and he pays him homage and respect—

fully turns to his right. It is you who teaches me the good law climb on my shoulders. This is the origin of the famous Haribarihavahana.

64. Paramecvara and Parvati entertain each other on the confluence of the Bagmati and the Manimati; they practise penance at the place; by the power of the penance Guhyecvari who is pleased, grants them a favour from heaven.

65-66. One bright day, a shepherd on the lookout for a cow rambled from mountain to mountain. He sees a tintini tree and wishes to climb the tree to eat a fruit; but he falls back to earth. A monkey named Kaporaja sees his fall hastens and takes him on his shoulders. In return the shepherd kills the monkey with a stone; in retribution for his fault he is smitten with leprosy; he now becomes all pus, congealed blood and began smelling. His wife and his parents expel him from the house. He wanders about like a vagabond. The king of the Pancala, Vrsakarna meets him; he supplies him with a nag, some money and persuades him to go and make penance at the confluence of Bagmati and the Manimati. The shepherd remains there twelve years; then he dies and goes straight to heaven.

67. In the town of Bandhumati there lived the wealthy merchant Varna; his wife, Varnalaksmi became pregnant and gave birth to a child. The merchant Varna departed with five hundred other merchants to the country of jewels.

68. Varnalaksmi remaining in the house handed her child a wooden bowl and sent him out to beg his food; the people broke his bowl and then sent him back with insults, so great was his ugliness. The poor disgraced man began to make penance at the tirtha and by the strength of his penance he began very

handsome. His father who had searched for him everywhere without finding him discovers him at the tirtha and brings him back to town. Precisely at that time there was no king in the country and the ministers have summoned the people to deliberate thereon.

69-71. At that very moment the handsome young man arrives; he is placed on the back of an elephant and the people decide to crown him king. At the favourable moment indicated by the astrologers he receives the royal anointing. He reigns in the name of Maha Sundara, practises justice and lives happy.

72. A king spends his day aimlessly killing the unfortunate gazelles, later in another world, he becomes a gazelle and under that transformation he is killed by a hunter at the tirtha.

73. Then again in another existence the gazelle is a tiger, the hunter a wild-boar; both meet each other at the Manoratha-tirtha; the tiger receives a blow from the snout of the wild boar, he dies in consequence; the wild boar also dies. Both go straight to heaven for having died at the tirtha.

74. And after this there lived a learned man named Vajrapada in the country of Pancala; he knew perfectly all that concerned astronomy, medicine dialectics and all other sciences in general. And yet he could not manage to win himself a reputation. He asked himself how he could best manage it. He proceeded to the confluence of the Kevati and the Bhadranaadi where is situated the Nirmala tirtha; he took a bath there and brought leaves of the acvattha daily practised penance in the graveyard. A Vidyadhari took him in her favour came to visit him daily and he attained glory.

In the village of Vasavagrama, there

lived an eminent personage named Sena who was as wealthy as Kubera. Yet, through his faults, he tilled the earth. He had a son named Kotikarna who said to him everyday; do not till the earth. But he paid no heed to him and continued to till the ground. The father said to the young man; You better start business and strive to earn thousands and hundreds, and he sent his son to carry on traffic. Kotikarna the trader, went and sought his mother and said to her; My mother, I am going to trade. Answer me. She did not reply to him. He then spoke very strongly to her.

76. He proceeded on his journey in a vehicle and an ass. His companions followed him. But in returning as a punishment for having abused his mother he lost his caravan and remained alone.

77. He came to an iron town and asked the gatekeepers three times for water, but they gave him none. Furious he entered the town and kept five hundred Pretas who asked him for water. He fled.

78. And he reached a second iron town and he asked for water twice and five times; but the gatekeepers did not even listen to him. Furious, he entered the town and met fifteen Pretas who said to him; for twelve years we have not even heard the name of water we are dying of thirst; give us water and he fled. And after this, at evening time, four Apsaras came driving in a celestial chariot. The gate-keeper amused himself with them all night then at dawn they alighted four dogs from the chariot and gave them to him to eat. Kotikarna remained looking motionless.

79. On returning from the world Kotikarna the merchant came quite close to Vasvagrama. He saw a temple and respectfully turned to his right. He saw something written;

he looked; and it was his name. He began to ponder and soliloquished; I shall become a monk. And he went in search of the bhiksu Katyayana.

80. On the order of the bhiksu Katyayana he entered his native town, published what he had seen in the other world, bathed in the Cintamani tirtha made funeral offering heard the voice of his father and mother, practised penance at the Cintamani tirtha became bhiksu and obtained deliverance. The Cintamani tirtha is at the confluence of the Bagmati and the Kecavati.

81. The Daitya Danasura having plundered treasures and jewels from the world of the Nagas carried them to the current of a river, This is the origin of the river Ratnavati. Her confluence with the Bagmati forms the Pramoda tirtha. (after this comes the lower band without any marked divisions).

The tirtha Sulaksna at the confluence of the Carumati and the Bagmati. A man who has not the good marks obtains them if he does penance there.

A daughter of Daitya by the effect of the anger of a Daitya and by a desire of getting a son practised penance on the banks of the Bagmati. The goddess Vasundhara satisfied manifested herself before her. This is the origin of the Prabhavati. Her confluence with the Bagmati is the Jaya tirtha.

By the virtue of the Jaya tirtha, the Daitya Bala obtained the Empire of the three worlds; he obtained the elephant Airavata as a riding animal.

Then appear the names of tirthas; Analinga tirtha... Manicila... Godavari..... Nadikostha... Mata... Matsyamukha... Nuti... Navalinga... Agastya... Kagecvara Tecapa...

Vagivara Tara... Aryatara... Kali... Ananta...
Anantanaga... Sahasra Sundari... Agastya...
Kapotalo.

On mount Kapotala the Compassionate
(Karunamaya) and two Nagas.

Then come the eight Cmacanas of Nepal
with their divinities.

1. Asitanga Bhairava. Brahamayam,
Kacchapapada. The Candogracmacana.
2. Krodha Bhairava, Kumari Cavarapada.
The Gahvaracmacana
3. Rurn Bhairava, Indrayani Virypaksapada.
The Jvalamakulacmacana.
4. Kapala Bhairava Varahi Varuna Naga,
Krkalasapada. The Kalankacmacana.
5. Ummattta Bhairava Vaisnavi Carpatipada.
The Ghorandhakacmacana.
6. Samhara Bhairava Camunda. The
Laksmivarnacmacana.
7. Cukra Bhairava Mahesvari Nagaripada.
The Kilakilocmacana.
8. Bhisana Bhairava Mahalaksmi Kukkuripada.
The Attattahasacmacana.
Kanakamuni in the Cobhitarama vihara.
His caitya with worshippers.

In Benares in the large convent of
Vikramacila Dharmacri mitra comments upon
the Namasanegiti; but he cannot succeed in
interpreting the twelve syllables. He then goes
to interview Manjuceri on mount Pancacirsa in
the Mabacina. When I will have obtained
from him the interpretation of the Twelve
syllables he said, I shall return. He thereupon
proceeds to mount Pancacirsa; arrives in
Nepal. Manjuceri, seized with compassion
came in front of him tilling the ground with
a lion and a tiger. Dharmacri mitra looks at
him and asks him; What distance from here
to the mountain of Mahacina; the peasant

replies to him; it is too late to continue this
evening, night is approaching. Remain with
me, I shall show you the way. He takes him
to his house, instructs him on the way, gives
him to eat the five dishes of ambrosia.
Dharmacri mitra soliloquises. Tigers and lions
are not domesticated. This must be some
holy personage here and he falls asleep on his
seat. The peasant had retired to his sleeping
room; suddenly a voice is heard; Manjuceri
replies; Varada, my dearest it is Dharmacri
mitra of the monastery of Vikramcila; he has
been able to interpret the Nama Samgiti but
he does not know the commentary of the
Twelve syllables. Varada replies; How can the
commentary of the twelve syllables to know?
Recite it is to me. Manjuceri recites it.
Dharmacri mitra hears all, prostrate before
the door. In the morning, Varada and Moksada
come to open the door; in seeing there
Dharmacri mitra, They are seized with fright
and enter again inside. The Manjuceri arrives;
Arise he said. He takes him by the hand makes
him stand gives him the anointing of the
Vajra and teaches him the commentary of
the twelve syllables. Dharmacri mitra
prostrates himself at the foot of his master.
I cannot, he said to him my master pay you
appropriate fees. Have mercy on me come
and see me. Thereupon Dharmacri mitra
returns to Vikramacila and there he instructs
the students. At that moment Manjuceri
appears like a tall old man holding a lotus;
he enters the monastery. Dharmacri mitra
sees him but feigns not to see him. Once the
lesson is over the hearers leave the room.
Dharmacri mitra hastens to greet his master
but he now moves away without looking at
him. O my master forgive me my fault he
cries out and he falls at his feet. As a result
of his fault his eyes fall out. The guru then

says to him. From today your name will be Juanacri mitra and you will see as if you had eyes. Then he vanished. After this it is the acarya Cantacri. The acarya had covered up with a stone the holy manifestation of the light; he had erected above it a caitya of bricks, built a gold bell-turret, a gold cushion, a gold parasol. He then performs the magic of the Nagas to have the rain to fall during the season. All the Nagas arrive save Karkotaka. Then Cantacri the acarya calls Gunakama deva and says to him; go to the Dhanahrada, call Karkotaka and return. and he gives Gunakama deva a handful of white grains that Gunakama deva goes and quietly throws into the Dhanabrada. Come Karkotaka he cries out. I am too deformed to present myself replies Karkotaka. Gunakama deva seizes him by the hair, lays hold of him and brings him along. And the troops of gods appear everywhere for the blessing.

— — — — —

The procession of Matsyendra Natha
(Explanatory Note translated from the Sanscrit)

Firstly by proceeding from the left the caitya of Svayambhu, having in front the image of Aksobhya and on its right that of Vairocana. Above it the bell turret gold plated still above this the gold parasol. To the right and left two temples of gods.

Below a temple of god built of brick and parget.

To the left a fully decorated house with three windows and archways; at each of the windows a person who holds religious offerings to present them.

To the left a temple of the god built there stories high each one covered with gold

plated; at each roof a garland of small bells that tinkle in the breeze. Above a gilded bell-turret. Below the temple leads on to three terraces and the door is painted in vivid colours.

To the left a large three-storied house; below on the terrace a man and three women, one of them carries a child; a young boy has climbed a wall to look; on the second floor; at a painted window, a man crosses his hands in adoration; on the right and left, women, in the same attitude; on the third floor, a man with hands crossed, looks at the procession of Arya Avalokitecvara.

Then a large three storied house at each storey a window of carved wood and painted with a personage who is looking on; they all have their hands joined; personages are also looking from over the wall of the enclosure.

Procession of Arya Avalokitecvara called Bogyat. To the right and left of the divinity two old men standing. Outside the chapel the king's representative his fly-flap bearer; below two body-guards; ahead two upadhyayas; to the right and left, two woodchoppers (Barahi). Two to three hundred persons pull on the ropes to move the chariot. Ahead of the chariot banners lamps torches perfuming-pa a bell, musicians who play all kinds of musical instruments drums, tambourines, cymbals trumpets. Spectators on all sides, riding on elephants. In the distance merchants and merchants of betel and arecca nut, etc.

A pretty house, a three-storied house, with windows balconies decorated pillars.

A temple of the goddess three-storied high very pretty.

A picturesque house with sculptured windows.

A three-storied house painted in colours with decorated windows and balconies.

A two-storied dharmacala, very pretty.

A little everywhere people come from the surrounding villages, in their feast attires to see the procession in Lalita-pattna and who afterwards return to the villages.

(To be continued)



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पुस-माघ २०४६

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सम्पादक
साफल्य अमात्य

Editor
Shaphalya Amatya

Nepal

(Continued)

-Sylvain Levi

Appendix

Nepal in the Vinaya of the Mula Sarvastivadins.

I have already mentioned in my second volume on page 63, a passage of the Mula sarvastivada vinaya samgraha of jinamitra, in which Nepal is mentioned. I have since found again in the very text of the Vinaya, the corresponding passage; it is met within the list of the naihsargika (corresponding to the nissaggiya pali). The sixteenth, which corresponds to the sixteenth of the pali list, deals with the unlawful traffic of wool. The same rules besides is to be found again in all the Vinayas to whatever school they belong; but the Vinaya of the Mula Sarvativadins is the only one that mentions about Nepal in the incident which induces the Buddha to promulgate this cikasapada. I only translate here from this very long account the portion relative to Nepal.

Mulasarvativadavinaya, chap 21 (16th naihasargika) ed. of Tokyo, XVI. 8, 9. 100b.

“The Buddha dwelt at Cravasti in the Jetavana the part of Anathapindika ... The

bhiksus seeing a troop of men moving toward Nepal (Nipo-to) asked them “who are you?” They replied “we are proceeding towards Nepal.” The bhiksus said to them: “We wish to follow the same route.” The merchants replied — “wise men in Nepal the ground is all stony; it is like the back of a camel. You could not possibly be rejoicing to proceed thither” The bhiksus replied: “We are going together to find out about this country”. — “Wise men if such be the case you can come along with us.” They then continued their journey with the merchants and at the end they reached this kingdom, The bhiksus found no pleasure there. As early as the next day they proceeded to the market to rejoin the merchants and they asked them “When do you wish to return to your country.” The merchant replied: “Why now? Is it because you find no pleasure here?” The bhiksus replied. “We are new comers, and to-day we do not feel well.” The merchants then said; so long as we have not exchanged our goods there can be no talk of returning. We have friends who are desirous of returning to the central country (Madhyadeca) we only

have to request them and they will keep you company on the return journey. The bhiksus replied; "Perfect Goal bargain. In Nepal there are two kinds of cheap goods; wood and orpiment (hioungoang). And then the merchants having bought wool in large quantities loaded their chariots with it and left. And the troop of bhiksus journeyed with them....."

Another section of the same Vinaya the Carma-vastu also gives a mention of Nepal.

Mulasarvastivadavinaya XVII, 4, p. 111b col. 9.

"In these days the son of king Mal-ne (Virudhaka), as a result of his trenzy massacred the race of the Cakyas of kapilavastu. Thereupon the town was deserted some fleeing towards the west; others left for Nepal. Those who entered Nepal were all the parents of the ayusmat Ananda. And later merchants of Cravasti having taken good proceeded towards Nepal. The Cakyas having seen the merchants asked them "We are now suffering the terror of death. The ayusmat Ananda, why does he not come and see where

we are." The merchants thought about it all and having finished their business they returned to Cravasti and they said to Ananda. "The parents of the Venerable who are established in Nepal make you hear this. And the venerable Ananda having heard the words that the merchants conveyed to him, was moved and afflicted and he proceeded to the kingdom of Nepal. This kingdom is cold and snowy. Ananda got chaps on his hands and feet. And when he returned to Cravasti the bhiksus having seen him O Ananda, at one time your hands were as smooth and even as the tongue. Why then are they now rough and chapped?" He answered: "In the kingdom of Nepal the soil neighbours on the Himalayas. As a result of the wind and snow, I have my feet and hands in this state" Thereupon they asked him. "Your parents, yonder how do they live?." He replied "They wear pou-la (pula)". They asked him: "And why do you not wear them also?" He replied: "The Buddha has not yet allowed to wear any." And then the bhiksus went to interrogate the Buddha. The Buddha said to them: "In cold and snowy countries, pou-la can be worn."

(Footnote to page 183)

1. The word poula is found (under the transcription fou-lo) in the chan-kien p'i-p'o-cha abbreviated translation of the commentary of Buddhaghosa on the Suttavibhanga of the Vinya pali (Jad.ed. XVII, 8 p.89 a col, 20). Treating on the Sekhiya the author adds two rules "They are wanting he says in the Indian original." The first one refers to the stupas. The case being that when the Buddha was in the world, there were no stupas as yet. But the Buddha when he was in the world has prescribed this rule. As a result of which no sandals must be worn when entering a stupa of the Buddha; they must be carried in the hand when entering a stupa of the Buddha the fou-lo must 'not be worn when entering a stupa of the Buddha; the fou-lo must be carried in the hand when entering a stupa of the Buddha."

Yi-tsiang mentions the 'pu-la' in recalling this rule in his 'Non-hai ki-kouel'... at the end of chapter 11 (key Takakusu, A record of Buddhist practices p.22 and the note p.218).

The 'yi-ts'u king yiu-yi' of Hinen-hing 17, comments upon the word fou-la.

Recently I made an inventory of the second of these texts in my article on the elements of formation of the Divyavadana (T'oung-pass 1907, p. 115) in connection with the epoch in which the Vinaya of the school of Mulasarvastivada could have been compiled. I did not then dare to build much hope on this datum; inserted at the end of a section of the Vinaya, it risked being considered a late addition, introduced by interested monks in the account translated by Yi-tsing. But the episode relative to the traffic of wool cannot lend itself to similar suspicions. It is part of one of the fundamental inscriptions and is found in the very middle of the volume that pre-eminently constitutes the Vinaya. Thus so long as no anterior document of the Guptas is found in which Nepal is alluded to it will be permissible to believe that the Vinaya in question has only received its definitive arrangement after the third century. I fairly believe that the work was executed in Nepal herself. A monk from the plains would probably not have voluntarily admitted that the mountaineers belonged to the family of Ananda and to the blood of the Cakyas. The selection of the Vinayas of the other schools in the Tibetan collection seems also to attest the marked favour this vinaya enjoyed in the Himalayan regions. In any

case the two episodes are connected to an epoch during which Nepal through commercial exchanges was placed in regular relations with the plain.

II

"A NEPALESE ARTIST AT THE COURT OF Koubilai Khan"

During my sojourn in Japan the Rev. Akamatzu made me a present of an exemplary of the "Tsao-Siang-tou-leang king" "Sutra on the proportions of statues, This sutra published in China by Yang-Weu-koei about thirty years ago is accompanied with an interesting commentary and important plates. It represents the tradition introduced in China by a Nepalese artist, A-Ni-Ko. The biography of this artist has been preserved by the Annals of the Yuan (Chap, 203 end) that call him A-r-ni-ko. It contributes to throw some light on the very obscure period of the history of Nepal. Born in 1243 (consequently in the disastrous reign of Abhaya Malla: key 11, op 214 sp) he left Nepal before the reign of Ananta Malla to go and work in Tibet with a gang of sculpture and religious painters. The account of the Annals does not expressly indicate that Nepal had been the vassal of Tibet at that epoch; but it warrants at least the persistence and the importance of the relations between the two countries in the

'One still saus (fou-lo). The exact form is pou-lo. This signifies 'low boots.'

The original Sanscrit term pula found is again in the Rudrayana avadana (Dvvyavadana XXXVII) which is borrowed from the Mula Sarvastivada Vinaya.

Maha Katyayava on returning from a circuit in the North-west, reaches the banks of the Indus. "He soliloquised, "Bhagavat has said that in the Madhyadeca one must wear pula. I am going to give them (to the divinity of the North who is asking for a relic). He presented them to the divinity. He placed them on a raised site (the word sthandila is translated by 'kai Choang tcheu ti' raised spot and exposed to view) and erected a mast (lat-tchi-yasti) called Pylayasti (pou-lo-lai-chi). This is then the way to restore the text, spoiled in all the manuscripts (Divyav, p. 581, 1.9 - - jap XVI, 9, 98, col. 19-20).

second half of the XIIth century, at this epoch particularly troubled and fecound during which the Mogul dynasty of the Yusan dispustes and snatches the Chinese empire from the last princes of the southern branch of the soung, during which also koubilai khan assembles in his court, Buddhists followers of Taoism Nestorian and Roman Christians and Mohammedans. A-r-ni-ko who arrived at the Moghul court towards 1263 did no longer meet there the ambassador of Saint-Louis, the Franciscan Friar Rubruquis who had sojourned there between 1253 and 1254, but he found representatives of all the great religions of the world; he was even able to associate with a glorious representative of Europe Marco Pole. The biography of A-r-ni-ko introduces a new item in the history of Nepalese Buddhism; the positive authentication of the regular relations between Nepal and Tibet, under the auspices of Phags-pa, at the beginning of the career of this illustrious monk, implies that Nepal did not remain a stranger to the powerful movement that created and organized Lamaism; one can no more isolate Nepal from Tibet (as I have erroneously done it, sup 1 p. 167) in the course of the XIIIth century.

Lastly the important role attributed by the very testimony of the Annals to the influence of a Nepalese artist on art in China makes the hypothesis that I have presented on the Nepalese origin of the style 'pagoda'

in China and in Japan more likely (II, 11 sq), Nepal may have given to Chinese Buddhism models of architecture and architects before providing her with a talented sculptor a law of new measurements.

Annals of the Yuan, chap, 503. end

*A-r-ni-ko was a native of Nepal. The people of that kingdom call him Pa-le-pou. When quite young he displayed a bright intelligence of a superior kind to that of ordinary children. When he grew a little older he could recite from memory the Buddhist texts and at the end of a year he understood them all. Among his school-fellows there was one who was a sketcher, painter, modeller decorater and who recited the Law of Measurements. He only heard it once and A-r-ni-ko was able to repeat it. On growing older he became an expert sketcher himself and excelled in the art of modelling and melting into shapes, images in metal. The first year Tchong-t-ong (1260 J. C.) an order was issued to the master of the Emperor (Ti-che) Pa-k'o-se-pa (Phagspa) to erect a gold pagoda in Tibet; one hundred artists selected in Nepal were told to execute the work. Only eighty were found a leader was essential, but none came forward to direct this troop. A-r-ni-ko who was then seventeen years old asked to go. Objections were raised owing to his age but he replied : "I am young but my intellect is not." They let him go. The

(Footnote to page 185)

1. On this interesting personage who was attached to the London legation key Ma Muller introd to the edition of the Sukhavati vyaha (Anecdota oxouiensia, Aryan series vol. 1, part II p. x.)
2. This biography was published and studied by the priest Bangin in the Japanese review Kokka No. 164 January 1904. The article written in Japanese shows in the summary in English this title "on A-ni-ko a celebrated Nepalese maker of Buddhist figures and his Chinese pupil Lia Chengfeng together with a reference on a sacred book showing the measurements for the making of Buddhists images."

master of the emperor on seeing him stood amazed. He entrusted him to supervise the work. The following year the pagoda was completed. A-r-ni-ko asked for leave to return. The master of the Emperor induced him to present himself at the imperial court he further tonsured and ordained him and accepted him as a disciple. Following the master of the Emperor, A-r-ni-ko then proceeded to the court. The Emperor observing him longly questioned him: "You have come in a large kingdom. Do you not feel afraid? He answered: Your majesty treats the ten thousand countries like sons. A son in appearing before his father, should have no reason to fear." The emperor further asked him: "Why do you come?" He answered: My fatherland is in the western countries: I have received an order from the sovereign to build a stupa in Tibet. In two years I completed this order. There I have seen the upheavals of war, the nation unable to support its life. Wishing that your Majesty establishes peace, without reckoning on the distance for the happiness of human beings, I have come here." He asked him: "What can you do?" He replied: "I can fairly well and through inspiration sketch model melt in metal." The emperor ordered to take from the palace a copper statue for the acupuncture and the cantery of the Ming-t'ang and showing it to him he said: "Here is a statue that has been presented on the occasion of the ambassade of the Nganfou Wang tsi among the Soung; it has suffered with time and there is nobody who is able to put it right again. Could you manage to make it new again." He answered: "Your subject has not had the practice; yet I ask to try." In the second year Tche-Yuan (1265 J. C.) the statue quite new was completed; the opertures the

full parts the veins the flutings were all there. The artists in metal were amazed at his supernatural talent; there was not a single one who did not feel ashamed and humiliated. In all the monasteries of the two capitals the majority of the statues were worked by him; A wheel of the law in iron with the seven jewels was passed in front in order to open the gate, — also the portraits of the several Emperors, which he executed on silk textile; no painting could equal his in perfection. The tenth year Tche-yuan (1274 J. C.) they gave him for the first time the supreme authority on all the artists in metal, with the siover seal stamped with the tiger. The fifteenth year (1297 J. C.) a decree ordered him to nevert his ancient dress of layman; he then received the offices of Koanlon-ta-fou tassen tiou, controller of the court of imperial manufactures; he enjoyed unrivalled favours and gifts. After his death he was invested with the posthumous titles of t-ai-Che, k'ai-fou-Yi-t'oug-san-se, duke of the kingdom of Leang, chang tchou kouo and with the posthumous name of 'Min-hoei (Prompt Intelligence).

III

In connection with the symbols on the fronton of stelas. I have taken care to show each time when able, the sketch that adorns the fronton of the stelas that have been studied. Bhagvanlal had done likewise; Bendall has unfortunately neglected this detail. It is probable that these ornaments had not only a decorative value; they had a value of positive meaning as clear as our emblems. The Vinayas of the Mula Sarvativadins enables us to ascertain with assurance with one of them. The inscription No. 6 of Bhagvanlal shows on its fronton the Wheel of the law between two antilopes; it is a grant conferred by

Ancuvarman but scarcely anything remains but the formulary tradition places it, however in relation with the Yatra of Matsyendra Natha. I have not found this design on other stelas; but the majority shows a very analogous design; the wheel (cakra) between two conches (cankha). The wheel with the two antilopes supported is found on several monastery seals discovered at Kasia and recently published by M. Vogel (Some seals from Kasia in the Journ. of the Roy As. soc. 1907, p. 365; one of them in the thereabouts of the year 600, has kri bandhanamahavihare aryabhiksusamghasya. The Vinaya of the Mula Sarvastivadins precisely prescribes the use of this seal (ksudraka vastu ed of Tokyo. XVII, 1, 2b, col. 18) :

The Buddha says; on the whole there are two kinds of seals 1st; the seal of the community, 2nd the individual seal.

For the seal of the community, there must be engraved the image of the wheel of the law and on both sides deer crouching on their knees restful and below the name of the patron who founded the monastery.

As regards the individual seal it must carry a chain of bones of the image of a skull so that this design may induce disinterestedness.

The description corresponds exactly with the truth. I still ignore if the wording is special in the school of the Mula Sarvastivadins; if it was so we would have in the stela of Ancuvarman an express testimony of their presence in Nepal during the first half of the VIIIth century.

IV

Caitya of Savyambhu

The caitya of Svyambhu is exalted on two occasions in a versified compilation still unpublished, the Bhadrakalapavadana. M.

Serge of Oldenbourg has given an expounded analysis of this work, fabricated with the legends borrowed from various sources; Buddiiskia Legend'i cast vervaia; st Petersburg 1894. The XXXIth account is a handling again of the Supriyava, dans preserved in the collection of the Divayavadana (VIII). The merchant supriya son of Pryyasena, dwells in Benares; at the head of a company of merchants he departs for the island of jewels. But the Nepalese writer of the Bhadrakalpa adds here to his fashion an episode which betrays prejudice. Before beginning their journey for the Isles of Jewels, Suriya proceeded towards Nepal; he went to the sanctuary of Svyambhu to present a gift of precious stone and to pray for the success of his enterprise.

The last account (XXXVIIIth) of the Bhadrakalpa ends with a still more flattering episode on Nepal. The Buddha having finished instructing Cuddhodana withdraws from Kapilavastu with his disciples Cariputra Ananda and Madgola, etc, he proceeds to Nepal to visit Svyambhu and to direct towards the Path the people of the region.

V

Manuscripts of the Buddha Purana

In treating on the Buddha-Purana (1,372) I have observed that the manuscript of 'this rare and precious work' has only entered in the collection of manuscripts of Fort-William to disappear again. The learned librarian of the India office. M. Thomas has been kind enough to inform that the Manuscripts so long lost is now found at the India office Library; it is adorned with numerous miniatures, even including a portrait of Captain Naka namely Knox himself; the library also possesses two copies executed one for Colebrooke, and the

other for Leyden - - and further the abstract due to Pundit of Colebrooke under the title of Laghu Buddha, Purana. The study of this curious text can now then be undertaken.

VI

NUMISMATICS OF NEPAL

To the indications I gave (vol. 11, 107-111) must now be added the description of

the Nepalese coins of the Calcutta Museum shown in the Catalogue of coins of the Indian museum by M. Vincent Smith, vol 1, p. 280 sqq and pl. xxviii. Several coins of Nepal are found in the Chamber of medals of the National Library, in Paris.

(The End)

NEPAL

Historical Study of A Hindu Kingdom

by Sylvain Levi

Volume I.

INTRODUCTION

The name of Nepal is not unknown, even outside the narrow circle of erudites. The charm of the Himalayas, [has reflected itself so to speak, on the Hindu kingdom which the great chain shelters, Gaurisankar and the other giant peaks that impart dizziness to the imagination of school boys, evoke to the memory the image of Nepal, stretched out on the map at the feet of these colossus, Between Tibet to the North, and British India that squeezes her to the South East, and West, the Kingdom of Nepal occupies little room Nepal properly speaking would occupy even less. The local practice, in accordance with the tradition, reserves exclusively the denomination of Nepal to an oblong valley, situated in the very heart of the country, half-way to burning Hindustan and the lofty frozen plateaus, laughing, fertile, populated, acquired from old, to civilization and which has never ceased exercising a predominance over the rough surrounding mountains. It is the story of this humble valley, that I have attempted to retrace here.

Must I excuse myself for having consecrated so much effort on so restricted a subject. I do not think so. A chain of facts that are inter-linked, whatever be its apparent aim, is better than the distraction of a curious mind. It awakens memory and brings it creative imagination. If the destinies of the human race, are not a vain game of hazard, if there exist scrupulous or inscrupulous laws that govern them, the history of one human community interests the whole of humanity since it brings to light the hidden precepts and projects under the confused mass of events. It is the unknown, always dangerous, that draws back; if one succeeds in discovering, how a forlorn valley has peopled itself with inhabitants, has organized itself, has policed itself, how the worships, the languages, the institutions have by degrees transformed themselves, the study develops into greater interest on the Hindu domain. India, in her whole, is a world without history: she created herself gods, doctrines, laws, sciences, arts, but she has not divulged

We are glad to present English translation of Sylvain Levi's LE NEPAL through the Journal of the Department of Archaeology, Ancient Nepal. It is well known that the original work is in French. As the English version will be more useful for Nepalese scholars and common readers, we have decided to publish it in series in Ancient Nepal. The English copy of the work is in the collection of Kaiser Library, Kathmandu. Ed.

the secret of their formation or of their metamorphosis. One must be well initiated in Indian ways to know at the expense of what patient toil, the learned men of Europe have established far distant connecting links in the obscurity of an almost impenetrable past; what strange combinations of heteroclitic date have enabled to edify a tottering chronology, even now thoroughly incomplete.

Civilized nations have preoccupied themselves in general, by conveying a durable remembrance to posterity; organised in community, they have directly extended to the group the distinctive sentiments of the individual. They have desired to decipher the mystery of their origin and to survive in the future. The priests, the poets, the erudites have offered themselves to this very powerful need. The Chinese have their annals, as the Greeks have Herodote and the Jews their Bible. India has nothing.

The exception is so singular that it has, at the very outset caused surprise and given rise to interpretations. One has especially alleged as a decisive argument, the transcendental indifference of the Hindu feeling penetrated by universal vanity, the Hindu surveys with superb disdain the illusive course of phenomena; to better humble the human smallness his legends and his cosmogonies drown the years and the centuries into incommensurable periods that involve the imagination in the throes of a vertigo. The sentiment is exact: but in India as elsewhere, the highest doctrines have had to adapt themselves to the incurable failings of humanity. The commemorative inscriptions and panegyrics carved out of stone that are strewn over India, prove that from an early date, kings and other distinguished individuals have safe-guarded themselves against being forgotten. The long and pompous genealogies that frequently serve as a preliminary to royal deeds even show that the chanceries were setting up in their archives an official history of the dyna-

sty. But the political administration of India condemned these crude materials as they were most likely to disappear and end with fatal results. If contented peoples had no history, then anarchy also had none, and India had exhausted herself in perpetual anarchy. Foreign invasions and internal rivalry have never ceased to overthrow the order of things. Sometimes, at long intervals, a genius would rise and knead in his strong hands the amorphous mass of kingdoms and principalities, and make of India an empire, but the work perishes with the workman: the empire gets dislocated and the self-made soldiery proceed in the work of her dismembrment into states of lesser importance. Too large to adapt herself to a monarchy, India is wanting in natural divisions that would assure her of a stable partition; hegemony wanders haphazardly over the stretch of this vast territory and travels from the Indus to the Ganges, from the Ganges to the Deccan. Capitals spring up, shine with effulgence and go out; marts, warehouses and sea-ports of the day before, are deserted, empty and forgotten on the morrow. From time to time a surge passes over this upheaval and gradually breaks all in its fall. Alexander enters the Punjab and the distant Ganges shakes off the yoke of its powerful rulers; the English land on the coast and the Mogul empire is shaken. India which is imagined as ordinarily absorbed in her marvellous dream and separated from the rest of the world, is in reality a vulgar prey on which rushes the cupidity of the fascinated universe. The Vedic Aryans, the Persians under Darius, then the Greeks and the Scythians, and the Huns, and the Arabs, and the Afghans, and the Turks, and the Moguls, and the Europeans unchained in emulation; Portuguese, Dutch, French, English; the history of India is almost totally blended with the history of her conquerors.

If India, by the abuse of her instability, was condemned to be deprived of a political

history, she could at least have acquired a religious one. Buddhism nearly gave her that one. Born from a vigorous personality which a mythical disguise could not effectively mask, propagated by a succession of patriarchs, regulated by councils, patronized by illustrious sovereigns, the Church of Buddha reminds herself of the stages of her growing greatness; having appeared and having been published in the course of time, she did not hope for a stunning eternity. She fixed her duration to a definite period and eager to lead men to salvation, she measured with sadness, centuries travelled over, and centuries still open before her. The Buddhist priests, solitary in their convents, contemplated, without doubt, the storms of the world, alike deceiving mirages of universal nothingness; however, as members of a community answerable for its interests, they carefully kept the register of donations and of privileges granted by the favour of kings. The church had her annals; the convent had her diary. But a sweeping tempest swept away Buddhism, the monasteries and the monks together with their literature and traditions. To left alone and face to face with invading Islam, opposed to the fanaticism of the conqueror, the resources of his Indiscernible suppleness; he disdained history which contradicted his ideals and gainsaid his beliefs, he created himself heroes to suit his taste and sheltered with them in the past of legends.

Three countries only have cherished the memory of their real past: due South, Ceylon, surrounded by the sea, due North, Kashmere and Nepal in the mountains. All three have a common character in contrast with India: nature has traced them a well defined horizon, that the Geye can compass without being able to overcome. Separated from India, they can never mingle with her, and pursue their destinies by themselves, surrounded by a fatal circle.

Ceylon, ancient and always flourishing metropolifim of Buddhism, grew proud of a continuous chronicle which covers over two thousand years; from the time that the son of Emperor Asoka came to erect the first monastery, about 250 before the christian era, his monks have not ceased to range methodically in didactic poetry, the annals of the Singhalese Church. Their exactitude submitted to the control of Greeks and Chinese has succeeded brilliantly in the double test. But Ceylon is a world little set apart; her politics, which sometimes express the truth, separates, even to-day, Ceylon from the Empire, Anglo-Indian, to reconnect her immediately to the British crown. The peninsula belongs to Rama, the hero of the Brahmins, but the island, subdued by his weapons for a short time, never the less remains to his antagonist, the demon Ravana. The maritime routes of the East that open out like a fan around her, have poured in all the races of the world, Arabs, Persians, Malay and African negroes and white men from Europe and yellow men from China. India stretches towards her almost to touching point, but what an India dark India, dravidian India, where Brahminism has always had to divide the empire with the indigenous religions, with Buddhism, with Islam, with the christians under saint Thomas, with the jesuits under Madoure. Ceylon is an annexation of India, she is not a province, less even a reduced image.

Kashmere, which is inland, acts like a pendant to the great island. The mountains surround her but do not imprison her. Possible defiles connect her with Tibet at Kachger at the villeys of pamiir, accessible passes slope down to the Punjab, towards this historical threshold of India, where all the invaders have had to pitch their first battle. Ceylon, is the advanced sentinel at the crossways of the Indian ocean, Kashmere penetrates like an angle under the pressure of India, to the very heart of Asia. But, welded to India, she shares her

destinies; conquered, like her, by the Turks of Kaniska and the Huns of Mihira Kula, she pursues like her, a period of splendour and of might between the Vth. and the Xth Century, then, exhausted, by her struggles against the barbarians of the west, she succumbs to the efforts of Islam. A chronicle composed in the XIth century, alone reminds one to-day, of the glories of the past; but it has sufficed to make these immortal. The Sanskrit literature that the kings of Kashmere had protected and often even studied has worthily repaid their good offices; the Raja-tarangini of the poet Kalhana has saved their names and exploits from oblivion. Others have wished later on, to take up the threads again, and pursue the work of kalhana, but the interest of the subjects had vanished. Kashmere had escaped the Hindu genius and was no more but an obscure annexation of Mohameddan India. If Nepal has a history, alike Kashmere and Ceylon, her history is a very modest one. Entrenched between her glaciers and her impenetrable forests isolated like an undefined dominion between Hindustan and Tibet, she has never known the refined civilization of Kashmerean courts, or the opulent activity of the great Buddhistic island. Her annals do not remind one either of Mahavamsa pali, or of the Sanskrit Raja-tarangini, their very shape betray their contrast; they consist in dynastic lists (Vamsavalis) combined with the lists of endowments and royal donations; the compilers who have gathered and founded them, have not attempted to raise them above the dignity of a literary work. The usual language sufficed them, they had chosen to sneak in the half-Tibetian of the Nevars or the Aryan dialect of Hinduised Nepalese. Their narratives, poor and usually meagre, dwell, with complaisance only on miracles and prodigies. It only swells into details at the mythical period and at the modern period. The strength of recent souvenirs only is able to withstand the dazzling brilliancy of the legendary past.

Heroes and gods cradled by popular belief move from century to Century, always truer and more real, proportional, as each generation gives it, its soul and its faith. One sees them, one feels them everywhere present; man is the blind instrument of their wills and caprices. The revolution of 1768 which gave Nepal to the Ghurkas is only, to the chroniclers, but the sequel of a treaty first arranged in heaven. History propagated in this way is reduced to a pious epic, mounted on an apparatus of suspicious chronology. Science, happily has at its disposal other ways to control and complete the tradition. The epigraphy already substantial and which dates back from the Vth. century; the ancient manuscripts, numerous in Nepal where the climate has better preserved them than in India; the literature of local origin; the narrations of pilgrims and of chinese envoys, the informations taken from the history and from the Indian literatures, in short the enquiries gathered by European travellers, Since the XVIIth century.

All these documents of various ages, origins, languages, sentiments, once compared, criticised and co-ordinated, make up a harmonious setting where the attention can easily encompass the destinies of an Asiatic tribe, subdued by contact with India during a period of duration of at least twenty centuries. From the earliest of times Nepal was a lake; the water that comes down from the neighbouring summits, is gathered in captivity at the feet of the mountain that surround it. But a divine sword forces a breach; the Valley empties itself, the soil dries up; the first intruders arrive. They come from the North led by Marjusri, the hero of Buddhistic sagacity who holds sway in china and who still manifests himself to-day under the guise of the Son of Heaven. The mythical age opens then; the imagination of Nepalese story-tellers had no difficulty in peopling this distant past, abandoned wholly

mentioned above and to convey to him the same exhortation. (As he did to the King of Battia²³)”

The mission at Battia was as a matter of fact founded in 1743 and given over to the charge of father Joseph Marei di Bernini da Garignano, who directed the affairs until the day of his death, in 1761.²⁴ The new mission was about to serve as a place of refuge to its elders. In 1745²⁵ the Chinese who were all powerful in Lhasa after having crushed the rising of 1736, inaugurated a campaign of systematic political exclusion regarding all strangers. The missionaries were compelled to fall back in Nepal and the highway from Lhasa to Kathmandu through Kuti, saw Europeans pass for the last time. The travellers of this unhappy caravan were Father Horace, prefect of the mission, Father Tranquillo of Appechio²⁶, Father de Gargnairo (who had left Battia temporarily) and Father Paolo de Florence²⁷. They even forbade the unfortunate priests to bring away with them the indigenees they had converted. Immediately after their departure their monasteries were completely broken down. The venerable Father Horace de Penna who was for so many years the soul of the Tibetan mission, lived long enough to assist to the painful failure of his pious and patient efforts. Leaving Lhasa ill and already in a dying condition, carried on the back of men and often by his companions, through the breadth of the mountain, he arrived in Nepal on the 4th. June, and forty five days after²⁸ he died at Patan, on the 20th. Of July 1745, at the age of 65. He was buried in the Christain cemetery which was located outside the walls of the town, in the North and which completely disappeared from existence without even leaving a local remembrance.

The Fathers of the mission have had engraved on the tomb a double epitaph, in Latin and in the Nevar language; The Brahmin Ballo-

govinda who was attached to the mission in the capacity of a professor of indigeneous tongues, drew up the inscription in Nevarian. The “Alphabetum Tebetanum” reproduced a copy of this double text, worthy to hold the foremost rank of curiosities of the Nepalese Corpus.

In spite of their predilection for Patan, the Fathers had not then obtained the right of ownership when Father Horace died. At Kathmandu, they occupied since 1742 “a beautiful garden and an estate as large as four ordinary houses, with central courtyard.” The chart of concession draw up in the Nevar tongue, but filled with Sanskrit, is worth a reproduction here, for its particular interest and also as an excellent specimen of the over-scrupulous precision realised by the Nepalese land-survevor.

“Hail The king Jaya Prakaca Malla -his head is dusty from the pollen of lotus which are the feet of the divine Pacupati; the saintly Manevari, his favourite divinity, has conceded him the favour of his graces which raises his dignity to the highest point of splendour; he is the decendent of the Rama 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 for the Padris Kapucinis (Capuchins) a beautiful garden located in the Cromtu Tol, at Sithali, in an unoccupied spot and furthestmost a quadrangular mansion with two stories (floors also). The boundaries of the plot are to the West of the house of Jaya Dharma Simha, to the south of the houses of Dhunju and of Curyadhana and of Purencvara, 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 interior of the house, three-fourths of the ordinary space of a house, plus 22 cubits and a half excluding a

path of accers, private, which measures the three-fourths of the superficial area of a houses, 22 cubits. For the garden, the area allotted is equivalent to that of 13 houses and three-fourths, plus 3 cubits and 4 fingers in width. These are the limits. Was a witness Rajya Prakaca Malla Deva, year 862, month margacira, fortnight clear, 10th day."

It was only twelve years later, in 1754, that the Fathers could obtain the same favour at Patan, under the short reign of the unfortunate Rajya Prakaca Malla, who had actually been a witness in the previous act. By virtue of a chart dated in the year 874, in the month of caitra, drawn up by the astrologer Kotiraja, with Candra Cekhara Malla Thakura as witness, the king Rajya Prakasa (to the same titles as above) "grants for the establishment of the Pacris Kapucinis a beautiful garden located in an open plot, outside and above the fountain of Tanigra Tol and also a quadrangular house of four stories. The boundaries are: to the West of the Route of the Char (of Matsyendra Natha) to the North of the path of Tava Bahal, to the East of the plot of Kayastha Kacimigla, south of the house and grounds of Amvarasin Babu. In all, for the house, the area of 6 ordinary houses plus 38 square cubits and for garden, the area of 14 houses plus 21 cubits"³⁰

Fortune seemed to smile to the Capuchins; the catastrophe, however, was near at hand. The political revolution of 1768 which overthrew the small dynasties of the three capitals and which handed over the power in the hands of the Ghurkas was as much detrimental in consequence to the Nepalese mission as the revolution of Tibet to the Lhasa mission, by the application of the same political system. When the Ghurka's king Prithi Narayan besieged Katmandu, Fathers of the Mission were: Father Seraphin de Come, Father Mi-

chel-Ange of Tabiago, Jean-Albert de Massa and Father Joseph de Rovato. They must have already evacuated Patan where their house was too exposed to the fire of the besiegers. Once sheltered at Katmandu, the Fathers and their christians had not to suffer the rigours of a severe investment; Prithi Narayan allowed the entry in the town of victual necessary for there living: he paid back by this privilege the medical services rendered by the missionaries. Father Michel-Ange had succeeded in curing the very brother of Prithi Narayan, Surupa ratna, of a wound received in the storming of Kirtipur. This Father was besides on amicable terms with a son of Prithi Narayan. He had attempted but unsuccessfully to intervene on behalf of the inhabitants of Kirtipur, when the ferocious monarch had given the order to cut the nose and the lips of the whole population, irrespective of sex or age. All he could do was to attend with his associates in attending the wounds of the unfortunate victims of this barbarous vengeance.

The interference of the British in Nepal's affair, the despatch of a column under Major Kinlock, altered the dispositions of the Ghurka king with regard to the missionaries, he mingled in the same suspicion all European, began to intercept all letter addressed to the Fathers³⁰ and when became the master of the whole of Nepal, in 1769, he commanded the capuchins to leave the country with their converts. This final exode led the last remnants of the Tibetan mission Bettia, beyond the Terrai, on the threshold of Hindustan. The mountain was closing up far ever behind them.³¹ After so many efforts carried on for sixty years, the pastors were bringing away a ludicrously small number of sheep. Captain Alexander Rose who visited the mission at Bettia towards the middle of the year 1769, found the prefect surrounded by "two miserable familis which he

to expiate for its death, the life and blood of the murderer must be given.

"Posse": Aldea. VI.

"Maquampur" is outside the track at 10 thousand paces from

"Posse": "Her plane harridum"

"Thegain: castrum. X

This is the boundary of the rajah of Maquampur's domain.

"Bagmati": Sacred river of the Nekpal kingdom

"Kakoku": Watercourse

"Khua": village which is dependent on the rajah of patan. XIV. One can compare the construction of buildings and walls with our style at Home.

The kingdom of "Nekpal" is entirely divided into three dynasties: "Patan", "Batgas" and "Katmandu". 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". With the intention of going to "Batgas" are warned by the "Pardan" (Pardhana) who is the mayor, 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.

There are six turrets along the track to Patan, with guard-houses.

Father Marc traces another itinerary which also leads to Nepal, but starting from Bettia. "One travels towards the N E; for

three days one travels through a region of tall grasses, which is the large of tigers, bears, rhinoceroses and bisons. No large roads are met with, but little tracks which are hardly recognizable. One reaches last the foot of the hills where stands a small mountain fort called "Parsa", which is on the forests; it is there that travellers must pay the revenue. From Parsa still more forests have to be crossed and "Bisciacor" 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 "Mecnampur", 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 the 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 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 6000 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 malaris which makes the crossing of the Terrai impossible from mid March to mid-November) From "Etonda" which consists of a few huttings for the protection of the said spot and whence comence the kingdom of Nepal, in persueing the jouruey, 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 escarpments, is only two feet wide in the dry season; at other seasons, in 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 fo 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 "Sisapani" where flows a very cool and limpid stream which the people have named "Eau de plomb" (lead water). Then ascending for two days the last spot of the mountains is reached, named "Tambacani" (copper mines in considerable quanties), 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 only, 20000 other men. After crossing several more small mountains well covered with trees, the valley of Nepal extends to the view."⁴⁸

The road from Hindustan to Nepal has, since the days of the Capuchins, 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 beserve to be gathered carefully. It is Georgi's compilation which has embodied the essential portion,⁴⁹ the notes borrowed by Father Marc from the diary of Father Tranquille have only a 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 hings of Nepal", says Father Cassien). From "Sanku" to "Langur" (a villa) VIII M. P. (thousand paces). The track draws up towards the N. -E. is very difficult, the river of "Koska" must be crossed by boat (evidently the Malamcha or Indravati, the most western of the seven kuis, "Koska" is perhaps of Kancikal). From "Langur" to "Sipa" (a farmhouse) XVIII M. P. (Ciopra is certainly as error of writing for the word Ciotra, viz, Chantara or Chantariya, first stage after Sipa), One crosses the river of Kitzbik (Mangdia Kola of Kirkpatrick's map (or chart) and one reaches the bungalow of "Nogliakot", XX. M. P., One meets many "caityas", many stones on which is engraved the formula "Om mani padme hum", and a pagoda where a pious Buddhist woman turns the wheels of Prayer

Then Paldu at VIII M. P. (Thousand paces), the road goes more to the North. Lastly "Nesti" (Listi), bungalow, for and garison on the boundary of Nepal, VI. M. P.

Then a country inhabited by Tibetans, at the feet of the mountains. 11 M. P. Two miles from there, one has to climb up and descend narrow ladders made of stones and moving, all along the lofty rock sides and constantly on the edge of a dreadful precipice. Below, valleys, pasture-grounds, swampy fields where rice is cultivated. Then 'Dunna', bungalow (Dhoogna of Kirkpatrick's, Tuguna of the indigenous itineraries), XIV M. P. The track goes directly North. The roads are very narrow on abrupt (or steep] slopes, and circle constantly round the extremely lofty mountains. Often remote and detached rocks are connected by over changing bridges without any lateral support. One must cross these small and shaky bridges of poles and branches, twelve times. The terror of the traveller