

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 sqq) that the year 34 of Amcuvarman must correspond to 629 J.C. The first inscription of Amcuvarman dates from 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 upheavals 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) bhumar daksina (9) parvata (11,12) vartibhir (17) and not varttibhir 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 Amcucarman 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 Decavarman-Gomin. Year 520, month of Caitra, dark fortnight fifth day.

XIII--Stela 1 of Harigaon

The two inscriptions of Amcucarman 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 designaed under the name of Karsapana (p.ex. inser. 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
vkrstasya and uttkrstasya 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.

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-Inscrps., 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 anugrhita 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. Anugrhita is also employed regularly in the same wording by Jisnugupta (Bhag.9 and 10; and inscription of Thankot.)

3. The wording bappapadarigrhita 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 anugrhita. Parigrhita exteriorily 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 pravradhyaya (Weber. Cat. Berlin. Hss., 1.59). even expressly applies it to the adoption: "athadattakakritaka-krtrima 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 parigrahethuh samanajatiyam...). In the dynasty of the imperial Guptas, Candragupta 11 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 Amcurvarman 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 Sunsasthi 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 mahabaladhyaaksa: 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 varavaranah, 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 cuve 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; bhadrapiṭham 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. Judhisthera,

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; "ahinavasammajjnasa-siro.. 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 bhandas... 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 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.