

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 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-VIIIth 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 Candragarbhasutra, 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 Chaityas, 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 nakstras 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 Usnisvijaya 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 exegetis 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. I. 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 paternal 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-

Champan, 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 Champan 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 be 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 Bhavisyas-Purana predicts in fact that; "Vishnu must reside ten thousand years on the earth; the Ganga 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

VIIIth 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 Vriska-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, Vriska-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 Manjupatanat7 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 Dharmapala, 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 century 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 (Goujeveram 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, a

chaitya which bears his name; this chaitya still existed in the daís of Vrísá 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. (Bhuktamanagata¹⁹ B. Bhukta-mangata 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 (Gopalas) of the present day Bengal

naturally pretend connection with Krishna, as the Nepalese chronicler connects him with the primitive shepherds of this 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 Gopalas. 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 Gopalas 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 a: 195 years V.-111 years and
7 months K.

The valley enriched by the settle-
ment 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), connec-
ted 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 espe-
cially to the Cinas that they are associa-
ted; Kiratas and Cinas fraternize under
banners of the glorious Bhagadatta, empe-
ror 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"
(V584). The Ramayana (IV. 40, 26, Bom-
bay tribes are not organized as a nation
and formed several kingdoms; Bhima sub-
jugates "the seven kings of the Kiratas"
(11,1089); the figure is in accordance with
the usual nomenclature of the "Seven Gan-
dakis" 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 kira-
tas clans which live in the most remote
part of the Himalaya; towards the moun-
tain 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. Ptoleemee 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 character and altogether similar to animals; these are evidently identical to the which Ptoleemse (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 Yudhishthira; loads of sandal wood and (agalloque) 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 (vulg 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 26 or 29 princes:

- | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------|--------------|--|
| 1. Yalambara | 13 years W. | 2) Duskham | 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. Punched
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. Soogmee 59 years (24)
13. Savanda	41 years V. (W.B.)	Puskara Pumska	B. 35 years V.
	13. Jaighree 60 years 1 month (15)	23. Kesu	31 years V. (W. B.) 23. Joosha 63 years (3)
14. Sthunko	W. B. 14. Jennes 73 years 2 months (16)	24. Suga	W. 24. Gontho 74 years (26)
Thumko	59 years V.	Sunsa Samgu	B. 29 years V.
15. Gighri	71 years V. (W. B.)	26. Gunan	W.
	15. Suenkek 60 years 1 month (17)	Gunana Gumnamja	B. 35 years V.
16 Nane	59 years V. (W.B.)	27. Khimbu	W. B.
	16. Thoor 71 years (18)	Simbu	27 years V.
17. Luk	W.B. 17. Thamoo 83 years (19)	28. Patuka	W. B. (missing to V.)
Luke	53 years V.	29. Gasti	41 years V. (W. B.)
18. Thor	39 years V.(W. B.)		
	18. Burmah 73 years 6 months (20)		
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

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 Yudhisthira and his brothers. The figures of Kirkpatrick 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 Patuka (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. Matakxa	W. V.	
Manaksa	B.	61 years
Mutta Ration	K.	91 years
3. Kakavarman	W. B. V.	76 years
Kaick burmah	K.	76 years
4. Pashuprekxa deva	H.	
Pashuprekha deva	W.	
Pashuprassa	V.	86 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 Amsumat 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

Purasa, for example, the grand-son of Vikusi, but the son of his great grand son. Between Visvagaeva 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 Ikshvaku, 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 Brahmins 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 children's 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 Patliputra 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)

Chunder Burma	21 years K.	Basso Dutt Burma	33 years K.
3. Jayavarman	82 years V. B.	12. Pativarman	53 years B. (W)
Joy Burma	62 years K.	Pativarsavarman	- V
Candravarman	(W. probably by an error)	Sreeputtry	3 years K.
4. Varsavarman	61 years V. B.	13. Civavriddivarman	54 years B.
Bharkabarma	W.	Seobreddy	65 years V. (W)
Breesh-Burma	57 years K.		77 years K.
5. Sarvavarman	78 years	14. Vasantavarman	61 years
Surbo Burma	V. B. (W)	Bussunt Deo	B. V. (W)
	49 years K.		-K
6. Jyesthavarman	75 years	15. Shivavarman	62 years B. (W)
	V. B. (W)	Shivadevavarman	67 years V.
Jeest Burma	48 years K.	Deo	57 years K.
		((16 bis) Rudradevavarman	66 years B. (W)
7. Harivarman	76 years	16. Vrisadevavarman	61 years
	V. B. (W)	Brikh Deo	B. V. (W)
(9) Hurry Burma	-K (but reversed -with the foll- owing one)		57 years K.
8. Kuveravarman	88 years V. B.	17. Shankaradeva	65 B. V. (W)
(8) Kobber Burma	76 years K.	Sunker Deo	50 years K.
9. Siddhivarman	61 years	18. Dharmadeva	59 years B.
Sidhe Burma	V. B. (W)	Bhurma Deo	51 years V. (W)
	-K		51 years K.
10. Haridattavarman	81 years	19. Manadeva	49 years
Hurry Dutt Burma	V. B. (W)	Maun Deo	B. V. (W)
	39 years K.		32 years K.
11. Vasudatta Varman	83 years V.	20. Mahideva	51 years B.
	63 years B. (W)	Mahadeva	36 years V. (W)
		Mahe Deo	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. 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. 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 Pasupreksha 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 Pasupreksha 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
22. Udayadevavarman	35 years B. 37 years V. (W)	
Oodey Deo	47 years K.	
23. Manadeva (II)	35 years B. V. (W)	
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 Vamasavali 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 Ghurkas 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, together 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 Vrisadeva, the

Vamsavalis of Wright and of Bhagvantal insert a King Rudradevavarman who is missing in other documentt. 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 crosed 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 anarchnism. Lhasa was still barbarous and closed to Buddhism. King Rudradeva has been introduced here by confusion. If the traditon 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.

'Vriasadeva was very pious; every day he nourished Vajra-yogini before taking his meals; he repaired the chaitya of Dhar-madatta, 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, Manadeva 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 Balbala, 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 Cainkaracarya 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 his 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 flori

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 formulae; 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 irresproachable 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, heroism 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 all 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-

decide 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 Allahabad, where Candragupta 1st designates in the presence of his courtiers moved by various emotions, Samudragupta 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; Harivarman, 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 Mana³. 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 legends in Gupta characters show Shri Manuka. Mr. Cunningham has not attempted to explain these legends. Mr. Bendall mentions the connection of the formula Mananka 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 Jisnu 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 Ksatriya of the Surashtra, glorifies in having vanquished (towards 150 J. C.). The one and the other coinage is independent of the coinage of the Kouohans. 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 Manandeva 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. 46. 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 blood³³. 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 *sragdhara* 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 *sanskrit* 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 Shamsar, 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 Gaka 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

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 Pandyas 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 Mleccha-deca 'the barbarous countries' in contrast with Madhyadeca 'the Empire of the Centre', Hindusthan. The astronomer

Varaha-Mihira in the VIth century enumerates as the pratyantas population (Brahat 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 Trolodytes. 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 with 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 experors; 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 Praivrajaka 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 Laksmana 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 formulation²⁴. 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 indentical 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.

(The 30 marries his daughter to Amsuvarman, founder of the Thakuri dynasty).

(29) Bishen Gupt

74 years (Vishnu Gupta)

(30) Kishnoo Gupt

61 years (Kishu Gupta)

(31) Bhoomy Gupt

40 years (Bhumi Gupta)

(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)

(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' 'Brhat-Sambita', 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', 11, 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 Citaditya by Silvain Levi, in the acts of the Xth 'congress des orientes'. Geneva, 1896, V. 3.
8. Japanese edition., XXVII, 9p. 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, 1.
13. Nepala..., 1. 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, nemi-niyamasya, battvam tapasah" (Bombay ed., 266).

4. Taranath, p. 26 and 27.- Schiefuer translates "the Tibetan tharu-i brgyud" by "die Reihe der Erdgränze", 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 Nepala 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 correspondends 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-cui-pn, Pai-pou are transcriptions of the Tibetan name Bal-po. Key sup., vol. 1, p. 186; and 1,223, n.l, for another etymology of Nepal proposed by M. Waddell.

17. Wright, 79; "From the hill of Padma (Swayambhu) to Guhyeswari'. The 'Svay' p. (es. 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: "bhukta-mana-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, 1,1) 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 rival 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 Lebensbeschreibung 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 Viradhada 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 Jasnugupta, bears the name of Managupta.
31. Sri Manecvaruvarakavdhaorataoa... (Jyasthiti Malla, Nev. S. 506), ms. Cambridge Add. = 698, --varatalabdhaprasadita... (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., 110B.
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.

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