

SYLVAIN LEVI:

The History of Nepal. Part I

Edited and Translated By Theodore Riccardi, Jr.

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TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

1. THE WORK OF SYLVAIN LEVI (1863-1935.)

In an interview with Frédéric Lefèvre in 1925, Sylvain Lévi recounted how his career began :

How was it decided that my vocation was to be that of an Indianist ?
Partly by chance, as it so often happens, and perhaps also for deeper reasons.

When I was at the Sorbonne, a friend and I made out a list of lectures which we wanted to attend. The total amounted to only thirty-two class hours a week. This was a bit meagre, but we didn't know how to increase it, for it had become rather difficult to find a subject not already represented.

My friend's father knew Ernest Renan: why not consult him? His formal reply came to us immediately: 'There is a professor of genius who has no students; his name is Bergaigne, and he teaches Sanskrit.'

We added Sanskrit.¹

Bergaigne began the first lecture by writing a Sanskrit verse on the blackboard and explained it without looking at his new pupils, covering his eyes with his hand as if he were following some inner thought pattern. "No magic gestures or words which could bewitch us. . . . And yet, from the end of that first hour, I was dedicated to the study of Sanskrit."² Six years later, Abel Bergaigne died and Lévi, then twenty-five years old, succeeded to the chair of Sanskrit at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. Bergaigne had also been charged with the teaching of comparative philology, a study to which Sanskrit had always been subservient. With Lévi's appointment, the two fields were separated and in his inaugural address he expressed his appreciation that Indology

¹ Frédéric Lefèvre, "Une heure avec M. Sylvain Lévi, indianiste, professeur au Collège de France", in *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi* (Paris : Paul Hartmann, 1937), p. 119. Reprinted from *Nouvelles Littéraires*, March 14, 1925.

² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

had at last been recognized as an independent field of study.³ When Foucaux retired in 1890, Lévi succeeded to his chair at the Collège de France, the post which he held until his death in 1935.

Lévi always spoke with respect and affection for "Monsieur Bergaigne". They had worked together closely for five years and Lévi freely acknowledged the debt he owed him.⁴ Bergaigne, however, was primarily a philologist who devoted much of his life to the study of the Vedas.⁵ Lévi never fully shared this interest. He was essentially an historian, and his consuming interest became the growth and spread of Indian thought rather than its origins.⁶ In his inaugural address, he spoke, somewhat prophetically, of the direction his work was to take :

As Brahmanism has unified India, India in turn has given a kind of unity to the people of Eastern Asia. From Persia to the China Sea, from the steppes of Siberia to the tropical islands of Java and Borneo, from the ports of Oceania to Socotra opposite Africa, she has propagated her beliefs, her genius, her civilization and her stories. Through the long course of the centuries, she has marked a quarter of the human race with her indelible imprint.⁷

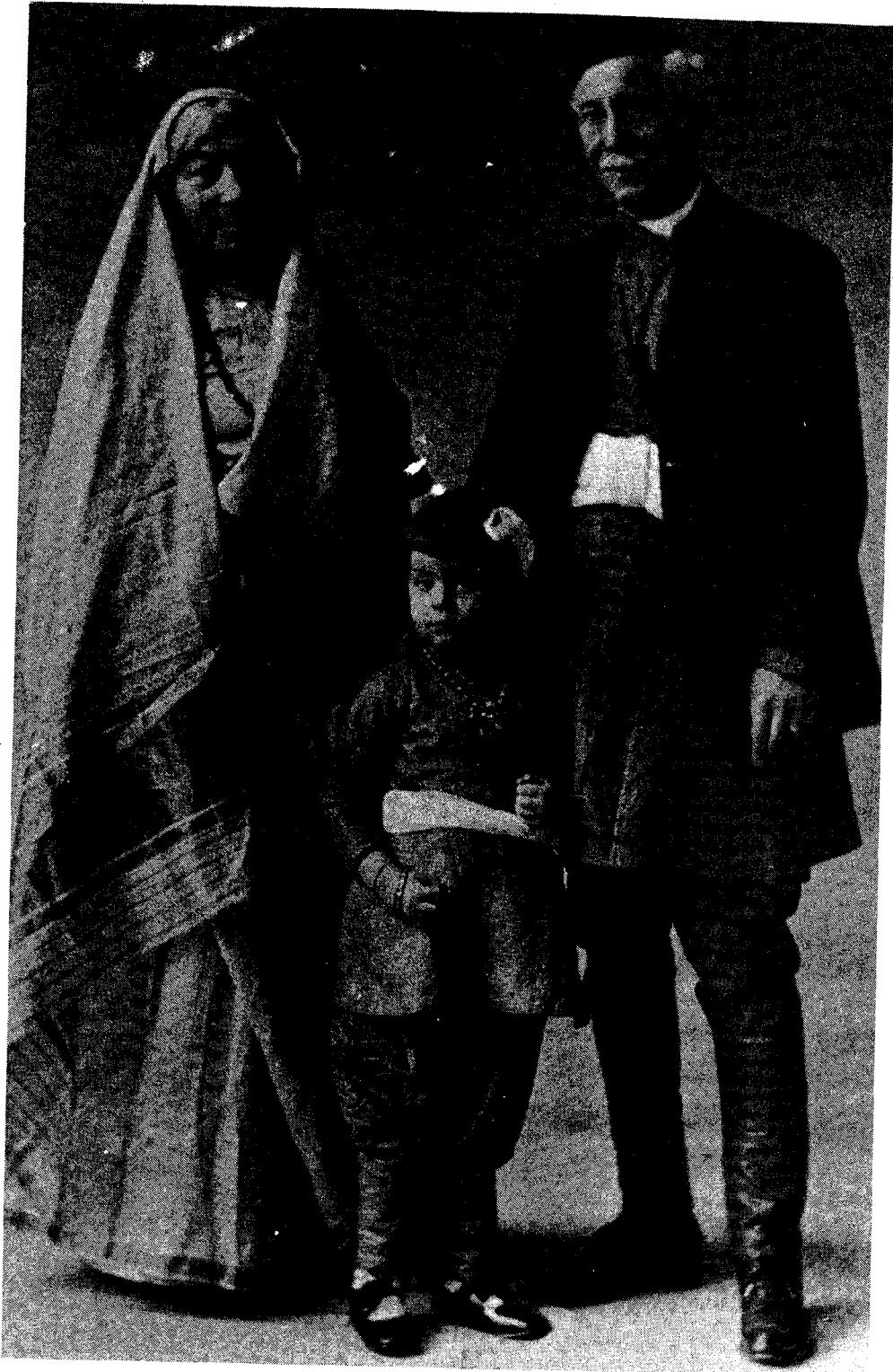
3 "Abel Bergaigne et l'indianisme", in *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*, p. 2. Reprinted from *Revue bleue*, XLV, (March 1, 1890) 261-8.

4 Louis Renou, "Sylvain Lévi et Son Oeuvre Scientifique", in *Memorial Sylvain Lévi* p. xii. Reprinted from *Journal Asiatique*, ccxxviii, (1936), 1-59.

Much later in his career, Lévi was again to express his admiration for Bergaigne, particularly with regard to German scholarship: "Too long unrecognized, his genius is now uncontested, and if you write four lines about my work I would like at least three of them to be about Bergaigne. It was he, after Burnouf, who put Vedic studies in the path which they have followed ever since. The Germans, assured of the antiquity and purity of their race, proclaimed themselves the direct heirs of the ancient civilizations of India. They needed an Aryan Bible which they could oppose to the Semitic Bible; they had to have, therefore, a kind of primordial revelation, with its patriarchs, its prophets, in short, all which they needed to become the worthy counterpart of the other. Bergaigne was the first to cause this fiction to crumble. Is it necessary to point out that German scholarship, with almost no exceptions, has maintained complete silence about his work?" *Lefèvre*, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

6 Renou, *op. cit.*, p. xxii.

"Abel Bergaigne et l'indianisme", p. 15.



SYLVAIN LÉVI AND FAMILY

It was this "kind of unity", this "indelible imprint", which was to occupy most of his career. In the years following his succession to Bergaigne's chair, he learned Tibetan and Chinese, and, in 1894, began a life long collaboration in Buddhist studies with Chavannes.⁸

By 1898 he had finished the four major works of his early career, all dealing with Brahmanic and Hindu India: his early articles on Kṣemendra, the thesis on Indian theatre, his essay on Indo-Greek relations, and his work on the Brāhmaṇas.⁹ This last work was seen through the press by his pupils Finot and Foucher, for by this time he had already embarked for India on the first of his three voyages to the East. In the latter part of 1897, he landed in Bombay, proceeding then to Kathiawar, Banaras, Patna, Kapilavastu, Lumbini, Calcutta, and, finally, the Valley of Nepal, which he had wanted to visit for several years. He had been greatly attracted by this small isolated place where local traditions and Buddhist influence had been preserved far better than in the provinces of India itself. He had already, in 1894, published a short discussion of its ancient chronology.¹⁰ On this first trip east he collected materials which were to keep him and his students occupied for many years. *Le Népal* appeared in 1905-8.¹¹ There followed in rapid succession his work on the *Divyāvadāna*, his translation of the *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālamkāra* (1911), his work on Tocharian (1912-13), and his work on Yaśomitra on which he collaborated with Theodore Stcherbatsky (1918).¹²

In 1921 he returned to the Orient. This time he landed at Colombo and proceeded to Śantiniketan where he assisted at the founding of the international university of Tagore. He then visited Calcutta, Dacca, Banaras, Nepal once more for four months, Bombay, and Mysore. Leaving India, he journeyed to Indo-China and

8 Renou, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

9 "La Brhatkathāmañjarī de Kṣemendra", *Journal Asiatique*, 83 ser., VI (1885) pp. 397-479; *Ibid.*, 83 ser., VII (1886). 178-222; *Quid de Graecis veterum Indorum monumenta tradiderint*, Paris, 1880; *Le Theatre Indien*, Paris, 1890; *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas*, Paris, 1898.

10 "Notes sur la chronologie du Népal," *Journal Asiatique*, II, (1894), 55 ff.

11 See below, p. 5.

12 "Les éléments de formation du *Divyāvadāna*", *T'oung-pao*, (1907). 105 ff.; *Asaṅga Mahāyāna-Sūtra-lamkāra, exposé de la doctrine du Grand Véhicule selon le système Yogācāra*, Paris, 1911; "Un Fragment tokharien du Vinaya des Sarvāstivādins", *Journal Asiatique*, I, (1912), 101 ff.; "Le "tokharien" B", langue de Koutcha", *Journal Asiatique*, II, (1913), 311 ff.; *Sphuṭārthā. Abhidharma-kośavyākhyā, The Work of Yaśomitra. First Kośasthāna*, edited by S. Lévi and Th. Stcherbatsky, (Bibl. Buddh., XXI), Petrograd, 1918.

Japan, where he lectured at the University of Tokyo. He returned to Paris in June, 1923.

The next few years were occupied with geographical questions, in particular the identification of Indian localities in the works of Ptolemy and other classical geographers. His famous work on the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* of Vasubandhu¹³ appeared in 1925, and the following year he returned to Asia again, this time to Japan, where he became director of the Maison Franco-japonaise founded by Claudel, then the ambassador. It was during this time that he began, with Takakusu, the editing of the *Hobogirin*, the dictionary of Buddhism based on Chinese and Japanese sources which was later to pass into the hands of his student, Demiéville. He returned to France by way of Java, Bali, India, and, once more, Nepal, where he again spent a short time. From this last trip grew his work on the *Karmavibhaṅga* and his edition of Sanskrit texts from Bali.¹⁴

His last works were articles on manuscripts which had been discovered in Bamiyan and Gilgit in 1931, the figure Maitreya, and a short work on Alexander the Great.¹⁵ He died suddenly on October 30, 1935, "without having known," wrote Renou, "an hour of decline. His task could be considered finished. He seemed to have arrived at the end of a long journey."¹⁶

II. LE NEPAL

Lévi spent several years writing an account of Nepal following his first trip there in 1898. Entitled *Le Népal : Etude Historique d'Un Royaume Hindou*, it appeared in three volumes between 1905 and 1908.¹⁷ He incorporated in it the results of his

13. *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi. Deux traités de Vasubandhu, Vimśatikā (la Vingtaine) accompagnée d'une explication en prose et Trimśikā (La Trentaine) avec le commentaire de Sthiramati.* Paris, 1925.

14. *Mahā Karmavibhaṅga (La grande classification des Actes) et Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa (Discussion sur le Mahā-Karmavibhaṅga),* Paris, 1932; *Sanskrit Texts from Bali (Bālidvīpagraṅthah),* critically ed. with introduction by S. Lévi (Gaekwad Oriental Series LXVII), Baroda, 1933.

15. "Notes sur des manuscrits sanscrits provenant de Bamiyan (Afghanistan) et de Gilgit (Cachemire)", *Journal Asiatique*, I, (1932), 1 ff.; "Maitreya le consolateur", in *Etudes d'Orientalisme Raymonde Linossier*, Paris, 1932, 355 ff.; "Alexandre et Alexandrie dans les documents indiens", in *Mélanges Maspero*, Cairo, 1934, p. 155 ff.

16. Renou, *op. cit.*, p. xlvi.

17. *Le Népal : Etude Historique d'Un Royaume Hindou (Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'Etudes, Vols. 17-19)* Paris : E. Lèroux, 1905-08.

own observations as well as the accounts written by scholars before him. Despite its age, it continues to be the most authoritative work on the subject.

Lévi was convinced of the importance of Nepal in Asian history and regarded it as one of the crossroads where South, Central, and East Asian influences met and combined. He conceived of his account as both a detailed history of a Hindu kingdom and a history in reduction of India, maintaining that the history of India in its essential phases was reproduced in that of Nepal, and he provided in his introduction a comparative outline of political, religious, and social developments in the two countries.

It may be useful to indicate briefly the major divisions of the work.

The account begins with a geographical description first of the kingdom as a whole, and then of the valley of Kathmandu, its mountains, rivers, towns, and villages. While much has been learned since Lévi's time about the geography of the Himalayas, his account remains important because of his descriptions of early maps and the suggestions he makes with reference to the development of indigenous cartography.

The geography is followed by a description of the historical sources. These he divides into three groups :

1) *European Documents*. These include the accounts of D'Andrada, Grueber, Tavernier, and the Capuchin missionaries. Among the latter, the accounts of Marco della Tomba and Giuseppe da Rovato were of particular importance to him. These are followed by discussions of the nineteenth century English accounts of Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, Hodgson, Smith, Oldfield, and Wright, as well as other accounts of minor importance;

2) *Tibetan and Chinese Documents*. These include the writings of Hsüan Tsang, Wang Hsüan-ts'e, and other Chinese pilgrims, the Annals of the T'ang, documents relating to Atiša, and the records of the Ming and Manchu dynasties. These are followed by discussions of documents relating to the Gurkha invasion of Tibet and the relations between China and Nepal in the nineteenth century;

3) *Indigenous Documents*. These are the indigenous chronicles (*vamśāvalī*) and puranas, both Buddhist and Hindu, the inscriptions, manuscripts, and coins.

Lévi next describes the two chief peoples of Nepal : the Newars and the Gurkhas, and their origins, religion, social organizations, and languages. He follows with a discussion of the local pantheons, their cults, and festivals.

These sections are followed by the "History of Nepal", a long essay where in one connected narrative Lévi brings together the results of his historical investigations. It traces the development of Nepalese history from the earliest references in

Indian literature to the end of the nineteenth century. It is by far the most important section of the work and the part chosen for translation here.

Le Népal concludes with Lévi's *carnet de séjour*, written in January-March, 1898, and the texts, with photographs, of inscriptions recorded by him during his stay.

III. THE TRANSLATION

Despite its importance, *Le Népal* has been out of print and almost inaccessible for many years, and scholars have long hoped for its reappearance. The present annotated translation is an attempt to alleviate this difficulty. It is hoped also that in this way Lévi's monumental work will be made available to a much wider audience, particularly to the people of Nepal, whom Lévi held in such high esteem, but among whom his work has always been more legendary than useful.

The portion of *Le Népal* presented here is part one of the "History of Nepal", which appears in the second volume. It is hoped that subsequent sections will appear in the near future. The translation includes all of Lévi's notes and the original photographs; the notes have been numbered consecutively, however, since the pagination of the original could not be maintained. The notes added by me are marked in the text with a letter as well as a number. These notes are placed at the end of the translation. I have attempted in these to draw attention both to works pertaining to Nepalese subjects written since 1908 and to works in related fields which have a bearing on Nepalese history. I have also included references to earlier works where it was necessary to clarify Lévi's text.

I have kept Lévi's original abbreviations and transliterations except in the case of Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages where a few changes have been necessary in order to bring them into conformity with modern usage.

I would like to express our gratitude to Mr. Shankar Nath Adhikaree, Librarian, Kesar Librasry, for permission to reproduce the accompanying photograph of Sylvain Lévi and his family.

I wish to thank my friend and colleague at Columbia, Professor Nina Garsioian, who graciously consented to review the translation and who contributed greatly to its accuracy. The remaining errors, of course, are mine.

New York, April 1974.

Theodore Riccardi, Jr.



Viṣṇu taking the three steps. Image consecrated by the king Mānadeva in honor of his mother Rājyavatī.
(Hamlet of Lajampat)

PART I

FARLIEST REFERENCES TO NEPAL; EPIGRAPHIC AND LITERARY EVIDENCE.

LEGENDARY ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF NEPAL.

The divine period. Mañjuśrī: his successors; legendary dynasties. The epic period. The Gopals. The Abhiras. The Kirātas. The Hindu dynasty of Niṃṣa. The historical period. The Solar Dynasty of the Licchavis.

Nepal enters authentic and positive history only in the fourth century of the Christian era. The first dated document which cites the name of Nepal is the panegyric of the emperor Samudra Gupta on the Allahabad pillar. The inscription enumerates the subject peoples, be they tributaries, vassals, or direct subjects, of the authority of the powerful sovereign who gave a moment of imperial unity to India. The king of Nepal (*nepāla-nṛpati*) is listed there in next to last rank among the princes who "paid tribute, obeyed orders, and came to prostrate themselves to satisfy the proud will of the master".¹ He is placed between the prince of Kāmarūpa on the one hand and the prince of Kartṛpura on the other. The name of Kartṛpura has not as yet been met with elsewhere and remains unexplained. The name of Kāmarūpa has been perpetuated: it continues officially to designate the district northwest of Assam, on the southern frontier of Bhutan.^{1a} The names of Nepal and of Kāmarūpa are frequently connected in literature as they are on the Allahabad pillar.

As a whole Sanskrit literature poses too many problems in chronology to be of any great assistance. The great epics and the purāṇas in particular still float almost by chance in the chaos of the Hindu past. Whatever their dates may be, however, it is necessary to observe that the name of Nepal is not found, so far as I know, in the *Mahābhārata*, nor in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, nor in the principal purāṇas, despite the considerable place the Himalayas occupy in their accounts and legends. The unanimous silence of the great epic and mythological compilations leads one to believe that the name of Nepal was still unknown or did not exist as yet at the time of the diaskeuasts. While neighboring Kāmarūpa, under the ancient designation of Prāgjyotiṣa, was admitted into the cycle of sacred compositions, Nepal remained the unnamed retreat of the barbarian Kirātas,^{1b} inaccessible in their mountains and feared in the plains.

It is true that an alleged text of Vedic literature, the *Atharvaparīṣiṣṭa* mentions Nepal alongside Kāmarūpa,² but the work, despite its claims, is a spurious addition

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1. Samataṭa-Davāka-Kāmarūpa Nepāla-Kartṛpurādi-pratyanta-nṛpatibhir. . . . sarvvakaradānājñā-karaṇa-praṇāmāgamana-paritoṣita-pracaṇḍa-sāsanasya; Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 8
 2. Nepālaṃ Kāmarūpaṃ Videhodumbaraṃ tathā tathāvantyah Kaikayaś ca uttarapūrve hate hanyāt. A section of the Kūrma-vibhāga of the *Atharvaparīṣiṣṭa* in Weber, *Verzeich. der Hss. der Kon. Bibl.* Berlin, I, p. 93.— and cf. Weber, *Ind. Studien*, VIII, 413; X, 319.

to the *Atharva-Veda*, composed at a late date. Certain of its astrological doctrines seem to betray the influence of Hellenic ideas. In fact, it is with personal literature that the name of Nepal appears in India.^{2a} One of the *Twenty-Five Tales of the Vampire*, inserted in the *Paiśācī Bṛhatkathā* of Gunāḍhya, has for its hero a king of Nepal.^{2b} The two Sanskrit versions agree in naming him Yaśahketu. The tale belongs to the popular story cycle of Mūladeva, the king of thieves. Far from being essential to the story, the name Nepal is only introduced into it by chance, but the agreement of the two versions shows that this purely arbitrary choice goes back at least to the compiler of the original Prakrit version, around the second century of the Christian era.³ Toward that same time, or perhaps a little later, Bharata's treatise on dramatic art cites the people of Nepal among the "inhabitants and neighbors of the mountains."⁴

In the sixth century, the astronomer Varāha-Mihira mentioned Nepal among the group of peoples who are threatened by the intersection of the orbits of Venus and the moon, which is a bad omen, but in fact his text reproduces an earlier doctrine which goes back to his predecessor Parāśara.

Buddhist literature gives several references to Nepal, but it is difficult to assign them a specific date. The *Mūla-sarvāstivāda vinaya-saṃgraha*, compiled by Jinamitra and translated by I-tsing in 700 A.D., mentions, in an episode relating to the transport of wool, a group of bhikṣus en route toward Nepal (Ni-po-lo) at the time the Buddha was residing at Śrāvastī.⁶ The author of this collection is undoubtedly identical to the teacher of the same name whom Hsüan Tsang exalted as one of the glories of Buddhist science and who was a successor of Sthiramati who flourished around 550 A.D.⁷ Indeed, the Tibetan Bu-ston designated Jinamitra as a disciple of a disciple

3. Abhūn Nepālavīṣaye nāmnā Śivapuram puram/ yathārthanāmā tatraśīd yaśahketuh purā nṛpah.

Somadeva, *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, XII, 22, v.e.

Nepālavīṣaye śrīmān yaśanketur abhūn nṛpat.

Kṣemendra, *Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī*, IX, V.

Somadeva, as can be seen, in addition connects Nepal with śiva.

4. Aṅgā Vaṅgāh Kaliṅgās ca Vatsās caivoḍra-Māgadhāh Pauṇḍrā Naipālikās caiva antargiri-bahirgirāh.

Nāṭya-śāstra, XIII, 32.

5. Varāha-mihira, *Bṛhat-Saṃhita*, IV, 22 The corresponding passage of Parāśara is cited by Kern in a note to his introduction, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, n.s., IV, 454. — Varāha-mihira names Nepal again at V, 65.

6. *Chinese Tripitaka*, Japanese edition, XVII, vol. 6, p. 32a (= Nanjio, 1127).

7. *Mémoires*, II, 47. On the date of Sthiramati, cf. my *Donations religieuses des rois de Valabhī*, in the VIIth volume of the Bibliothèque de L'École des hautes études, sciences religieuses. Paris, 1896, p. 97.

of Sthiramati.⁸ 8a The *Vinaya-Saṃgraha* would then belong to the sixth or seventh century, and Jinamitra, in borrowing an episode from the canonical texts, was able to introduce into it a name of more recent date. The name of Nepal is even found in the text of a sūtra, the *Candragarbhasūtra*, translated into Chinese by Narendrayaśas between 550 and 557 A.D. The name appears there in a long and interesting list of peoples which betrays it as either a fabrication or a re-working of a later date, barely anterior to the translator himself.⁹ During the seventh century, the *Praise of the Eight Great Caityas*, attributed to the king Harṣa Śīlāditya, places Nepal together with Kāmarūpa among the countries possessing sacred relics.¹⁰

The literature of the Tantras, composed at a rather early date, is understandably familiar with Nepal where the Tantras were held in honor. The *Mañjuśrī-Mūla-tantra*, translated into Chinese between 980 and 1000 A.D. designates Nepal together with Kashmir, Kapiśa (Kia-wei-chi), Little China and Great China (Mahācīna) among the kingdoms of North India where favorable retreats were found to perfect the practice¹¹. In another passage, it indicates the inauspicious signs forecasting disaster in Nepal : "When, on the days of the nakṣatras Hasta, Citrā, Svāti, Viśākhā, Anurādhā, Jyeṣṭhā, there will be an earthquake, then in the kingdom of Nepal (Ni-po-lo) the petty kings within and without will invade, pillage, and kill each other."¹² The *Sarva-tathāgata-mahā-guhyā-rājādbhutānuttara-praśasta-mahā-maṇḍala-sūtra* also names Nepal, pēle-mēle with Magadha, China, Samatāṭa, Laṭa, etc., among the kingdoms where the disciples of Vajrapāṇi reside.¹³

The first authentic personage who is found in connection with Nepal is the celebrated teacher Vasubandhu who flourished toward the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries.¹⁴ According to the account of Tāranātha, Vasubandhu, when he was already old, went to Nepal accompanied by five hundred disciples. He founded religious schools there and the number of monks increased greatly. But one day he saw a guru dressed in his ecclesiastical costume working in a field. Seeing this inexpiable transgression, he realized that the decline of the doctrine was near.

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8. Tāranātha, p. 320.
 9. Japanese edition, III, 4, 61a (= Nanjio, 63). Nepal is inserted into this list between the Dog-heads (Śvamukhas) and the *Kiu-na-so* (Gonāsas ?).
 10. *Une poésie inconnue du roi Harṣa Śīlāditya*, par Sylvain Lévi, in the Acts of the Xth Congress of Orientalists, Geneva, 1895, v. 3.
 11. Japanese edition, XXVII, 9. p. 48a (= Nanjio, 1056).
 12. *Ibid.*, 63a.
 13. Japanese edition, XXVII, 3, p. 82b (= Nanjio, 1918).
 14. Tāranātha, p. 125.

He recited the formula of the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇi* three times and died. His disciples erected a caitya to him on the spot.¹⁵

The Jain tradition reports, for its part, that the patriarch Bhadrabahu was en route to Nepal at the very moment when the council of Pāṭaliputra met to gather the text of the Aṅgas which were about to be lost.¹⁶ The death of Bhadrabahu varies, according to different schools, between 357 and 365 B.C., but the *Parīṣiṣṭa-parvan*, where mention of his trip to Nepal is found, is the work of Hemacandra, the great Jain teacher who lived at the court of Kumāra Pāla in the twelfth century.

The name Nepal, *Nepāla*, despite its Sanskrit appearance, does not lend itself to a satisfactory etymological explanation. Lassen¹⁷ proposed to interpret it by analogy with the words *Himāla*, *Pañcāla*, etc., as a compound of two terms : *nīpa* and *āla*. *Āla* would be, as in other words of this kind, an abbreviation of *ālaya*, “abode”; *nīpa*, strengthened to *nepa*, would mean “the foot of a mountain.” But, even supposing that the change from *nīpa* to *nepa* were legitimate, the sense attributed here to this would have no other foundation than the gloss of a scholiast.¹⁸ Moreover, it applies rather badly to a country already situated in the mountains themselves; Nepal strictly speaking is only the large interior valley. The word *nīpa* signifies above all a kind of *aśoka* (the *nauclea cadamba* of the botanist) which is far from being characteristic of the Nepalese region. In addition, one could still bring in the Nepas, a princely race of the cycle of the *Pāṇḍavas*, who reigned in Kāmpilya in Pañcāla.

Local interpretation prefers a different analysis. It divides the word into *ne + pāla*. This last element means “protector” in Sanskrit. The fantasy of the commentators has had full play on the initial syllable which has no real existence in Sanskrit. The Buddhists saw in it a formation derived from the root *ni*, “lead”; *Ne* would be “the guide who leads to Paradise”, Svayambhū Ādibuddha. *Ne-pāla* would mean:

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15. Cf. Takakusu, *A study . . . and the date of Vasubandhu*, in the Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1905, 1.
 16. *Nepāla-désa-mārga-stha. Parīṣiṣṭa-parvan*, 1. IX: cf. sup., vol. 1, 225.—Hemacandra, in an interesting passage in his commentary on the *Kāvyaṅgīśāsana* (*Kāvya-Mālā*, 1900, 128), cites Nepal among the countries located to the east of Benaras (“Videha-Nepāla-Puṇḍra-Prāgjyotiṣa-Vāranāsyāḥ parataḥ pūradeśaḥ) and again among the mountains of the region (°Dandura-Nepāla-Kāmarūpādayaḥ parvatāḥ.)
 17. *Ind. Alt.*, 12, 76, n.3.
 18. Mahīdhara on the *Vāj Samh.*, XVI, 37.

“(the country) which has for protector Svayambhū the psychopomp”.¹⁹ According to the Brahmans, *Ne* would be the full or shortened name of a saint who had lived at one time in Nepal. In the *Paśupati-purāṇa*^{19a} (xxi) Sanat-Kumāra asserts, “A saint named *Ne* protected it formerly by his meritorious works; therefore, the country in the bosom of the Himalayas is called *Nepāla*”.²⁰ The *Nepāla-Māhātmya* (XII) calls the same saint *Nemi*. “O *Nemi*,” Paśupati addresses him, “walk at the head of the saints of this sacred domain; by my word, it is you who must protect this country, O Treasure of Austerities !”^{20a} And since that time the country took the name of *Nepāla*.²¹ Instead of *Nemi*, the eponym is sometimes also called *Niyama*.²² In this interpretation, Nepal is an exact counterpart to Gorkha. Gorkha, in fact, takes its name from its patron saint (*Gorakṣa Nātha*) who protected the city and the country.

The saint *Ne* or *Nemi* is reputed to have been the founder of the mythical dynasty of the Guptas. The Lunar dynasty (*Somavaṃśa*) the first Hindu dynasty which seems to belong to history, has for its founder a prince named *Nimiṣa*. *Nemi* and *Nimiṣa* are without doubt only variants of the same tradition or of the same legend. It is still the same eponymous ancestor who reappeared, in a third transformation, in the king *Nemita* whom the sources of *Tāranātha* designate as the father of *Aśoka*. “In the kingdom of *Campārṇa*, which belongs to the *Tharus*, *Nemiṣa*, accompanied by five hundred ministers commanded all the countries of the north. . . . The mountain people of Nepal and the *Khaśyas* rose against him. *Aśoka*, his son, vanquished

19. Hodgson, *Essays*, 51, note.

20. *Nenāmnā muninā pūrvam pālanāt puṇyakarmaṇā/
idaṃ hi Himavat-kukṣau Nepāla iti cocyate//*

The Buddhist *vaṃśāvalī* also gives him the name *Ne-muni* (Wright, 107).

21. *Neme tvam asya kṣetrasya munīnām agrāṇī bhava/
pālanīyaṃ tvayā kṣetraṃ vacanān me tapodhana//
tataḥprabhṛti taj jātaṃ kṣetraṃ Nepālasaṃjñakam/*

22. Hamilton, 187.— Hodgson, *loc. cit.* — Oldfield, II, 189— A passage in Bana's *Harṣacarita* comes close to a pun in the words *nime* and *niyama*. The religious Buddhist *Divākara Mitra* is called there *janma yamasya, nemiṃ niyamasya, tattvaṃ tapasah*; (Bombay edition, 266).

them without difficulty.”²³ Campārṇa is obviously Sanskrit Campāranya, the modern Champaran, situated at the frontier of Nepal, on the great road from Patna to Kathmandu. The Tharu tribes continue to live as more than semi-savages in the marshy lowlands of the Terai, north of Champaran on the Nepalese frontier.^{23a}

The epoch of Nemi or Ne-muni marks in the local chronicles the transition between the divine and legendary periods. It comes either six or nine hundred years before the beginning of the Kali-yuga (3101 B.C.), in the fourth millenium before the Christian era. The divine period dates back to the origins of the world. The legendary period extends down to the accession of Aṃśuvarman, founder of the Thākuri dynasty. From his reign onward, “the gods ceased to appear in Nepal in bodily form to human sight”. A verse of the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* predicts in fact that “Viṣṇu must live ten thousand years on earth, Gangā two times less, the Grāma-devatās (local divinities) two times less that.” But because Nepal is the country of the gods, the Devatās consented to prolong their stay there by three hundred years. The accession of Aṃśuvarman occurs in this system in the year 2800 ($10,000/2 \times 2 + 300$) of the Kali-yuga. Through a preference for round numbers, this was altered to 3,000 K.Y. = 101 B.C. We are fortunately able to correct the figures of the vaṃśāvalis with certainty since the comparison of epigraphy and the accounts of Chinese travelers fixes the date of Aṃśuvarman indubitably at the beginning

23. Tāranātha, pp. 26-7. Schiefner translates the Tibetan *tharu-i-brgyud* by “die Reihe der Erdgränze”. But according to the testimony of Wassilief himself (cited *ibid.* Intro., p. 9), “Sumba Khutuktu understands *Tharu* as the name of a tribe (from which came Aśoka)”. The exactitude of this information gives credit to the Tibetan tradition. It is certain, indeed, that one must translate *tharu-i-brgyud* “the country of the Tharus”.

The Tibetan form of the name Nepal, *Bal-po*, seems to confirm the traditional analysis which separated the initial syllable *ne*. The element *po* is the substantive particle which is attached to concrete terms. The significant part is reduced to *Bal* (= *pāla*, or rather a weakened form *bāla*, intermediate between the Sanskrit *ne*) *pāla* and the modern designation of *Ne* (*vāra*, Newar). The word *bal* signifies, in addition, in Tibetan “wool”. Nepal is often designated also by “Rin-po-che-i-gliñ” which corresponds to the Sanskrit *Ratna-dvīpa*, “country of jewels”, and by extension “country of the blessed”. It is also called *Klu-i-yul* “the country of the Nagas,” as being their favorite residence. The Chinese, during the T’ang period, called it *Ni-po-lo*; during the Ming period, they called it *Ni-pa-la*; the modern forms *Pa-lo-pou*, *Pa-eul-pou*, *Paï-pou* are transcriptions of the Tibetan name *Bal-po*. Cf. sup., vol. 1, p. 186 and 1, 223, n. 1, for another etymology of the word *Nepal* proposed by Mr. Waddell.

of the seventh century A.D. (595 A.D. = 3696 K.Y.).^{23b} The gap is about eight hundred years. On the basis of the system of the vaṃśāvalis, one might have correctly believed it possible to assert that positive history began in Nepal in around 600 A.D., after the disappearance of the gods who are always suspect to the historian. But, against this assumption, epigraphy from now on provides to history a list of kings of the Sūryavaṃśi dynasty, beginning with the pious Vṛṣadeva who visited Hell and returned. If the reign of Mānadeva I dates, as we believe to have established, from the end of the fifth century, Vṛṣadeva, his great-grandfather, must date back to approximately the year 450 A.D., less than fifty years after the inscription of Samudra Gupta where the first authentic mention of the kingdom of Nepal occurs. From then on, scholarship wrests the facts from the tradition with difficulty.

* * *

The divine history of Nepal consists above all of the legends from Brahmanic and Buddhist compilations which I have already reported.^{23c} It would be idle to try to establish a logical sequence in these tales. I recall only the role attributed to Mañjusrī, who came from China to Svayambhū, drew Nepal from the waters, and founded there the city of Mañjupaṭṭana,²⁴ between the Viṣṇumati in the west, the Bagmati in the east and the south, and the Sheopuri to the north. The present day city of Kathmandu forms the southwest corner of that legendary settlement. There he installed as king Dharmākara, a king of Great China (Mahā-cīna) who had accompanied him on his pilgrimage and who justified his name ("Treasure of the Law") by his virtue and piety. Dharmākara organized Nepal with China as his model : sciences, knowledge, trades, culture, manners, commerce, all followed Chinese examples.²⁵ He even erected a religious building tiered in the Chinese fashion. ²⁶ ^{26a} He left the throne to Dharmapāla, who had come from India with the Buddha Krakucchanda. The dynasty of Dharmapāla lasted to the end of the Treta yuga. Sudhanvan, who

24. Wright, 79: "From the Padma hill (=Svayambhū) to Guhyeśvarī". The *Svayambhū Purāṇa* (Bibl. Ind., p. 246) gives other but equivalent limits :
 śaṅkharparvatopatyakād ā cintāmaṇitīrthakam/
 keśāvatyāṃ pūrvatīre śaṅkharparvatadakṣiṇe
 paścime rājamañjaryā vāgmatyā uttare diśi

25. *Svay. P.*, p. 248:
 tathā Cīnavad rājyaṃ ca sarvavidyātanmaṇḍalam
 akṣaram sarvavidyāpi śilpavidyābhiḥ śāstrakaiḥ
 kṛṣi ādibhiḥ bravaiś ca vānijyāiḥ sarvakarmabhiḥ
 yathā Cīnapradeśe 'sti tathā Nepālamaṇḍale

Cf. sup., I, 332, n.2.

26. *Svay. P.*, ms. from the Bibliothèque Nationale, D. 78, p. 26b.
 yadvan mahācīnakūṭāgāraṃ tadvan manoharam/

was ruling at this critical moment, transferred the capital to Sāṅkāśyā on the banks of the Ikṣumatī (the Tukucha brook, to the east of the British Residency), but he incurred the wrath of Janaka, the father-in-law of the glorious Rama. Janaka had him put to death and gave the vacant throne to his own brother Kusadhvaja who founded a new dynasty. The episode of Sudhanvan was borrowed whole from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1,70 and 71 *adhyayas*) and reveals the firm intention of connecting Nepalese antiquity to the Rāma cycle where it had no legitimate place.^{26b} At the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa, Nepal was visited by a king of Gauḍa (Bengal), Pracaṇḍadeva, who was given the religious name of Śāntaśrī or Śāntikara.^{26c} The descendants of his son, Śaktideva, came later from Bengal to occupy the throne which had remained vacant. One of them, Guṇakāmadeva,^{26d} learned the rites with which to propitiate the Nāgas from his grandfather. Here the legend has split into two, in order to transport them into the most remote past, Guṇakāmadeva the Thākuri and his spiritual master, both of whose magical powers recommended them to the inventions of the story-tellers. The hero of a famous jātaka, Siṃhala, was then introduced into the posterity of Guṇakāmadeva. He came to Nepal to found the monastery of Vikramaśīla, a wretched copy of an illustrious monastery erected in Magadha by Dharmapāla, king of Gauda, in the ninth century A.D.^{26e}

The process of splitting and bringing forward, which was applied to the dynasty of the Kirātas, provided a line of kings which filled a gap of a thousand years. The last of these so-called Kirātas, Saṅkū, was overthrown by a Hindu prince, Dharmadatta, who came from Kāncī (Conjeveram, near Madras), to worship Paśupati. He abandoned Suprabhā (Thankot, to the south west of the Valley), which had been the Kirāta capital, and founded Viśāla-nagara^{26f} on the longitudinal axis of the Valley, between Budha-Nilkanth^{26g} and Kotwal^{26h} (the gorge created by Mañjuśrī) There he settled Hindus of the four castes and ruled a thousand years. He built the temple of Paśupati, enriched it with gifts, and constructed to the north of it a caitya which bears his name. This caitya still existed at the time of Vṛṣadeva the Śūryavaṃśi who repaired it.²⁶ⁱ The demon Dānāsura then seized the country and flooded the valley to make a pleasure lake out of it, but he was defeated and killed by Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. The ancient cities vanished in the flood. Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva together founded a new city between the upper course of the Bagmati (Śaṅkha-mūla)^{26j} and Budha-Nilkanth. A kṣetri, Svayaṃvrata, the son of a holy ascetic (ṛṣi) was set up as king there. The kings of popular legend, Vikramājīt (Vikramāditya), his son Vikrama-keśarin, his rival Bhoja who sat on a throne supported by thirty-two talking statues, followed in succession in Nepal.^{26k} The population grew and cities were founded here and there : Matirājya, Irṣyārājya, Padmakāṣṭha-giri (Kirtipur). A thousand years later, a queen of Marwar, Piṅgalā, neglected by her husband, King Sudatta, went to Nepal, and won by her religious zeal the favor of Paśupati.

The intervention of the gods restored her marriage and Piṅgalā founded the Piṅgalā-vihara in memory of her sojourn.

Nine hundred and fifty years still remained of the Dvāpara yuga when the gods decided to re-establish the authority of a king in Nepal. The sage Ne-muni was then settled at the confluence of the Bagmati and the Visnumati. He edified and instructed the people. He was considered to be an oracle. He declared that the hour had come to consecrate a new prince. As there no longer remained any kṣatriyas, his choice fell upon a shepherd of Kirtipur who was a descendant of a companion of Kṛṣṇa who had come once upon a time to settle in the train of the god. The father himself of this shepherd had died a supernatural death. At the very moment when he pulled the long since buried emblem of the god Paśupati from the ruins, he was consumed by his fire.²⁶¹

The dynasty of the Shepherds (Gopālas) comprises eight princes:²⁷

1. Bhuktamāna W. (Bhuktamanagata ²⁸ B; Bhuktamāngata V.) Bhoorimahagah K.	88 years 48 years 3 months
2. Jaya Gupta Jye Gupt	72 years W.B. 73 years 3 months K. 92 years V,
3. Parama Gupta Perma Gupta	80 years W.B.V. 91 years K.
4. Harṣa Gupta Shree Hurkh	93 years W.B. 95 years V. 67 years K.
5. Bhima Gupta (Bheem Gupt)	38 years W.B.K. 85 years V.
6. Maṇi Gupta (Munni Gupt) Māti Gupta	37 years W.B.K. 88 years V.

27. W. designates the Vaṃśāvalī of Wright; B. that of Bhagvanlal (*Some Considerations on the History of Nepal*); K. the lists of Kirkpatrick; V. my copy of the Brahmanic vaṃśāvalī.

28. Bhagvanlal supposes that this name is a corruption of the formula "bhuktamāna-gata-varṣa = in the year of the reign of...."

7. Viṣṇu Gupta	42 years W.B.
	92 years V.
Bishen Gupta	66 years K.
8. Yakṣa Gupta	71 years W.
Jye Gupt	71 years 1 month K.
	72 years B.
	85 years V.

In total: 521 years, W. —522 years B. —705 years, V. —491 years and 4 months, K.

Their capital was at Mātā-tīrtha, in the south-west of the valley between Kirtipur and Thankot.

Without being misled by the names and by the precision of the numbers, one should recognize at least the plausibility of the tradition when taken as a whole. Before it became the seat of a civilized state and an organized nation, Nepal had to accommodate the pastoral tribes who followed their wandering herds in the pasture lands of the Himalayas. Whereas the cowherds of Hindustan continued to lead their cattle during the favorable season into the thick pastures of the Terai, the mountain clans scattered in the high valleys, struggling against a harsh soil and rigorous climate, had no alternative to pastoral life. And so Hinduism created a decisive link between the cowherd and Kṛṣṇa, the lover of cowherdresses; the Goals (*Gopālas*) of present day Bengal understandably claim a connection between themselves and Kṛṣṇa, just as the Nepalese chronicler had connected the primitive shepherds of his country with him.

The first political rivalries were merely quarrels between cowherds disputing the best pasture. An Ahir (*Abhīra*) from India replaced the *Gopālas*. The Ahirs are still in present day India a simple subdivision of the Goals and often even the names are substituted for each other according to the whim of local preference. *Goal* is more often employed in Bengal, *Ahir* in Bihar. 28a Manu (X, 15) holds the *Abhīras* to be the product of an irregular cross between a Brahman and a daughter of *Ambaṣṭha*, *Ambaṣṭha* being himself born of a cross between a Brahman and a daughter of a *Vaiśya*. The *Abhīras* were dominant either through numbers or power in the region between the Indus and the Narmada during the early part of the Christian era; witness the Greek texts (*Aberia* of the *Peryplus*, para 41; *Axeria* of Ptolemy, VII 1, 55) and the inscriptions (Nasik, no. 10). Kirkpatrick's list transforms the first *Abhīra* into a Rajput. 28b Descended from the *Gopālas* by a spurious lineage, he raised an army in the Tarai between Simraongarh and Janakpur.

The Ahir (*Abhīra*) kings are :

1. Vara Siṃha	75 years	V.
Bhul Singh	49 years	K.
2. Jayamati Siṃha	75 years	V.
Jye Singh	21 years	7 mos. K.
3. Bhuvana Siṃha		
Bhavana—	45 years	V.
Bhowany Sing	41 years	K.

In total : 195 years, V. — 111 years and 7 mos., K.

The valley, enriched by the establishment of a sedentary population, offered to the barbarians of the neighboring mountains an alluring prey. Tradition again plausibly introduces an invasion of the Kirātas at this point. They arrive from the east and take over the country. 28c

The Kirātas have been a familiar name for a long time in India. A Vedic formula (*Vājasaneyi Saṃhita*, XXX, 16), associated with distant memories of human sacrifice, sends the “Kirāta back to his caves.” The mountains are in effect his domain; it is there that he continues to live and prevail during the epic period. Bhīma encounters the Kirātas in leaving Videha on his victory march toward the east (*Mahā-Bhārata* II, 1089). Nakula also finds them along the way when he conquers the West (II, 1199). Arjuna, while he was ascending the Himalayas in the north, was stopped and defied by a Kirāta, or rather by Śiva in the guise of a Kirāta (III, adhy. 38-41). This is the famous episode which Bhāravi picked up and used with all the resources of erudite poetry in his classic *Kirātārjuniya*. 28d Often the Kirātas appear in the enumerations of the *Mahā-Bhārata* together with the foreign peoples who live along the border with India : Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas, etc. 28e It is above all with the Cīnas that they are associated. Kirātas and Cīnas fraternize under the standards of the glorious Bhagadatta, emperor of Prāgjyotiṣa (Kāmarūpa). They form the contingent of the Yellow Ones : “The Cīna and Kirāta soldiers appeared to be made of gold; their troops seemed to be forests of karṇikaras 28f (with yellow flowers)” (V. 584). The *Rāmāyaṇa* (IV, 40, 26 ed. Bombay) also mentions the “golden color” of the Kirātas. Their tribes were not organized into one nation and formed several kingdoms. Bhīma subjects “the seven kings of the Kirātas” (II, 1089); the number is in harmony with the usual nomenclature of the “Seven Gaṇḍakis” and of the “Seven Kosis” in the Nepalese Himalaya. 28g Several of these kings are mentioned by name : Subāhu (III, 10863) who commanded the Kirātas and the Tanganas, and who welcomed as friends the wandering Pāṇḍavas (III, 12351); Pulinda (II, 119); and Sumanas (II, 120).

The customs of the Kirātas are simple : they live on fruits and roots, dress themselves with animal skins, and wear their hair tied up in a pointed knot. They have nevertheless a pleasant appearance. Their knife, like the Nepalese kukhri, is a fearful weapon (*M. BH* II, 1865).^{28h} Such are, at any rate, the Kirāta clans who live in the most remote parts of the Himalayas, toward the mountains where the sun rises, in the Kāruṣa²⁸ⁱ which is at the end of the ocean, and in the region of the Lauhitya^{28j} (*Brahmaputra*).

Other Kirātas, who live with the coastal populations (II, 1002) and who live in the islands, are wild. They eat raw fish, move round the waters, and are called tiger-men (*Rāmāy*, IV, 40, 26). This portrait applies perfectly to the Kirradai of the *Peryplus* (para. 62), a people situated to the north of the Dosarone ^{28k} near the Ganges delta : "This kind of man has his nose flattened on his face; they are barbarians." Their immediate neighbors, the Horse-heads, and the Long-heads are reputed to be cannibals.²⁹ Ptolemy locates the country of the Kirātas (Kirradai) at the north of the Ganges, to the east of the most important mouth (VII, 2,2). It is among them that one obtains the best quality malabathrum.^{29a} But they are only intermediaries for we know from the *Peryplus* (para. 65) that the malabathrum comes from the country of the Thinai (Cīna); they sell it to the Sesadai, who are a race which is small in stature, has a wide face, sweet character and are just like beasts. These Sesadai are evidently identical to the Besadai whom Ptolemy (VIII, 2, 15) describes almost exactly in the same terms, borrowed from a common source and which he locates at the confines of the Kirradai (VII, 2,16) Trade thus connects the Kirradai and the Thinai the Kirātas and the Cīnas. In the epic, the Kirātas, carry a gift of joyous accession of the most varied objects to Yuddhiṣṭhira : loads of santal and agaru wood, black scented wood (kāliyaka, eagle wood?)^{29b} animal hides, precious stones, gold taken from the mountains (II, 1866-1869). In its famous list of sixty-four scripts, the *Lalita-Vistara* attributes a special script to the Kirātas.³⁰ ^{30a} In the theoretical orga-

29. Likewise in the Jain catalogues barbarian peoples (mlecchas) and the Kirāya (Kirātas) immediately precede the Hayamuha (Hayamukhas, Horse heads). *Ind. Stud.*, XVI, 397.

30. In fact the Kirātas attribute to their hero Srijanga the invention of a special script (Sarat Chandra Das cited in Vansittart, p. 136). The parallel lists in the Chinese versions are worth citing. The most ancient (*P'ou-yao king*, translated in 308) replaces the name of the Kirātas with *yi-ti-sai*, an expression which designates from the Chinese point of view the "barbarians of the northern border." It is an exact equivalent by transposition. The second (*Fo-pen-hing-tsi king*, translated in 587) transcribes *Ki-lo-to* and adds as a gloss "nakei moi". The third (*Fang-kong ta tchoang ven king*, translated in 683) gives simply the transcription *Ki-lo-to*. See the final note to my article, "Le Pays de Kharoṣṭra et l'écriture kharoṣṭri", in the *Bulletin Ec. fr. Extr-Or.*, 1904.

nization of Brahmanism, as it is regulated by the Laws of Manu, the Kirātas are considered to be Kṣatriyas in origin, fallen to the rank of Śūdras because of their neglect of the rites and their scorn for Brahmans (*Manava-dh. S.*, X, 43-44).

From the evidence taken as a whole, it appears that in ancient times the Hindus designated as Kirātas all the peoples of the Tibeto-Burman family who lived along the high plateaux of the Himalayas, the delta of the Ganges and the neighboring coast. Driven back or absorbed by the advance of Hinduism, the Kirātas continued to exist only in the mountains to the east of Nepal. At the time of the Gurkha conquest in 1768, the Kirātas still formed "an independent nation, bordered in the east by the Kingdom of Bhatgaon, at five or six days journey from this capital. They professed no religion."³¹ But once the conquest of Nepal had been achieved, the Gurkhas also took possession of the country of the Kirātas.³² Today Nepalese usage still designates the country between the Dudh-Kosi and the Arun under the name of Kirāta (vulg. Kiranta). But the Kirāta nation occupies a vaster territory which reaches approximately to the eastern borders of Nepal : it comprises the clans of the Khambus, Limbus, and the Yakhas; in addition, the Danuars, the Hayus, and the Thamis claim, more or less legitimately, to connect themselves with it. The religious indifference among the Kirātas which Padre Guiseppe mentioned has not changed. In Buddhist country, they mutter *Om Mani Padme Hum !* and give gifts to the lamas; in Hindu country, they pass for Śivaïtes and worship Mahādeva and Gauri.^{32a} Like all tribes of Tibetan race, the Kirātas of today are partial to beef, and it is through force of arms that the Gurkhas have introduced among them obligatory respect for the cow. The Limbus have an expressive legend about their origin. They claim to descend from a family of ten brothers who emigrated from Benares (Kāśi), their fatherland, and came to settle in Nepal and Tibet. The brothers who established themselves in Tibet later rejoined those of Nepal, but their descendants maintained the nominal division in Kāśi-gotra and Lāsa-gotra.

The dynasty of the Kirātas comprises twenty-six or twenty-nine princes :

1. Yalambara	13 years W.
Yalaṃva	50 years V.
Yellung	90 years 3 mos. K.
2. Pabi	
Paṃvi	35 years V. (lacking in K.)
3. Skandhara	W.B.

31. *Description*, p. 350.

32. *Ibid.*, 362.

	Dhaskam		36 years V. B.
	(2) Duskham		37 years K.
4.	Balamba		W.
	Valamva		21 years V.B.
	(3) Ballancha		31 years 6 mos. K.
5.	Hrti		19 years V. (W.B.).
	(4) Kingly		41 years 1 mos. K.
6.	Humati		21 years V. (W.B).
	(5) Hunnanter		50 years K. Following in K.
			6. Tuskhah 41 years 8 mos. (=9).
7.	Jitedāsti		9 years V. (W.B.)
			7. Sroopust 38 years 6 mos. (=10?)
8.	Gali	W.B.	8. Jetydastry 60 yrs. (=7).
	Galimja	61 yrs.	
9.	Puška	W.B.	9. Punchem 71 yrs. (= 12)
	Tuška	69 years V.	
10.	Suyarma	W.B.	19. King-king-king 56 yrs. (= 12a).
	Suyasya	45 years. V.	
11.	Parba	45 years V. (W.B.)	11. Soonund 50 yrs. 8 mos. (=13)
12.	Thuŋka	B.	12. Thoomoo 58 yrs. (= 14)
	Bunka	W.	
	Pamca	37 years. V.	
12.	Keŋke	38 yrs. V. (Lacking in W. and B.)	
13.	Svananda	41 yrs. V. (W.B.)	13. Jaighree 60 yrs. 1 mo. (=15)
14.	Sthunko	W.B.	14. Jenneo 73 yrs. 2 mos. (=16)
	Thumko	59 yrs., V.	

15. Gighri	71 yrs. V. (W.B.)	16. Suenkeh	60 yrs. 1 mos. (=17)
16. Nane	59 yrs. V. (W.B.)	16. Thoor	71 yrs. (=18)
17. Luk Luke	W.B. 53 years V.		
18. Thor	50 years V. (W.B.)	18. Burmañ	73 yrs. 6 mos. (=20)
19. Thoko	50 yrs. V. (W.B.)	19. Gunjeh	72 yrs. 7 mos. (=21)
20. Varma	41 yrs. V. (W.B.)	20. Kush Koon	unknown duration (=22)
21. Guja Gumja	W.B. 39 yrs. V.	21. Teeshoo	56 yrs. (=23)
22. Puška Puškara Pumska	W. B. 35 yrs. V.	22. Soogmeeea	59 yrs. (=24)
23. Kesu	31 yrs. V. (W.B.)	23. Joosha	63 yrs. (=?)
24. Suga Sunsu Sumgu	W. B. 29 yrs. V.	24. Gontho	74 yrs. (=26).
25. Sansa Sammu Samśa	W. B. 32 yrs. V.	25. Khembhoom	74 yrs. (=27)
26. Gunan Gupana Gumnamja	W. B. 35 yrs. V.	26. Gully Jung	81 yrs. (=29)
27. Khimbu Simbu	W.B. 37 yrs. V.		
28. Pațuka	W.B. (lacking in V.)		
29. Gasti	41 yrs. V. (W.B.)		

The total duration of the dynasty according to K. (counting as zero the reign of number twenty Kish Koon) is 1518 years one month; according to B. and V., 1118 years (but the total of the reigns indicated in V. gives 1178 years). The three numbers, very different as they are, present in common the three numbers 1,1,8, combined differently: with a 5 in K., a 1 in WB. and V., a 7 in the calculation of V. It is hardly probable that chance alone could cause the identity of three digits out of four. The three integers 1,1,8, common residue of three different numbers, represent without doubt the stable and fixed element of the tradition. Each of the chroniclers has later arranged them as he liked.

The names given to the Kirāta kings are clearly barbarian and the possibility of a learned fabrication can be excluded. Strangers to the taste of local color, the Hindu chroniclers, when they had occasion to introduce foreign personages into their romantic fantasies, foisted on them names which are plainly Hindu. I have just mentioned the Kirāta kings who appeared in the *Mahā-Bhārata*. They were called Subāhu, Sumanas, etc., as if they were the most genuine Aryan heroes. I do not claim, however, that the Nepalese dynasty of the Kirātas preserves a precise record of the barbarian princes who may have ruled in the Himalayas at the beginning of the Kali-yuga or even of the Christian era. The tradition without doubt records that before the Hindu dynasties of historic times, the country had been inhabited by cowherds, then dominated by the Kirātas. The cowherds were vague entities without personality whom one could name according to one's fancy. A real family of Abhīras, installed on the throne toward the time of Amśuvarman, carried names composed with the word Gupta; the primordial Gopālas received names tailored on the same pattern. But the Kirātas, at the time of the first vaṃśāvalis as at the time of the most recent ones, were perfectly real and were familiar persons in continuous contact with the people of Nepal. The Kirātas had without doubt their royal geneologies as did all the people of the Himalayas. As was customary, their compilers had to bring them into agreement with the three most important factors: the heroes of the *Mahābharata*, the Buddha, and Aśoka, the most important patron of Buddhism. The Nepalese chroniclers allowed the first dynasty of the Kirātas, to pass whole into their history. The very name of the first of the Kirātas, Yellung (K.), Yalamba, Yalambar, seems to be connected to the legend which places the cradle of the Tibetan race and the sojourn of its first king on the banks of the Yo-loung (Yar-loung) rivers.³³ Yalang (Yalamba or Yalambar) reigned at the very end of the Dvāpara-yuga. Under his son and successor Pabi (Pamvi), the astrologers announced the victory of injustice over an already weakened justice and the beginning of the Kali-yuga.^{33a} In contrast with the purāṇic doctrines which have the Kali-yuga begin from the day when Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa returns to

33. Huc. II, 508.— Koppen, II, 46 sqq. —Georgi, 296.

heaven after the final victory of the Pāṇḍavas over their enemies, the chronicles place the origin of the Kali-yuga before the epic wars of Yuddhiṣṭhira and his brothers. Kirkpatrick's figures date the reign of Jitedasti, who was the ally of the Pāṇḍavas at the battle of Kurukṣetra, in the period between 272 and 332 of the Kali-yuga. The Brahmanic vaṁśāvalī places him between 132 and 141 of the same era. Moreover, Sthunko, designated as a contemporary of Aśoka, ruled according to Kirkpatrick from 509 to 567 K.Y., according to the Brahmanic vaṁśāvalī from 476 to 535 K.Y. and the Purāṇas more or less agree in placing Aśoka about twelve centuries after the reign of Parikṣit, who began the Kali-yuga. There is therefore a discrepancy of about seven centuries between the purāṇic system and that of the vaṁśāvalīs. It is useless to determine their relations with true chronology for it has nothing in common with these inventions.^{33b}

Under Humati (6) Arjuna is supposed to have visited the Himalayas and fought with Maha-deva disguised as a Kirāta. The successor of Humati, Jitedasti, went with his troops to Kurukṣetra on Arjuna's order and participated in the final victory. It was at this moment that Sākyamuni is supposed to have come to Nepal to preach the doctrine and worship at the holy shrines of Svayambhū, Guhyeśvarī, and Mount Namobuddha. Sthunko (4) was ruling when Aśoka undertook a pilgrimage to Nepal on the advice of his spiritual director Upagupta. There he erected several monuments and married off his daughter Cārumati to a kṣatriya, Devapāla, who founded the city of Deopatan^{33c}. The couple each wished to construct a monastery to which to retire when they had grown old, but only Cārumati was able to build one.

The capital of the Kirātas was located in the jungles of Gokarṇa, to the north-east of Paśupati. The invasion of Hindu conquerors obliged Paṭuka (28) to retire to the south, beyond Śankha-mūla-tīrtha. 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 dynasty, issued from Kuru, according to others (K) to the Solar dynasty issued from Rāma. Their dynasty consisted of five rulers:

- | | |
|----------------------|----------|
| 1. Nimikha W. | |
| Nimiṣa B.V. | 40 years |
| Nevesit K. | 50 years |
| 2. Matākṣa W.V. | |
| Manākṣa B. | 61 years |
| Mutta Ratio K. | 91 years |
| 3. Kākavarman W.B.V. | 76 years |
| Kaick burman K. | 76 years |

4. Paśuprekṣa deva B.	
Paśuprekha deva W.	
Paśupraṣa V.	86 years
Pussoopūsh Deo K.	56 years
5. Bhāskara varman W.B.V.	88 years
Bhosker Burmah K.	74 years

Total duration : 351 years V., 347 years K.

The two totals are in agreement within about four years.

The new dynasty moved the capital to the extreme southeast of the valley, to Godāvāri. It was during the reign of Nimiṣa that a miracle caused the far distant waters of the Godāvāri to appear in this place, led from the Daccan through a mysterious tunnel. Nimiṣa seems to be related in origin to Nemi, the eponym of Nepal.^{33d} With Paśuprekṣa, the chronicle seems to enter at last into the area of more precise traditions. The very name of this king, "He who has seen Paśu (Pati)", seems to be connected to a legend about the discovery of the Nepalese god. He is regarded in all the vaṃśāvalī as having introduced into Nepal the organization of Hindu society, since he had "divided the inhabitants of the country into four castes" (Kirkpatrick, 189), or he had "peopled the country with the four castes (Wright, 113)^{33e} The first dated event of Nepalese chronology associates the memory of the king Paśuprekṣa with the god Paśupati : he is supposed to have "built" (Kirkpatrick) or "rebuilt" (Wright) the temple of Paśupati, and crowned it with a golden roof in the year 1234 (W.) or 1239 (V.) of the Kali-yuga. Another equally precise and positive memory connects Bhāskaravarman with the son of Paśuprekṣa.³⁴ Having returned to Nepal after a triumphant campaign in India, he dedicated all the gold from his booty to Paśupati, gave in ownership to the temple the city of Deopatan which he had enlarged, enriched, and had named City of Gold (Suvarṇapurī), entrusted the service of the god to the Buddhist ācāryas, and regulated all the details of religion by a charter inscribed on a copper plate which he deposited in the convent of Cārumatī^{34a}.

The dynasty which continues or replaces the family of Nimiṣa, depending on the tradition, finally begins true history. These princes claim to be related to the Sūrya-vaṃśa, the solar dynasty which has Rāma as its hero. According to the Buddhist Vaṃśāvalī, the adopted heir of Bhāskaravarman, Bhīmavarman, was a Sūr-

34. It should be noted that the name of Bhāskara-varman is born by the prince (*kumāra*) who ruled over Kāmarūpa, on the Nepalese border, during the time of Harṣa and of Huan-tsang (seventh century).

yavaṃsi kṣatriya connected with the Brahmanic clan (gotra) of the Gautamas. He had come from Kapilavastu to Nepal with the Buddha, and had settled permanently in the country. The inscription of Jayadeva at Paśupati^{34b} gives the mythical geneology of the Solar family of Nepal, which it sets forth as follows : Brahma had as great grand-son Sūrya the Sun, who sired Manu, who sired Ikṣvāku, who sired Vikukṣi. Vikukṣi had a son Kakutstha who had a son Viṣvagaśva. Among his descendants, twenty-eight generations later, Sagara was born, who begot Asamañjasa, who begot Aṃśumat, who begot Dilīpa, who had as a son Bhagiratha. From the latter were descended Raghu, Aja, and Daśaratha. Eight generations later, the solar race produced Licchavi. From Licchavi came forth "a race which is the unique ornament of the earth, renowned in the world, worthy of the respect of the most powerful and of the gods themselves, and which bears in addition the very pure name of Licchavi, triumphant, white as a cluster of moon crescents, equal to the course of the Gaṅgā."³⁵ In the course of time this race gave birth at Puṣpapura (Pāṭaliputra) to the virtuous king Supuṣpa. Skipping over the next twenty-three intervening kings, one comes to Jayadeva the Victorious, separated by eleven generations from Vṛṣadeva.

The geneology recorded here is not entirely in accord with the puranas in its heroic sections. Viṣvagaśva is not, as in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* for example, the grand-son of Vikukṣi, but the son of his great grand-son. Between Viṣvagaśva and Sagara there are not twenty-eight generations, but thirty-two according to the same purāṇa. From Daśaratha on, the division between puranic tradition and the official geneology of Nepal is complete. Rāma and his descendents are probably too popular for an adventitious branch to be grafted onto their family tree. The obliging chancellery preferred to separate itself from the main trunk with Daśaratha and then jump boldly into the unknown hooking up after an arbitrary interval of eight generations with Licchavi, who springs up suddenly from nowhere.

The Brahmanic purāṇas have not recorded the name Licchavi nor its origin. They have vied with each other to establish silence around a memory far too popular among heretics not to be compromising. But the Buddhist and Jain texts, despite the Brahmans, have saved from oblivion the name of this illustrious family which governed Vaiśālī, the richest city of India at the time of the Buddha and the Jina.^{35a} The Licchavis had established there a constitution which recalls somewhat the con-

35. A copy of this inscription which I procured in Nepal reads clearly *aparam* in verse 6 (svacchaṃ Licchavināma bibhrad aparam Vaṃśaḥ) in place of *aparo* which Bhagvanlal adopted. —White is the color of glory whence comparisons with the moon and with the Gaṅgā, which also is supposed to be white.

sular institutions of Rome. The king, assisted by a vice-king and a commander-in-chief, was also guided by the elders of the clan who met together in a general assembly. Located between Magadha and the country of the Mallas, the Vaiśālī of the Licchavis harmoniously combined the institutions of its neighbors, monarchical to the south and oligarchical to the north. Buddhists and Jains have disputed, in their legends as well as in real life, the honor of counting the Licchavis among their patrons and devotees. The Licchavis solicited and received relics of the Buddha after his cremation. On the other hand, in learning of the death of the Jina, they expressed their mourning by an illumination, as symbolic homage, to "the light of intelligence which had departed."³⁶ The Jain canon enumerates the Licchavis among "the renowned *gotras* (families)"³⁷ of the same rank as the very clan of the Jina, of Brahmans, of the descendants of Kuru and Ikṣvāku, the Lunar and Solar races.³⁸ Documentation does not permit us to follow the vicissitudes of the Licchavi clan in detail, but in the fourth century of the Christian era the family reappears suddenly in history without having lost any of its prestige. Candragupta I, the founder of the imperial dynasty of the Guptas, the predecessor and the father of the glorious emperor Samudra Gupta, obtained a wife from the Licchavi clan, and, all powerful as he was, he drew from this alliance a pride which he displayed far and wide: his gold coins represent the king and queen side by side, each designated by name in the legend *candra gupta, kumāra devī*; and on the reverse, the legend, which accompanies a seated figure of Fortune, reads: *licchavayah*, "the Licchavis." Samudra Gupta in turn prides himself on being "the son of a daughter of the Licchavis (*licchavi-dauhitra*)"^{38a} and this title is scrupulously added to the name of Samudra Gupta in the epigraphic protocol of the entire dynasty. Fleet, followed by Vincent Smith, had believed that the Licchavis allied to the Guptas were the Licchavi kings of Nepal. The point of departure for this supposition was the belief that the Gupta era was of Nepalese origin. Nothing authorizes such a conjecture, either from the Nepalese side or from the Indian.³⁹

36. *Kalpa-sūtra*, trans. Jacobi (*Sacr. Books of the East*, XVII, p. 266)

37. *Sūtra-kṛtāṅga*, trans. Jacobi (*Sacr. Books of the East*, XLV, p. 321.)

38. *Ibid.*, p. 339.

39. Tāranātha cites a prince of the Licchavi clan, "the Lion" (*Seṅge*) who possessed a great empire in eastern India at the time when Candragomin was born, hence at the beginning of the seventh century (p. 145). The grandson of this prince, Pañcama-Siṃha, son of Bharṣa, commanded in the north up to Tibet (p. 158). Cf. perhaps the *Adi-siṃha* of Magadha cited in the inscription of Dudhpani, *Ep. Ind.*, II, 344.

Despite the fame of the Licchavi clan and the prestige given to it by the centuries, the ill-will of the Brahmans assigned to it a low rank in orthodox society. The code of Manu classifies the Licchavis (x, 22) with the Mallas and the Khasas, the three most prominent names of Nepalese history, as tribes issued from excommunicated ksatriyas (*vrātyas*) unworthy of initiation by the Sāvitrī.⁴⁰ 40a We are thus far from the geneology which the inscription of Jayadeva pompously displayed. The Buddhist texts contain a peculiar legend about the origin of the family: The wife of the king of Benaras gave birth to a ball of flesh, red as the kin flower (hibiscus), which she hastened to abandon in the Ganges where a hermit recovered it. Two weeks later, the ball divided in two. After another fortnight, each half produced five placentas. Still another fortnight passed. One of the pieces then became a boy, the other a girl. The boy was yellow like gold, the girl white like silver. Through the power of compassion, the hermits' fingers were transformed into breasts and the milk penetrated inside the babes as clear water into a *mani* jewel. Since their brilliance was the same inside and out, the hermit gave to the children the name Licchav.⁴¹ Other commentators interpreted this name to mean "fine skin" or even

40. Bühler (*The Laws of Manu*, 1.1.) re-established with reason, as Lassen had already done before him (*Ind., Alt.*, 12, 170, note) the reading *Licchivi*, and secondarily *Licchavi* instead of *Nicchivi* given by the vulgate. Moreover, the commentators are divided between the readings, *Licchavi*, *Licchivi*, *Licchakhi*, *Nicchivi*. Mr. Jolly in the text of his edition gives the reading *Licchivi*.

41. The legend is thus reported in the dictionary of Ekko s.v. *Litche*, *Li-tché-pi*, after the Cheu-tsoung-ki (or more exactly the *Seu-fan liu-chou-cheu-tsoung-iki*) glosses on the commentary (*chou*) of the Dharmagupta-vinaya (*Seu-fan-liu*), in ten or twenty chapters, by *T'ing-pin*. The *Sin-tsi-tsang-king in-i soei han lou* of K'o=houng, preserved in the Korean collection and printed in the Japanese edition of the Tripitaka (XXXIXm 1-5) gives the same legend in brief. An analogous legend, taken from southern texts, is found in Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism* p. 242, n. —The story recounted by Fa-Hien about the "Tower of bows and arms surrendered" at Vaiśālī, is only a variation of the same tradition evidently: one of the king's wives gives birth to a ball of flesh on the banks of the Ganges. Her rival, the first queen, has it thrown into the water enclosed in a box. A king recovers the box, and finds there a thousand infants; he raises them. When they grow up, they invade the kingdom of their father. But their mother, in order to make herself recognized by them and in order to stop their invasion, climbs upon a pavilion, squeezes her breasts, and causes a thousand jets of milk to spurt forth into the mouths of her thousand sons (trans. Remusat, ch xxv). —According to the *Tibetische Lebesbeschreibung Cākya-munis* of Schiefner, cited in Kera (*Buddhismus*, trans. Jacobi, p. 312,) the ancestor of the Licchavis as well as of the Mallas was a grandson of Virūdhaka, called Vasiṣṭha.

“in the same skin,” in memory of the origin of the two children. All of these explanations are based on a supposed etymology, popular or learned, which finds in the name Licchavi the word *chavi*, which means at the same time “skin”, “color”, and “brilliance.” The tale itself exploits a rather banal theme: thus in the *Mahābhārata* the hundred sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra are born of a ball of flesh which the impatient Gāndhārī expelled prematurely.^{41a}

The good will and the skill of the geneologists avoided a difficult choice between discordant traditions for the Nepalese Licchavis. Licchavi the eponym rests suspended in the void, between eight anonymous kings issued from Daśaratha and the imprecise line of anonymous kings which ends in Supuṣpa. This person, unknown elsewhere, seems to be borrowed from the legendary annals of Puṣpapura, “The City of Flowers” otherwise called Pāṭaliputra, the Palibothra of Megasthenes and of the Greeks. A new series of twenty-three anonymous kings extends from Supuṣpa to Jayadeva, who seems to be regarded as the founder of the Nepalese branch. The detour is sufficiently complicated and the stages sufficiently obscure to arouse mistrust. An authentic geneology would have staked out its landmarks with greater precision. After the Licchavis of Nepal, well into the seventh century A. D., the Tibetan dynasty which Srong-tsan Gam-po had just founded, despite its barbarian origins, nonetheless claimed a connection with the clan of the Licchavis, especially with the Śākya of the mountains.^{41b} The Buddhist Church, in serving the vanity of the upstarts, rewarded their zeal and bound them to itself more closely. Already, through the same process, it had furnished the triumphant Mauryas with a geneology which connected them to the Śākya, who had taken refuge in the Himalayas after their dispersion. Thus the Constantine of India and the Charlemagne of Tibet became cousins of the Licchavis of Nepal in an aristocracy based entirely on fantasy.⁴²

The Solar pretensions of the Nepalese kings were probably even more suspect. They had to be at least equal to those of the king of Gorkha which the rāna of Udaipur refused to sanction.⁴³ ^{43a} Despite this annoying setback, the Gorkha kings of Nepal continued to present themselves as “the lineage of the Sun”, Surajbansis (vulgar form of Sūrya-vaṃśi). The Surajbasis are the leaders of the Sāhis, the first of the noble class of Thākurs.^{43b} The Gurungs of Darjeeling, although barely Hinduized, have a solar clan (Suraj-bansi).^{43c} Thus, even the Mongolian

42. Mr. Vincent Smith (*Tibetan Affinities of the Licchavis*, in the *Ind. Antiq.*, XXXII, 1903. 233 sqq.) has hypothesised on very weak evidence that the Licchavis were in reality a Tibetan tribe, which had established itself in the plains during pre-historic times.

43. V. *sup.*, fol. 1, p. 256 sq.

tribes of eastern Bengal lay claim to this title. Some Brahmans, encountered by chance, revealed to them their distant and brilliant origins for a fee : their ancestors were genuine kṣatriyas, but when Viṣṇu, in the form of Paraśu-Rāma, massacred the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times in order to avenge the honor of the Brahman caste, they removed their sacred threads which marked them for the fury of the divine hero.^{43d} In 1871 they went to ask of their *zamindar* (answerable proprietor and administrator) to restore their Brahmanic thread but were repulsed with scorn. They did not give up, however. They supported their second request with an offer of five hundred rupees, the third with two thousand rupees, and their wish was granted. From then on they were organized into three *gotras* and separated by the rules of matrimonial exclusion. They banned widow marriage, adopted the custom of child marriage and strove to make themselves worthy of the Solar race to which their *bakshish* and perseverance had brought them.⁴⁴

In approaching real history, the complications and uncertainties of scholarship come to trouble the simple and beautiful order of the imaginary chronicles. Agreement is maintained more or less between the *vaṃśāvalis* up to the twenty-eighth (or twenty-ninth) prince of the Licchavi dynasty :

1. Bhūmivarman	61 years V. (W.B.)
Bhoomy Burmah	41 years K.
2. Candravarman	61 years B.V. (W.)
Chunder Burmah	21 years K.
3. Jayavarman	82 years V.B.
Jay Burmah	62 years K.
Candravarman (W. Probably erroneously)	
4. Varṣavarman	61 years V.B.
Barkhabarma	W.
Breesh-Burmah	57 years K.
5. Sarvavarman	78 years V.B. (W.)
Surbo Burmah	49 years V.B.
6. Pṛthivarman	76 years V.B. (W.)
Puthi Burmah	56 years K.
7. Jyesthavarman	75 years V.B. (W.)
Jeest Burmah	48 years. K.

44. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, s.v. *Surajbansis*.

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|---|--|
| 8. Harivarman | 76 years V.B. (W.) |
| (9.) Hurry Burmah | —K. (but reversed with the following) |
| 9. Kuveravarman | 88 years V.B. |
| (8.) Koober Burmah | 76 years K. |
| 10. Siddhivarman
Sidhe Burmah | 61 years V.B. (W.)
—K. |
| 11. Haridattavarman
Hurry Dutt Burmah | 81 years V.B. (W.)
39 years K. |
| 12. Vasudatta varman
Basso Dutt Bhurmah | 83 years V. 63 years. B.(W.)
33 years K. |
| 13. Pativarman
Pativarsavarman
Sreeputtry | 53 years B. (W.)
—V.
3 years K. |
| 14. Śivavṛddhivarman
Seobreddy | 54 years B. 65 years V. (W.)
77 years K. |
| 15. Vasantavarman
Bussunt Deo | 61 years B.V. (W.)
—K. |
| 16. Śivavarman
Śivadevarman
Seo Deo | 62 years B. (W.)
67 years V.
57 years K. |
| 16a. Rudradevarman | 66 years B. (W.) |
| 17. Vṛṣadevarman
Brikh Deo | 61 years B.V. (W.)
57 years K. |
| 18. Śaṅkaradeva
Sunker Deo | 65 years B.V. (W.)
50 years K. |
| 19. Dharmadeva
Bhurma Deo | 59 years B. 51 years. V. (W.)
51 years K. |
| 20. Manadeva
Maun Deo | 49 years B.V. (W.)
39 years K. |
| 21. Mahideva
Mahadeva
Mahe Deo | 51 years B.
36 years V. (W.)
51 years K. |

22. Vasantadeva	36 years B.V. (W.)
Bussunt Deo	56 years K.
23. Udayadevavarman	35 years B. 37 years.
	V. (W.)
Oodey Deo	47 years K.
24. Mānadeva (II)	35 years B.V. (W.)
Maun Deo (III))	45 years K.
25. Guṇakāmadeva	36 years B. (W.)
Sunakāmadeva	20 years V.
Soo kaum	50 years K.
26. Śivadevavarman	51 years B.V. (W.)
Seo Deo	41 years 6 months K.
27. Narendradevarman	42 years B.V. (W.)
Nurrender Deo	34 years K.
28. Bhimadevavarman	36 years B.V. (W.)
Bhem Deo Burmah	16 years K.

Total duration : B. 1779 years. V. 1698 years, K. 1428 years, six months.

The first prince of the Sūryavaṃśī or Licchavi dynasty (or, according to the vaṃśāvalī of Kirkpatrick, the direct heir of the line of Nimiṣa), Bhūmivarman ascended the throne in 1389 of the Kali-yuga (B.V.W.). This date, which corresponds to the year 1712 B.C., does not coincide precisely with the indications of the vaṃśāvalīs as to the duration of the previous dynasties, but it is not far off. The years of the Kiratas and of the Somavaṃśīs added together give $1118 + 351 = 1469$ (according to B. and V., and of this total it is necessary to subtract the reign of the first Kirāta, Yalamba (ra) which precedes the Kali-yuga. There remain roughly 1450 years with an excess of sixty years on the date assigned to Bhūmivarman. I hope it is clear that I do not mean to imply that these dates are genuine. I am merely trying to follow the track of the authors of the vaṃśāvalīs in their chronological constructions. The date of the accession of Bhūmivarman is interdependent with the date assigned to the establishment or to the restoration of Paśupati under Paśupreṣadeva in 1234 K.Y. (B.W.) or 1239 (V.), though one fits rather badly with the other. The gap between them is 155 (or 150, V.) years; however, Paśupreṣadeva and Bhūmivarman are separated by a single reign, though of 88 (V.) or 74 (K) years ! To be sure Hindus are far too little concerned with chronology to be in a position to claim that they introduce plausibility or logic into it, even when they invent it. Nonetheless,

these two dates, set side by side, and appearing with preciseness in the midst of the cloudy centuries which envelop them, seem to be based on real facts. They represent the inaccurate or unfaithful translation into years of the Kali-yuga of dates originally expressed in another era. I have already shown with authentic examples how real dates ran the risk of being transformed by the inversion of the numerals and how the traditional dates represent arbitrary combinations of real numbers. One would be tempted to observe - albeit this is an hypothesis which requires the most prudent reservations - that the numbers 1234 and 1389 present as common elements the numbers 3 and 1; and one could restore in their place 3124 and 3189 K.Y., for example, which would correspond to 23 and 88 A.D. and which would harmonize quite well with the era of the Licchavis such as I believe to have been able to calculate it.^{44a} The installation of the first Hindu dynasty in Nepal would then recall by an alluring analogy the subsequent installation of other Hindu dynasties in the country. As the Muslim conquest threw back into the Himalayas the Brahmanic kings of the Terai and the unconquered Rajputs who prepared the grandeur of Gorkha, the invasion of the Scythian tribes in the Ganges Valley toward the beginning of the Christian era, must have driven back into the still half-wild mountains the dispossessed princes with their trains of brave adventurers. Inscriptions attest that Mathura was in the power of the Kushans; the Murundas, who had also come from the far away steppes, ruled in the glorious capital of India at Pātaliputra.⁴⁵ And it is from Pātaliputra that the official tradition has Jayadeva, the descendant of Licchavi, come to Nepal. This Jayadeva, separated from Vṛṣadeva by eleven reigns according to the Paśupati inscription, is probably the Jayavarman of the vaṃśāvalis, the third of the Sūryavaṃśis and the grandson of Bhūmivarman, separated from Vṛṣadeva by an interval of thirteen reigns. The numbers on both sides are in close relation : the vaṃśāvalis were able to introduce into their lists, which are always presented as charts of continuous filiation, the names of two princes who did not rule, but whom it was necessary to recall in order to guarantee the legitimate transmission of power.

The majority of the kings mentioned up to Vṛṣadeva are scarcely more than names. Bhūmivarman supposedly transferred the royal residence to Bāṇeśvara. Jayavarman (3) or Jayadeva (varman: cf. the alternation in the names of 16: Śivavarman or Śivadevarman) is designated in the Paśupati inscription as "the Victorious" (*vijayin*), either by allusion to his name or to recall the victory which would have won the throne for the race of the Licchavis. Only Haridattavarman (II) seems to have left precise records. The unanimous testimony of the vaṃśāvalis

45. See Sylvain Lévi, *Deux peuples méconnus*, in the *Mémoires en l'honneur de Ch. de Harlez*, 176 sqq.

represents him as the devoté of Nārāyaṇa. He founded the temple Śikhara-Nārāyaṇa (K), or else he unearthed and brought back to light the image of Jalāśayana-nārāyaṇa (W.), or else he constructed the four most illustrious temples dedicated to Nārāyaṇa : Caṅgu, Caiñju, Icaṅgu, Śikhara (B.V.). Epigraphy comes to the support of the tradition : an inscription of Aṃśuvarman at Harigaon⁴⁶, attributing a donation to Jalāśayana, proves that this cult is anterior to the Thākuris.^{46a}

Immediately before Vṛṣadeva, the vaṃśāvalis of Wright and Bhagavanlal insert a king Rudradevavarman who is missing in the other documents. Under this prince, Sunayaśrī Miśra, a native of Kapilavastu, is supposed to have gone to Lhasa to take instruction from the Lamas. Then he is supposed to have gone from Tibet to Nepal, established himself at Patan, and founded there the Yampi bihār^{46b} in the north of the city, near the caitya of Aśoka. Two of his disciples, Govardhana Miśra and Kāśyapa Miśra, are supposed to have come from Kapilavastu to join him and each is supposed to have founded in turn a monastery : Kontī bihār and Pintā bihār^{46c}. The mention of Lhasa betrays the anachronism. Lhasa was only founded in the seventh century. Tibet in the time of Vṛṣadeva was still barbarian and closed to Buddhism. ^{46d}The king Rudradeva was introduced here by confusion. If there is any element of truth in the tradition which puts Sunayaśrī Miśra in relation with Rudradeva, the reference may be to the Rudradeva who in the vaṃśāvalis precedes the first Mallas to whom he is related and who has left behind the reputation of a fervent Buddhist.

“Vṛṣadeva was very pious. Everyday he fed Vajra-yoginī^{46e} before taking his meal. He repaired the caitya of Dharmadatta, in the northwest corner of Paśupati and built several viharas to serve as lodging for bhikus” (Wright, 117.) Epigraphy is in accord with the Vaṃśāvalī. The great grandson of Vṛṣadeva, Mānadeva, in his inscription of Changu Narayan, glorified his ancestor in these terms : “The incomparable king who was called Vṛṣadeva, majestic and powerful, was faithful to his word; one would have taken him for the Sun (Savitar) with his shining rays, to see him surrounded with his eminently noble, learned, refined, constant, sons, his soul instructed in duty.”^{46f} Jayadeva at Paśupati, speaks in like manner : “He was a famous king this Vṛṣadeva, an excellent prince. He loved above all the doctrine of Sugata (Buddha).” He owed to his piety his own miraculous return to life and Yama the pitiless went so far as to reproach his too zealous assistants for having ensnared so virtuous a man. After his resurrection he erected an image of Dharmarāja Lokeśvara near the Matirājya-caitya in Patan and set up a Pañcabuddha near Godāvarī. The cult of Balbala, which first began the cultivation of the soil, gives the date for the period.^{46h} The brother of Vṛṣadeva, Bālārcana, was his rival in piety and in virtue,

46. See below.

but, less happy than he, he lived sufficiently long to be present at the triumph of Śaṅkarācārya and at the destruction of Buddhism. He was forced to have his head shaved, lost the Brahmanic thread, and was compelled to marry a nun. The legend, as I have already remarked, has no other motif than the name born by the successor of Vṛṣadeva, Śaṅkaradeva. But the name of Śaṅkaradeva, like that of Vṛṣadeva and so many other royal names, is simply one of the sectarian appellations in which the zeal of Nepal for the cult of Śiva is expressed.

Śaṅkaradeva I has left behind a rather faded memory. The Paśupati inscription merely names him "the son of Vṛṣadeva." The stanza devoted to him in the Changu Narayan inscription is very vague : "The son of Vṛṣadeva, who was called Śaṅkaradeva, governed a prosperous empire. He was invincible to his enemies in combat, liberal, sincere. His courage, his liberality, his dignity, earned him abundant glory. He watched over the earth like a lion." The temple of Paśupati received important gifts from this prince : an iron trisūla, erected at the north gate, a liṅga, the Virāṭeśvara, in the south near the river, an image of Nandi at the western gate. All these monuments still exist, unfortunately without commemorative inscriptions. The monastery of Mayūravarna at Patan was also founded by Śaṅkaradeva for the Brahman Jayaśrī.

Dharmadeva, son of Śaṅkaradeva, "was a prince respectful of the law. His acts conformed to the law and the law was his own person. He tried to discipline his soul and his merits were excellent. He had inherited legitimately a powerful kingdom, transmitted by a series of ancestors, and he extended it with righteousness through the wisdom of his policy. He shined with the rays of his energy which had the power of magic formulas. His heart was pure as was his body. This prince of the earth had the splendor of the moon" (*Inscr. of Changu Narayan*). This panegyric is only a paraphrase of the name of Dharmadeva, formed with *dharma*, "the law." According to Kirkpatrick it is Dharmadeva who dedicated the large golden statue of the bull Nandi at Paśupati, which is installed before the entrance way of the temple. He also is supposed to be the founder of Svayambhūnāth in certain legends.^{47 47a}

Dharmadeva was succeeded by his son, Mānadeva. Mānadeva the Sūryavaṁśi is a very shadowy character in the vaṁśāvalī. "It is said that he built the Khāsācaitya (Bodhnath).^{47b} He built the Cakra-vihāra, near the Mati-rājya-caitya in Patan. The complete name of this monastery is *Mānadeva-saṁskārita-cakra-mahāvihāra*." The vaṁśāvalī of Kirkpatrick adds "it is said that he had a meeting with the god Simbhoo (Svayambhū) to whom he erected a temple." Here legend has already invaded history. It is so well developed that it ends in dividing Mānadeva in two. It has

47. Kirkpatrick, p. 189.

invented another prince with the same name who is supposed to be the son of the mythical king Vikmāntī. This prince, a parricide through obedience,^{47c} built the temple of Bodhnath to expiate his involuntary crime. In addition he composed a hymn, which has remained popular, in honor of the Buddhist Three Jewels. His mother, however, had governed the people with such great justice that everything was filled with her praises. She constructed numerous monuments and finally consecrated an image of Nava Sāgara Bhagavatī which is attributed to the artist who had already done the Bhagavatī of Palanchauk and the Sobhā-Bhagavatī.^{47d} Later, under Śaṅkaradeva (II), the Thākuri, the people were frightened by the terrifying aspect of the image and buried it with stones.

The documents, in sufficiently large number, permit an analysis of the legend at least in part. The mother of Māndeva, who has made her mark on the capricious memory of the annalists, stands out with her vigorous personality from this long array of indistinct characters. The inscription of the pillar of Changu Narayan, carved by the order of Mānadeva, is almost entirely dedicated to the glory of the queen-mother: "Dharmadeva had a wife of pure race and dignity, the most excellent Rājyavatī. She seemed to be the Lakṣmī (Fortune) of this second Hari (Viṣṇu). When he had illumined the universe with the rays of his glory, this sovereign went to the three worlds as if he had gone into a pleasure garden. And she remained disheartened, consumed, agitated... languishing, she who before her widowhood took pleasure in nourishing the gods in regular rites. This queen Rājyavatī, who is called the wife of the king, must indeed be Śrī herself, attached to him in order to follow him faithfully in this other aspect,⁴⁸ she, in whom was born here below the irreproachable hero, Mānadeva the king, of whom the charm does not cease to refresh the world, like the autumn moon. Having turned back, her voice interrupted with sobs and long sighs, her face in tears, she said tenderly to her son: "Your father has gone to Heaven. Oh! my son! Now that your father has disappeared, what use is it that I live on? Take the royal power, my dear son! As for me, I shall follow the path of my husband. What have I to do with the chains of hope, which are forged from the thousand ways of experiencing pleasure, to live without my husband, since the time to be together passes as an illusory dream! I depart," she said. Then her son, unhappy to see her thus, placing his head gently on her feet, addressed this prayer to her: "What use have I for the pleasures and joys of this life if I am separated from you? It is I who shall die first and you will leave for heaven afterwards." Resting in the lotus of his mouth, mixed with the tears from his eyes, the snares of his filial words kept her captive like a bird in a net. And with her virtuous son she attended in person to the funeral rites, her soul completely purified by the virtue, alms, mortification, fasting, and voluntary practices;

48. Kirkpatrick, p. 189.

distributing all her fortune to the Brahmans in order to increase her husband's merit, she seemed, in the midst of the rites—so much did she take it to heart—to be Arundhati herself.^{48a} And her son, filled with energy, heroism, constancy, patient and affectionate toward his subjects, who acts and does not boast, who smiles when he speaks, who always speaks first, valourous without pride, having reached the zenith of knowledge of the world, friend of the poor and the orphaned, hospitable to guests, dispelling reserve among those who solicit him, manifesting true virility by his meritorious skill in using arms of attack and defense, having strong and graceful arms, his skin tender and smooth like worked gold, having well-fleshed shoulders, rivaling with his eyes the blooming of the lotus in flower, is love incarnate: he is a festival of flirtations for lovers.” “My father,” he said to himself, “has adorned this rich earth with beautiful raised pillars. I have received the initiation in the fashion of the kṣatriyas, by combat and battle. I shall leave very quickly on a campaign to the east to destroy my enemies, and I shall put in power kings who will obey my orders.” And bowing before his mother whose sadness was disappearing, he spoke to her thus : “Oh mother, I cannot acquit myself toward my father by spotless austerities. I can only serve humbly at his feet by rites of arms in which I am competent. I depart !” And the mother of the king, completely joyous, bid him good-bye. He went to the east. The treacherous vassals who ruled in the east prostrated themselves, bowed their heads, and let the garlands slip from their heads. He forced them to obey his sovereign authority. Then, without fear, like a lion with a thick and fearful mane, he went toward the east. He learned that his vassal was behaving badly there. Then, shaking his head, and slowly touching his arm which seemed like an elephant trunk, he said with determination : “If he does not heed my call, my bravery will be able to bring him to heel. But what good are long phrases which serve no purpose ? A few words suffice. This very day, Oh my uncle, beloved brother of my mother, cross the Gaṇḍakī, rival of the ocean in breadth, in variations of surface, in agitation, where the water rolls in waves of frightful maelstroms. With hundreds of horses and caparisoned elephants, I cross the river and follow your army.” Having taken his decision, the sovereign kept his promise to the end. He conquered the city of the Mallas, then returned slowly to his country, his soul happy, and gave inexhaustible riches to the Brahmans. And Rājyavatī, the virtuous queen, heard her son say to her with a firm voice : “And you also, my mother, if you have a happy heart, make devout gifts ”

The mother of Mānadeva, Rājyavatī, remains in the foreground throughout the course of this long inscription. Her panegyric throws the funeral eulogy of her dead husband into the shadows and balances off the panegyric to the ruling king. At the death of Dharmadeva, it is she who calls, as if by personal choice, her son, Manadeva, to the throne and transmits the power to him. The meeting between

mother and son recalls the scene, depicted with graphic concision in the inscription of the pillar of Allahabad, where Candragupta I designates Samudragupta as heir to the throne in the presence of his courtiers who are filled with conflicting emotions. "He is noble," he says in kissing him, his emotion betrayed by his hair standing on end. The court breathed with relief and his equals of birth looked at him with faded glances. His perspicacious eyes quivered with emotion and were weighed down with tears. His father looked at him and said: "Govern the entire earth!" (1.7)^{48b}. But here the mother and son alone occupy the entire scene and their speeches proceed with a richness rare in Hindu epigraphy. The mother - Agrippina or Blanche of Castile? - wishes to follow her husband in death and only renounces the funeral pyre before the entreaties of her son. She sees herself as the revered and wise councillor of the new king; an associate in power, she approves the military undertakings of her son. She names her own brother commander-in-chief. Mānadeva only escapes from his mother to pass into the tutelage of his maternal uncle. And when he returns victorious from his campaigns, Rājyavatī has no intention of merging his pious gifts with those of her son. She has her own Brahmans and temples, her own poor and especially her own clients.

The pillar of Changu Narayan is dated in the month of Jyaiṣṭha 386.^{48c} Eleven months later, in Vaiśākha 387, an image of Viṣṇu was dedicated in the name of the queen-mother Rājyavatī "to increase her merits." The formula has a rather funerary character. It leads one to believe that Rājyavatī had died in the meantime,^{48d} but the fact is not established with certainty. The monument which was consecrated to her is a bas-relief which represents Viṣṇu in his aspect of Trivikrama in which he covered the world in three leaps. Around him "gods and saints worship the sole protector of the world of creatures." The style of the work is violent, almost brutal. The Nepalese of today believe that they recognize in it Vajrayoginī, who is one of the tantric forms of the goddess Devī. The Vaṃśāvalī records, for its part, that an image erected by the mother of Mānadeva, the Nava-sāgara Bhagavatī, filled passers-by with unbearable terror.

Filial affection, which seems to have been an essential trait of Mānadeva's character, also produced the long inscription of the pillar at Harigaon. The author, unfortunately anonymous, addresses the saint Dvaipāyana, better known under the name of Veda-Vyāsa. He praises his knowledge, wisdom, virtues, and the services rendered to the world which he instructed in the performance of its duty. Then, his hymn finished he exclaims: "I arrange as I can a most fragile word. You, may you impart happiness to my father!"^{48e} The analogy in sentiment, language, character, even of the monument itself brings together the pillar of Harigaon with that of Changu Narayan. The pillar of Harigaon supports a statue of Garuḍa, the Nepalese Changu, the mount of

Viṣṇu associated with the cult on the hill of Changu Narayan. 48f. It was also an image of Viṣṇu which Mānadeva consecrated for the increase of merit of his mother Rājyavatī. Mānadeva thus seems to display a real predilection for Viṣṇuism, as Haridatta had done already several generations before. But the traditions which attribute to him meetings with Svayambhū and the erecting of the temple of Bodhnath lead one to believe that his religion (devotion) was neither sectarian nor exclusive.

Even the name of Mānadeva suggests a cult of enigmatic nature. Among Nepalese kings, and especially among the Licchavis, names are often borrowed from the thousand names of the god Śiva : Vṛṣadeva, Śaṅkaradeva, Śivadeva, Rudradeva, etc. Others have a Viṣṇuite character : Harivarman, Haridatta; others are derived from secondary divinities : Vasanta, Kāma, etc. But the word *māna*, in the name of *Mānadeva*, seems to be completely foreign to the religious lexicon. Sanskrit of course possesses the word *māna*. Under this rubric it has two homonyms, different in origin and sense. One stems from the root *mā*, “to measure” and signifies *measure*; the others, from the root *man*, “to think”, means: the high estimation of one’s self. These two notions are not personified in the Hindu pantheon. Should one interpret it in this way : The king who has for his god the sentiment of his value ? If the word *māna* appears in royal names, it also enters in names of saints or scholars.⁴⁹ The Jains count among their doctors Mānatuṅga Suri or Mānatuṅga Acārya. A famous hymn of this ācārya, the Bhaktāmara-stotra, ends on a pun which seems to throw light on the meaning of *māna* in the onomasticon :

taṃ mānatuṅgam avaśa samupaiti lakṣmīh

“He who extols himself in the sentiment of his person (or : this Mānatuṅga), him Fortune follows, whether she will or not.” Perhaps this is the motto which is the fitting paraphrase of the name Mānadeva. In any case, initiated by the king Mānadeva or recovered by him, the word *māna* leaves a long imprint on Nepal’s past. After Mānadeva I, the Licchavi, the name of Mānadeva reappears twice more in the dynastic lists : once among the Licchavis, four generations later a second time, among the second Thakuri, shortly before the Mallas. A long time after the Licchavis, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D., the Mallas continue to venerate as a tutelary deity, in association with the glorious Paśupati, a mysterious goddess “who has granted to them the favor of her protection”, and this goddess is Māneśvarī, the “Our Lady of Māna.”⁵⁰ The formula becomes clearer when one sees a Thākuri of Nayakot in the

49. Read *tad-ālokāntarā*° instead of *tadā lokāntarā*° as does Bhagvanlal, in verse 7.

50. In Nepal itself, a *gomin*, ancestor of the king Jiṣṇugupta, bears the name of Mānagupta.

same period use the same terms to present himself as the protege of Gaṇḍakî. The Gaṇḍakî, which waters Nayakot, is naturally the suzerain lady of the valley which she gives as a fief to the princes of her choice as Māneśvarî grants the Nepal valley.

The word *māna* is also found in the name of the palace which served as a residence to the Licchavi dynasty, Mānagr̥ha, “the house of Māna”, so called either because Mānadeva founded it or because Māneśvarî protects it.^{50a} An inscription of Aṃśuvarman at Harigaon mentions the monastery of Māna (śrī Māna-vihāra) and the liṅga of Māneśvara, to which the king grants donations. Aṃśuvarman’s successor, Jiṣṇugupta, had as ancestor a certain Māna-gupta. Finally, a series of ancient copper coins of Nepal, carry the legend : “Mānāṅka, (coin) with the mark of Māna”. On the obverse they have a divinity seated on a lotus throne, the left hand placed on the hip, the right raised with the fingers extended. The pose suggests a Buddhist figure, as Bendall has indicated. Above, in beautiful Gupta characters, is written *śrī bhoginî* (Cunningham) or *śrī bhaginî* (Bendall). The reverse shows a lion walking to his right, with a lotus stem, a flower, and a bird in the background. The legend in Gupta characters, reads “śrī Mānāṅka.”⁵¹ Cunningham has made no effort to explain these legends. Bendall mentions the connection of the formula Mānāṅka with Mānadeva and Mānagr̥ha, but, rather unexpectedly, he interprets *śrī bhaginî* as a commemorative inscription meant to recall the dedication of a liṅga by Bhogadevî, sister (*bhaginî*) of the king Aṃśuvarman. This magnifies out of all proportion the importance of a very ordinary dedication. One might well be surprised that the king Aṃśuvarman, who usually strikes in his name, should have remained anonymous in this circumstance, not even mentioning the name of his sister, as he had done in the commemorative inscription. Indeed, the reading *śrī bhoginî* seems certain. *Bhoginî* belongs to the language of the courts. According to the lexicons of Amara and Hemacandra, it designates the wives of the king with the exception of the one who has been crowned. The latter is called *mahiṣî*. According to Bharata, the *bhoginî* is a wife of second rank who is of good character, little pride and no haughtiness, sweet, modest, and patient.⁵² But one does not expect to see this title appear on coinage and less still without anyone’s name. *Bhoginî* may very well be the name of the divi-

51. *śrī Māneśvarîvaralabdhapratāpa*. . . (Jayasthiti Malla, Nev. S. 506); ms. Cambridge, Add., 1698; — *varalabdha-prasādita*. . . (Jyotimalla, Nev. S. 533); Inscr... no. 16 of Bhagavanlal.— *śrīmān-Māneśvarîṣṭa-devatā-vara-labdha-prasāda* (Grant of Jayaprakāśa Malla Nev. 862 to the Capuchins; v. sup., vol. 1, p. 110. note. — *śrī Gaṇḍakîvaralabdhaprasāda* . . . Nev. S. 512; ms. Cambridge, Add., 1108.

52. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 116, and plate XIII, fig. 1;— Bendall, ZDMG., XXXVI, p. 651.

nity⁵³ 53a who is represented by the figure on the obverse. The lion walking to the right, in motion with the tail erect, is found on other Nepalese coins, on those of Aṃśuvarman and Jiṣṇugupta.

The numismatists Cunningham and Rapson both point out that in their general manufacture the ancient coins of Nepal are connected with the copper coinage of the Yaudheyas who long ago formed a powerful confederation of Kṣatriya tribes in Malaya and which the powerful Rudradaman, Kṣatrapa king of Surāṣṭra, prides himself in having vanquished around 150 A.D.^{53b} Both coinages are independent of the coinage of the Guptas and stem directly from the copper coinage of the Kushanas. The formula *mānāṅka* seems to indicate Gupta influence, however. It is the Guptas who appear to have made appellations of this kind fashionable. Samudra Gupta marks his coins with the word *parākrama*, "triumphal march", and in his Allahabad inscription (1.17) he takes the title of *parākramāṅka*, "the king who has *parākrama* as his mark."⁵⁴ His successor Candra Gupta II has a predilection for the word *vikrama*, "heroism" and stamps on a series of coins the legend *vikramāṅka*, "the king who has *vikrama* as his mark." This custom has other imitators in Nepal. A series of coins analogous to the *mānāṅka* coins bear the legend *guṇāṅka*. The face presents a divinity seated in the same attitude as on the *mānāṅka*; on the reverse there is an elephant turned toward his own left. The *guṇāṅka* coins are manifestly the stamp of a Guṇadeva as the *mānāṅka* are of Mānadeva. The vaṃśāvalis list ā Guṇakāmadeva five reigns after Mānadeva I, and the name of the king Gaṇa (Guṇa) deva is read on an inscription of the fifth century samvat at Kisipidi.⁵⁵

Since the king Mānadeva has led me to speak of the ancient coinage of Nepal, I should mention here also the coins with the mark of Paśupati which are by far the most abundant since they alone form half of the ancient coins of Nepal now known. One of these pieces was found at Mahābodhi, in the statue of the Buddha of the new Vajrāsana. Another was found in a small neighboring stupa.⁵⁶ Still others removed by laborers during excavations have been bought in the bazaar at Gaya, near Mahābodhi. It was evidently Nepalese pilgrims who brought them and left them as offerings to the temple. The other ancient coins of Nepal which are now in public or private collections come from an old temple which collapsed in Kathmandu. They were

53. *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Kāvya-mālā edition, XXIV, 28 (= Hall, XXXIV, 29).

54. Perhaps in connection with the clan of the Maukharis, according to the analogy of the names: Bhogavarman, Bhogadevi.

55. Cf. again the expression *garutmad-aṅka* in the inscription of Samudra Gupta at Allahabad, 1.24.

56. For these coins, and also for those of Paśupati, cf. Cunningham, *loc. laud.*

taken from the ruins.^{56a} The oldest manuscripts of Nepal have the same origin. How many similar occasions were missed! The Capuchins of the eighteenth century let a unique opportunity slip by among others. Father Giuseppe reports the event in detail.^{56b}

To the eastward of Cat'mandu, at the distance of two or three miles, there is a place called *Tolu*, by which there flows a small river, the water of which is esteemed holy, according to their superstitious ideas; and thither they carry people of high rank, when they are thought to be at the point of death. At this place there is a temple, which is not inferior to the best and richest in any of the capital cities. They also have it on tradition, that at two or three places in *Nepal*, valuable treasures are concealed underground. One of those places they believe is *Tolu*; but no one is permitted to make use of them except the king, and that only in cases of necessity. Those treasures, they say, have been accumulated in this manner : When a temple had become very rich from the offerings of the people, it was destroyed, and deep vaults dug under ground, one above another, in which the gold, silver, gilt copper, jewels, and everything of value were deposited. When I was in *Nepal*, *Gainprejas*, king of *Cat'hmandu*, being in the utmost distress for money to pay his troops, in order to support himself against *Prit'hwinarayan*, ordered search to be made for the treasures of *Tolu*; and, having dug to a considerable depth underground, they came to the first vault; from which his people took to the value of a lac of rupees in gilt copper, with which *Gainprejas* paid his troops, exclusive of a number of small figurines in gold, or gilt copper, which the people who had made the search had privately carried off; and this I know very well; because one evening as I was walking in the country alone, a poor man, whom I met on the road, made me an offer of a figure of an idol of gold, or copper gilt, which might be five or six sicca weight, and which he cautiously preserved under his arm; but I declined accepting it. The people of *Gainprejas* had not completely emptied the first vault, when the army of *Prit'hvinarayan* arrived at *Tolu*, possessed themselves of the place where the treasure was deposited, and closed the door of the vault, having first replaced all the copper there had been on the outside.

During the same war, some soldiers of Prithi Narayan, who had fortified themselves on the hill of *Svayambhūnāth*, "in digging ditches which were near the tombs, found large pieces of gold, it being the custom of the great in Tibet to have themselves buried with a large amount of this metal.⁵⁷ ^{57a} The old coins did not remain in circulation - either public or private - for very long. Prithvi Narayan, once master of the country, had gold and silver coinage forcibly deposited in the royal trea-

sure and had it completely restruck so that thirty years later, Hamilton could not procure in Kathmandu coins struck prior to the coming of the Gorkhas.⁵⁸ 58a

The coins with the name of Paśupati present very diverse types. Their diameter of 21 to 22 millimeters is slightly smaller than the mānāṅka (24 mm.) and the guṇāṅka coins (23 mm.) Their weight extends from 6.15 grams to 9.85 grams, through the intermediate weights of 7.40, 8.20, 8.30, and 9.72 grams, while the mānāṅka weigh 12.76 grams, and the guṇāṅka 12.63 and 9.46 grams. All these coins are of bronze. The essential property of the Paśupati series, compared to the personal issues (mānāṅka, guṇāṅka, coins of Amśuvarman, Jiṣṇugupta, and Vaiśravaṇa) is that they are a unit of lower value, about three quarters of the others. They correspond almost exactly to the present day *paisa* of Nepal. The obverse of the Paśupati coins frequently shows the bull of Śiva, Nandi, either crouching or standing. Sometimes he is replaced by Śiva's trident, the *triśūla*, erected and crossed by an axe. Often also a seated figure wearing a crown is seen in various positions. On the back there is sometimes the disc of the sun with starred rays, sometimes a vase from which rises a flowering branch. The legend, *paśupati*, in Gupta characters, is sometimes placed on a horizontal line, sometimes divided in symmetric syllables around the central motif, be it trident or vase of flowers :

pa	śu
pa	ti

The name *māna* still survives in present day Nepal. It designates a clan of the Thakurs, that is to say a clan of royal blood.⁵⁹ They are neighbors of the Mallas, heirs of another dynastic title which we shall find in subsequent Nepalese history. Perhaps the name of Mānadeva was borrowed from the eponym of the Māna clan.^{59a}

Besides the two inscriptions of Mānadeva which I have already studied, and which date from 386 and 387, there exist still two individual dedications from his reign. One, discovered by Bhagvanlal (no.2), is carved on a square stone which once formed the base of a *liṅga* at Paśupati and which serves today as base to a trident erected by Śankaradeva I. "Jayavarman of pure soul has, thanks to the favor of the feet of the sovereign, His Majesty Mānadeva, in the year 413, devoutly raised a *liṅga* called Jayeśvara for the good of the world with the sovereign, and he has endowed perpetual funds for the cult of this venerable *liṅga*."^{59b} The dedication opens with a verse in the *vasantatilikā* metre. The other inscription which I found at Kathmandu is written on the pedestal of a statue which has disappeared and been replaced since by one of Mahākāla : "In the year 402, while the king Mānadeva wisely governs

58. Hamilton, p. 214.

59. Vansittart, p. 81; Hodgson mentions it, *Essays*, part II, p. 43, under the form Maun (=Māna of Nepal=Nepāla).

the earth, the fifteenth day of the bright half of the month, in the month of Aṣāḍha, the chief of a company of merchants, Guhamitra, has erected with devotion a holy Divākara under the name of Indra - a field in the locality of Yathāgumpadśum, and a portion of land the size of a piṇḍaka".^{59c}

Except for the indication of the land given, the inscription is in anuṣṭubh metre. The dedication of the Viṣṇu-Trivikrama of Rājyavatī forms a sragdharā stanza. The inscription of the pillar of Changu-Narayan is a true poem in śārdūla-vikrīḍita metre. The inscription of the pillar of Harigaon combines the most complicated metres. The culture of Sanskrit thus flourished greatly in the Nepal of Mānadeva. The king provided a brilliant example and individuals strove to follow him. The panegyric of Changu Narayan is truly classic in style. Its expression is never high flown and its vocabulary is simple and plain. The longest compounds do not have more than six members and rarely reach that number.

If literature was honored in Nepal under Mānadeva, trade also prospered. Guhamitra, who dedicated the Bhagavat Indra-Divākara, bore the title of *banijām sarthavāha*, chief of a company of merchants and director of caravans. The exchanges between India and Tibet enriched the kingdom and nourished regular commerce. ^{59d} The history of the T'ang, in its description of Nepal edited from Chinese documents of the seventh century, notes that "the merchants, both peddlers and shopkeepers, are numerous there." Hindu influence is sufficiently strong to affect even the names of the merchants. The name of the *sārthavāha* Guhamitra is formed, as the name of the *Sārthavāha* Dhanamitra, for example, in *Śakuntalā* (Act IV) with the word *mitra*, "friend". The name of the god Guha, warlike though it be in origin, is associated more than once with the name of merchants, for instance Guhacandra and Guhasena in the *Bṛhatkathā* (Somadeva and Kṣemendra). The cult of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa is favored by the royal family (Changu-Narayan, Viṣṇu-Trivikrama, the pillar of Harigaon?), but Paśupati is not neglected (the linga of Jayavarman). The composite divinity erected and worshipped by Guhamitra is puzzlingly syncretic: Divākara, the Sun, must have occupied without doubt an eminent place in the official religion. His image appears on a large number of coins. Indra, for his part, is one of the protectors of Nepal.

The kingdom of the Licchavis, at the time of Mānadeva, extended outside the valley, toward the east and toward the west. In the west it passed the Gandaki and included the fortress of the Mallas. The organization of the kingdom was completely feudal. The royal domain, confined without doubt to the valley, was surrounded by restless vassals who tried to escape the authority of the sovereign who recognized it only when it was imposed by armed force. One might have thought, basing oneself on incomplete documents, that at the time of Mānadeva the Nepalese kingdom

was divided between two co-existing dynasties, the Licchavis to the east, and the Thākuris to the west. The last verses of the pillar of Changu Narayan, provided to science by the enlightened zeal of the Maharaja Bir Shamsheer, definitely refute this idea. Mānadeva was indeed the sole master of all Nepal. The known dates of his reign lie, if my hypothesis on the Licchavi era is correct, between 497 and 524 A.D.; or if one prefers to interpret them in the Śaka era, between 464 and 491 A.D.^{60a} In either case, Mānadeva ruled at the end of the fifth century, at the moment when the empire of the Guptas was collapsing, shaken by the victorious invasion of the White Huns.

* * *

EDITOR'S NOTES

- 1a. These places may be named from the south to the north and west. Samatāṭa is known to refer to the areas of the Ganges delta. According to Bimal Churn Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India* (Paris : Société Asiatique de Paris, 1967, 2nd ed.) p. 304, it comprised "the modern districts of Tipperah, Noakhali, Sylhet, and portions probably of Barisal. The Karmānta identified with Bad-Kāmtā, 12 miles west of Comilla, has often been identified as the capital of Samatāṭa." See also W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder* (Bonn u. Leipzig : Kurt Schroeder, 1920) p. 82, for puranic and other literary references. Davāka is perhaps the area north of Samatāṭa, but it is difficult to assign it with precision. Kāmarūpa, also called Prāgjyotiṣa, "generally occupied an area larger than that of the modern province and extended westwards to the Karatoyā river" (Law, p. 268); see Kirfel, pp. 70, 80. The name of Nepal (*nepāla*) has never referred to any other area. Kartṛpur is in all likelihood west of Nepal; Fleet identified it with modern Kartarpur in Jullundar, and it has been identified with the Katyur valley of Kumaon. In his work. *The Archaeology of Kumaon* (Varanasi : Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1969) p. 29, K.P. Nautiyal writes that "Kartripura, it appears, comprised the modern valley of Baijnath in Almora District, which was once known as the (sic) Karttikeyapura." He adduces no evidence to support this assertion, however.
- 1b. For the Kirātas, see notes 30a and 32a and accompanying text.
- 2a. Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* contains a reference to Nepal which Lévi does not mention since the text of the *Arthaśāstra* became available only after he had completed writing *Le Népal*. The term used by Kautilya is *naipālakamī*: aṣṭa-proti saṃghātyā kṛṣṇā bhiṅṅisī varṣavāranam apasāraka iti naipālakam. (2. 11.100). R.P. Kangle, *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*. (Bombay: Bombay University, 1969), p. 54.
- "The bhiṅṅisī (a kind of blanket) is black and made of eight pieces and is a protection against rain; so is the apasāraka. Both are made in Nepal." See also R. Shamashastry, *Kautilya's Arthaśāstra* (Mysore : Mysore Printing and Publishing House, 8th ed, 1967) p. 83. The date of the *Arthaśāstra* is too uncertain and the problems of its authorship too complex for it to be of any use in determining the age of the term *nepāla*, however. On the date and authorship of the *A.*, see I. W. Mabbett, "The Date of the *Arthaśāstra*," JAOS 84.2; 162-7; T. Trautmann, *Kautilya and the Arthaśāstra. A Statistical Investigation of the Authorship and Evolution of the Text*. (Leiden: E.J. Brill,) 1972. See also the important review of Trautmann's work by L. Sternbach, JAOS, 92.4, 498-500.
- 2b. The name is kept in the modern vernacular version in Nepali also; see my *A Nepali Version of the Vetālapañcaviṃśati* (New Haven : American Oriental Society, 1971) p. 161. In *Jambhaladatta's Version of the Vetālapañcaviṃśati* (New Haven : American Oriental Society, 1934) edited by M. Emeneau, the king is called Nayapāla and the country is "in the north" (p. 59). In Śivadāsa's version the king is Suvicara of the city of Kusumavati.
- 8a. On the life of Bu-ston, see D. Seyfort Ruegg, *Life of Bu-ston Rin-po-che* (Rome: Istituto Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, 1966).

- 18a. The name has not yet been satisfactorily explained. For a recent discussion see Riccardi, *op., cit.* pp. 197-8, Story 15, n.1. According to D.R. Regmi (*Ancient Nepal*. Calcutta : Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1960) p. 56, the oldest reference to the name found in Nepal itself is in the inscription of the temple of Bhṛṅgareśvara in Sonaguthi, dated samvat 65. The relevant phrase is śrī viṣṇuguptaḥ kuśalī bhaviṣyato nepāla (bhubhu) jo.... For the full text of the inscription, see Raniero Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*. Part I Text. Serie Orientale Roma X. Materials for the Study of Nepalese History and Culture. (Rome : Istituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, 1956), p. 83.
- 19a. The only parts of the so-called *Paśupati Purāṇa* known to Lévi were the sections entitled *Vāgmāti-māhātmya-praśaṃśa*. (Lévi, Vol. I, pp. 205-7). It is still not known whether or not any other sections of it exist. The catalogue of the Bir Library collection, now housed in the National Archives, Kathmandu, lists two manuscripts entitled *Paśupati-purāṇa*; one is subtitled *vāgmāti-praśaṃśa* and the other is described as being in the Newari language. Also listed are a *paśupati-nārāyaṇa-vajrayoginī-nīlakaṇṭha-māhātmyam* and a *paśupatistotram*. See Buddhisagar Sharma, *Nepālarājakiyavīrapustakālaya sthahastalikhitasamasta-pustakānām saṅkṣiptasucipatram*. (Kathmandu : Virapustakalayatāḥ sampāditaḥ prakāśitaśca samvat 2020), p. 83.
- 20.a The *Nepāla-māhātmya* has recently been edited and translated into German by H. Uebach, *Das Nepāla-Māhātmyam des Skandapurānam, Legenden um die hinduistischen Heiligtümer Nepals*, Munchen: W. Fink, 1970.
- 23a. For a description of the Nepalese Tharus, see Dor Bahadur Bista, *People of Nepal* (Kathmandu : Ministry of Information, 1967) pp. 108-116. For a study of those living primarily in India, see S.K. Srivastava, *The Tharus*. (Agra : Agra University Press, 1958). Yogi Naraharinath has published a document entitled *Tharu Darshan* which relates Tharu cosmogony in their own language (*Itihās Prakāśmā Sandhipatrasamgraha*. Kathmandu : Royal Nepal Academy *et al.*, B.S. 2022, pp. 477-482.) On this see my forthcoming paper, "Tharu Cosmology."
- 23b. The date now accepted for the accession of Aṃśuvarman is 576 A.D.; see L. Petech, "The Chronology of the Early Inscriptions of Nepal," *East and West*, XII, 4, 1961, pp. 227-232. The theory, originally put forward by Bhagvanlal Indrajī and Bühler, that the era of Aṃśuvarman was that of the emperor Harṣa was based on weak evidence; cf. Lévi, Vol. II, pp. 145-6. D. Devahuti describes the reign of Aṃśuvarman in connection with Indian history in her *Harṣa, A Political Biography* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 105-110. She shows convincingly that Nepal was never included in Harṣa's empire nor was the Harṣa era ever used there.
- 23c. Here Lévi refers to his earlier discussions of the legends in the vaṃśāvalis and the indigenous purāṇas, Vol. 1, pp. 193-218.
- 26a. There is no direct evidence of Chinese influence in early Nepal; the legends merely preserve a memory amongst the Newars of their northern origin. As to the tiered temples of Nepal, it is generally accepted that they are based on medieval Indian models which disappeared in India but were preserved in Nepal, though the most ancient examples have long since disappeared there

also. Most of the temples of present day Nepal were built after the fourteenth century. A few, however, are of earlier date. The oldest dated one is probably the temple of Indreśvara at Panauti. On this, see Mary Shepherd Slusser, *Indreśvara of Panauti : A Medieval Nepalese Temple*. Paper delivered at the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Chicago, 1973, (Synopsis 2094).

- 26b. The ancient city of Janakpur, still so named, continues the association with the father of Sita.
- 26c. On the location of Gauḍa, usually identified with Bengal, see Bimala Churn Law, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-9. Gauḍa is often used as a generic term for northern India. Cf. Devahuti, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
- 26d. Guṇakāmadeva is supposedly the founder of Kathmandu; see Daniel Wright, *History of Nepal* (Cambridge : At the University Press, 1877) p. 85.
- 26e. The monastery of Vikramaśīla is identified with Thamel, an area north of Kathmandu. See also Turrell Wylie, *A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal* (Roma : Istituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, 1970) p. 16 n.21.
- 26f. Wright's account, *op. cit.* p. 92, differs slightly : "He then built a town, extending from Buddha Nilkantha to Kotwal, which he named Bisalnagara, and peopled with the four castes, i.e. Hindus." Viśāla Nagara is today an area north and east of the center of the city. The name recalls the capital city of the Indian Licchavis, Vaiśālī.
- 26g. Buḍhā Nilkantha is located about five miles north of Kathmandu at the foot of the Śivapuri hill. For a Tibetan description, see Wylie, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.
- 26h. Also called Kotwalder, the place where the Bagmati leaves the valley. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
- 26i. For Vṛṣadeva, see p. 44.
- 26j. Śaṅkha-mūla is the town of Sankhu which lies ten miles northeast of Kathmandu on the main trade route between Lhasa and the Nepal valley.
- 26k. The kings Vikramajit (Vikramāditya), Vikramakeśarin, and Bhoja, are well-known in Indian literature. All three are based on the exemplary life of the legendary king Vikramāditya. Their exploits are related in many works of popular narrative literature, e.g. the *Vetālapañcaviṃṣati*, the *Vikramodaya*, the *Pañcadaṇḍachatraprabandha*, the *Mādhavānalakāmakandalākathā*, and the *Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśatikā*, also called the *Vikramacarita*. This last work tells the story of King Bhoja of Dhara, who finds a throne adorned with thirty-two statuettes which had once been given to the king Vikramāditya by the god Indra. When Bhoja attempts to sit on it, he is prevented by one of the statuettes, each of whom in turn relates to the king a marvelous tale of King Vikramāditya, illustrating his generosity and love of his fellow man. When the last story has been told, the thirty-two statuettes return to their true divine form from which they had been changed by a curse of Parvati. They finally allow Bhoja to ascend the throne and return to their celestial abode. The tales are popular in Nepal; an area, to the north and west of Kathmandu, is called *battis-puttali* (The Thirty-Two Statues). See Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-102.

- 26l. The story of the emblem of Paśupati is told in Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-8.

The ancient temple of Pashupati having fallen down, the light was buried under the ruins. Some cowherds came into the country in the train of Sri Krishna who came from Dwarika to help his grandson in letting out the water from the valley through a passage which he made at Chaubahal and in carrying off the daughter of Danasur, who had stopped the outflow of the water. These men settled down at Padmakasthagiri and built cowsheds. One of their cows, by name Ne, was a milch cow, but gave no milk. Every day at a certain time she went running to a certain place. One day the chief cowherd followed her, and saw milk issuing from her udder, and saturating the spot on which she stood. His curiosity was excited to know what was under the spot, and on removing some earth he discovered the light, which however consumed him.

Ne Muni, from whom Nepal derives its name, then came, and having persuaded the people that there would be no Chhetri Raja in the Kali Yuga, he installed as king the son of the cowherd who had been consumed by the light.

- 28a. For *ambasṭha*, see Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899) p. 83.
- 28b. Kirkpatrick's lists appear between pp. 255-75 of his *Account of Nepaul* (London : William Miller, 1811).
- 28c. For general discussions of the Kiratas, see Kasten Ronnow, *Kirata*, in *Le Monde Oriental*, Vol. XXX, Uppsala, 1936, pp. 90-169, and Chatterji, *op. cit. passim*. See also below notes 30 and 32a. For Greek sources referred to by Lévi, see Wilfred H. Schoff (tr.) *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (New York : Longmans, Green & Co., 1912) pp. 47 & 253.
- 28d. The *Kirātārjunīya* has been translated into German by C. Cappeller, *Bhairavi's Poem Kirātārjunīya, or Arjuna's Combat with the Kirāta*. Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 15. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912) For critical estimates of the work, see A. Berriedale Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (London : Oxford University Press, 1920), pp. 109-16 and, more recently, O. Botto *Litterature Antiche dell'India* (Milano : Casa Editrice Dr. Francesco Vallardi; Società Editrice Libreria) pp. 145-6.
- 28e. The Kirātas are almost always associated with the northeastern borders, while the Yavanas, Sakas, and Pahlavas live along the western borders. Cf. Dr. W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder* (Bonn u. Leipzig, 1920), p. 70 : "Fast alle Purana geben grosse Listen der Volkerschaften, die Bharata bewohnen. Allgemein wird gesagt, dass im Osten die Kirata, im Westen die Yavana und in der Mitte die Arier mit ihren vier Kasten der Brahmanen, Ksatriya, Vaisya und Sudra Wohnen."
- 28f. For *karnikara*, Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 257 gives: "the flower of *Pterospermum acerfolium*", and "the pericarp of a lotus."
- 28g. The number seven is of course central to Indian religion, but it has particular significance in the field of geography. Thus there are traditionally seven concen-

tric circular seas surrounding seven concentric circular continents. For a discussion, see W. Kirfel, *op. cit.*, p. 3*.

The seven Ga ndakis (Skt. *saptaṅḍakī*) lie to the west of the Nepal valley. The seven Kosis (Skt. *Kauśikī*) are all rivers of eastern Nepal and flow through the land of the Kirātas. They are the Tamakosi, Likhu, Dudhkosi, Sunkosi, Arun, Tamor, and Indravati rivers. See B.H. Hodgson, *Memorandum Relative to the Seven Cosis of Nepal in Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal no. XXVII : Papers Relative to the Colonization, Commerce, Physical Geography etc. of the Himalayan Mountains and Nepal*, Calcutta, 1856, pp. 122-5.

- 28h. *kukhri*, the spelling used in the West, is derived from Kirkpatrick who is unreliable in this respect. The true Nepali form is *khukuri*. *kukhri* in Nepali means "hen." The etymology given in the OED (Hindi *kukri*) is incorrect.
- 28i. The variant spellings Kāruṣa, Karuṣā, and Karuṣa occur in the puranas. According to Kirfel, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-77, the name occurs amongst "die Volker., die den Vindhya bewo hnen". S.K. Chatterji, in his *Kirāta-jana kṛti* (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1951) p. 19, notes the following lines from the *Sabhā-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (Sabha, 52, 8-10) :

ye parandhe ca Himavataḥ suryodaya-girau-nṛpaḥ
 Kāruṣe ca samudrānte Lauhityam abhitaṣca ye
 phala-mūlāsana ye ca Kirātāś carma-vāsasaḥ
 krūra-śastrāḥ krūra-kṛtas tāṃśca paśyāmy aham prabho
 candanāguru-kāṣṭhānām bhārān kāliyakasga ca
 carma-ratna-suvarṇānām gandhānāñ caiva rāśayaḥ

"Those kings who are on the other half of the Himalayas and in the mountains of the east (sun-rise mountain) in Kāruṣa by the end (edge) of the sea, and beside the Lauhitya (Luhit or Upper Brahmaputra river) those who are more over Kiratas living on fruits and roots, clad in skins, fierce with their weapons cruel in their deeds, them I saw, O Lord : and loads of sandal and agallochum, wood and of black (?) pepper, and masses of skins and gems and gold and of aromatic shrubs." Chatterji also notes that Dr. Moti Chandra, in his *Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata : Upāyana Parva*, (Lucknow : U.P. Historical Society, 1945) pp. 84-85, notes the variant reading *vāriṣeṇa samudrānte* for *kāruṣe samudrānte*. Moti Chandra has evidently taken this as an instrumental of *Vāriṣa* and attempts to identify it with Barisal District in East Bengal, "which is by the sea." Chatterji accepts the likelihood of the identification. Without questioning the identification it should be pointed out that *Vāriṣeṇa* is the full term and that *Vāriṣa*, so far as I know, does not exist. Cf. Kirfel, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 231, 234. It is interesting to note also that Edgerton, in his work on the *Mahābhārata*, accepted the reading *Vāriṣeṇa* instead of *Kāruṣe ca*. See *The Mahābhārata*, for the first time critically edited by V.S. Sukthankar (Aug. 1925- Jan. 1943)— S.K. Belvalkar (since April 1943) : Volume II, *The Sabha Parvan*, edited by Franklin Edgerton (1944), P. 237, 48 adhyaya, verse 8-9. For a different identification, see Bimala Churn Law, *op. cit.*, p. 267, who identifies Kāruṣa with an area in the Sahabad district (Bihar).

- 28j. *Lauhitya* is used in Indian literature, especially in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṃśa*, to designate the Brahmaputra river, which is also known as the Rohata (Law, *op. cit.*, p. 37).

- 28k. Dosarene is Sanskrit Daśārṇa which Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 21, identifies with Orissa; Kirfel, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 362, corroborates the identification. But see Bimala Churn Law, *op. cit.*, p. 369, who identifies it with Vedisa or Bhilsa region in the Central Provinces . . . "The Daśārṇas occupied a site on the Daśārṇa river, which can still be traced in the modern Dhasan river near Saugor, that flows through Bundelhand, rising in Bhopal and emptying into the Betwā (Vetrāvati)." See also Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 253.
- 29a. According to Yule, the malabathrum is the dried leaf of various species of Cinnamomum, known as *tamāla-patra* in Sanskrit. See Henry Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, new edition edited by William Crooke, 1903. (Reprinted Delhi : Munshi Ram Manoharlal, 1968) pp. 543-4. For its significance in the trade of the ancient world, see Schoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49, 216-18, 256.
- 29b. Agarū is the aloe wood and tree, *Aquilaria Agallocha*, found, according to Yule, as far north as Silhet. Eagle wood, another aromatic wood, is produced by the *Aloexylon agallochum*. See Yule, *op. cit.*, pp. 335-6 under *eagle-wood*. For *kāliyaka*, Monier-Williams gives "a kind of turmeric (*Curcuma xanthorrhiza*), p. 278/1. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 19, translates *kāliyaka* as "black (?) pepper"; see note 28i. above.
- 30a. Among the Kirāta tribes of present day Nepal, only the Limbus have a script. In it they have preserved their sacred text, the *Mundhum*; but neither the script nor the text seems to be of any great antiquity, and the script is almost certainly not the one mentioned in the *Lalita-vistara*. Samples of it have been published in Imansingh Cemjong's *Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary* (Kathmandu : Nepal Academy, n.d.) pp. 11-13; and in Rajvamsi, *Pracīn Lipi Varṇamālā* (Nepal : Śrī Pāñc Ko Sarkar, Purātattva Vibhāg, B. S. 2017) pp. 25-7. Both samples are given with equivalents in Devanagari. There is no question that the script is ultimately based on an Indian model, possibly Devanagari itself, since some of the symbols are almost identical with those of Devanagari except that the phonetic value is different. R.K. Sprigg, "Limbu Books in the Kiranti Script," *Akten des vierundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses Munchen*, 590-2, Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft (Wiesbaden, 1959) writes that "A comparison of the Kiranti with the Devanagari, Tibetan and Lepcha scripts establishes that the Kiranti is the same in principle as they in that it makes use of the vowel signs as modifiers, and of zero, the absence of a written sign, as itself a vowel sign. There are respects in which the Kiranti script resembles any one of these three scripts more than the other two; but in general the resemblance seems closest to a Tibetan cursive, 'khyugyig', and Lepcha. In particular the Kiranti script shares with these two the feature of having a special series of letters for syllable-final consonants." In a recent article, "Nepali and Pahari," in Thomas A. Sebeock (ed). *Current Trends in Linguistics in South Asia* (The Hague: Mouton, 1969), pp.263-4, the late T.W.Clark has summarized the history of the script. Hamilton, Campbell, and Hodgson, were the first to call attention to it and deposited books and vocabularies in the India Office and Asiatic Society of Bengal Libraries. According to Clark, Imansing Cemjong, the Nepali scholar, claims to have other Limbu books "in his possession, including a manuscript reader which he came across in 1956. More recently, R.K. Sprigg found five books in Sikkim and presented them to the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies. Of the origin and history of the script nothing more is

- known than the fables culled by Cemjong and Prembahadur Limbu from local folk-lore and a Kirāti *vaṃśāvalī*." The legend presented by the *vaṃśāvalī* attributes the invention of the script to King Srijanga, "the hero of the Kirātas," mentioned by Lévi, n. 30. "This early script," writes Clark, "traditionally known as the *Sirijanga*, consisted of 20 characters, to which according to Cemjong 11 others were added later. The *Sirijanga* script was then lost; but, so the story goes, it reappeared from time to time only to be submerged again by Tibetan, Kaite or Lepcha. There is a later story, which may not be without truth, that in 1788 Ranabahadur Sah, the Gorkha king of Nepal, prohibited the use of the Limbu script, whereupon its protagonist, also named Sirijanga, fled to Sikkim, where he was murdered. The script then apparently was submerged once more, to be rediscovered by Cemjong in the present century." The term *Sirijanga* may be a combination of the words *śrī* (Sanskrit, good fortune) in its common use as a title before a name, and the Urdu loan word, *jang*, meaning "war, battle", but which is often used in royal titles as a name. The name would therefore be of comparatively recent formation. Cemjong, *op. cit.*, p. 15 spells it *Sirijanga*, but it still does not appear to be a Limbu word, nor does it bear any resemblance to the names of the Kirāta kings who are named in the *vaṃśāvalīs* of the Kathmandu Valley.
- 32a. For Kirāta religion and society, see Dor Bahadur Bista, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-47; Imansingh Cemjong, *History and Culture of the Kirat People* (Kathmandu, 1966) which is a translation and enlarged edition of his *Kirāt Itihās* (Kailimpong, 1948), and his *Kirāt Mundhum (Kirāt ko Bed)* (Palanvam, Campanan, Bihar : Rajendra Ram, n. d.), which contains the Limbu text and Nepali translation of the sacred books of the Limbus. Cemjong's works contain much useful information, particularly the last work, but they contain historical judgments of dubious value. Of the greatest importance is the work of Philippe Sagant on the Limbus; see his "Tāmpuñmâ, divinité limbu de la forêt" *Objects et Mondes*, Tome IX Fasc. 1, Spring, 1969, pp. 107-124, and "Prêtres Limbu et Catégories Domestiques" *Kailash*, Vol. 1. No. 1, (1973) pp. 51-75; his statement here with regard to the Limbus is interesting in the light of Lévi's statement with regard to the Kiratas: "Au Népal oriental, les Limbus ne sont ni hindouistes, ni bouddhistes, même si de nombreux éléments synchrétisés apparaissent dans leurs croyances. Ils ont une religion qui leur est propre, une religion "sans nom", traditionnelle, qu'on aurait appelée "animiste" autrefois. Elle possède son propre corpus mythologique; son propre panthéon, son propre ensemble de "prêtres". . . "(p. 52).
- 33a. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 109, gives the name as Pabi.
- 33b. On the relations between the chronicles and the puranas, see my paper, "Traditional Nepalese Historiography" delivered at the Association of Asian Studies Meeting (Mid-Atlantic States Section), Glassboro, N.J., November 1973.
- 33c. Deopatan is an area east of the center of Kathmandu contiguous with Paśupati Temple.
- 33d. The Godāvarī, a river of south India, is supposed to flow underground until it emerges in Nepal. This legend is part of a group which connects Nepal with South India (Lévi, Vol. 1. pp. 364-5). The legends date back to early medieval times, possibly as early as the seventh and eighth centuries, and were presumably brought to Nepal by yogins of the Paśupata and other sects who settled there.

- 33e. The Vamśavalis later record the most systematic attempt to organize the caste system— that of Jayasthiti Malla in the fourteenth century. See Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-7, Lévi, Vol. 1, pp. 239-45, and L. Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal* (Roma: Istituto Per Il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), pp. 110-113.
- 34a. For the convent of Cārumati, see Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-113.
- 34b. The most recent reading is given in Raniero Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, Part I : Text (Rome : Istituto Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, 1956) pp. 115-119.
- 35a. For more recent work on Vaiśālī, see Yogendra Misra, *An Early History of Vaiśālī* (Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass, 1962) and Yogendra Misra and Sitaram Roy, *A Guide to Vaiśālī and the Vaiśālī Museum* (Vaiśālī: Vaiśālī Saṅgha, Muzzaffarpur, Bihar, 1964); recent excavations are reported in Krishna Deva and Vijayakanta Mishra, *Vaiśālī Excavations* : 1950. (Vaiśālī : Vaiśālī Saṅgh, 1961).
- 38a. For a recent discussion of this term and its significance, see T. Trautmann, "Licchavi-dauhitra", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 2 (1972) pp. 2-15.
- 40a. The Sāvitrī is the famous verse Rig Veda iii, 62, 10, addressed to Sāvitrī during the initiation ceremonies of the twice born classes. The verse is sometimes deified and regarded as the wife of Brahmā and the mother of the three twice-born classes.
- 41a. For the most recent discussion of the Licchavis, including the traditional Buddhist etymologies of the term, see Jagdish Prasad Sharma, *Republics of Ancient India*, (Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1968) pp. 84-135; pp. 244 and 247 contain passages from the works of Buddhaghōṣa giving the traditional etymology and a description of the Licchavi judicial system. Sharma properly rejects the theories of Vidyabhushana (*Indian Antiquary*, xxxvii, 1908, pp. 78ff.) which connect the Licchavis with Nisibis in Iran; however, he does not give adequate attention to the suggestion of H.C. Raychaudhuri that they were of non-Aryan origin, (*Political History of Ancient India* (Calcutta: Universit yof Calcutta, 1953) p. 123. Sharma associates the word with Sanskrit ṛkṣa (cf. Hindi rīch), and derives the term *licchavi*, from the Sanskrit form ṛkṣavin; he translates it "people of the bear-abounding region" : Skt. ṛkṣavin forming ṛkṣavi (n. sg.), with Prakrit substitution of *li* for *r*, *cha* for *kṣ* forming Pkt. *licchavi*. While the derivation is possible linguistically, it must be pointed out, as Sharma does, that neither the Sanskrit nor any of the intermediate Prakrit forms is ever found; e.g. *ricchavi*, etc. The etymology awaits confirmation. Its Indo-Aryan form, however, leads Sharma to hypothesize that the Licchavis were an Aryan tribe, or at least linked with them or of partial Aryan blood; its meaning, on the other hand, leads him to the theory that they "came down to the plains from the mountainous region north of the Ganges. The region abounded in *licchas* or bears (Hindi *rīch*), and hence the inhabitants took up or were given the name of Licchavis. . . ." In order to justify the improbability that an Indo-Aryan tribe would come down to the Ganges from the "bear-abounding Himalayas," Sharma is forced to the theory that they were a branch of some well-known Vedic tribe which lost its original name while migrating into the mountains : "As they stayed in a region which abounded in bears and had broken of from their earlier folk, they dropped their older name and started calling themselves by a new name . . . Licchavis." (p. 92). Hence the lack of

references to them in the Vedic and early Brahmanic texts. Sharma admits that his theory is “based chiefly on the slender evidence of the etymology of their name”, but why he finds that it fits the known historical facts of the period better than any other hypothesis (p. 92), is unclear. The only “theory” which supports the facts as we know them is that the Licchavis may have been originally a non—Aryan group who became partially Aryanized as the Aryans moved eastward, that they called themselves Licchavi, and that we do not know the origin of the term.

- 41b. Srong-tsan-gampo (d. 649 or 650 A.D.) is the first Tibetan king to whom a definite date can be assigned. For a recent discussion, see R.A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization* (Stanford : Stanford University Press, 1972) pp. 52-54.
- 43a. Lévi's text appears to mean that the solar pretensions of these early kings were created at a very late date in order to reflect well on the Gorkha kings who had been refused recognition by the Rana of Udaipur.
- 43b. *Thākur*, or *Thākuri*, is the caste (*jāt*) of the ruling Shah dynasty of Nepal. It also includes the Sahis, Mallas, and Ranas who were originally Chetri and later intermarried with the Shahs, thereby giving validity to their Thākuri pretensions.
- 43c. The standard ethnography, is B. Pignède, *Les Gurungs*. (Paris and the Hague: Mouton & Co. 1866).
- 43d. The reference is to the famous story in which Vishnu, in the form of the Brahman king Paraśu-Rāma destroyed the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times. Later he himself was destroyed by Rāma-candra.
- 44a. See Lévi, Vol. 3, pp. 76-79: and his “Note sur la Chronologie du Népal” *Journal Asiatique*, 1894, II, pp. 55ff.
- 46a. For a discussion of Vaiṣṇavism in Nepal, see P. Pal, *Vaiṣṇava Iconology in Nepal*. (Calcutta : Asiatic Society, 1971.)
- 46b. In referring to Yampi Bihar, Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 116, n, 1, reported that “this bihar is in Patan, and the descendants of Sunayasri Misra still live there. I bought a copy of the Asokavadana from one of them.” See also my *Some Preliminary Remarks on a Newari Painting of Svayambhūnāth*, JAOS, 93, 3, p. 338.
- 46c. For Kontī and Pintā Bihars, see Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
- 46d. On the early history of Tibet and its relations with Nepal, see Lévi, Vol. 1, pp. 149-192.
- 46e. Vajrayoginī is one of the most popular goddesses of Nepal. There is a famous temple dedicated to her at Sankhu. She is described in B. Bhattacharya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta : Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1958, 2d ed.), pp. 247-50. See also Lévi, Vol. 1, pp. 380-381, and Wylie, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, n. 50; 25, n. 61-62; and 34, n. 106.
- 46f. For Lévi's reading of the inscription, see Vol. III, pp. 10-14. The most recent critical reading is that of Gnoli, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, lines 8-9. N. Garsoian has directed me to a parallel passage in the *Tricennial Oration* of Eusebius (circa A.D 260-340) in honor of the 30th year of the reign of the Emperor Constantine : “Constantine—like the light of the sun, with the flashes that shine from his sons the Caesars — ”translated by Ernest Barker, *From Alexander to Constantine* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1956) p. 478; see also Philip Schaff

- and Henry Wace, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 2nd Series (New York : The Christian Literature Co., 1890-1900) Vol. 1, p. 584 (III, IV).
- 46g. For the Sanskrit text, see Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 116, verse 9.
- 46h. The story of Balbala is recounted in Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 118. See also Lévi, Vol. 1, p. 385.
- 47a. The founding of Svayambhūnāth is recounted in the *Vṛhat Svayambhū Purāna*. Bibliotheca Indica. (Calcutta : Baptist Mission Press, 1894) ed. Hara Prasad Shastri. The text presented by Shastri is so poor that Lévi was tempted to assert that Shastri, a Hindu, had purposely chosen a particularly bad text for publication in order to put the Buddhists in a bad light. The text in its various versions, is being edited by M.B. Riccardi. For the Tibetan legend, see Wylie, *op. cit.* p. 19, n. 35.
- 47b. The Bodhnāth stūpa, a few miles east of Kathmandu, is located on the main trade route between Nepal and Lhasa and has been for centuries the center of a Tibetan community. For the variations in the name, see Riccardi, *Preliminary Remarks*, p. 338. For the Tibetan legends surrounding its origin, see Wylie, *op. cit.*, p. 20, and David Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya* (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1957).
- 47c. There are two versions of the story of the patricide in the vaṃśāvalis. According to the first, the king Vikramakeśarin became distressed to see the Nārāyaṇ fountain dry up because he had set it up as a memorial to his ancestors. The astrologers told him that a human sacrifice of a man possessing the thirty-two attributes of perfection was needed. The king decided against sacrificing one of his subjects or his son, who, like his father, possessed the requisite number of attributes. He decided that he himself should be sacrificed :

He therefore called his son Bhup-kesari, and ordered him to kill, without looking at his face, a certain man, whom, on the fourth day after that, he should find lying covered over on the fountain. The prince, going there on the appointed day, in accordance with his father's commands, and not knowing who the person was, cut off his head. Blood rushed out of the dhara, and the crocodile on the fountain turned back his head that he might not see a patricide. The son then went to wash his hands in the Ikshumati river, and was surprised to see swarms of worms floating in the water. On returning to his house, he heard a great noise of people shouting out that the prince had killed his father. The prince then silently performed his father's funeral ceremonies, and making over charge of the government to his mother, he went to Mani Jogini to expiate the sin of patricide. Seeing him very forlorn, the Jogini informed him that he could expiate his crime by building a large Buddhist temple, two miles in circumference, and having four circles of gods. The spot for the temple would be indicated by the perching of a *kulang* (crane) which would take its flight from that mountain. The bird accordingly alighted, the spot for the temple was marked out, and the work was begun.

The other version associated King Vikmanti and his son Nandeva with the sacrifice :

- The patricide, not being able to disengage his hand to which the severed head attached itself, went to Mani Jogini, by whose advice he built the Buddhist temple and then the head became detached....
- 47d. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-2. Wright notes (fn. 1): Palanchauk is a village east of Banepa, which is in another valley to the east of the valley of Kathmandu. The image of Sobha Bhagavati is still shown at the burning-ghat on the Bagmati. Witches are said to worship these deities."
- 48a. *Arundhatī* is the name of the wife of Vasiṣṭha, one of the seven chief sages; also the name of the wife of Dharma. According to Monier-Williams, "she is invoked as a pattern of conjugal excellence by the bridegroom" at marriage ceremonies.
- 48b. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, 1888, 6 ff.
- 48c. The date is corroborated by Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
- 48d. The date given by Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 6 is samvat 289 vaiśākhaśukladiva 2.
- 48e. For the text, see Gnoli, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16.
- 48f. The origin of the word Changu (Nep. *cānḥu*) is obscure. Bal Chandra Sharma, *Nepālī Śabda-koś* (Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, B.S. 20) gives : *cāṅgu-nārāyaṇa* (saṃ campaka + nārāyaṇa) bhaktapur ilākā bhitra rahekā. prasiddha ek nārāyaṇa ; cār nārāyaṇa madhye ek. "cāṅgu-nārāyaṇa [Skt. campaka + Nārāyaṇa] a famous *Narayana* of Bhaktapur zone; one of the four Narayanas."
- 50a. It is interesting to note that in Nepali *māṅṛha* also designates an anger chamber to which a woman who has shown anger with her husband is sent.
- 53a. *bhoginī* can mean "female serpent" and may refer to a divinity connected with the early *nāga* cult.
- 53b. For other discussions of Nepalese coinage, see E.H. Walsh, "The Coinage of Nepal", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, July 1908, pp. 669-759; supplementary note, pp. 1132-1136; and Satya Mohan Joshi, *Nepali Rastriya Mudra* (Lalitpur, Nepal: Jagadamba Prakashan) B.S. 2019.
- 56a. I do not know which temple this was.
- 56b. The original account in Italian has been lost. An English translation made by Sir John Shore appeared in the second volume of *Asiatic Researches or Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal, for Inquiring Into The History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia*. Printed verbatim from the Calcutta Edition, in Quarto, (London : Printed for Vernor and Hood, In the Poultry, 1799) pp. 307-322, and I have quoted from that (pp. 311-12) rather than translate Lévi's French back into English. Padre Giuseppe's account has been reprinted by Luciano Petech in *I Missionari Italiani nel Nepal e nel Tibet* (Roma : Istituto Per Il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1952-56) Vol. III (1953), pp. 303-16.
- 57a. A Muslim burial ground is also found near the shrine, at the foot of the Svayambhu hill.
- 58a. This is not unusual in Nepal. One of the most puzzling aspects of Nepalese history is the total absence of coinage— of any kind — from approximately the 8th to the 15th century. See Petech, *op. cit.* p. 177.

- 59a. I can find no other reference to this besides Hodgson.
59b. For the Skt. text see Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 413.
59c. For the Skt. text see *ibid.*, p. 402.
59d. The archetypical merchant of Nepal is Siṅhasārthabāhu whose tale is told in the Newari work, *Siṅhasārthabāhu vā Kabir Kumāraya Bākham* (Yem [Kathmandu] : Cvasāpāsa, N.S. 1088) ed. by Bhikṣu Sudarshan (in Newari).
60a. See references in n. 44a.

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